

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

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## Labor Party Wins New Zealand In Election Sweep

Michael J. Savage to Form  
All-Socialist Government  
at Meeting Monday—  
Will Control 52 out of  
80 Seats.

### Opposition Is Crushed

**Australian Labor to Reunite  
at Congress Next Month—  
Combined Forces Represent  
Biggest Party in  
Commonwealth.**

ANOTHER Socialist and Labor government was added to the world's growing list this week when the self-governing dominion of New Zealand was swept by the Labor party at the general elections on Wednesday in one of the most smashing victories ever won by a Socialist party.

Under the leadership of Michael J. Savage, old-time Socialist and trade unionist, the New Zealand Labor party will form a government to rule the Dominion for the next four years. Savage has called a meeting of his party for Monday to form a ministry. The party won the election on a thoroughgoing Socialist platform.

The coalition government, headed by Premier George William Forbes and representing the United and Reform parties, suffered a defeat from which it is possible it will not be able to recover. There are 80 seats in the House. Labor won 52, the Government 20 and Independents 8. The Labor party swept all the cities by huge majorities, and made heavy inroads in the rural areas.

In the last House Labor was the official Opposition with 24 members to 47 for the Government, 5 for the Country party and 4 Independents.

This magnificent victory, while startling in its thoroughness, was none the less expected. Recent municipal elections indicated a strong Socialist tide.

### Splendid Progress

In 1905 the Labor party, naming candidates for the first time, polled 3,478 votes. In 1931 the vote had increased to 241,991. Between 1928 and 1931 there was an increase in the Labor vote of 50,000. Prior to 1905 political Labor had made little headway. The beautiful islands 1,200 miles east of Australia, a little wordly paradise where about a million and a half people have built what they call a "junior England," was for a long time the world's most famous sociological laboratory. Government ownership of railways, compulsory arbitration of labor disputes, social insurance and other social reforms were in operation there as long ago as the '90's, circumstances that were used to explain the absence of a large and powerful labor movement.

In recent decades, however, both the industrial and political labor movement has grown enormously upon a substantial basis of sound Socialism. Socialism is stronger in New Zealand than in any other of the British Dominions because of the solid basis of Socialist education over a long period.

In the past decade the Labor movement has been troubled with the Communist disruptionists, usually organized in "innocents' clubs," but it has been made clear that the Labor movement will have none of them, on the ground that their "united front" agitation is merely a mask for disruption.

With the New Zealand victory an all-Socialist Antipodes comes nearer. The Labor party of Australia, badly split in recent years, will shortly reunite, a move that makes victory at the next Australian elections almost a certainty.

(Continued on Page Five)

## Majority For Socialist In Winnipeg

*Special to The New Leader*  
WINNIPEG, Manitoba.—Mayor John Queen, Socialist, was elected by a heavy majority after an exciting campaign, in the course of which the Conservatives rang the charges on the "red scare" and worked the Communist issue for all it was worth against the Socialists. There were but two candidates, Mayor Queen and Cecil H. Gunn, and the final count revealed the following vote:

Queen	32,013
Gunn	21,070

Winnipeg, fourth city of Canada, has close to a quarter of a million people and is the most important city in the great central portion of the Dominion. Queen is an old-time Socialist and trade unionist, one of the best known and trusted comrades in Canada. He was one of the leaders of the historic One Big Union general strike of 1919; he was also an Alderman for many years, as well as a member of the Manitoba legislature.

Mayor Queen ran as Independent Labor Party candidate, but the I.L.P. and the Labor Party, both Socialist organizations, are affiliated with the C.C.F., Canada's federated Socialist and labor party. The Communists likewise scored, electing two City Councilmen to seven I.L.P. and Labor Party members. The Mayor will thus have nine members on his side, to nine opposition members, and his vote will be needed to break any tie.

Despite a highly complicated system of proportional representation, the results of which are difficult to untangle, it is clear that the Socialists also gained two additional School Board seats.

For Alderman, Labor polled 19,655 first choices, not including 4,416 firsts for Tom Flye, I.L.P. For School Board, the I.L.P. candidates polled 11,818. Communists elected on School Trustee on first choices and their nominee for Alderman in Ward 3 was leading the pool with 4,512 firsts. Flye and Stobart, sitting Aldermen in Ward 2, will probably be re-elected. For the one-year term in Ward 2, H. B. Smith, I.L.P., is heading the count with 5,600 firsts. Jack Blumberg, present Alderman, runs second to Jacob Penner, Communist in Ward 3.

Charles Brown, I.L.P., will probably be elected in Ward 1 for School Board, while Mrs. Gloria Queen-Hughes, daughter of Mayor Queen, was re-elected to the School Board for Ward 3 on first choices. Labor may capture a seat on the School Board in Ward 3, where Bilecki (Communist) is elected, and Ed McGrath, present chairman of the Board, and Mrs. Mary Lowe are running second and third.

The Housing By-law, providing for a \$500,000 housing scheme, was turned down by Winnipeg citizens, the vote being 4,459 for and 11,312 against. Only property owners voted on this matter.

An important item which comes up in the near future is the purchase by the city of the entire properties of the Winnipeg Electric Company, including the Winnipeg Electric Railway. The Labor Council has already got the sewage disposal scheme well under way, and it is anticipated that this scheme will provide work for 2,500 men for nearly three years.

### Good Results in Alberta

EDMONTON, Alberta.—Although the political dementia of Social Creditism has not yet subsided in this province, the Socialists, organized in the C.C.F., scored a striking success in the local elections when Alderman Margaret Crang was re-elected. She polled 11,226 votes, heading the poll and leading the second candidate by 3,000. This city has 80,000 people.

Other officials elected were Social Crediters, but by smaller votes than in the provincial elections of August and the Dominion elections of last month.

## 8000 Celebrate Stump's Victory In Reading, Pa.

Mayor Hoan Joins Mayor-Elect in Stirring Demonstration—Workers Jam Two Theatres to Hear Speakers.

READING, Pa.—With nearly 8,000 singing marchers parading down Penn Street while thousands lined both sides of the street, Reading Socialists and their friends celebrated their recent election victory with mass meetings in two large theatres Thursday of last week. It was the most enthusiastic demonstration of party solidarity ever seen in Reading. Singing, shouting and proudly carrying banners and placards bearing inscriptions referring to the Socialist victory, the marchers and spectators filed into the Capitol and Orpheum theatres for the mass meetings.

There were many floats and many placards, and the legends on the posters and signs left no doubt as to who was parading or why. "Workers of the world, unite," the banners cried. "Use ballots, not bullets." "Women, fight against war, protect your homes." "Help spread Socialism." "We made it possible for the coming generation." "Reading's answer to traitors is votes." "Who said this was a Republican year?" "For every lie a vote." "You can't fool all of the people all of the time."

And the songs and cheers were just as much to a Socialist point as the placards and banners. "Solidarity Forever," they sang. At least one band played the "Marseillaise." Groups of youngsters set Socialism to the lilting rhythms of high school yells and shouted (Continued on Page Two)

## J. M. Taft Heads Aldermen in Bridgeport

By Abraham Knepler  
*Special to The New Leader*

BRIDGEPORT.—The first meeting of Bridgeport's all-Socialist Board of Aldermen will be held Monday night, December 2, at City Hall. State Senator John M. Taft, who is also serving his second term as alderman from the Ninth B district, will be elected President for the coming year.

Neither the aldermanic positions nor the presidency carry any stipend, but the position of President of the Board of Aldermen is next highest to that of Mayor, since the aldermanic president becomes acting mayor in the absence of the mayor. For the past two years Alderman Andrew K. Auth, Socialist, was president, but comrade Auth declined to accept renomination for alderman this year.

The composition of the board is an unusual one, marking the first time that a woman is a member. Only once before in Bridgeport's history has a Board of Aldermen been completely in the control of one party.

An attempt to regain a seat on (Continued on Page Six)

## HAUNTING FEAR REMOVED

MRS. RUTH BRYAN OWEN, American minister to Denmark, is a great admirer of the policies of the Danish government. In speaking enthusiastically of their social policies she said:

Their old age pension system has removed the haunting fear of poverty from the hearts of thousands.

Being a diplomat, and the official representative of the United States government, however, she cannot add that the policies about which she is so enthusiastic are the policies of a Social Democratic government.

## Lewis Resigns From Council Of A. F. of L.

Action of Miners' Chief Emphasizes Conflict on Question of Industrial Unionism—Green Warns Against Split.

By Benjamin Meiman

The full text of the majority and minority resolutions on industrial unionism at the A.F.L. convention appears on page 3.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—With almost as much interest as to a White House press conference newspapermen here flocked to a press conference with John L. Lewis Monday. Something new in the world of labor—probably labor history!

Two days previously, the President of the United Mine Workers had resigned from the vice-presidency of the American Federation of Labor. He did it in a one-sentence note, giving no reasons for his action. The press conference called for Monday morning in Lewis' office was for the purpose of furnishing the reasons for his leaving the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.

"I resigned because of irreconcilable differences between myself and the Executive Council on the question of organizing the mass production industries," Lewis said. There are about thirty-nine million workers who ought to be organized, according to Lewis, but the American Federation of Labor has only about three millions in its unions, due to what he called its "dog-in-the-manger" tactics toward organization of workers in mass-production industries.

"I feel the federation thus far has failed in organizing employees in these industries into traditional craft unions," he declared. "The time has come when they must abandon these 'dog-in-the-manger' tactics and surrender jurisdiction in industries which they have shown they are unable to organize."

These industries, Lewis said, include steel, cement, rubber, auto and textiles, and they hold a potential union membership of many millions. "The question is whether the labor movement in America is going to be a powerful one or a feeble one," he added. "This trouble (Continued on Page Three)

## Business Seeks To Ditch Public Housing Plans

Demands Government Backing for Huge Profit-Making Scheme in Building 8,000,000 Houses in Ten Years.

A COLOSSAL nation-wide plan for home-building just made public that promises to erect fully 8,000,000 low cost homes within the next ten years at the rate of over 750,000 homes a year, and that promises to create permanent work for at least 4,000,000 of the present army of jobless appears to be nothing but a mask for an attempt by big industrialists to head off the coming to this country of public housing on a large and successful scale.

The plans, made public by Mr. Allie S. Freed, chairman of an organization calling itself the Committee on Public Recovery, Inc., call for investment of private capital to the extent of 85% of the cost of the program, the private investment to be guaranteed by the Government.

Behind the facade of what appears to be a grandiose plan for human betterment appears a huge business undertaking with the government to be asked to guarantee the business men against loss, and with the further object of preventing public housing from gaining headway in this country.

Among the big capitalist corporations represented through officers in the Committee on Public Recovery, Inc., are the Paramount Motors Corporation, the American Rolling Mill Co., Libby-Owens-Ford Glass Co., Firestone Tire and Rubber Co., Pittsburgh Plate Glass (Continued on Page Five)

## Rand Playhouse Launches Fine Enterprise

By JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY

A MOST auspicious opening of the Rand Playhouse was celebrated Sunday night, when the Experimental Players, directed by Mrs. Henry B. Harris, presented in preview a two-act drama "Question Before the House," by Doris Yankauer and Herbert Mayer. After the performance Algernon Lee introduced Pauline Lord, Michael Strange and Richard Bennett, eminent stars of the screen and stage who recognize the validity of the new venture, and who addressed the audience that crowded the Playhouse and the larger audience that listened over station WEVD.

The new play "Question Before the House" was received with deserved enthusiasm. It is, as might be expected, a crude enough work, but skill in dialogue and in organic structure grow as the demand for plays is made evident; and the audience at the Rand Playhouse is a sign that the social drama is ripe for a new birth. Outside of the commercial plays (Continued on Page Three)

## Russian Socialists Plead for Aid to Exiled Comrades

### Kranichfeld Suffers Long Persecution

A RINGING demand for the release from Siberia of Andrej Kranichfeld, head of the Russian Federation of Young Socialist Workers, has been issued by the Socialist Youth International from its office in Prague.

The demand is published in the official bulletin for October of the Socialist Youth International, through which it has been transmitted to the Socialist press of the entire world. Coupled with the demand is also one for the release of all Socialist political prisoners in Soviet Russia.

The declaration of the Socialist Youth International brands in words of fire the terror being practiced against Socialists in Russia by the Communist dictatorship, the jailing and exiling of Socialists and the sufferings and deprivations heaped upon them.

The picture presented in the declaration amplifies that appearing in another column in this issue. Referring to the atrocities heaped upon Socialists by the Communist dictatorship in Russia, the Socialist Youth International declares:

"But can the extinction of these tried militants really serve the cause of the Russian Revolution? And once more we put this question to the leaders of the Communist Youth Federation: Do you expect to facilitate by such means the establishment of the united front?"

The text of the declaration of the Socialist Youth International—entitled interrogatively, "In the Spirit of the United Front?"—follows:

### Text of Protest

"Only rarely does any news reach the world from Russia on the situation of political prisoners there. In order to stifle the cries of their victims, the ruling Communist Party has succeeded in throwing a wall around the whole country. We, therefore, deem it our duty to inform our comrades in the Socialist Youth International on the fate of one of the founders of the Russian Federation of Young Socialist Workers. His fate is typical of many others. We shall let the facts speak for themselves.

Andrej Sergeevitch Kranichfeld, born in 1902, in a family of long-standing revolutionaries, was arrested for the first time in 1921 when attending a legal meeting of the Moscow party (the party was officially permitted up to 1922). He remained six or seven months in prison without trial or sentence. After his release he stayed in Moscow and was arrested for the second time during a meeting in 1922 of the then still legal Social Democratic Youth Federation. After three months in custody he was transported by the Tcheka (today the GPU) to the Kursk district—50 kilometers from any railway. In the autumn of the same year he escaped and returned to his youth work, only to be recaptured in 1923, together with the other visitors at the well-known conference of the Federation at Irpen (not far from Kiev).

Continuous Travail  
"From that date on began the perpetual pilgrimage of Comrade Kranichfeld from one imprisonment and exile to another. First of all he received (still from the political police) a sentence of three years' imprisonment, which he served partly on the ill-famed Solovetski Islands, partly in the jail at Tobolsk. In 1926, as a result of a fresh sentence, Kranichfeld was exiled for another three years to the Steppes of Anu-Darja in Turkul. In 1929, after six years of prison and exile, the GPU allowed him to go to Saratov. But very soon after the notorious trial of the Mensheviks opened, Comrade Kranichfeld was imprisoned again and on the failure by the GPU to extort "confessions" from him, he was sent for three years to the jail at Susdal. In 1932 the GPU transferred him to Astrakhan, and then in the spring of 1935 he was seized again and (Continued on Page Two)

Dan Group Transmits a Heartrending Plea for Assistance to Party Leaders and Members in Jails and Siberia.

### Hits the Soviet Terror

Socialist Youth International Joins in Demand for Release of Political Prisoners—Asks, "Is This the United Front?"

A HEARTRENDING appeal for assistance for Socialists held in Soviet jails and concentration camps was received this week by the New York Relief Society for Soviet Prisoners and Exiles in Soviet Russia. The letter pictures graphically the pitiful condition of our Russian comrades jailed and exiled by the Communist dictatorship because they have remained loyal to their Socialist principles and have refused to barter them for comfort and power.

The information is transmitted through the delegation abroad of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, with headquarters in Paris. Heading the delegation is Theodore Dan, leader of the left wing of the Russian Social Democracy, and Raphael Abramovitch, member of the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International.

The letter illumines the conditions under which Russian Socialists work, live and suffer and reveals glaringly the methods of the Communist dictatorship. The letter presents a detailed picture of the conditions under which political prisoners in Soviet Russia live and gives a list of some of the most prominent Socialist victims. This list, the letter points out, could be extended indefinitely.

### The Letter

"Right now there are a number of people who require help at once. This is simply a matter of conscience. I will mention some.

"Fedor Andreyevitch Tcherevanin (distinguished economist and party leader). Only recently he completed a five-year term of exile in the Verchne-Uralsk concentration camp. He then found himself in Akmolinsk (in the Karaganda region of the Kazakhstan Soviet Republic), subject to call. He cannot find work and has no home, being driven about from corner to corner—here today, there tomorrow—and cannot, therefore, give a definite address. His situation is extremely difficult. He is 70 years old! He has no relatives, having lost all of them in the past five years. Only a few of the exiles know his whereabouts, but how are they to help him when they themselves have nothing!

"Leo Jacobson (a leader of the Russian Federation of Young Socialist Workers, affiliated with the Socialist Youth International). He was recently released from Verchne-Uralsk, where he spent four years. This was his second concentration camp. Previously he had been exiled to Solovetski Islands and was then sent to Sverdlovsk. He is now in the village of Kolpashovo, Narim region, Western Siberia, subject to call.

"His brother is exiled to Minusinsk; at one time their mother helped them beyond her means, but recently she was killed in an accident in Moscow.

"In a difficult situation is Michael Adamavotch Bronstein—Valeriano (Socialist journalist and party worker), who was released from Suzdal only a short time ago. He suffered an extremely difficult incarceration and a very long one—four years. He had returned voluntarily to Russia from abroad, worked for a short time in Moscow and found himself arrested during the Menshevik trial. [One of the most notorious frame-ups in Soviet history, which roused the bitter protests of the Labor and Socialist International. See Friedrich Adler's statement on the trial in the monograph published by the British Labor Party on the case.—Ed. New Leader.] The government tried to implicate him in the case, but as he refused to make any "confessions" he did not figure in the trial itself (but was merely mentioned in the indictment), and was subjected to severe isolation, (Continued on Page Two)



Part of the joyous victory celebration in Reading, Pa.







# The A.F. of L. Resolution on Industrial Unionism

## John L. Lewis Quits Executive Council

(Continued from Page One)

Lewis pointed caustically to the fact that the council had fixed its next meeting date in Miami, Fla., in January, when the International Mine Workers convention meets in Washington. "I haven't any doubt that this date was fixed deliberately," he said. "They simply didn't want me at their meeting—and that suits me fine."

Lewis made it plain that, for the present, he intends to keep his 100,000 members within the federation and at the same time conduct an active campaign to organize the mass production workers into industrial unions, as opposed by the Federation craft union system.

**President Green's Views**

Discussing the Lewis' resignation, President William Green of the A. F. of L. said that he "regretted very much that Mr. Lewis found it necessary to tender his resignation, particularly immediately following his election at Atlantic City last month."

Asked as to his own attitude toward industrial unions, Green said: "I am a coal miner experienced in the mines. My opinion is along the same lines that coal miners think. I am attempting to apply organization policies of the A. F. of L. along the broadest and most liberal lines possible."

Green refused to say whether he personally agreed with Lewis or to amplify his statement that he thought "along the same lines" as miners, except to add: "I have always been for industrial unions and the United Mine Workers is an industrial union. But other unions can't be forced to accept a policy against their will."

In a letter to the Lewis committee Green said: "When organizations within organizations are formed for the achievement and realization of some declared purposes, no one can accurately prophesy or predict where such a movement will lead. It could and may be diverted from its original purpose."

"Experience has shown that organizations thus formed are productive of confusion and fraught with serious consequences. A line of cleavage between such a movement and the parent body may be created and the breach between those who sincerely and honestly believe in different forms of organization could be definitely widened. Bitterness and strife would inevitably follow."

"When a decision has been rendered (at a convention) it becomes the duty of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor to comply with it, and they should be permitted to do this free from the interference and opposition of those who constitute the minority."

Besides Lewis those who received copies of this letter included the heads of the International

### Socialist Mayor Backs Anti-Nazi Drive

TORONTO.—James Simpson, Socialist Mayor of this city, pledged himself before a mass meeting of thousands of citizens not to buy any products made in Germany "until the Nazi persecutions have stopped."

Simpson declared that he "accepted with pride" the honorary presidency of the Anti-Nazi Consumers' League.

The Mayor also expressed himself strongly against Canadian participation in the Olympic games of next year if they are held in Berlin.

### PARTY NEWS

**Memorial Meeting for Esther Ganz**, late secretary of the Amalgamated Branch, Bronx, in the National Theatre Building, 2nd Ave. and East Houston St., New York. Members of the Amalgamated Br. and other friends are urged to attend.

**Bronx County Socialist Party.**—Friendly organizations are asked not to run any affairs on March 21st, 1936, Saturday night. Bronx County organization is running its Annual Concert and Ball in the Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Ave.

### SAMUEL STEINBERGER

New York Socialists will be grieved to learn of the death last Friday (Nov. 21st) of Samuel Steinberger, Socialist and trade unionist and father of Emerich Steinberger. Comrade Samuel Steinberger, who was 67, was an active member of the Yorkville Branch, and later of Sunnyside Branch No. 2 in Queens, and of Local 44 of the International Upholsterers' Union.

At the funeral at the Midtown Memorial Chapel, August Claessens spoke on behalf of the Socialist Party. Burial was in Mount Hebron Cemetery in Queens.

Ladies' Garment Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, United Textile Workers, Brewery Workers, Mine Mill and Smelters Workers, and Oil Workers.

These are the organizations united with the United Mine Workers in the industrial union bloc or committee formed under Mr. Lewis' leadership to promote industrial unionism within the A. F. of L.

### Miner Leader's Union

In his declaration to the press on Monday, Lewis said: "This issue boils down to whether the A. F. of L. will adapt itself to modern industrial conditions by creating modern unions."

"The A. F. of L. leaders today have a subconscious fear that the industrial unions, when formed, may be as unmindful of the craft unions as they have been of the industrial unions. I do not like their log-in-the-manger attitude."

"Despite all the quibbling, the American Federation of Labor is not organizing workers in the modern industries. The craft unions have no hope of standing against industry. We think a quarter of a century's experience has been enough to demonstrate this."

Commenting on this statement Green declared again that he personally had always favored industrial unions but that organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor could not be forced to accept them against their will, although ultimately they might be persuaded to endorse them.

"There is no danger to the American Federation of Labor," he said. "It has lasted half a century. All I want to do is to maintain solidarity and warn of possible dangers."

Replying to Lewis' charges, Green pointed out that in the past two years the American Federation of Labor created 1,804 Federal unions, 103 of them in the automobile industry, 69 in the rubber industry and 17 in the aluminum industry—all in places where there had been no unions before.

On Tuesday the Lewis committee sent out a statement and other material to local unions explaining its purpose. In announcing the mailing of this material, the committee made it clear that its intention was to conduct an "educational campaign" in an effort to swing the next convention of the A. F. of L. for industrial unionism.

### A Bloc Statement

The following statement was issued for the Lewis bloc:

"Because of the urgency of organizing the unorganized in the basic industries of America, the Committee for Industrial Organization has been formed. Its purpose is that outlined in the minority report of the resolutions committee submitted to the convention of the American Federation of Labor in Atlantic City. That is, it has been formed for the purpose of encouraging and promoting the organization of the unorganized workers in mass production and other industries upon an industrial basis."

"Its aim is to foster recognition and acceptance of collective bargaining in such basic industries; to counsel and advise unorganized and newly organized groups of workers; to bring them under the banner and in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor as industrial organizations."

"It is the desire of this committee to further in every way the effort of groups of workers in autos, aluminum, radio and many other mass production industries to find a place within the organized labor movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor."

"Such a great proportion of the workers are outside of the American Federation of Labor, or outside of the organized labor movement entirely, that a group of leaders of labor representing over a million workers allied with the American Federation of Labor thought that the most efficient thing to do at the present time was to place their experience at the service of these unorganized workers, or those unaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor, with the purpose of bringing them, where organized, into the federation and, where unorganized, doing everything possible to further organization along lines that would best serve their interests as workers."

This statement was regarded as reassuring and as indicating that it is not the purpose of the industrial union bloc to provoke a split in the American Federation of Labor.

Such a split, in the opinion of both craft and industrial unionists, would be a calamity. No issue, however important, could justify a split. It is felt by all well wishers of the labor movement that the A.F. of L. will move with the times, as it has moved on other important questions, and will before very long work out a practical synthesis between the conflicting points of view of industrial organization which will preserve the unity of organized labor and move it forward.

## Majority and Minority Reports to Convention

THE controversy over industrial unionism that has now broken in the American Federation of Labor is of unusual interest to our readers. It has been developing several years and found expression in a minority and a majority resolution debated at the convention of the A. F. of L. in Atlantic City last October. To understand the issues involved it is necessary to study the two reports which are reprinted below. The Resolutions Committee of 15 was divided. Eight supported the majority report; one signed neither; six signed the minority report.

In substance the majority report reiterates the declaration of a year ago, provided that charters in mass production industries would "include all of the mass production workers employed in such industries." The majority differentiated between the mass production workers and the craftsmen employed in mass production industries.

In substance the minority report called for "unrestricted charters" for industrial unions in the mass production industries. The fight for the minority report was led by John L. Lewis and Charles P. Howard. The majority report was adopted by 18,024 to 10,933; 788 not voting. The fight for the majority report was led by John P. Frey and Matthew Wolf.

It is a plain statement of fact to record that the debate was the most cutting, vigorous, candid and intense of any debate in perhaps 30 years.

### Majority Report

Your committee had referred to its 21 resolutions dealing with the subject of Industrial Unionism: nine of these resolutions, Nos. 24, 27, 31, 74, 79, 93, 107, 126 and 222, call for the issuing of a charter establishing an industrial union for a specific industry. One of these resolutions, No. 24, was withdrawn upon the request of the delegate introducing it. These resolutions will be reported upon individually.

The remaining resolutions call for the setting up of industrial unions to replace existing National and International Unions. These are Resolutions Nos. 30, 36, 40, 50, 51, 73, 105, 112, 120, 133, 163, 189 and 231. Two of these were introduced by International Unions. The International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and the Textile Workers of America. Two were introduced by the delegates of State Federations of California and of Wisconsin. The others were introduced by Federal Labor Unions, in some instances by a single delegate, and in one instance by delegates representing some forty-two Federal Labor Unions.

Your committee finds, upon examining these resolutions, that the introducers either misunderstood the Declaration adopted last year by the San Francisco Convention, or desire that the policy established in that Declaration should be set aside and existing International Unions merged into industrial organizations organized for the several industries.

The Declaration adopted by the convention last year was specific upon the question involved. It was recognized that in many industries large numbers of so-called mass production workers were employed. The skill they required being of an entirely different character from that of those who become craftsmen through years of apprenticeship. In many mass production industries, the newly employed workers within a few months become as competent to perform the specialized operation required to do the work, as they ever will be. This is in marked contrast to the skill required of craftsmen who, in addition to their years of apprenticeship, require additional time before they master all of the knowledge required to round out complete mastery of their craft.

### Skilled and Unskilled

The Declaration of the San Francisco Convention provided that the workers classified as "mass production employees" should be granted charters in the mass production industries which would include all of the mass production workers employed in such industries. So that there might be no misunderstanding, and for the purpose of differentiating between craftsmen and mass production workers, the Declaration adopted last year included the following language:

"The American Federation of Labor is desirous of meeting this demand. We consider it our duty to formulate policies which will fully protect the jurisdictional rights of all trade unions organized upon craft lines, and afford them every opportunity for development and accession of those workers engaged upon work over which these organizations exercise

jurisdiction. Experience has shown that craft organization is most effective in protecting the welfare and advancing the interests of workers where the nature of the industry is such that the lines of demarcation between crafts are distinguishable."

So that there might be no infringement upon the rights of the National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, provision was made in the Declaration to protect these rights. The final paragraph of the Declaration reading:

"That in order to protect and safeguard the members of such National and International Unions as are chartered, the American Federation of Labor shall for a provisional period direct the policies, administer the business, and designate the administrative and financial officers of the newly organized unions."

### Contract and Jurisdiction

The convention could not have done otherwise than reaffirm the rights and the jurisdiction given to the National and International Unions which had been chartered by the American Federation of Labor, many of which had become International Unions before the Civil War, and had maintained a continuous existence since that time.

It was principally these great International Unions who had brought the American Federation of Labor into existence. When the American Federation of Labor was organized, and these Unions accepted charters, and when National or International Unions have been organized since 1881, a contract was entered into between the American Federation of Labor and the National and International Unions.

This contract called for loyalty to the purposes and policies of the American Federation of Labor. In return the National and International Unions were guaranteed two specific things; first, jurisdiction over all workmen doing the work of the specific craft or occupation covered by the organization; secondly, guaranteeing to the National or International Unions complete autonomy over all of its internal affairs.

The American Federation of Labor could not have been organized upon any other basis of relationship between the National and International Unions and the Federation. It is recognized that where a contract is entered into between parties, it cannot be set aside or altered by one party without the consent and approval of the other.

For these valid and vital reasons, your committee recommends non-concurrence with Resolutions Nos. 30, 36, 40, 50, 51, 73, 105, 112, 120, 133, 163, 189 and 231, and re-affirmation of the Declaration of the San Francisco Convention upon this subject.

### Minority Report

During the fifty-five years the American Federation of Labor has existed its declared purpose has been to organize the unorganized industrial workers of the Nation. The contributions from its numerous affiliates have been made in

## DEBS HONORED AT BIG MEETING IN PASSAIC

PASSAIC, N. J.—Over a hundred Socialists and trade unionists gathered in the Workmen's Circle Hall last Friday at a meeting to honor the memory of Eugene V. Debs. August Claessens, in his inimitable manner, held the audience thrilled, as he spoke of the life and work of that lovable and golden-voiced Debs. He closed with an appeal to join the Socialist Party and to subscribe to The New Leader; several subscriptions were obtained.

A portrait of Debs, drawn by Abe Gedanken, a member of the Debs Circle, YPSL of Passaic, was auctioned off and brought a substantial amount to the party treasury.

The next lecture in the Passaic Workers' Forums, sponsored by the Socialist Party branches in cooperation with the local trade unions will take place on Friday, November 29, at 8, at the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Hall. Harold Fey, active in peace organization work, will be the guest speaker on "When War Comes, Can America Stay Out?"

### W.T.U.L. BAZAAR

Friday and Saturday, Dec. 6th and 7th, the New York Women's Trade Union League will hold a bazaar and Christmas sale at the League's clubhouse, 247 Lexington Ave., N. Y. C.

## Vt. Marble Workers Strike; Lines Holding Fast

By John C. Lawson  
Sec'y-Treasurer, Quarry Workers'  
Internat. Union of North America

BARRE, Vt.—Negotiations between representatives of the Quarry Workers' International Union of North America, the International Association of Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers, Sawyers, etc., and the Vermont Marble Company not having resulted in an agreement covering wage increases, the workers representing the entire Rutland, Vt., marble belt, met Monday, Nov. 11, and voted not to return to work.

On October 16th, approximately 110 men walked out at the Vermont Marble Company's Danby quarry, negotiations taking place immediately thereafter. Other union members voted, on advice of union officials, to remain at work pending the outcome of negotiations and, also, provided the company did not attempt to replace the Danby strikers.

Several conferences have taken place since October 21st, as a result of which an agreement covering hours and overtime rate, rotation of shifts, grievance and arbitration clauses, investigation of dismissals, etc., has been arrived at and at joint meetings of the unions involved was unanimously accepted.

Vermont Marble Company officials, however, refused to consider signing the agreement, declaring that, as it only concerned "incidents," such action was not necessary. An increase in wages and a signed agreement are the things the unions demand in effecting a settlement of the present strike in the Vermont marble belt.

The following table shows the comparison of wages paid in the Vermont marble belt as compared with wages paid for similar type of work in the Barré granite industry, where the majority of workers are covered by union contracts:

Vermont Co.	Barré
Laborers ———— 37½¢	50¢
Quarrymen ———— 42¢	62¢
Channel runners ———— 47¢	67½¢
Power men ———— 42¢	66½¢
Crane operators ———— 42¢	75¢
Boxers ———— 40¢	75¢
Chaimers ———— 37½¢	75¢
Cleaners ———— 47¢	75¢

### Strong Picket Lines

Despite bad weather conditions on the first day of the strike, a strong picket force was on duty picketing the Vermont Marble Company's plants at Proctor, West and Center Rutland, Florence and Danby, Vermont. The 85 deputy sheriffs brought in by the Vermont Marble Company found time hanging heavily on their hands.

The workers in the Vermont marble industry, where the marble for the palatial new United States Supreme Court Building was quarried, do not earn enough to provide decent living standards for their families. For example, one workers reports his pay check for a 35-hour week, after the company had deducted house rent, light, water rent, etc., amounted to \$4.20. One can readily realize what the workers were up against prior to May, 1934, when the company granted a 12½% increase.

A press release from Rutland credits me with having made a statement to the effect that if the Vermont Marble Company would grant seniority rights and other conditions the unions were willing to waive a proposal for a wage increase. No such statement has been issued by me in behalf of the unions involved in the present controversy. Seniority applies to a certain extent in the rehiring of men who have been temporarily laid off and is one of the articles contained in the agreement covering all other conditions which was unanimously accepted by the workers on Monday, November 4th.

An increase in wages and a signed agreement are the things the unions demand in effecting a settlement of the present strike in the Vermont marble belt.

## Rand Playhouse Opens

(Continued from Page One)

of Broadway, most of the "propaganda plays" of the last few years have developed a fixed pattern, with a halo'd labor hero and a puppet villain and a Soviet flag-waving at the close. "Question Before the House" has no such pattern or bias; it pictures the students at an exclusive women's college "taking up" economic questions in their Social Discussions Club; one student makes a report on a local strike, and the

christened as the Bandbox, felt the lure of success, and by way of the Garrick Theatre became the commercial Guild—which (like a multimillionaire endowing libraries) puts on occasional "social dramas." The other, beginning near Provincetown sand-dunes then rebuilding a barn on Macdougall street, was more concerned with "art"; but art for art's sake is a cold livelihood and Eugene O'Neill and the best of the others were caught in the money belt of Broadway.

### When the Rand Playhouse Opened



Left to right: Mrs. Henry B. Harris, Michael Strange, Richard Bennett and Pauline Lord at the preview of the first production at the Rand Playhouse, cultural division of the Rand School last Sunday evening. "Question Before the House," a social problems play in two acts, directed by Mrs. Harris, is being presented at the Rand Playhouse every Saturday evening. The opening for drama critics and general public will take place November 30th. Leading personalities will make guest appearances. Tickets available at 7 E. 15th Street.

college becomes aware of some of "the facts of life." (And this time it's not sex the girls are thinking of!) More experience could have made a rich psychological and social study out of the interaction of these girls and the strikers with whom they picket and whose lives they come to know. But there is an honesty in the play that makes it attractive, and an earnestness in the large cast—Elizabeth Devoy as the college president; Tippias Brown, Elizabeth Charney and Bernice Bernstein, who does an excellent bit, among the girls; Meyer and Francis Marrel, the strike leaders, and more—that speaks well for the future of the Players and the Rand Playhouse.

The entire activity of the evening, including the simple but effective scenery, brings memories and suggests a contrast. Not many years ago two other groups started to put on plays. One began for the fun of it, moved up from Washington Square to the former bank then dance hall it re-

The Experimental Players, at the Rand Playhouse, are starting in many respects like these earlier groups; but they differ in one way, a basic, prophetic way: they are imbued with a distinct social purpose, with a vision of the powers of the theatre as a social force, that should keep them both from disintegration and from commercial corruption. The times are ripe; no place more appropriate could be found than the Rand School and the Rand Playhouse with its excellent direction (both theatrical and social) this new group may well prove the long-awaited beginning of a truly socialist drama for a workers' audience. The excellent work of Mrs. Bertha M. Maillet, George Field and others for the Playhouse have found fit collaboration in Mrs. Henry B. Harris and her sterling group. The good start is here! Now is up to the audience. "Question Before the House" will be performed at the Rand Playhouse on this and the following two Saturday nights; let a welcoming audience pack the house!



## The Workers Abroad

**Demand of Socialist Youth International for Release of Political Prisoners in Russia and Appeal of Dan Group Expose the Hypocrisy of the "United Front"**

By John Powers

### "In the Spirit of the United Front?"

LAST week The New Leader presented an exhaustive analysis of the question of the united front from its ideological and tactical aspects. The article by David Shub revealed in detail the mainstays of the Comintern's proposal and presented incontrovertible documentary evidence showing the main purposes of the united front: promotion of Russian national interests as moulded by the present international situation, and the wrecking of the international Socialist and labor movement.

We need not recapitulate here all the evidence in question. Moreover, no other evidence of the real character and purpose of the united front propaganda is required than the resolution adopted by the recent seventh congress of the Comintern. The resolution speaks for itself.

It states clearly that it is the purpose of the Comintern and its affiliated parties to utilize the united front as an instrument for stimulating internecine strife between the so-called right and left wings of the Socialist parties, and for intensifying the Communist struggle against the Social Democracy. In this struggle the left wings of the Socialist parties are to be utilized as allies of the Communists. All this is stated clearly and unequivocally in the Comintern's resolution. (See The New Leader, November 23, Page 12.)

The resolution reaffirms also the ultimate objectives of the Comintern and its affiliated parties: establishment of a Communist dictatorship and a Soviet system in all countries (regardless of whether or not these objectives coincide with the needs and possibilities for their realization in other countries). The resolution reveals that there has been no change whatever in Communist methods and purposes, so utterly at variance with those of Social Democracy.

In the light of the Comintern's resolution, the intensive Communist propaganda now being conducted in this country and elsewhere with the purpose of deceiving the masses as to the real nature of the united front may be justly characterized as the most colossal hypocrisy ever practiced upon the international working class. No honeyed words addressed to the left wing elements in the Socialist parties (none of which represent any appreciable force) and no demagogic attacks upon the so-called "reactionary Old Guard" in the Labor and Socialist International can conceal from the workers the criminal character of the Communist propaganda. It will not deceive many. The overwhelming majority of the international Socialist and labor movement, conscious of the true interests of the working class of which it is the recognized exponent, stands firmly against the Communist united front proposal as the most contemptible maneuver yet embarked upon by that most insidious enemy of Socialism and labor—the Comintern.

### By Their Deeds You Shall Know Them

As repeatedly pointed out, there is one test whereby the Comintern and its master, the Stalin dictatorship in Russia, can prove their sincerity in the united front proposal: by clearing the road for a united front in Russia. The united front, like charity, must begin at home. Let Stalin make possible the united front in Russia. Let him prove by deeds that the Communists are honest and sincere in this matter by releasing all Socialist political prisoners in Russia and legalizing the Socialist parties, the parties who belong to the same Labor and Socialist International with which the Comintern now wishes to have a united front.

That Stalin has no intention whatever to offer such proof is again demonstrated this week. We call attention to the material appearing in this issue of The New Leader concerning the treatment and sufferings of Socialist political prisoners in Russia.

As the Socialist Youth International points out in its declaration on this question—entitled "In the Spirit of the United Front?"—the sole crime of the victims of Communist cruelty and mercilessness is that they have remained true to their Socialist principles. They are the same kind of Socialists whom Stalin and the Comintern are now inviting to join in a united front in all countries. They do not differ one iota from Socialists elsewhere. Why are they kept in jails and in Siberian concentration camps? Why does the Daily Worker cite Otto Bauer in support of the united front without protesting against the jailing of comrades and friends of Otto Bauer in Soviet Russia?

We ask the reader to peruse the letter from our Russian Socialist friends abroad published in this issue of The New Leader and the protest of the Socialist Youth International against the atrocities heaped upon Socialists by the Communist dictatorship in Russia. And let the reader try to differentiate between the Communist methods and those of Hitler and Mussolini. He will find no difference whatever.

What moral right have the Communists to speak of international solidarity of the working class, of united fronts with Socialists abroad while torturing Socialists in Russia? What moral right have they to demand the release of Thälmann in Germany while perpetrating sadistic crimes upon their Socialist opponents in Russia? What moral right have the Communists to speak of civil liberties and justice in other countries while utilizing the method of seizing political hostages in Russia for the alleged "crimes" of their friends and relatives? What excuse is there, for example, for the arrest of Trotsky's son in Moscow because his father happens to be in disagreement with Stalin? What moral right have the Communists to prattle about Sacco and Vanzetti and Herndon and the Scottsboro boys in America while perpetrating crimes against Socialists and other revolutionary dissidents in Russia in comparison with the crimes of capitalist groups in America pale into insignificance?

Let the reader, we say, peruse the evidence in this issue of The New Leader and he will join with us in saying to the Communists:

You have no moral right to speak of international solidarity, you have no moral right to speak of civil liberties, you have no moral right to ask Socialists and other lovers of freedom and decency to join with you in any undertaking. Wash the blood off your own hands before you venture to address yourselves to the decent opinion of the working class and of mankind. Not until you do will the workers of the world, conscious of the true ideals of Socialism and humanity, give ear to your united front proposals.

And not until you come before the international working class not as Judas bearing a kiss but worthy of the trust and confidence which you have forfeited will the workers take seriously your offers of solidarity and assistance in the battle against fascism and reaction.

### The Issue in Local New York

By James Oneal

SEVERAL friendly comrades outside of New York have asked us to state briefly the issue in Local New York. Last week we mentioned the special organization in the party which attempts to exercise powers and functions belonging to the committees and officers set up by the party members, and we do not have to present this phase again.

The other issue is plainly one of Communism. A Trotskyite member of the party is on record as stating under his own signature that he is a Communist and believes in armed insurrection. His apartment was also used as a meeting place for a group of Yipsels who turned Communist and joined the Trotsky organization. He also invited Trotskyists to lecture at his branch. The evidence was clear against this Trotsky member of Local New York.

When the case came before the City Central Committee the "militant" delegates voted against the expulsion of this self-admitted Communist. Expulsion requires a two-thirds majority, and the "militants" prevented this two-thirds being cast. Later the State Executive Committee notified Local New York that a resolution of the National Executive Committee and of the State Committee declared that advocates of Communism were ineligible for membership in the party and directed that the Communist be expelled. Again the "militants" in the City Central Committee prevented expulsion.

At a later meeting of the City Central Committee the case of four Yipsels, also party members, came before that body. These four with ten others last spring issued a document calling for armed insurrection and anticipating a bloody contest between workers and the powers of the state. This program declared for organization of workers' councils in preparation for this armed conflict, of using these councils to "seize power" and "to organize the masses of workers and armed forces for the armed overthrow of the capitalist state." The quotation is taken direct from that document.

The question before the City Central Committee was whether these four party members should be suspended for a year. Again the "militant" delegates voted in favor of these young Communists, although the motion to suspend was adopted. If self-admitted Com-

# Thomas-Browder Debate

**20,000 Communists and Left Wingers Cheer for United Front--- Thomas Assails Communist Policy and Methods But Favors Cooperative Action---Indorses United Front in Principle.**

### By "Social Democrat"

MORE than 20,000 Communists, left-wing Socialists and "camp followers" filled Madison Square Garden last Wednesday evening to watch what the "militants" had advertised for weeks as "the battle of the century." It was the debate between Norman Thomas and Earl Browder, Stalin's chief spokesman in America and leader of the Communist party, on the question as to which is the best road to follow—Socialism or Communism. The "militant" dual organization was the host.

Although both sides said caustic things about each other, it was rather a pleasant argument, Comrade Thomas assailed Communist theory and methods and Browder engaged in the usual Communist diatribe against Social Democracy. But nothing occurred to mar the sweetness and amiability of the occasion.

With the exception of a few boos and hisses from the Communists ranks the affair came off without a jarring note. It was a touching, even though fragile united front, but both Comrade Thomas and Browder were hopeful that it would prove the harbinger of a more solid unity.

The Communists, who were obviously an overwhelming majority, and the left-wingers joined in singing the "International" and other revolutionary songs, with Comrade Thomas leading in the singing.

Before going into the ring the debaters posed for photographs, to the accompaniment of wild cheers and prolonged applause from the audience. "We want the united front!" "We want the united front!" was the chant that resounded repeatedly through the great auditorium.

### A "Marvelous" Meeting

Leo Krzycki, national chairman of the Socialist Party, who flew from Milwaukee to preside at the meeting, described it as a "magnificent and marvelous get-together." Comrade Thomas and Mr. Browder agreed. Each, in his own way, regretted that the union they both desired could not be consummated then and there because of certain remaining obstacles, but they hoped that eventually these would be overcome. In the meanwhile, however, they favored such cooperation as may prove possible.

Comrade Thomas' argument was for a partial united front, pending proof by the Communists of their "good faith" and "sincerity." Heywood Brown was also there and, as usual, added to the gaiety of the occasion. He took the floor in response to demands for his appearance and gave his blessing to the enterprise in his characteristic manner—a mixture of naivete and clownishness.

"I just want to express my hope that at the end you boys will shake hands because we want the united front," was his message.

Loud and prolonged cheers from the audience and cries, "We want the united front!" "We want the united front!"

The fraternization of the Communists with the "militant" sponsors of the debate reached its climax at this moment.

### "Who Will Fool Whom?"

Essentially the debate was a friendly game of "who will fool whom?" One doesn't know to what extent Norman Thomas and Browder, who addressed each other as "comrades," succeeded in fooling each other. It was obvious what Browder wanted. He wanted the united front, and Comrade Thomas told him he could have it, provided the Communists become "good boys." Meanwhile, he was willing to put them on probation—on a partial united front. Browder did not get all the Communists wanted

—not yet—but Comrade Thomas fed their hopes that eventually they may get it. He took them to task for what he characterized as their "former" destructive activities and systematic disruptionism, and wanted to know "whether the past is to be the past or whether there is to be only a temporary moratorium on the past." But without waiting for an answer from time and experience, as he had first let it be known he would, he expressed confidence, at the conclusion, that the Communists were sincere.

"I think you're sincere in your new line, but it's a new line," he said. "I am convinced of that tonight."

He expressed this conviction after he had demanded to know why the Communists in Russia kept Socialists favoring the united front in jail. It was a peculiar demonstration, to say the least, of the "sincerity" of the Communists.

While, at the beginning, before he had announced his conversion to the belief that the Communists were "sincere" in their "new line," Comrade Thomas hedged his advocacy of united action with reservations and qualifications, Browder pressed the attack with vigor, declaring that the "militants," having divorced themselves from the "reformist" and "reactionary" Old Guard, should be consistent and go all the way to a united front with the Communists. "He who says 'A' must also say 'B,'" he declared.

### "The Fascist Danger"

Browder remained impervious to Comrade Thomas' criticism of the Communist "past," ignoring, for the most part, the Socialist's strictures, and harping continuously upon what he termed the urgent necessity of a united front against "fascism and war." Judging by Browder's emphasis of the "fascist danger" one might have thought that Hitler was actually at the gates, and to be fair to Browder, Comrade Thomas helped him considerably in emphasizing the fascist bugaboo used by the Communists as their principal bait to "militants" and others for a united front.

From the remarks of both speakers one deduced that the "fascist danger" was now the outstanding and most real problem before American workers and that a united front of Communists and Socialists would be an effective method of warding it off. Comrade Thomas made no attempt to ask whether a more effective way of warding off this danger, should it assume genuine proportions, could be found in a united front of the Socialists and organized labor, which detests and distrusts the Communists for the same reasons which Comrade Thomas stated so well in the debate when he cited the record of what he called the Communist "past."

Nor did Comrade Thomas stop to calculate the loss to the Socialist and anti-fascist cause that would accrue from the loss of organized labor's support in the event of our unity with the Communists as weighed against the mythical advantage of a united front with the Communists. Such a united front would represent a force quite negligible and helpless in fighting a vigorous fascist movement. Browder himself admitted that the Socialist and Communist parties together constituted a negligible quantity, his argument being, however, that once the united front became a fact the masses would flock into the new "revolutionary party." It sounded familiar. Were not the masses supposed to flock into the Socialist Party, "revolutionized," as our left-wing friends alleged, by adoption of the Detroit Declaration of Principles?

### Browder's Diatribe

Taking advantage of Comrade

munists cannot be expelled from the party, then there is no justification for not admitting any persons who frankly admit that they are Communists. The trend of the votes cast in the City Central Committee shows that the "militants" are drifting to Communism.

There are at least four Communist organizations, any one of which will willingly accept any party members who favor Communism. Local New York has no objection to such members joining such organizations, but it strenuously objects to them turning the Socialist Party into a Communist organization.

Party members who see copies of the "Daily Worker" will also be impressed by the cooperation between this organ of the Communist Party and the "militants" or the "left wing," as they are sometimes called. That organ carries on a continuous fight against the Socialists and for the "militants." While the "militants" fight for a Communist policy within the Socialist Party the "Daily Worker" gives its full cooperation to the inner-party struggle of the "militants" for Communism.

This cooperation between the open enemy of the Socialist Party and the "militants" is in accord with a resolution adopted by the recent congress of the Communist International in Moscow. That resolution declares that "The Communists must establish the closest cooperation" with the "left Social Democratic workers, functionaries and organizations" and wage war against all other members of the Socialist and Labor parties. When "militants" cannot cooperate with their own party but give aid to a policy laid down by the Communist International, the deadly enemy of the Socialist Party, then the issue in the party is as clear as a granite shaft in the sun.

The issue is, therefore, clear: Shall Communists in the party remain and more Communists come in, or shall those in be put out and the doors be closed against others who seek admission? Socialists everywhere will have no difficulty in answering this question.

Thomas' surrender to the Communist theory of an immediate "fascist danger" in America and the resultant necessity of a united front of all forces opposed to fascism, Browder sought to drive home his point that a united front was urgent, at once, regardless of the remaining differences between the Communists and the Socialists, differences which he, like Comrade Thomas, hoped would not persist, but which Comrade Thomas declared were very considerable, indeed. He was particularly effective in this part of the debate, when he assailed Communist doctrine and methods and championed democracy against dictatorship. Taking the straightforward, Social Democratic view, Comrade Thomas was devastating in his assault, so much so that "militants" of the extreme type must have been very uncomfortable. But this did not worry Browder and his huge Communist clique, which comprised fully 80 per cent of the audience. Speaking in the tone of a stereotyped, raucous Daily Worker editorial—and that was the substance of his speech—he pounded away on the point of the alleged absolute, immediate urgency of a united front between the Communists and Socialists in this country to stave off the danger of fascism.

To give the semblance of sticking to the main issue of the debate—Socialism versus Communism—Browder launched forth upon the usual diatribe against "reformism" and "class collaboration," coupled with a vicious attack on the Socialist Old Guard, recalling in its main aspects the attacks of the "militants" themselves. He repeated the new Communist "line" of readiness to fight for the preservation of the "remnants of bourgeois democracy" while reaffirming the unaltered Communist faith in dictatorship, minority rule and force. But all this, he said, need not interfere with the Socialists joining in a united front with the Communists. The dictatorship of the proletariat, he tried to convey, was, after all, music of the future so far as this country was concerned. Moreover, he hoped that the "militants" would eventually embrace in its entirety the Communist position.

### The Juvenile "Lefts"

Congratulating them upon their fight against the Social Democratic Old Guard he chided them for their "left-wing infantilism" on the question of League of Nations sanctions against Mussolini, saying they were making "only the first steps in revolutionary Socialist policy" and that "like all beginners" they have fallen into the deadly sin of Trotskyism, which he characterized as being only a "remnant of reformist Socialism."

It was the usual Stalinist demagoguery and crude Machiavellianism. We do not believe honest "militants" of intelligence and knowledge were impressed. Certainly, Comrade Thomas was not. At one point, when Browder suggested that unless the left wing of the Socialist Party, torn by dissent, will unite with the Communists they will have no place to go and embarked upon a particularly contemptible attack on the Socialist Old Guard, Comrade Thomas suggested, in rebuttal, that he did not consider Browder qualified to judge between the contending factions in the Socialist Party.

In his effort to drive deeper the Communist wedge between the left wing and the Old Guard in the Socialist Party, Browder took advantage of previous utterances of Comrade Thomas, citing them as arguments as to why the left wing should enter the united front.

"Comrade Thomas no longer seems to stand uncompromisingly on reformist theory," said Browder. "He has many doubts, in common with many Socialists. [How many, Mr. Browder? As usual, your Communist figures are rather exaggerated.] He has written that 'to make Socialists swear that they can never conceive of any circumstances that will justify armed insurrection, or to compel Socialists to affirm a blind belief in a romantic parliamentarism, is complete and un-Socialist folly.' On the most fundamental differences which still remain between us Communists and the Socialist Party, we are not faced any more with an unbridgeable chasm. Comrade Thomas, in his writings, narrowed down this gulf when he abandoned the dogmatic affirmation that the Communist answer can never be accepted. From our side we have also narrowed this gulf. The united front is possible."

### Thomas Assails Communists

These were dirty digs, but Comrade Thomas parried them successfully and effectively, for on Wednesday evening he talked like a good Social Democrat when arguing the fundamentals of Socialism and Communism. Armed for this occasion with Social Democratic consistency, he was able to present

an effective argument.

Opening his address by recalling the Communist performance in Madison Square Garden in February, 1934, when they broke up with fists, clubs and chairs the protest meeting arranged by the Socialists and trade unions against the fascist atrocities in Austria, he demanded to know whether this was their conception of a united front. He demanded also that they make clear whether such behavior was to be from now on a thing of the past or whether the spirit of last year's Communist performance was to be the spirit of the united front.

Turning to Communist policy and methods he assailed the bureaucracy of the Communist party here and in Russia, upheld democracy as the best road to Socialism, defended the principle of civil liberties as essential to Socialist and labor progress and repudiated the dictatorship of the proletariat as practiced by the Communists. He confessed himself "bewildered" by the Communist "new line," which he characterized in some respects as much better but in others worse, and was "disturbed" by the terror, oppression, despotism and inhumanity practiced by the Communists in Russia, although admitting what he called their constructive achievements.

He demanded to know whether the Communists expected to get anywhere in America by telling the American people, particularly the farmers, that it would be necessary to destroy 5,000,000 lives before a Socialist program could be realized in this country, as has been done in Russia under the Communist collectivization of agriculture. He demanded to know why the Communists did not make possible a united front in Germany before the advent of Hitler, but waited for the victory of fascism to ask for such a united front.

He accused the Communists of responsibility for Hitlerism because of their cooperation with the Hitlerites in the destruction of the German Republic, without at the same time denying that the Socialists made mistakes.

He charged the Communists with promoting reaction in the United States and driving the trade unions away from Socialism by their disruptionist tactics, and he ridiculed the sudden Communist change of front in their attitude toward the Socialists whom only a short while ago they had denounced as "social fakirs" and "social fascists."

"I confess I do not recognize myself in the Daily Worker these days," said Comrade Thomas. "I hope I get better and better year by year but surely I haven't gotten as good as all that. My own wife doesn't recognize me any more now that the Communists tell the world how good I have become."

### "The People's Front"

Expressing scepticism over this sudden conversion of the Communists and their newly found love for democracy, Comrade Thomas ridiculed the Communist demagoguery

of the "broad people's front." Citing the examples of New York, San Francisco, Detroit and other places, where the Communists have entered into united fronts with Democrats, Republicans, Father Divine, and all sorts of non-descript elements, he suggested "why not go into the Democratic and Republican parties and be done with it."

Having stated these arguments, however, Comrade Thomas weakened his own position by declaring "that he considered a united front desirable, nevertheless, although he did not believe it practicable at this time."

"I hope that after tonight's debate the bitter war [between the Communist and Socialists] will stop, but I do not think the time has come for a formal united front," he said.

As to Browder's references to the internal conflict in the Socialist Party and his advice to the "militants" to come over to the Communist united front with the ultimate object of achieving "organic unity," Comrade Thomas said, "I honestly think that our Communist friends cannot help us much in this matter. They themselves have lost two wings already."

"Comrade Browder is not a proper adviser as to how the Socialist Party should arrange its affairs," Comrade Thomas added.

He again quoted extensively from previous Communist utterances about the Socialists, abounding with the usual Communist slander and character assassination, struck once more at the disruptive tactics of the Communists and said, "YOU CAN'T INDULGE IN THAT KIND OF TALK AND CHANGE OVER NIGHT."

As to the Communist charge of "class collaboration" against the Socialists, Comrade Thomas declared, after citing their collaboration with the lowest bourgeois elements and with bourgeois governments, that "apparently what Socialists do is 'class collaboration,' but what Communists do is 'great statesmanship.'"

In his concluding remarks, which closed the debate, Comrade Thomas again attacked Bolshevik terrorism in Russia, the indiscriminate killings for the assassination of Kiroff, and the jailing of thousands for no other crime than holding opinions different from those of the ruling dictatorship.

"Is this your new democracy?" he asked. "Are you sure we want this in America? You keep on talking long enough about dictatorship and violence and you'll give the fascists their chance in America. Is great Russia still so weak that she cannot extend civil liberties in her own borders now? To talk of dictatorship and violence is to invite the fascists to do it first in this country."

IT ALL SOUNDED SO MUCH LIKE THE ARGUMENTS OF THE "REACTIONARY" OLD GUARD, BUT IT WAS VERY (Continued on Page Six)

## Stalinites and Lovestonites In Deal to Wreck the S. P.

THE "New Militant," organ of the Trotsky Communists, in its issue of Nov. 23 runs a long article which reveals an interesting intrigue afoot in New York City. The three leading sections of this article are printed below.

The Lovestone-Brandler group referred to consists of member expelled from the Communist Party six years ago. It appears that they are to be taken back in to the Communist Party.

However, there is an arrangement by which Lovestone Communists are quietly to join the Socialist Party; that is, some will go into the Communist Party and others are to be shifted into the Socialist Party to capture it. Two Lovestonites are reported as "negotiating with leading Socialists" with this understanding. Lovestone is openly to oppose this but secretly to agree to it.

The Trotsky organ exposes this intrigue, as the Trotskyites have no hope of reconciliation with the Stalin and Lovestone Communists. The New Leader also has an independent confirmation of this intrigue. Our readers will understand from this document what Socialists are fighting in New York. The story follows:

### From the "New Militant," Nov. 23

The Lovestone-Brandler group, known as the Communist Party Opposition, notorious for six years for its opportunist attempts to get back into the Communist International at any price, has at last had the price named. The Stalinist bureaucracy will welcome its re-

nant servants if they successfully act as brokers between the Stalinists and the Socialists.

The sudden cessation of criticism of the Lovestonites in the Stalinist press; a lengthy interview with the Lovestoneite, Charles S. Zimmerman, in the Daily Worker, approvingly quoting him as favoring the Stalinist conception of a labor Party; and, above all, the new line of the Lovestoneite "Workers' Age," provide independent verification of information from a reliable source that Lovestone and Brandler have just negotiated with Comintern representatives an agreement to act as Stalinist agents in ballyhoosing organic unity on an unprincipled basis.

It is understood that the agreement, so far as it concerns this country, provides that Lovestone, Bertram Wolfe and others are to be received into the Stalinist apparatus, while Zimmerman, Will Ferberg and the main body of Lovestonites enter the Socialist Party. We have definite information that Herberg and Zimmerman have been negotiating with leading Socialists for an understanding for their entrance into the Socialist Party, under the pretense that the negotiations are being carried on without Lovestone's knowledge and that to enter the Socialist Party they are "splitting" with Lovestone. Actually, the negotiations are under Lovestone's direction. The sending of the main body of Lovestonites into the Socialist Party as Stalinist's agents is an elaborate piece of trickery, of the type for which the Lovestonites have long been notorious in the labor movement.



# Mark Twain as a Revolutionist *by W. M. Feigenbaum*

Humorist and Sage Was Constantly at War With Shams, Frauds and Inhumanities of His Time---A Strong Advocate of Union Labor and a Bitter Foe of Imperialistic War---Full Text of the Famous War Prayer---Mark Twain and the Russian Revolution

**SAMUEL L. CLEMENS**, known and loved by all the world as Mark Twain, was born in a shabby wooden house in Florida, Missouri, on November 30, 1835, and the whole world is today commemorating his life and his works upon the occasion of his centenary.

Much will be said and written about Mark Twain's humor and his character, about his fidelity to truth and his personal manliness and honor, and most of it will be true.

But there is one phase of Mark Twain's work and character that will be scarcely touched upon in these celebrations, a side of the man hardly known to the vast public, and a side with which most of those who are officially celebrating him today have little sympathy.

For in a certain measure Mark Twain was a revolutionary. He did not have a clearly defined philosophy, but as a human being he was at war with many of the shams and shams, and all of the cruelties of his time. The boy Sam Clemens grew up in Hannibal, Missouri—known to all lovers of Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn as St. Petersburg—a "loafing, out-at-the-elbows, down-at-the-heels slaveholding Mississippi river town," as Howells described it. He was a creature of his environment, but like all truly great men he rose above it.

Huck Finn had aided the Negro slave Jim to escape, not knowing Jim's owner had manumitted him (nor did Jim know it). In the morality of a slave-holding community aiding a slave to escape was the cardinal sin, the seriousness of which cannot be comprehended by anyone not born and raised in a slave-holding environment. Huck knew that he was committing such a sin, but his humanity bound him to his friend, the kindly, human Negro. He spent a whole night wrestling with his conscience, fully believing that if he did not turn Jim over to his owner he would surely go to hell. And then as the dawn broke over the still waters of the great river he made his decision: "All right then, I will go to hell," and so he stood by his friend.

## He Wrestled With His Soul

Mark Twain was like that; he wrestled with his soul, and even when he was certain that an honest opinion would outrage all the currently held moralities he voted to be true to himself; that is, except upon one occasion when he refused to stand by Maxim Gorky . . . but we will come to that incident presently.

As a young man Sam Clemens fought in the Confederate army. Perhaps the word "fought" is too strong, as any one will agree who has read "The Private History of a Campaign That Failed." At any rate he was a second lieutenant in a Rebel outfit (there was no first lieutenant—Mark never knew why), he was captured and paroled, and he broke his parole. Hence, he was subject to shooting upon capture by any soldier under the command of a certain Colonel U. S. Grant then operating in southern Missouri and Illinois. Later in life he felt deeply that he had borne arms in defense of human slavery, and he sought to expiate his offense by a gentle attitude toward all Negroes. It frequently happened that he was invited to address a church, and such invitations aroused him to bursts of sulphurous profanity; he did not like the church and he detested ministers (except his close friend, Joe Twichell). But whenever it was pointed out to him that a request came from a Negro church he instantly became gentle, and always acceded. Thus, he felt, he made good the crime he had committed by bearing arms in the cause of the enslavement of the black man.

## His Debt to the Negro

Similarly, he paid the way of a Negro student, whom he never met, through Yale. "It was quite enough he was a Negro," he did it "as his part of the reparation due from every white man to every black man."

Mark Twain believed in human dignity and in democracy, as those who read his books with more than the surface of their minds know. "The Prince and the Pauper," "A Connecticut Yankee" and "Pudd'nhead Wilson" are more than magnificent stories; they are treatises on human equality and blasts against man-made inequalities. Even in his minor stories there can be found caustic criticism of the evils that man has imposed upon man; for example, the little known story, "The Great Revolution in Pitearn," in which he tells an imaginary story of the establishment (by an American) of a monarchy in the lonely isle settled by the famous "Bounty" mutineers and in which, by means of ridicule, he blows away at the evils of dictatorial government.

Likewise, also, in his delightful essay, "My First Lie, and How I Got Out of It," he remarks upon the complacency of peoples in the face of grievous wrongs in words that bear re-reading today.

In his mellow years, when he was famous, rich and well-beloved, Mark Twain's mind turned inward and he began to reflect upon the meanings of things. And it was in this period, the last ten years of his life, that he wrote some of the most blistering attacks ever penned upon what Jack London called our "dear moralities," and expressed himself most vehemently upon war and peace, government

letter from the great American, who was unable to attend.

Mark Twain wrote to Tschakovsky:

"My sympathies are with the Russian revolution, of course. It goes without saying. I hope it will succeed, and now that I have talked with you I take heart to believe it will. Government by falsified promises, by lies, by treacheries and by the butcher knife for the aggrandizement of a single family of drones and its idle and vicious kin has been borne quit long enough in Russia. I should think, and it is to be

ed and persecuted Gorky; but he was not quite big enough to come out publicly by the side of Giddings and stand by his guns against the pseudo-morality he detested so much in his heart.

Mark loved glamor, and he adored being made much of by those considered great; to him the friendship of Carnegie, of H. H. Rogers, of Kaiser Wilhelm, of General U. S. Grant and his son, General Fred D. Grant, meant much. It was Tom Sawyer again reveling in praise. But he saw through the fraud of the "greatness" of most "great" men, and dipping his pen in vitriol he wrote down some of the most searing thoughts ever penned on war and imperialism—and then did not publish them in his lifetime.

For example, writing in "The Mysterious Stranger" about how aggressive wars are made:

## How Wars Are Made

"There has never been a just one, never an honorable one—on the part of the instigator of the war. I can see a million years ahead, and this rule will never change in so many as half a dozen instances.

"The loud little handful—as usual—will shout for the war. The pulpit will, warily and cautiously, object—at first; the great big dull bulk of the nation will rub its sleepy eyes and try to make out why there should be a war and will say earnestly and indignantly, 'It is unjust and dishonorable and there is no necessity for it.'

"Then the handful will shout louder. A few fair men on the other side will argue and reason against the war with speech and pen, and at first will have a hearing and he applauded; but it will not last long; those others will outshoot them and presently the anti-war audiences will thin out and lose popularity.

"Before long you will see this curious thing; the speakers stoned from the platform and free speech strangled by hordes of furious men who in their secret hearts are still at one with those stoned speakers—as earlier—but do not dare to say so.

"And now the whole nation—pulpit and all—will take up the war cry and shout itself hoarse and mob any honest man who ventures to open his mouth, and presently such mouths will cease to open.

"Next, the statesmen will invent cheap lies, putting the blame upon the nation that is attacked and every man will be glad of these conscience-soothing falsities and will diligently study them and refuse to examine any refutations of them, and thus he will by and by convince himself that the war is just and will thank God for the better sleep he enjoys after this process of grotesque self-deception."

(It must be emphasized that Mark Twain was not speaking of Eugene V. Debs and Morris Hillquit and the Socialist Party in 1917 and 1918—although it might seem so from reading these words—for he died in 1910.)

## A Stately Nation

In the early days of the twentieth century the Great Powers were engaged in a number of imperialist adventures; Great Britain was extinguishing the independent Boer republics in South Africa, America was employing the questionable talents of Leonard Wood in crushing the Filipinos and the United States Powers were marching on Peking to crush the Boxer rebellion. Mark Twain thereupon wrote (and did not publish) for New Year's Eve, 1900:

## A Greeting from the Nineteenth to the Twentieth Century

"I bring you a stately nation named Christendom, returning bedraggled, besmirched and dishonored, from pirate raids in Kiaochow, Manchuria, South Africa and the Philippines, with her soul full of meanness, her pocket full of booty and her mouth full of pious hypocrisies. Give her soap and towel, but hide the looking glass."

There followed a year later "The Stupendous Procession," covering twenty-two typewritten pages, but which has never been published. It describes "the Twentieth Century" as "a fair young creature, drunk and disorderly, borne in the arms of Satan. Banner with motto 'Get what you can; keep what you get.'"

The "Guard of Honor" consisted of "Monarchs, Presidents, Tammany bosses, Burglars, Land thieves, Convicts, etc." "Christendom" was described as "A majestic matron in flowing robes drenched in blood. On her head a golden crown of thorns; impaled on its spines the bleeding heads of patriots who died for their countries: Boers, Boxers, Filipinos. In one hand a slung-shot, in the other a Bible open at the 'Do unto others.' Protruding in a pocket a bottle labeled 'We

bring you the blessings of civilization.' Necklace—handcuffs and a burglar's jimmy." The ensign was the black flag. "Guard of honor—Missionaries and German, French, Russian and British soldiers laden with loot."

## The Black Flag

And so on, a section for each country with symbols of its territorial aggrandizement, with black flags and instruments of torture, mutilated prisoners, broken hearts, bloody corpses. At the end a banner, "All White Men Are Born Free and Equal."

Christ died to make men holy. Christ died to make men free. There was an American flag

robed stranger enters the church, moves up the aisle, takes the preacher's pulpit and addresses the hushed throng:

"I come from the Throne," he says after an impressive pause, "bearing a message from Almighty God. He has heard the prayer of His servant, your shepherd, and will grant it if such shall be your desire after I, His messenger, have explained its full import."

The Messenger goes on to explain that the prayer for victory unspoken, and that after the people have heard the real meaning will be granted. The prayer for victory was but the spoken part of the prayer. The unspoken part that

them out roofless with their little children to wander unfriended over wastes of their desolated land in rags and thirst and spirit of the sun-flames of summer, broken in spirit, worn with travail, imploring Thee for the refuge of the grave and denied it—for our sakes, who adore Thee.

"Lord, blast their hopes, blight their lives, protract their bitter pilgrimage, make heavy their steps, water their way with their tears, stain the white snow with their blood of their wounded feet! We ask of One who is the spirit of Love and Who is the ever faithful friend and refuge of all that are sore beset, and seek His aid with humble and contrite hearts. Grant our prayer, oh Lord, and Thine shall be the praise and honor and glory now and ever. Amen."

After a pause the stranger said: "Ye have prayed it; if ye still desire it, speak! The messenger of the Most High waits."

And Mark Twain added these words: "It was believed afterward that the man was a lunatic because there was no sense in what he said."

## "Sacrilege"

Mark told a friend that he had read the War Prayer to his daughter Jean and she told him he must not publish it, for it would be regarded as "sacrilege." Pressed to publish it anyway, he replied slowly: "No. I have told the whole truth in that and only dead men can tell the truth in this world. It can be published after I am dead."

Mark Twain was a great man; he will live in "Tom Sawyer" and "Huckleberry Finn" as long as men live who once were boys; he will live in other works so long as men love high adventure and high spirits. He will live in "A Connecticut Yankee" as long as men live who hate injustice and fight for liberty. He will live in "The Man that Corrupted Hadesburg" as long as men live who ruthlessly question their own souls and their own honesty.

But in these terrible days, when the world does honor to his memory to the awful obligato of war drums and preparations for those things that he hated with all his soul it is well for those who like-wise fight for justice and liberty to remember the man who in his own heart was a revolutionist—even though his closest associates prevailed upon him not to permit the world to know his innermost thoughts.

Upon one occasion it was proposed that he run for President. The idea tickled him enormously and he speculated upon the fate of a nation headed by a "humorist, peace patriot and Socialist."

And as an inherent rebel against those things that soil the civilization of the Twentieth Century, whose birth he welcomed with such savage irony Socialists too may add their voices to the world-wide chorus of reverence for the noble soul who came into the world just a century ago.

## Mark Twain As a Warm Advocate for Trade Unions for the Workers

**MARK TWAIN'S** early life was lived in the South-west, on the Mississippi, in the mining camps of Nevada and California and in newspaper offices; he was a famous writer and a rich man before he ever came to the industrial East to live and saw the labor of workmen in the industrial centers. But he had been a printer, he treasured a card of membership in the International Typographical Union to the day of his death and his deep human understanding made him see and accept the worker's point of view.

His close friend, William Dean Howells, said of him: "His mind and soul were with those who do the hard work of the world in fear of those who give them a chance for their livelihoods and underpay them all they can. . . . He was fascinated with 'Looking Backward' and had Bellamy visit him; and from the first he had a luminous vision of organized labor as the only present help for workingmen."

"He would show that side with such clearness and force that you could not say anything in hopeful contradiction; he saw with that relentless insight of his that in the union was the workman's only present hope of standing up like a man against money and the power of it. There was a time when I was afraid that in his eyes were a little hidden from the truth; but in the very last talk I heard from him I found that I was wrong, and that this great humorist was as great a humanist as ever. I wish that all the work-folk could know this and could know him as their friend in life as he was in literature; as he was in such a glorious gospel of equality as 'A Connecticut Yankee'."

Upon another occasion, Howells wrote his last meeting with Mark Twain: ". . . the last time I saw him alive was made memorable to me by the kind, clear judicial sense with which he explained and justified the labor unions as the sole present help of the weak against the strong. . . . Next I saw him dead, lying in his coffin."

Curled and draped in crepe, with the looming shade of Lincoln brooding over the sad spectacle.

## The War Prayer

There is a picture of young recruits about to march away to war, the excitement and enthusiasm, the flag waving and the music and cheers and the magnificent ceremony in the cathedral when the minister of God blesses the colors and utters the final invocation: God the all-terrible, Thou Who ordainest,

Thunder, Thy clarion and lightning Thy sword! And a "long prayer" for victory. As the prayer is ended a white

was what God had commissioned "His servant" to utter and if they still desired the victory it would be theirs. "Upon the listening spirit of God the Father fell also the unspoken part of the prayer. He commanded me to put it into words. Listen!

## The Unspoken Prayer

"Oh, Lord our Father, our young patriots, idols of our hearts, go forth to battle. Be Thou near them! With them—in spirit—we also go from the sweet peace of our beloved firesides to smite the foe."

"Oh, Lord, our God, help us to tear their soldiers to bloody shreds with our shells; help us to cover their smiling fields with the pale forth to battle. Be Thou near them! To drown the thunder of the guns with the wounded, writhing in pain; help us to lay waste their humble homes with the hurricane of fire; help us to wring the hearts of their wailing widows with unavailing grief; help us to turn

## Gerhart Seger Meetings in New York and Vicinity

tour across the country and Canada, Gerhart Seger, brilliant Socialist speaker and writer, former member of the German Reichstag and victim of Nazi persecution, will speak at a number of meetings in and around New York City. Comrade Seger speaks an excellent English and possesses a profound knowledge of the Socialist philosophy and our movement in many countries.



Gerhart Seger

The schedule of these meetings includes the following: Saturday, Dec. 14, 8.30 p. m.: Fraternity Hall, 256 Central Avenue, Jersey City.

Monday, Dec. 16, auspices, 4th-14th A. D., Kings County (hall to be announced).

Thursday, Jan. 2: A special gathering for Young Socialists (place to be announced).

Friday, Jan. 3: Brighton Beach Br., S. P., 1113 Brighton Beach Ave., Brooklyn.

Monday, Jan. 6: Amalgamated Co-operative Houses Auditorium, Bronx; S. P. Branch.

Tuesday, Jan. 7: 95 Avenue B, Manhattan, East Side Socialist Branches.

Wednesday, Jan. 8: Savoy Mansion, 65th St. and 20th Ave., Brooklyn, Bensonhurst Br.

Thursday, Jan. 9: Dover, N. J. George H. Gobel, August Claessens, James Oneal and William M. Feigenbaum will speak at these meetings in an appeal for members and subscriptions for The New Leader.

## Labor Party Wins New Zealand Control

(Continued from Page One)

Scullin, Labor Premier of Australia. Lang took sharp issue with Scullin's financial settlements with Australian and London bankers, and pursued a policy denounced as repudiation. Lang and his followers were thereupon expelled from the Australian Labor party, but they maintained the State Labor party of N.S.W. intact, the A.L.P. making a poor showing in recent elections there.

At a recent meeting of the executive of the A.L.P. in Canberra, capital of Australia, Lang agreed to accept the platform, rules and constitution of the Labor party, and to abide by its discipline. It was his refusal to accept that discipline that led to the expulsion of himself and his followers.

## A Disastrous Split

The Labor party has held the government of Australia upon several occasions, but a succession of splits each time served to bring back the reaction. The present premier, J. A. Lyons, like William Morris Hughes before him, is a labor renegade.

The disastrous results of the labor split are seen in the results of the last election. The United Australia party—the Government party—polled 1,120,768 votes and elected 35 members. The two Labor, 869,628 (18 seats); State votes, but elected only 26; the vote was divided as follows: Federal Labor, 869,628 (8 seats); State Labor (Lang party) 483,182 (8 seats). Australia has a population of 7,000,000.

## KINGS

16th A. D., Bensonhurst.—Special meeting to nominate and elect officers on Tuesday evening, Dec. 3rd, at 6618 Bay Parkway, B'klyn.

## BIG BUSINESS SEEKS TO DITCH PUBLIC HOUSING

(Continued from Page One)

Co., the American Radiator Co., the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Co., and others that would profit by such a program.

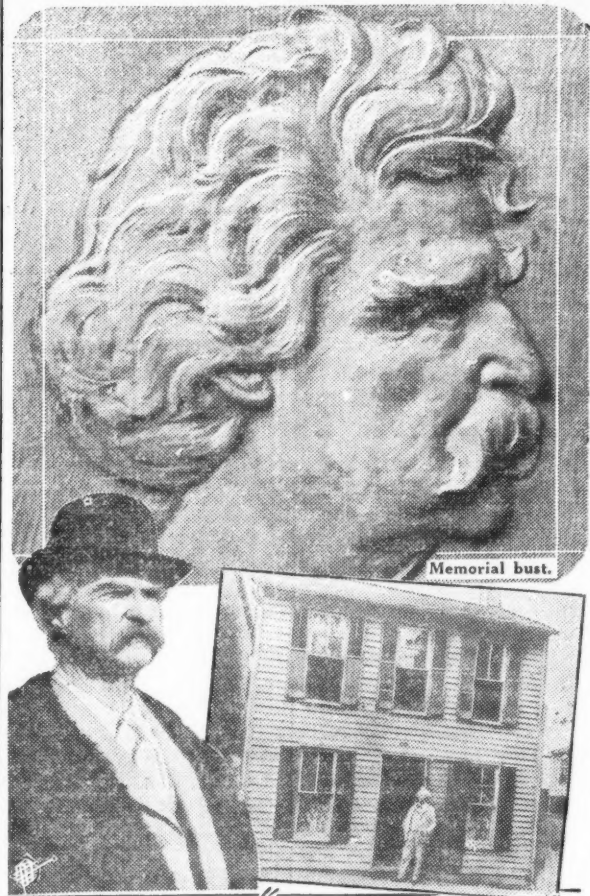
The plans are reported to have been submitted to President Roosevelt before he started on his recent cruise in the Pacific.

The prospectus of the plan as made public by Mr. Freed stresses its attractive features and soft-pedals its main point, that is, that it is an attempt to get Government underwriting for a huge project for private profit-making and that its effect would be to block the whole movement for public housing that is beginning to gather headway in this country.

Mr. Freed said that his plan "is modeled mainly after the plan now functioning in England. To the English program of home-building the Committee attributes at least 50 per cent of that country's economic recovery to date, as well as that nation's present protection against undemocratic social principles."

Mr. Freed, however, scrupulously refrained from mentioning the fact that the housing programs of the various British cities were inaugurated by Labor and Socialist municipal governments and are based only upon what he characterized as "undemocratic social principles."

The plan is that housing for income groups over \$1,000 a year will be by private agencies, while public housing is to be suggested for income groups under that figure. In other words, where profits are possible the private interests are to make the profits; where profits are improbable the government is to take the loss.



Above: Memorial bust of Mark Twain. Below: At left, Mark Twain in his later years. At right, Mark Twain in 1902 on a visit to his boyhood home in Hannibal, Mo., the St. Petersburg of "Tom Sawyer" and "Huckleberry Finn."

## "The Mysterious Stranger"

Much of this was not published in his lifetime; indeed, his most thoughtful book, "The Mysterious Stranger," did not appear until five years after his death, while other blasts are buried and un-indexed in his biography and in fugitive papers; there is much still in manuscript. It has become conventional to say that his wife edited the manliness out of him; that may be true, and it may also be true that close friends also prevailed upon him to suppress much of this material—although much of it did find its way into print. It is, however, true that these things expressed the feelings that he is known to have had and that in them the real Mark Twain is revealed.

A deeply patriotic American, he was bitterly ashamed of the imperialist adventure in the Philippines, and he loathed and publicly protested against the "manifest destiny" that brought us into the Islands as a competitor in imperialism with Great Britain. Indeed, in 1901 he wrote "To the Person Sitting in Darkness," a blazing criticism of our Philippine adventure; published in the North American Review, it is not found in his collected works and to find it the reader must search the old files of that defunct magazine.

It was at about that time that Mark Twain realized to the full the meaning of Czarism, of the Belgian barbarities in the Congo and of the British conquest of the two Republics in South Africa. In "Following the Equator" he pays his respects to the Jameson Raid, the prelude to that British adventure, and he wrote out his heart in denunciation of King Leopold II for his hideous mistreatment of the natives of Central Africa. What he wrote to Nicholas II is worth re-reading today; and when the first revolution came he was happy.

## The Russian Revolution

In 1905 and 1906 a stream of Russians journeyed to the United States, seeking material aid for the Revolution. Among them was the revered Nicholas Tschakovsky, and when he came to New York Mark Twain met him and was glad to join the committee that arranged his big meeting in the Grand Central Palace. It was a memorable occasion that no one who was present will ever forget. Dr. S. Interman was chairman, and before Tschakovsky spoke he read a

Mark despised those who



# The Thomas-Browder Debate in the Garden

(Continued from Page Four)

**EFFECTIVE.** In conclusion, Comrade Thomas repeated that "unless we can get tolerance there can be no united front."

"But there must be unity of action, and this cannot be accomplished through dictatorship," he said.

Having said this, however, Comrade Thomas concluded by asserting that he had become convinced of the sincerity of the Communists in their "new line" and held out the hope for more comprehensive united action.

He missed entirely the evidence contained in the speeches and resolutions of the recent seventh congress of the Comintern, discussed in detail in last week's New Leader, and showing that the "new line" of the Communists is the old line and that in the light of this documentary evidence there could be no talk of Communist "sincerity," let alone of the wisdom of engaging in any united fronts with them.

He missed entirely the contradiction between his own argument on dictatorship and violence and the service which Socialists would perform to the cause of fascism were they to engage in any united fronts with advocates of dictatorship and violence, the cardinal principles of Communist doctrine, which he so eloquently repudiated.

## Partial United Front

Pending the development of that broader united front for which Comrade Thomas hoped, there was a partial united front at the meeting when the audience voted to

send a telegram of sympathy to Tom Mooney and a collection was raised for Angelo Herndon and the Socialist defense committee of Terre Haute. But the Socialist political prisoners in Russia, among them those favoring a united front, were forgotten. No resolutions were adopted for their release and no money was collected for their relief.

It was a great evening for the united front. But most important of all it was a lesson in the value of consistency, which Browder, Stalin agent, could ignore with impunity, but which Comrade Thomas did not respect at vital points of the debate.

In the final analysis, Browder won his point. He did not get the united front, but he got enough to make it worth his while to plug away at his task. The Communist press announced to the world that another great step had been taken toward the united front.

At all points at which Comrade Thomas remained the Social Democrat he was unanswerable. At the points where he yielded to his sudden discovery of Communist "sincerity" and Browder's contention of the necessity of the united front he surrendered his positions completely.

As one spectator, not without a sense of humor but "bewildered" by Comrade Thomas's contradictions, put it:

"It was difficult to follow Mr. Thomas. From what I could gather, he told the Communists that he would become a Communist if all of them became Socialists."

## CHICAGO LECTURES

CHICAGO, Ill.—The Socialist Open Forum, meeting at 3400 Douglas Boulevard and sponsored by the 24th Ward Branch of the Socialist Party, announces the following lectures for the remainder of the year:

Nov. 29: Symposium by representatives of the Socialist and Communist parties on "The Socialist International vs. the Communist International."

Dec. 13: "Fascist Tendencies in the Hearst Press," Carl Haessler.

Dec. 27: "Meaning of the Workers' Rights Amendment," Leon M. Despres.

## Laidler Lectures in Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES.—Harry W. Laidler will speak under Socialist Party auspices Sunday, Dec. 8, at 2 p. m. at Clifton's Cafeteria, 650 South Broadway (3rd floor), Los Angeles.

His subject will be "Socializing Our Democracy."

## Special Sale at Jackfin's

One of the largest clothing stores in New York, The Jackfin Clothing Co., 91—5th Ave., near 17th St., manufacturers of fine men's clothing, have arranged for weeks a special sale at a reduction of 20% of its original price. Suits, topcoats, overcoats, etc. are included in this sale. Every purchaser will be guaranteed 100% satisfaction or his money will be redeemed without any argument. Also, every reader of The New Leader will receive an extra 5% discount with every purchase. In the interest of The New Leader please mention our paper to the firm or the salesmen. (Advt.)

# 5th Ave. Men's Clothier Calls 10,000 Men To His Rescue

Offers 10,000 Men Flat 20% Reduction for Immediate Clearance of His Entire Stock of Quality Clothes

For the first time in the history of the Jackfin Clothing Co., this firm finds itself compelled to run a sale during the month of November, a month which under normal conditions should be one of the greatest for the clothing industry. However, due to an abnormal twist of the weather during the preceding month, which has adversely affected this business as well as other wearing apparel lines, Jackfin's tremendous stock of fine clothing has remained on its racks awaiting a backward cold spell. By orders from the head of this organization, every suit, topcoat, overcoat and tuxedo must now be sold at a

## 20% REDUCTION

regardless of weather conditions, costs or former prices. Cash must be raised.

10,000 men can now profit by this decision. 10,000 men, who have long enjoyed clothing of the better kind, can now satisfy their preference for fine clothing at Jackfin's, where prices were always low, and now are still lower. Prices that were formerly from \$19.75 to \$38.50 are now as low as

\$15.80 to \$30.80

5% DISCOUNT TO EVERY READER OF THE NEW LEADER

# JACKFIN CLOTHING CO., Inc.

91 FIFTH AVE. near 17th St. NEW YORK  
Open Daily to 8—Saturdays to 9

## PARTY NOTES

### WOMEN'S COMMITTEE ACTIVITY

Mon., Dec. 2nd, 3 p. m.—Meeting of Women's Conference Against High Cost of Living at Rand School. Report will be given on final arrangements of program for the Dec. 14th-15th conference at Hotel Pennsylvania.

Mon., Dec. 2nd, 1:30 p. m.—Rand School. Subject: Public Utilities. Guest speaker: Irving Lipkowitz.

Mon., Dec. 2nd, 3 p. m.—Rand School. Public Speaking and Parliamentary Practice. Instructor: Rebecca Jarvis.

Tues., Dec. 3rd, 1:30 p. m.—Rand School. Labor in American History, with instructor, William E. Duffy.

Tues., Dec. 3rd, 1:30 p. m.—Amalgamated Houses, Bronx. Public Utilities.

Wed., Dec. 4th, 2 p. m.—1140 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn. Public Utilities.

Thursday, Dec. 5th, 2 p. m.—1113 Brighton Beach, Brighton Br., Brooklyn. Public Utilities, instructor, Esther Friedman.

## New York State

Annual Reports.—Locals are due to make annual reports in the month of December on a questionnaire supplied by the State Secretary. The membership of the party in the State, computed on the basis of dues and exempt stamps taken by locals and members-at-large, which fell off during the first half of the year is being rapidly recouped, according to the State Secretary. The present membership, computed on this basis, is 19% of the country as a whole, compared with 16% in 1933.

Buffalo.—The local will run a Bazaar at Party Headquarters, 483 Main St., December 5th, 6th and 7th.

Lecture Bureau.—The party is co-operating with The New Leader and the Rand School in the organization of a lecture bureau for the purpose of furnishing locals, forums and other organizations, upstate and nearby places in Connecticut and New Jersey, with competent lecturers. A dozen lecturers have already been recruited for the bureau, and there are about forty lecture subjects on which they are prepared to speak. Locals that want this service, or whose members are in contact with forums or other organizations that can use this service, should communicate at once with State Secretary Herbert M. Merrill at 7 E. 15th St., N. Y. C. Watch for further details.

## FALCON CALL STARTS DRIVE

The Red Falcons of America are starting a subscription drive to their magazine, the Falcon Call. A bi-monthly, the Falcon Call carries stories, poems and articles written for children from a labor point of view.

Rates can be obtained from the national office of the Red Falcons of America at 721 Moxley Building, Chicago. All Socialist Party branches, Young Peoples Socialist League Circles, Workmen's Circle branches, Young Circle League branches, trade unions, and sympathetic organizations are urged to send for bundles.

Italian branch, the Giacomo Matteotti Branch.

The first aim has already been accomplished and progress has been made in most of others. The Italian Socialists are now rallying Italian workers against war and against Mussolini.

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# J.M. Taft Heads Alderman

(Continued from Page One)

the board for a Democratic candidate who lost out by 14 votes failed when a recount demanded by the Democrats in the Seventh district showed that the original count was correct, and that George Rosenbeck, Socialist, was legally entitled to his seat.

State Representative Jack C. Bergen, who is also the oldest Socialist on the Board of Education from the point of view of membership (although he is youngest in point of age) has been elected president of the board. At 28 years, Bergen is one of the youngest men to head a Board of Education in the United States. He was elected for a three-year term in the 1933 Socialist municipal victory, and in 1934 was elected to the House of Representatives as one of the first five Socialist legislators ever to be elected to the Connecticut General Assembly.

Gustav G. Samuelson, Socialist member of the same board, elected in 1934, was named vice-president. During the past year he served as secretary of the board. William Redden, Republican, was elected secretary. The Board of Education is now composed of three Socialists—Bergen, Samuelson and John MacDermott, elected this year; one Republican, Redden; and two Democrats, Scanzillo and McQueeney. In the case of a tie vote continuing over ten days the mayor can break the tie, thus giving the Socialists control of the board. Members of the board are elected, one from each of the two leading parties, annually for three year terms.

Winning its first victory in its new program as outlined soon after election, the Socialist administration obtained the resignation of Angus P. Thorne from his post as Superintendent of Welfare, effective Jan. 1. Thorne was the object of an investigation by an aldermanic committee last year, being charged with mismanagement of his office. Since his term did not expire until 1937, and a court fight in the capitalist-controlled courts appeared for a time as the only means of removing Thorne, the Socialists had planned a court fight if necessary. It was the threat of bringing his administration record before the courts which is believed to have induced Thorne to resign.

## Meeting to Protest Deportation of Italian Anti-Fascists

Two Italian workers, Ferrero and Salitto, in the United States for 15 and 30 years, respectively, are slated for deportation from this country because of technicalities of the law. Being Italians, they are to be deported to Italy. Being anti-fascists, deportation to Italy is equivalent to death sentences for men guilty of no crime other than holding radical opinions, or at the very best, deportation to the Lipari Islands.

A mass meeting has been called by a large number of radical organizations to protest the deportations. It will be held at the Rand School, 7 East 15th St., New York City, Dec. 4th, at 8 p. m.

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## His Most Precious Possession

THE NEW LEADER management notifies subscribers a few weeks in advance of the expiration of their subscriptions. The following letter is one that is prized by the entire New Leader staff. It comes from Tampa, Fla.:

"We received your notice sent to Mr. C. A. Buckland for renewal. He is no longer with us in body, but we feel that he is still with us in spirit."

"The New Leader was his most prized journal. He had been taking it for many years. Last week he was taken to the hospital and all he asked for when they carried him out was his glasses and his New Leader. He passed away the following morning."

Yours very truly,  
Mrs. M. Gifford  
For Mrs. Buckland.

## LECTURE CALENDAR

All lectures begin at 8:30 p. m. unless otherwise stated.

## SUNDAY, DECEMBER 1

Alexander Schwartz, "A \$5,000 Income for every family," 204 E. Broadway, Manhattan, 4th A.D. August Claessens, "Controlling Social Revolution," 767 Alleton Ave., Bronx, 6th A.D. Branch.

## MONDAY, DECEMBER 2

Wm. M. Feigenbaum, "American Journalism and Its Effects on Society," Studio WEVD Hotel Claridge, 44th St. and Broadway, Manhattan, Chelsea Branch.

William Karlin, "Pages From American Socialist History," 241 South Fourth St., Brooklyn, 4th A.D. Branch.

Eleanor Levenson, "Lawless Judges," Kingsway Mansion, 1602 Avenue P, Brooklyn, Midwood Br. Louis Hendin, "Lessons From the Recent Elections," Labor Lyceum, 14th Ave. and 43rd St., Brooklyn.

## TUESDAY, DECEMBER 3

B. Levitan, "Sanctions and the Socialist Movement," 6618 Bay Parkway, Brooklyn.

## FRIDAY, DECEMBER 16

Wm. E. Bohn, "Socialism and the American Tradition," 1113 Brighton Beach Ave., Brooklyn, Brighton Branch.

## Cooper Union Lectures

The Department of Social Philosophy of Cooper Union has announced the following weekly program: Nov. 29th, Everett Dean Martin, "The Idea of a Planned Society Is a Reactionary Idea"; Dec. 1st, Dr. E. Boyd Barrett, "The Spiritual Relationship of Communism, Fascism and 19th Century Liberalism"; Dec. 3rd, Professor Morris R. Cohen, "The Idea of Liberty in Classical Political Philosophy." All lectures are given in the great hall.

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# Jewish Verband Convention in Cleveland, Ohio

The convention of the Jewish Socialist Verband opened Thursday of this week in Cleveland and will continue to December 1. Close to 110 delegates represented branches from every part of the United States. Twenty delegates represented fraternal and labor organizations (trade unions, United Hebrew Trades, Forward Association, National Executive Committee of the Workmen's Circle, National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.) Delegates came from Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Detroit, and every other city where there are branches of the Verband.

The convention opened in one of the biggest auditoriums in Cleveland with a program consisting of a concert and greetings by prominent leaders of the Socialist and Labor Movement.

The speakers on Thursday were Abraham Cahan, Editor of the Jewish Daily Forward; Joseph Schlossberg, General Secretary-Treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; J. Baskin, General Secretary of the Workmen's Circle; Saul Rifkin, Chairman of the National Executive Committee of the Jewish Socialist Verband; Clarence Senior, National Secretary of the Socialist Party; N. Chanin, Secretary of the Jewish Socialist Verband.

The business sessions began Friday. A report of the work of the Verband was made by Secretary N. Chanin, and Benjamin Gebiner reported on the "Wecker," official bi-weekly of the Jewish Socialist Verband of which he is editor.

On the agenda are matters concerning organization problems of the present situation in the party, Soviet Russia and the United Front, and Jewish problems from the point of view of the Verband.

Before the convention considers resolutions on these topics, Alexander Kahn will speak on "The Present Trends in the Socialist Party of America"; B. C. Vladeck on "Jewish Problems and the Jewish Socialist Movement," and B.

# SOCIALIST DEMAND FOR CITY DAIRY IRKS MILK COMPANIES

By Paul G. Redstone

**Special to The New Leader**  
OLEAN, N. Y.—The Socialist campaign that resulted in so fine an increase of votes for John G. Cooper, candidate for Mayor, is having an echo that indicates that the party is being taken seriously in important capitalist circles.

The party's municipal platform called for a city-owned milk plant to eliminate the high profits of the dairy companies and to serve the people with the best milk at cost. The local milk dealers, stung by that demand, and by the fact that the Socialist ticket ran second in the election, have been writing heated letters of protest to the local papers, which have been admirably answered by Comrade Cooper.

New headquarters in Moose Hall, 1st and West Streets, will be formally dedicated with a housewarming, card party, dance and lunch on Dec. 6th. Short talks will be given by Comrades Cooper, Brushingham and Loeffler.

## U.T.A. Quits Existence To Join Teachers' Union

The Unemployed Teachers' Association, a group under Communist control, will end its independence by joining the local Teachers' Union that was split several months ago because of a ten years' conflict with organized Communist groups. The non-Communist teachers withdrew from the local Teachers' Union and organized the Teachers' Guild, thus freeing themselves from the Communist elements.

Gebiner on "Soviet Russia, the United Front and our Attitude Towards Them."

The convention has aroused great interest not only among the members of the Verband, but also among Socialist Party members in general, and in the Jewish labor organizations.

The "Wecker," the official organ of the Verband, has conducted a lively exchange of opinions within the last few pre-convention months concerning all the above matters.

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## UNION DIRECTORY

**BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS.** TUCKERS, STITCHERS and PLATERS' UNION, Local 66, L.L.G.W.U., 135 W. 33rd St., PA. 6-2154. Executive Board meets every Tuesday night in the office of the Union, 2 L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattah, Manager.

**CAP MAKERS' UNION.** Local 1, Tel. ORchard 4-9860. Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Ave., N. Y. City, Cliekering 4-3681. Saul Metz, Manager.

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**FUR DRESSERS' UNION.** Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union, Office and headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn; STAGG 2-6798. Regular meetings 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Robert Glass; Vice-President, Stephen Tolmacev; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Helb.

**JOINT BOARD DRESS and WAIST-MAKERS' UNION.** 232 West 40th St., New York City; Longacre 5-5100. Board of Directors meets every Monday evening; Joint Board meets every Wednesday evening in the Council Room at 218 W. 40th St. Julius Hochman, Geo. Manager; Phillip Kapp, Sec'y-Treasurer.

**NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION.** Local 11016, A.F.O.L., 7 E. 15th St.; ALG. 4-7082. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday, 7:30 p.m. Board meets every Tuesday, 8 p.m., in the office. Ed Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer.

**WAITERS and WAITRESSES' UNION.** Local 1, A.F.O.L. and U.L.T., 220 7th Ave.; LAC. 4-5483. W. Lehman, Sec'y.

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# "Land of Promise" Scores at Astor Theatre

## "Mother" a Stirring A-B-C Of the Class War

### WITH WORKERS' BLOOD

"MOTHER." A Play with Music by Brecht (after Gorki's story). Translated by Paul Peters. Music by Hanns Eisler. Settings by Mordecai Gorelik. The Theatre Union at the Civic Repertory. Taken on its own terms, "Mother" is the most straightforward, most direct and undeviating drama the Theatre Union has presented. It takes several minutes to discover the plane of its presentation, and for that time "Mother" seems sentimental and naive. It is, for it is the dramatic presentation of a lesson in terms of one woman's life, an elementary tract in terms of the theatre, the theme of class consciousness stripped of all fatty complications, clean to the bone of the contention—bone and marrow of pounding preaching through a play. As such, "Mother" becomes a significant document, soundly devised and curiously impressive. The story is that of Pelagea Vlasova, who distributes revolutionary leaflets before a strike in 1907, not because she understands and sympathizes but because if her son gives them out he will be jailed. Then step by step we follow her as she learns economics, politics, the aspects of the class struggle, until she is a full-fledged Socialist and then a leader of the Russian movement that carries to the Revolution of 1917. And as we follow her, perhaps learning with her (as is the play's hope), we are besieged with all the apparatus of the school now on the stage: salute to the flag (red);

patriotic songs (to the new day); words and pictures flashed from "magic lantern" slides; words written on the blackboard; persons reciting the Declaration of Independence (workers') or quoting the Constitution (of a workers' state). The constructivist settings of Mordecai Gorelik are in admirable accord with the stripped and lean strength of the play, and the imagination is further caught by the left-wing utterance of Thomas Jefferson, while the more coldly logical pronouncement of Karl Marx adorns the right wing of the proscenium arch. Save for some wooden moments, especially in the songs, the dialogue is sharp and piercing, and even the songs have powerful moments, as when the workers cry they "have the patch, but not the coat." The players themselves, from the excellent Helen Henry (Mother) to the least member of the crowd, give the impression that they are not "acting" but taking part in a demonstration, a dramatic lecture, in which they believe with all their hearts and all their souls. And it is this spirit, breathing through every aspect of its being, that lifts "Mother" in power to an unusual achievement in the theatre. It is not, in any usual sense, a play; but it is in simplest terms a new demonstration of the far-reaching potency and value of the theatre. It is, not chronologically but in structure and spirit and fruitful energy, the "Mother," the progenitor, of all "Lehr-Stücke," of all propaganda plays. J. T. S.

### RIGOROUS DANCING

Frances Hawkins is sponsoring more and more of our valid dancers. After two recitals by Martha Graham, unquestionably the most intelligent as she is one of the best equipped of our serious artists of the dance. Miss Hawkins brings back to us for a first solo appearance Berta Ochsner, who last year danced here with Harald Kreutzberg. Miss Ochsner is at her best in satiric mood, especially in a group of Strawinsky "Comments." Otherwise the numbers chosen revealed an excellently trained body in choreography that emphasizes abrupt transitions of movement, but a thoughtfulness quite in the modern trend. From the same management comes Yvonne Georgi, whose New York recitals will take place at the Guild on the evenings of December 1 and 8.

### Embassy Newsreel Offers New March of Time and Current News in Sight and Sound

"The March of Time" issue No. 8 features the new program at the Embassy Newsreel Theatre this week. Containing three stories, G.O.P., Strikebreaking, and Wild Ducks, makes this one of the most interesting March of Time releases to date.

The G.O.P. story shows how Herbert Clark Hoover and the Republican Party are preparing for the campaign battles of 1936. STRIKEBREAKING is a subject about Mr. Pearl Louis Bergoff, whose business conducted high

### Film Record of Palestine to Continue Indefinitely

In the 'Land of Promise' which is now in its American premiere at the Astor Theatre, the dramatic story of the Jews recreating their national life in Palestine, is vividly depicted. The film ranges over the entire field of Jewish interests in the Holy Land. Pioneers, exiles and refugees, imbued a nation-building spirit, are shown working shoulder to shoulder.

The German exiles, in particular, despite their sad plight, have thrown themselves into their new life with their customary tenacity. Many of them, physicians and professors in Germany, have completely shed their pasts and can now be seen as laborers, farmers, street cleaners and a thousand and one other occupations not at all compatible with their education and training.

In the excitement of building themselves a country, the Jews have not neglected their culture. This culture marches hand in hand with more material pursuits. There are scenes in the 'Land of Promise' of the Hebrew University, a performance of Haydn's Oratorio in the natural setting of Mount Scopus, in Jerusalem, modern dances of the pioneers sharply contrasted to the older oriental forms, a hundred other evidences that the Jews are creating a cultural, as well as economic society.

'The Land of Promise' received the International Motion Picture Award in Venice several months ago. It has been widely acclaimed all over Europe.

### "Mary Burns, Fugitive," at Brooklyn Strand

Sylvia Sidney in "Mary Burns, Fugitive," a gripping romantic drama of an innocent girl hunted by the law, heads the double feature program this week at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre. The second feature is "Superspeed," with Norman Foster, Florence Rice and Mary Castle.

### At the Music Hall

Lily Pons, the petite Metropolitan star, makes her motion picture debut this week in "I Dream Too Much," at the Music Hall.

A special holiday stage presentation is being offered on the huge stage.

### At the Cinema de Paris



A scene from the French film version of "Crime and Punishment," which continues at the Playhouse on lower 5th Ave.

### Popular Stage-Screen-Radio Singing Star



Ann Greenway, charming singing star of stage, radio and motion pictures, is now appearing in the coveted Rainbow Room song-spot. Miss Greenway has just returned from a series of triumphant European appearances and probably holds the long-distance, non-stop working record of all prominent songstresses—having been constantly engaged the past five years for radio, stage and club work. In the near future Miss Greenway

### SENSITIVE FILM

"LA MATERNELLE" ("Children of Montmartre"). From the book by Léon Frapié. Directed by Jean Benoit-Lévy. At the 55th Street.

This wistful picture of life at a day school in the Paris slums has been hailed all over Europe; on seeing the film, one can understand its universal appeal. The sweet little love story of Cinderella, the orphan turned maid-of-all-work at the school, whose love and understanding of the waifs there wins her a husband and happiness, although enacted with sympathy and subdued charm by Madeleine Renaud of the Comédie Française, is quite subordinated by the life of the little ones who crowd into the school, and especially little Paulette Elambert, whose lonely days unfold. She plays Marie—rather, she is Marie, for these tots at the school, from two to nine years old, are real—the little girl whose mother goes off with a rogue, the sensitive, lonely but lovable child who adopts the maid Rose as a second mother; but all the tots love Rose, and Marie is jealous; and when will appear at Loew's State Theatre after which she will devote her time exclusively to radio.

## "Pride and Prejudice" Remain Strong Thru the Years

### POMP AND CIRCUMSTANCE

"PRIDE and PREJUDICE." By Helen Jerome from the novel by Jane Austen. At the Music Box. New proof that beauty is timeless is on the stage of the "Music Box," where the keen observation and quiet wit of Jane Austen have found fit dramatization and flawless acting. The customs and costumes of a century ago cannot dim—indeed flavor—the eternal truths of personalities in the interdependent relationships of life. The various natures of the three Bennet girls and their parents and their escorted young men, are revealed in clever dialogue, through intimate personification (Lucile Watson, Helen Chandler, Adrienne Allen, Percy Warram, Colin Keith-Johnston, John Halloran: these are only the most prominent of a superb cast).

eternal qualities of the characters make more emphatic the temporary bases of the society in which they dwell: the supper middle-class and lower gentry of England. Here is a world where, in a small domain, the squire or lord is absolute master: to the smiling sycophancy of her vicar Lady de Bourgh goes forth to tell her cottagers how to live. Here is a world where a mother's sole justification is the winning of a good match for her daughter, and the girl's one task, to wait for a proper husband. The conflicts, the difficulties within the play, all spring from questions of rank, and if it be true that snobbery is caught by the lordlings and ladylets from their nurses and tutors, the evils of class and caste are but the more displayed. "Pride and Prejudice" is a delightful evening in the theatre, with many undertones of social emphasis. J. T. S.

### Ann Luther Opens Salon

Dr. Libois also falls in love with the teacher-maid. It is almost too much for Marie. This little drama of slum life has the tenderness of a cradle-song, and wins its way into every heart.

This rare film, by the way, is accompanied by a cartoon short of a rare variety: "The Joy of Life" is a film of the cartoon technique, but made for the adult mind. It is thus almost unique among such films, and adds to the program's richness the thought of new cinema possibilities. "There is always something worth while at the 55th Street Playhouse."

Ann Luther, star of many silent screen productions, has opened a salon in the Patricia Lounge of Loew's Ziegfeld Theatre, where aspiring young screen, stage and radio performers may have recordings made of their speaking or singing voices. Since retiring from motion pictures, Miss Luther has been devoting a considerable amount of time in coaching ambitious young men and women eager for a chance to succeed in the amusement field.

### — 2nd MONTH —

"A masterpiece... should win the world cinema prize." **"LA MATERNELLE"** "One of the authentic masterpieces of the contemporary cinema." —Time Magazine. COMPLETE DIALOGUE TITLES IN ENGLISH. 55th ST. PLAYHOUSE. 151 W. 55th St. East of 7th Ave. CONTINUOUS FROM NOON

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## WINTER GARDEN

BEATRICE LILLIE in AND ETHEL WATERS  
AT HOME ABROAD  
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A Musical Holiday by DIETZ and SCHWARTZ  
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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.



# NEW LEADER

A Socialist Party Publication Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement.  
JAMES ONEAL, Editor  
WM. M. FEIGENBAUM, Associate  
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## POLITICAL DIRECTION POSTS

MEMBERS of the Brain Trust in recent weeks have delivered addresses in defense of the New Deal and these addresses remind one of a sign post at five corners directing strangers in as many directions. This disturbs some people but it shouldn't. It is not something new; it is as old as capitalist politics. It becomes pronounced about six months before the presidential nominating conventions.

Critics complain that Dr. Rexford Tugwell, Undersecretary of Agriculture, made a speech in Los Angeles where Sinclair's Epic Democrats must be reckoned with. He urged a farmer-labor alliance "which will carry all before it," slapped the "receivers of unearned income" and in general made a "radical" address.

In the East, Secretary of Commerce Roper made a conservative speech to the Associated Grocery Manufacturers of America and assured the delegates that "bigness" in business is o.k. and that to contrast nice "profits during the depression" with millions of the unemployed is unfair. The direction post pointed one way in the West and another way in the East.

Why get peeved at this? It is old stuff. During the eighties and nineties when the farmers in the West were fighting the capitalism of the East the two parties of capitalism played the same game. The party managers either kept eastern speakers out of the West or when sent to the West these speakers changed their tune. Some speakers could not be sent West at all and some western speakers could not be assigned to what the West called the "enemy's country."

Why, then, should not both ruling parties still enjoy the pastime of facing five ways?

## OUR FASCIST BRIGADIERS

IT was fitting that Brigadier-General Charles H. Sherrill, bootlicker of Mussolini, should have had most of his speech before the Italian Chamber of Commerce carried to millions through the Hearst sewer. Hearst, Sherrill and Mussolini make an alliance of three brigadiers of despotism which is also fitting.

The address carried the old falsehood about Mussolini having saved Italy from Communism, and paid disgusting homage to this creature who rose to power by sacking buildings of the trade unions, cooperatives and newspaper plants of workers; beating up and murdering thousands of workers and peasants; and forcing castor oil down the throats of many victims.

Sherrill declared that he wished that Mussolini could be brought here "to do the same job." The pictured lips of our heroic dead who in this country fought for the extension of democracy to the masses must have strained to rebuke their slanderer. We have travelled a long road from Wendell Phillips, Abe Lincoln, Owen Lovejoy and others to reach the Hearsts and Sherrills who grovel before the megalomaniac fascist who dictates on the banks of the Tiber.

## CONTROLLED NATIONS

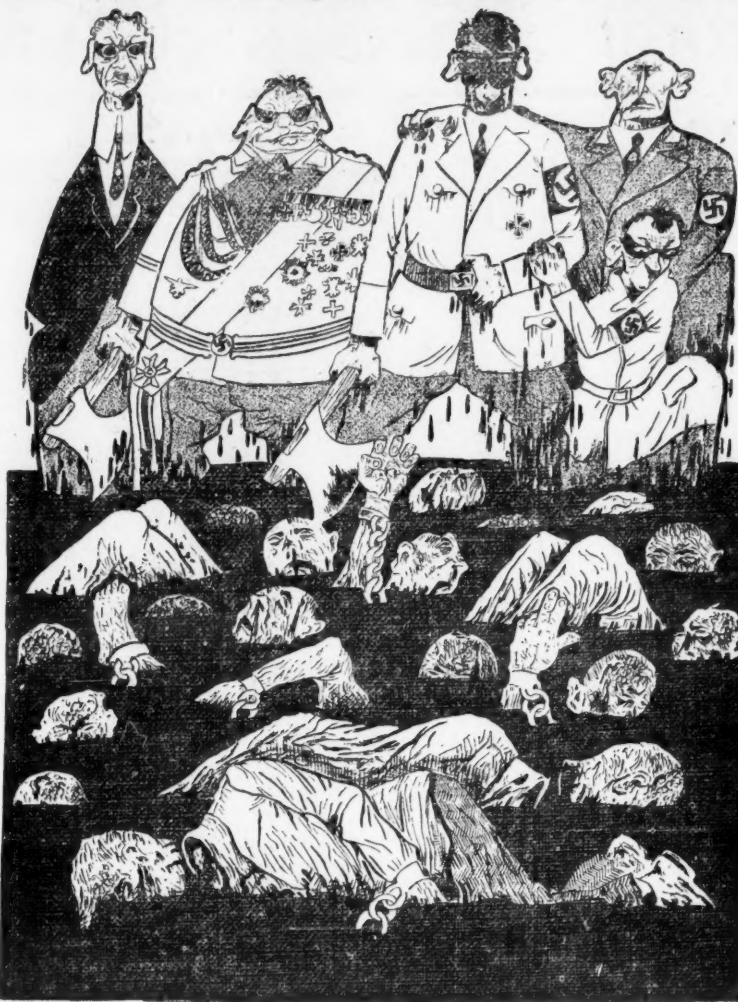
THE effect of the industrial depression upon the governments of the world is vividly shown in a pictogram in "The United States News" which classifies them under the heads of Controlled Economy, Limited Control and Minor Control. Forty-seven nations are listed and of these 18 have a controlled economy, 11 have limited control, and 18 have minor control. The first group includes the Soviet Union, the fascist countries, the semi-fascist and semi-Socialist nations like Sweden and Denmark. The second group with limited control have governments that have not gone as far in control as the first group and yet are advanced beyond those that have minor interference in industry and agriculture.

Whatever may be said of the picture of these 47 nations, it is evidence that the old order of capitalism is passing out of history and is being replaced by other systems that do not permit the "individual initiative" of the capitalist and banker which was a sacred dogma of the professional economists. Some of these nations have become despotisms and others retain democracy, but it is obvious that all of them see the ills of society in the structure of industry; hence the controls. They are evidence that capitalism cannot function on the old basis.

The fascist countries try to "freeze" the economic conflicts and contradictions. They are like a physician who would treat a growth in the human organism not by removing it but by walling it in. Fascism's cure is to retain the capitalistic disease and try to perpetuate it but the ailment cannot be frozen or walled in. Like a cancer, it will eat into society and eventually destroy the dictators as well.

It is difficult to interpret the revolt in Brazil but that it had the support of a small section of the army is known. The National Liberators Alliance issued a manifesto declaring that the organization is not communistic and yet it appears that Van Mine, Brazil delegate to the Comintern Congress in Moscow, had there outlined a plan of revolt in Brazil. Armed insurrectionists were easily defeated by the government.

## Peace Reigns in Germany



## What Socialism Means

By Eugene Victor Debs

TO everyone who works it is important to know what Socialism is and what it means. It is my conviction that no working man can clearly understand what Socialism means without becoming and remaining a Socialist. It is simply impossible for him to be anything else, and the only reason that all working men are not Socialists is because they have not found out the meaning of it.

The way things are now, people are divided.

One side get the profit, grow rich, live in mansions, ride in yachts, gamble at Monte Carlo, drink champagne, choose judges, buy editors, hire preachers, corrupt politics, build universities, endow libraries, patronize churches, get the goat, preach morals and bequeath the earth to their lineal descendants.

The other side do the work, early and late, in heat and cold; they sweat and groan and bleed and die. They build the mills and all the machinery; they man the plants, and the thing of stone and steel begins to throb. They live in the outskirts of the city in cottages where famine walks with despair and "The Miseries" leer and mock at civilization. When the mills shut down they are out of work and out

of food and out of home; and when old age begins to steal away their vigor and the step is no longer agile, nor the sinew strong, nor the hand cunning, when the frame begins to bend and quiver and the eye to grow dim, and they are no longer fit as labor power to make profits for their masters, they are pushed aside into the human drift that empties into the gulf of despair and death.

The natural consequence of such a system is swarms of vagrants, tramps, outcasts, paupers, thieves, gamblers, pickpockets, suicides, confidence men, fallen women, consumptives, idiots and dwarfed and miserable children. There is disease, poverty, insanity and crime rampant in every land under the sway of a system of this kind. It is the capitalist system. And this system is supported alternately by the Republican party and the Democratic party.

THIS brutal order of things must be ended. The human race was not born to degeneracy. There is a better system.

A thousand heads have grown for every thousand pairs of hands; a thousand hearts throb in testimony of the unity of heads and hands; a thousand souls, though crushed and mangled, burn in pro-

test and are pledged to redeem a thousand men.

Heads and hands, hearts and souls, are the heritage of all.

Full opportunity for full development is the unalienable right of all.

He who denies it is a tyrant; he who dares not demand it is a coward; he who is indifferent to it is a slave; he who does not desire it is dead.

THE earth for all the people! That is the demand.

The machinery of production and distribution for all the people! That is the demand.

The collective ownership and control of industry and its democratic management in the interest of all the people! That is the demand.

The elimination of rent, interest and profit and the production of wealth to satisfy the wants of all the people! That is the demand.

Cooperative industry in which all shall work together in harmony as the basis of a new social order, a higher civilization, a real republic! That is the demand.

The end of class struggles and class rule, of master and slave, of ignorance and vice, poverty and shame, of cruelty and crime—the birth of freedom, the dawn of brotherhood, the beginning of MAN! That is the demand.

THAT IS SOCIALISM!

## The Death of One Man

WITH the death of Bernard S. Deutsch, President of the Board of Aldermen, New York City loses a municipal official of dignity as well as a high-minded citizen; but New York also receives a lesson that it can ill afford to ignore.

Mr. Deutsch was elected President of the Board of Aldermen with Mayor LaGuardia over the whole city in the anti-Tammany sweep of two years ago. He not only presided over the Board of Aldermen—of which he was not a member—but he also was the second official in the city, with three votes out of 16 in the all-powerful Board of Estimate. Mr. Deutsch's death elevates to his place Alderman Timothy J. Sullivan, a Tammany district leader who was elected Majority Leader and vice-chairman of the Board by the Tammany majority there. Sullivan now becomes President of the Board of Aldermen, virtually vice-mayor of the city, and he will now sit in the all-powerful Board of Estimate, casting three votes there.

**Tammany in the Saddle**  
That the elevation of this Tammany district leader is by no means a trivial event is made plain by two facts; one is that upon one other occasion a vice-chairman of the Board, Alderman Adolph L. Kline, became President of the Board upon the resignation of Alderman President John Purroy Mitchel, and then became Mayor upon the death of Mayor Gaynor. And the other important fact is that with Timothy Sullivan's elevation a non-Tammany majority of ten to six in the Board of Estimate becomes a Tammany majority of nine to seven. Thus New York again has a Tammany city administration.

New York was swept by a moral spasm of anti-Tammany sentiment in 1933, and a full city ticket—with the exception of two borough presidents casting three Board of Estimate votes between them—was elected to back up Mayor LaGuardia. The fiery little crusader refused to enter partisan politics, he said. When he was inaugurated he said he was "out of politics" for "at least four years." Socialists who were urged to join the anti-Tammany Fusion campaign were told that city government is no place for parties; that only "good men" were needed. LaGuardia, who was supported by many genuinely good men—one of the best of whom was Mr. Deutsch—insisted that all that was necessary was to arouse the conscience of the people against grave wrongs and to present "good" men to end them.

Socialists insisted that while the defeat of Tammany was an excellent thing in itself it was nothing but the beginning; that mere elimination of Tammany pocket-picking and barefaced thievery was hardly a noble ideal for a great city; that what any community needs is a long-range program looking toward a better world, a program to be advanced and pushed by a well-knit, organized party of useful people in whose interest such a program would operate. In other words, Socialists refused to abandon their Socialist program for the mere negative good of ousting barefaced thieves to be replaced by merely "good" men.

The "best" people denounced us for our stand, and asserted that we were standing in the way of a great "moral cause" by insisting that parties with constructive programs have their place in city af-

fairs and that we would not abandon ours.

**The Socialists Were Right**  
As usual the Socialists were right.

Within a few months of his taking office Mayor LaGuardia suffered a great loss when his controller, Major Cunningham, fell off a horse, broke his neck and died. To be succeeded after an election by Tammany's Frank J. Taylor. That meant a loss of three votes in the Board of Estimate, LaGuardia's strength falling from 13 out of 16 to 10 out of 16. Then Mr. Deutsch caught a cold and died, and the great moral crusade of 1933 is spent.

Tammany is entrenched again because one man fell off a horse and another man caught a cold. LaGuardia and his backers wanted no party but only men. Two men were tragically picked off. And all is lost.

Nothing can be done, no advance can be made—whether merely negatively, in the ousting of thieves, or positively, in building a new world—except by the organization of a party of men and women seeking certain aims to back up any officials who are elected.

This is true locally as well as nationally.

The Socialists were right. How soon will the masses find that out?

### Oregon State Convention

PORTLAND.—The Oregon state executive committee of the Socialist Party has called a state convention to be held in Portland on Dec. 14 and 15, at which time the question of reaffiliation with the party nationally will be considered. James D. Graham, member of the national executive committee, will represent the national office.

## "Can Such Things Be?"

By Adrien Gambet

**The World's Prize Snob**  
PERMIT me to nominate for permanent possession of the world trophy for cruel and brutal stupidity one Hedda Stone. I haven't the faintest idea who La Stone may be save that in a letter in the New York Sun last Monday she revealed herself as a poor, oppressed social worker. This letter, which should be engraved on imperishable tablets as an awful example, reads as follows:

"I am a social worker. Under present conditions our work is extremely fatiguing due to the number of cases handled. I myself devote eight hours each day, five days a week, to my work. And all for the inadequate salary of \$30 a week. It is surprising how little cooperation one gets from the masses. I have one case in mind where I submitted to a family of four a ten-dollar a week budget. They made practically no effort to live within it. Any one knows that \$10 a week will support four people quite comfortably. It seems that these people have no intention of adjusting themselves to economic necessity. I have known cases where men refused, point blank, to take manual jobs at \$8 a week. Such conditions smack of Communism."

### A Bruised Soul

My heart goes out to this bruised and tender soul in her great grief. Here is an intellectual light of the very first water hidden beneath the shallow bushel of some New York charitable organization. Or was so hidden, because if Hedda Stone hasn't by this time been given the chance to rest from her weary labors and subsist on the \$10 a week which is far more than one person needs her boss is a damnable fool that he ought to be. For nothing could better show up the stupidity and ineptness, to say nothing of the complete lack of any scientific knowledge of their work, which is prevalent among so many "welfare" workers, and, unfortunately, so often inspires the policy of their organizations. Not only does Hedda reveal herself as unpossessed of any of the technical equipment for the responsible job into which she has blundered but with remarkable frankness she displays herself as completely devoid of human decency and sympathetic understanding.

### A Modern Marie Antoinette

IT is perfectly obvious, for instance, when the Stone gabbles about four people being supported "quite comfortably" on \$10 a week that she hasn't the faintest knowledge of the scientific aspects of food and nourishment. It is remotely possible that enough food of a sort could be bought by people living on such a budget, but it is absolutely impossible that enough nourishment could be. And any one who has any doubts on this matter need only walk through any New York slum and count the number of children suffering from rickets.

Milk, oranges, cheese and butter are among the more expensive foods that are absolutely necessary for a healthy diet—and these can't be bought on an allowance of \$2.50 per week per person. Rickets, beri-beri, pellagra and endocrine disorders are only a few of the many evils that result from a diet consisting chiefly of the cheap starchy foods that can be bought on this allowance.

And so this family made "practically no effort to live within it?" How terrible! I bet they insisted on trying to hang on to the Rolls-Royce and the champagne cocktails. It just seems that the lower classes will never learn their place. And then the wretched plight of poor Hedda herself. This curious form of animal life who finds \$10 enough to support four people so "comfortably" while she herself has to struggle along, toiling eight hours a day for five days a week. Just think of it—five days! And for what? For the "inadequate salary of \$30 a week." How can Hedda keep from thinking bitter thoughts of the "masses" when, with all these troubles of her own, she actually knows "cases where men refused, point blank, to take normal jobs at \$8 a week?" When her fine mind can command only a paltry \$30, there are men who refuse to work for \$8? Perish the thought! And when Hedda says that "such conditions smack of Communism," I must agree with her.

### A Solution

Certainly no fair-minded person will deny that such goings-on could not but stir Communistic mutterings in the soul of the gentle Hedda. And so they have. People who simply insist on having enough food to eat, others who won't work for wages that would just about pay for their carfare, lunches and half the cost of work clothes. How could that possibly fail to stir discontent in the generous heart of this self-sacrificing creature who labors eight hours a day and five days a week—think of it—for a paltry thirty dollars? Of course, she's discontented.

And her just complaint must not go unheard. Hedda should be relieved of her arduous labors for

this wretched pittance. She should be rewarded—she should be placed on a good manual job at \$8 a week. It might knock into her empty head some of the common sense that is now so conspicuously lacking.

### The Flower of American Civilization

AND if you happen to think that Hedda in her own gentle way is about as savage and dehumanized as a person could well be in a civilized society please cast your eye on the doings of the Prison Advisory Committee in the state of Kentucky—long noted for its culture and Kentucky gentlemen. This commission recommends that the state adopt the practice of emasculating desperate criminals and degenerates. Not sterilizing, mind you, but emasculating. Sterilizing is a very simple operation in which a gland duct is sewed up—emasculating means the removal of the organs themselves. The commission in its infinite wisdom has decided that the "desperado type of felon is more afraid of desexing than of death."

My, my, how civilization does progress! A few centuries ago we used to chop off the ears of criminals, slit their noses, brand their foreheads, flog them until they were at death's door, and indulge in other playful little methods of convincing them that crime was indiscreet. It failed. And all such means must fail as long as hungry men must steal to live, as long as children in slums must live on diets such as those prescribed by the gentle Hedda Stone—diets which cause physical ills which make them mentally irresponsible and criminally insane.

In short, crime will thrive just as long as we treat symptoms and not causes. So long as we stunt the minds and bodies of children, forcing them to grow into criminal types, and so long as we force men to steal if they would eat. When we begin to treat the causes of crime in a scientific way by the abolition of pauperism and evil environment, then it will go.

### Kentucky Hitlers

BUT you have to give Kentucky credit. For sheer brutality and stupidity it has out-Hitlered Hitler. For the Nazi gangsters resort only to sterilization—emasculating has not occurred even to their bestial minds. In fact even the Italian fascists give as their reason for waging war on Ethiopia the excuse that a country which playfully emasculates its enemies is in need of civilization. Kentucky, then, is one step lower in the ranks of civilization than the savage tribes of Africa.

Of course no reason is advanced for the proposal to emasculate degenerates. As a degenerate is not mentally responsible it is difficult to see how any frightening will deter him from what he is under compulsion to do. As to criminals fearing emasculation worse than death. . . . Well, just give any man his choice between the two and see which he will pick. And as they don't seem to fear death, it might be a bit more intelligent on the part of these Kentucky colonels if they were to investigate the mortal compulsion which will force men to crime in face of such a risk. Then maybe they will be on the right track. But this only happens to be an extreme example of the stupidity with which this country faces its sociological problems. No effort is made to avail ourselves of scientific findings in these matters and so, since the steps taken are stupid, the results are always stupid. I hope to come back to this subject later.

Meanwhile, there is one hopeful note in the news from Kentucky. The dispatch says: "Of course, such extreme measures should not be employed except on the well-considered advice of scientifically trained men." If they mean what they say—but they probably don't—their plans will never be put into effect. For no genuine scientist would ever subscribe to this savage nonsense.

## Oneal Will Address Union Mass Meetings In Big 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, next week. Oneal will lecture on the history and present problems of the American labor movement. 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. Other cities in that section that desire an Oneal lecture either during the forthcoming tour, or for some other occasion, should write to The New Leader without delay.