

Wisconsin Launches Farmer-Labor Bloc For Political Action

**Socialist Party Will Retain
Full Identity in New Set-
Up—State Federation of
Labor Backs Move**

Progressives Join

**Milwaukee Conference
Makes Abolition of Profit
System Main Aim of
New Organization—225
Delegates Present**

SPECIAL TO THE NEW LEADER
MILWAUKEE, Wis. — After a two-day session in which 225 delegates representing the labor movement of this state, the Socialist Party, the LaFollette Progressive party, farm and cooperative and other organizations participated, the Farm-Labor Progressive Association was launched as an agency for independent political action, opposed to the two old parties and against the profit system. It was made clear upon the adjournment of the sessions that the Socialist Party will keep its identity intact, and that the first step toward an independent party of workers and farmers will be an agreement by which candidates will be agreed upon by all the elements in the new set-up. The Socialist Party will hold a state referendum of its membership on the question of application as a body. Henry Ohl, Jr., President of the State Federation of Labor, a Socialist Party member and formerly Socialist member of the Assembly, presided at the sessions, which were held behind closed doors at the Wisconsin Hotel.

The Farm-Labor Progressive Association will stress socialization of the means of production as its main objective and independence of the two old parties as its political method.

Communists Not Welcome
Communists, either in their own party or in various "innocent" clubs, were not welcomed, and it is the purpose of the new organization specifically to exclude them.

The temper of the gathering was shown when Dan Hoan, Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee, addressed the delegates and received the warmest and most enthusiastic applause given any speaker.

The conference was summoned in pursuance of a resolution calling for independent working-class political action passed at the 1935 convention of the State Federation of Labor.

Besides the Socialist Party the organizations officially represented by delegates included the Wisconsin Milk Pool, the Farmers' Equity Association, the Railway Brotherhoods, the State Federation of Labor, the Progressive party—which controls the state government—the Workers' Alliance, the Farm-Labor Progressive League and others. A preliminary committee of 18 remains as a continuation committee. It is made clear that in wards, districts and communities where the Socialist Party is the most powerful force, the Socialists will nominate candidates for office, to be supported by all the elements in the new set-up. Where the Socialists are not the most numerous organization the party local or branch will confer with the local Farm-Labor Progressive Association club, and in any event a Socialist may be nominated. All elements are pledged to support the full ticket of the Association.

Production for Use Stressed
The preamble to the organization's constitution stress a production for use, and read:

"WHEREAS, the policy of production and distribution for profit has brought us into a chaotic condition so that despite our potential ability to produce an abundance for all, millions of our people are denied the opportunity to produce and serve, and as a consequence they and millions of others are suffering hardship and some are actually homeless and hungry, and

"WHEREAS, our governmental agencies have failed to take effective measures to remedy this condition, because they have largely been under the domination and control of those who have used the profit economy to exploit the masses of the producers and servers in commerce, in industry and on the farm for their own selfish gain, and

(Continued on Page Three)

Hoodlums Beat All-Socialist Fla. Socialists City Council In Tampa Raid Begins its Work

**Party Officials Near Death
After Brutal Assault by
City Officials—Financial
Help Needed to Prosecute
Assailants Who Illegally
Enter House**

By Frank McCallister

SPECIAL TO THE NEW LEADER

TAMPA, Fla. — Police terror broke out here Saturday night, Nov. 30. At a peaceful meeting in the home of Mrs. Harold, Secretary of the Truck Drivers' Union ten uniformed detectives illegally entered the house and arrested Charles E. Jensen, Socialist Party State Secretary; Walter Roush, member State Executive Committee; Eugene Paulnot, party member and State President of the Florida Workers' Alliance; Sam D. Rogers, party member; Joseph E. Shoemaker, former party member from Vermont, now chairman of the Modern Democrats in Tampa, and one McKaskill, a city fireman.

They were taken to the police station and held for investigation as "Communists," although not one was or ever has been connected with the Communist Party or any of its affiliated organizations. Jensen and Roush being opposed to united action with them on any issue. Despite the fact that four of these men were well-known Socialist Party members who have appeared innumerable times in public as Socialists, they were severely grilled as to their "Communist activities."

Jensen, Roush and McKaskill were finally released. Shoemaker, Paulnot and Rogers were told they were released but were taken for a ride by uniformed policemen to

(Continued on Page Two)

**Bridgeport's Affairs to Be
Carried on in Open Be-
fore the Public—Senator
John M. Taft Presides as
Mayor Reports Sound
City Finances**

By Abraham Knepler

BRIDGEPORT. — Before a crowd that filled every corner of the Common Council chamber and overflowed into the hallway, Bridgeport's all-Socialist Board of Aldermen assumed their seats on Monday and started the third year of Socialist administration of city affairs.

Senator John M. Taft, elected aldermanic president, announced it will be the policy of the Socialist board to give public explanation of each of its major actions in future aldermanic meetings. This will be a continuation of the Socialist policy of the last two years of doing all city business in the open instead of behind closed doors, as previously. It will involve the use of public hearings to allow the public to express its views on important matters. It will enable the public to understand why the board will act as it will, instead of trying to have the public believe that it is too stupid to know anything except how to vote for the "right" man.

In a brief message to the new Board of Aldermen, Mayor Jasper McLevy referred to the accomplishments of the administration during the past two years; reviewed the excellent financial condition of the city at the present time—although only a few weeks ago, during the election campaign, the old parties were trying to scare up the bogey of a special tax as inevitable if the Socialists were re-elected—and mentioned a few ad-

(Continued on Page Six)

Slavery of Southern Share Croppers Revealed in Report

WASHINGTON, D. C. — A study made by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration of the plight of tenants and sharecroppers in Alabama shows that in a large percentage of cases AAA benefit payments intended for these people go instead to the landlords, who in many instances force sharecroppers to turn over the payment that is supposedly theirs under the crop production program sponsored by the Government.

The FERA study, prepared by Harold Hoffsommer, professor of sociology at Alabama Polytechnic Institute and supervisor of rural research in Alabama for the FERA, gives support to recent statements of economists that tenants and sharecroppers in the South were in a condition very similar to slavery and that the cotton tenancy plan was in actuality a system of serfdom.

The survey declares it is practically impossible for the sharecroppers to get out of their dependent position.

In discussing the very small AAA benefits tenants and sharecroppers, who are constantly in debt to their landlords, are able to keep for themselves, the report states:

Debt Slavery

"As a result of this general pattern of debt relationships, governmental assistance has been of little help to the tenants in a majority of instances.

"In approximately 60 per cent of the households which receive such assistance it was found that all money received had been immediately used to pay debts and the landlord was the chief creditor. In approximately 60 per cent of the cropper households receiving such assistance, a part or all of it was immediately paid to the landlord, and in roughly one-third of

these cases the relief family claimed that the payment had been forced.

"The extreme in this matter was reached among the Negro cropper households, more than 86 per cent of whom reported paying a part or all of their government money to the landlord and in nearly one-half of all the instances claim that the payment was forced."

On the subject of Federal relief for tenants and sharecroppers, the report states: "It is fairly certain that a considerable number of unscrupulous landlords use government relief as a means of furthering their own interests."

(Continued on Page Six)

California Endorses The New Leader

California has just been added to the list of states where The New Leader has been endorsed by the Socialist Party organization. At the last meeting of the state committee that action was taken.

Another Canadian City Won by Labor

REGINA, Sask. — This city of 55,000 people was won by Labor in last week's election, when A. C. Ellinson was elected Mayor by a majority of 728. With him were elected five Aldermen out of a total of ten. The Mayor will have the deciding vote, which means that the city will be governed by Socialists.

Caballero Is Freed by Madrid Court

AFTER more than thirteen months of imprisonment Francisco Largo Caballero, leader of the Spanish Labor



movement and of the Spanish Socialist party, has been acquitted by the Supreme Court on charges growing out of the revolt of October, 1934.

Largo Caballero, Deputy in the Cortes and who held the portfolio of Labor in several of the earlier ministries under the Republic, is the successor of the late Pablo Iglesias as head of the powerful Socialist and labor movement.

Caballero's acquittal is significant in many ways. As leader of the Socialist Party he was held responsible for the outbreak of fighting and for the deaths of those who died in the revolt on both sides. But it was recognized by all that the accusation against him was purely political, and that he would be punished or acquitted, depending upon the political situation.

The fact that he was freed after a trial that attracted the widest attention and that gave the Socialists a magnificent opportunity for propaganda indicates that the Socialist tide is rising and that the Gil Robles clique of semi-fascists is losing the control through which they had hoped to destroy the Republic and outlaw the Socialist and labor movement.

The acquittal has created the widest enthusiasm among the masses and is a signal for a virtual rebirth of the movement.

Profit Aim Controls Industrial System, Declares A. F. of L.

Business Rise Constitutions Brings More Halt Passage of Employment Security Laws

**But Gain Slackens, Says
Green in Analysis of
New Job Statistics —
Other Reports Cited to
Show Industrial Condi-
tions Still Bad**

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Although the improvement in business conditions since October, 1934, has furnished reemployment for 969,000 workers, the multitude of working men and women who have been permanently locked out by those who own and control industry is so stupendous that the few who have been given jobs hardly make a visible dent in the out-of-work army, numbering many millions, according to the current report on unemployment by President William Green of the American Federation of Labor.

"As indicated by trade union reports a month ago," Green said, "industrial employment continued to gain in October. Government records now confirm the trade union report, showing that in the United States as a whole some 282,000 persons went back to work in industry in October. This compares with a gain of 403,000 in September and lifts the number employed in industry almost a million above last year. Employment in October, 1935, exceeded October, 1934, by 969,000."

"These employment gains are the largest since the Recovery program. Although gains of September and October this year do not equal those made under NRA, they do indicate that, after staying relatively at a dead level for a year, employment is at last turning upward. Gains thus far, however, have been too small to make any significant impression in re-

(Continued on Page Six)

**States Find Constitutional
Bars to Enactment of Un-
employment Insurance
Legislation — Many
States in Reactionary
Column**

CONSTITUTIONAL obstacles of many kinds will make it difficult, if not impossible, for all but seven states of the Union to establish unemployment insurance by complying with the chief provisions of the Federal Social Security Act, a survey of all the 48 State Constitutions reveals. The results of the survey are published by the American Association for Social Security.

The survey reveals also that there is but one sure way of bringing about unemployment insurance and other social legislation—through an amendment to the Federal Constitution.

Another "Joker"?
As one peruses the facts revealed by the survey, the question arises whether the Roosevelt administration was ignorant of the constitutional obstacles to the Social Security Act, or whether it deliberately misled the people into the belief that the Act was adequate.

The unemployment insurance section of the Federal Social Security Act seeks to encourage state legislation by imposing a general excise tax on all employers of eight or more workers. This tax will then be offset up to 90% of the amount in the case of those employers who contribute to a state unemployment insurance fund.

(Continued on Page Four)

Labor Editor Exposes Anti- Union Insurance Company

PHILADELPHIA.—Formal protest against the anti-union, company-union fostering activity of the Prudential Insurance Co., has been lodged with State Insurance Commissioner Owen Hunt.

The complaint was made by David S. Schick, an editor of Labor Publications Foundation, publishers of the Labor Record and Silk and Dye Workers and the Hosiery Worker. Schick acted "on behalf of the workers of Pennsylvania and as a taxpayer."

The basis of the charges is the participation of the insurance company in the organization and main-

tenance of a company union in the Baskind Shirt Factory at Lebanon, Pa., where membership in the company union is compulsory and premiums for an insurance policy are checked out of every employee's pay envelope. It was this same illegal and vicious situation that caused the John Hancock Insurance Company to cancel all the policies and rebuke its agent when it learned that its name and reputation had been lent to the scheme.

Schick's letter to Commissioner Hunt follows:

"On behalf of the workers of Pennsylvania and as a taxpayer, I wish to enter with you a formal complaint against the activity in Pennsylvania of the Prudential Life Insurance Company, whose headquarters are located at Newark, N. J.

"I charge the Prudential Insurance Company with practices that are in violation of the Labor Disputes Act recently enacted by the United States Congress. Some action must be taken by the Commonwealth to oblige the Prudential to cease practices which contravene federal statutes and are in violation of the public policy of the Commonwealth.

"We allege that the Prudential company is directly engaged, in itself, as a conscious agent of employers, in violating the provisions of the Labor Disputes Act, by setting up employer-dominated unions at the behest of and under the direction of, various employers and selling a group insurance policy as the inducement for membership in the 'puppet union.' More than that, the company is furnishing to anti-union employers, group insurance policies available only to those employees who join the company union set up by the particular employer. Employees are forced to participate in group insurance pol-

(Continued on Page Three)

**Poverty and Unemployment,
Insecurity and
Fear, Are the Fruits of
Capitalism**

A World of Stupidity

**With Proper Organization
and Control Abundance
and Happiness Could Be
Assured**

WASHINGTON, D. C. — A criticism of profit as the major motive in industry instead of larger real purchasing power and better standards of living for the masses, features the current issue of the Monthly Survey of Business published by the American Federation of Labor. To prove that as business recovers the profit motive is intensified, the Survey uses the record of 1,900 corporations which in 1933 appropriated more than one-half of the entire profits made by all of the 447,000 corporations in the United States.

In 1933 the profits of these 1,900 corporations were \$1,314,000,000. In 1934 the profits were increased to \$1,733,000,000. For 1935 competent financial bureaus estimate that the profits will total \$2,340,000,000. These figures show an increase of profits of the 1,900 corporations of 78 per cent in two years.

In emphasizing the present inequitable distribution of the earnings of industry dominated exclusively by the profit motive, the Survey declares that "wages today are not keeping pace with production," and statistically buttresses this declaration with the assertion that "in the first three-quarters of 1935 production has exceeded last year by 8.7 per cent, workers' buying power by less than 1 per cent."

Profit vs. Need

Pointing out that although millions of workers are jobless there is a shortage of 5,000,000 homes, 1,000,000 automobiles and similar needs in other lines, the Survey declares it is the policy of those who own and control industry to keep their plants closed or working on part time until "business can make a profit" by providing the people with these necessary elements, adding:

"Profit, not our need, is the controlling factor."

Turning to the possibilities in terms of economic welfare of shifting the major purpose of industry from maximum profit to higher living standards for the masses, the Survey says:

"A recent study by competent engineers shows that in America today no one need be unemployed or in poverty. Proper use of our industrial resources, equipment and man power can produce enough to give every family an income of at least \$4,370 a year."

"This means that it is possible for every family to have a comfortable home, plenty of food, clothing and other essentials, an automobile and radio, opportunities for education and culture, adequate medical care and provision for old age. With modern industrial techniques, plenty is within our grasp, not for the favored few alone but for every man, woman and child in America."

"In the world of today, it is sheer stupidity to condemn millions of men and women to idleness, poverty and dependence while we run our industrial plant at half capacity and plow under the cotton we need for clothes."

Defects of Capitalism

"We know that when industry operates without control, depression must follow prosperity as surely as night follows day. Periods of prosperity bring large fortunes for the few but never has any period of prosperity lifted living standards for the masses to the levels modern industry makes possible. In our year of greatest prosperity, one-sixth of our population were living below the minimum necessary for health, when all might have had a comfort living standard."

"Under proper control, our industries could supply a steady stream of goods year after year sufficient for our needs. Our living standards could be raised progressively, in proportion with improving industrial techniques; we

(Continued on Page Three)

'Militant' Faction Seeks to Split Party By Bolting from Local New York

At a meeting of the City Central Committee of Local New York on December 4, the "militant" dual organization, acting upon a predetermined caucus decision, bolted the Socialist Party. Although a minority, they constituted themselves formally as an organization claiming to be the party in New York City. Immediately following this step their action received the approval of Norman Thomas.

The bolt of the "militants" occurred after they had failed to force upon the Central Committee reconsideration of the committee's previous decision to dissolve the dual factional organization in the local.

After withdrawing from the meeting of the Central Committee, the "militants" went to the office of The Socialist Call, their organ, where they were received by Norman Thomas, who promptly approved their secession.

Militants Fail in Branches

Defeated in their efforts through-out past month to win over a majority of the branches of Local New York to the "militant" caucus resolution denouncing the Central Committee's decision, taken at the regular meeting last month to reorganize the local and to end the dual organization in New York, the "militants" had come to the meeting of the Central Committee last Wednesday night determined to press their factional fight against the party.

The reading of the minutes at the start of the meeting was not finished when they demanded an immediate opportunity to present and vote on a resolution prepared by their caucus calling for reconsideration of the reorganization motion.

The chairman, U. Solomon, pointed out that the by-laws and democracy required that a motion to reconsider be made and seconded by members who last month had voted for the reorganization motion. If there were no delegate who had changed his opinion since the last meeting, it was evident that another vote would only have the same result and simply waste the time of the committee. It soon developed that not a single member of the committee who had voted for the motion to dissolve the dual factional organization was willing to propose or second a motion to reconsider—so complete had been the failure of a month's intensive agitation by the "militant" flying squad in its visits to the branches. Comrade Solomon thereupon declared the militant motion out of order.

The Walkout

Thereupon the "militants" appealed from the decision of the chair. In the course of the argument on the appeal, their only remarks were abuse, threats and demands that the majority must give in to the minority. Although it was still so early that at least twenty-five delegates had not yet arrived at the meeting—all of them non-militants, since the militants had arrived in a body, coming directly from their caucus—their vote was only three or four more than represented by their

caucus membership. They demanded again that the majority yield to them, and when this was refused they rose and left in a body, shouting: "We are the Socialist Party of New York." With clenched fists and upraised arms, singing the "International," song of unity, they began their secession parade. There were 39 in the parade.

The remaining delegates of the Central Committee, who continued the regular meeting, represented a majority of the committee, and as they were the spokesmen of forty branches, the majority of the branches in the local, including the largest branches. Among those who remained were delegates who had voted against sustaining the chair on the "militant" appeal. By a vote of 65, cast unanimously, the following resolution was adopted:

"WHEREAS, As a part of their factional caucus decision, a number of delegates to the City Central Committee walked out of this meeting in a body with the statement that they are the Socialist Party of New York, be it

"RESOLVED, That the seats of all such delegates are hereby declared vacant, and these delegates are hereby declared ineligible to be candidates for the present City Central Committee; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That the branches whose delegates thus walked out are instructed to call special meetings under the supervision of the City Executive Committee to elect new delegates within two weeks from date hereof. All members of the party shall be notified of the resolution and it shall be published in the party press."

Resolution on Dual Organization

Another motion adopted unanimously endorsed the following resolution passed by the City Executive Committee at a regular meeting held on November 27:

"The City Executive Committee, empowered and instructed by the City Central Committee on November 13 to effect a reorganization in Local New York has carefully studied the situation and considers that the first necessary step in restoring normal conditions in Local New York is to put an end to dual organization within the party, which paralyzes party activity, diverts funds from party work, disregards decisions of duly con-

stituted party authorities, and by unethical factional warfare discourages the membership and demoralizes the party.

"Narrow Uniformity" Not Sought by Majority

"Neither Local New York nor any of its recognized subsidiary and auxiliary bodies now seeks or ever has sought to enforce a narrow uniformity of opinion on questions of Socialist theory and policy, nor to prevent free and fair discussion of such questions by the membership. The maintenance of special papers or discussion groups for the expression of divergent views is permissible, so long as these are conducted in such a manner as to promote mutual understanding and harmonies and effective functioning of the party. If, however, they are used as means to divide the membership on lines of organized faction, to promote discord, to obstruct the actions of the regularly constituted party authorities, and to weaken or destroy its recognized agencies, it is the right and duty of the party to suppress them.

"The Executive Committee finds that the Socialist Call, the Call Association and the Call Institute have been and are systematically acting in this obstructive and disruptive manner, and that they constitute a dual and factional organization within the party.

"It therefore directs all members of Local New York henceforth to refrain from any participation in the activities of the Call Association, the Socialist Call and the Call Institute, and from supporting or aiding them in any way whatever, and directs all county committees and branches to co-operate in enforcing this decision.

"Failure to comply with this decision will be regarded as a violation of party discipline and will be dealt with accordingly."

The Central Committee discussed at length the situation created by the secession of the "militants," with many members emphasizing the necessity of bringing order to the situation. There was a determination on the part of all to put an end to disruptive tactics and activities which have so greatly hampered our work for Socialism and the creation of a strong and healthy party. All were confident that the way is now clear for the realization of this task and the rapid growth of the party in New York.

Women's Organizations Combat Rise in Living Cost

By George Field

THIRTY-NINE women's clubs, consumers' leagues and trade unions, comprising the Women's Conference Against the High Cost of Living, with headquarters at 7 East 15th St., New York, have called a two-day conference at the Hotel Pennsylvania for Saturday and Sunday, Dec. 14-15. More than three score additional organizations will be represented by delegates.

In a statement issued by Mrs. Esther Friedman, chairman of the Women's Conference Against the High Cost of Living and the Women's Committee of the Socialist Party, one of the affiliated organizations, she asked adherence to the principle, "Plenty for all through production for use."

There will be three sessions, as follows: Saturday afternoon, Dec. 14, on the "High Cost of Food." The speakers will be Louis Waldman, State Chairman of the Socialist Party; William Fellows Morgan, Jr., New York City Commissioner of Markets; Donald E. Montgomery, consumers' counsel, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, representing the U. S. Department of Agriculture, and Dorothy Kenyon, treasurer of the City Affairs Committee; Pauline M. Newman will act as chairman.

Housing Problem to Be Discussed

Sunday morning, Dec. 15, the session will be devoted to "The Housing Problem." The speakers scheduled are B. Charney Vlaseck; Dwight L. Hoopingarner, Associate Housing Director, Housing Division of the PWA; Langdon W. Post, chairman of the New York Housing Authority, and Catherine

Bauer, executive secretary of the Labor Housing Conference. Bertha H. Mailly will be chairman.

Sunday afternoon the topic will be "The Consumer and the Utilities." The speakers scheduled are Charles Solomon; Leland Olds, secretary of the New York State Power Authority, and Maurice P. Davidson, Commissioner of the New York Department of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity. Chairman, Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughan. After the principal addresses there will be short talks from the floor.

"It is the purpose of this conference to combat in whatever way possible the high cost of food and other necessities," said Mrs. Friedman. "The conference will provide a clearing house for various views, criticisms and programs offered by leading authorities on the food, housing and utilities problems. The delegates present will bring back to their respective organizations, for thorough discussion and action, the conclusions reached at these three sessions."

"The objective of this conference," continued Mrs. Friedman, "is to widen and deepen the understanding of our capacity to produce plenty for all and our right to the fullest enjoyment of the fruits thereof, with special privilege to none. We intend to enlist progressive women in this country to join with us in this organization, which exacts adherence to the principle of plenty for all through production for use."

In addition to the 39 initial organizations which planned the conference, the following have indicated their intention to send delegates: The Community Councils of New York, the United Parents' Association, the City Affairs Committee, the League of Women Shoppers, the Dress Joint Board of the I.L.G.W.U., the Women's American Org., Young Women's Hebrew Association, League for Political Education, League for Industrial Democracy, Society for Ethical Culture, the Socialist Party, and many other organizations.

BIG INCREASE IN PUNXSUTAUWNEY, PA.

PUNXSUTAUWNEY, Pa. — The Socialist vote in Jefferson County showed a heavy gain over 1934, in some cases more than doubling the previous vote, according to official figures just made public.

The highest vote in 1935 was cast for F. S. Goldthwaite on the county ticket, who received 983 votes. William Adams for judge received 887 votes, Comrade Goldthwaite carried his own precinct in Young Township, 135 to 113 for the Democrats and 93 for the Republican.

In 1934 Jim Maurer received 441 votes for United States Senator and Goldthwaite polled 298.

Statement of City Chairman Lee On the Bolt of the 'Militants'

By Algernon Lee

Chairman, New York City Executive Committee

THE so-called "militants" have at last taken the decisive step of starting an open secession here in New York. Whether it will be extended to the rest of the country remains to be seen. I suppose, however, that such will be the case.

A month ago their spokesman in the Central Committee warned us that if we did not let them have their way here in New York they would split the party nationally, and no doubt all their plans were made.

It is to be noted that although on November 13th the Central Committee by a vote of 69 to 46 authorized the Executive Committee to take the necessary steps to put an end to organized factionalism within Local New York, the Executive Committee had not yet taken any definite action under this mandate. We were hoping against hope that the opposition would make reorganization unnecessary. I do not regret our extreme patience. It was always the "militants," not we, that desired a split, as many of them bluntly declared last July when they reproached the National Executive Committee for not expelling us en masse. It is logical that they should now have taken the formal as well as the actual responsibility.

Their secession will clear the air. Outside the party they can do it but little harm as compared with the injury they were doing as an organized faction within the party. Let them go their way. The loyal Socialists of New York will now be able to do normal and constructive Socialist work.

Party Members Warned Against Statements of Secessionists

SOCIALIST PARTY members should be on their guard against wild statements that are certain to come from the "militant" secessionists in Local New York. They appear to have ample funds from mysterious sources and for a year they have been more and more acting like the Communist "left wing" in the party in 1919. They have reached the stage of demanding the right to advocate armed insurrection, which clearly places them in the category of Communists.

Socialist Party members will stand adamant against these naive pseudo-revolutionists who for many weeks have had the "Daily Worker" as their open advocate. Party members throughout the country will also line up against the secessionists now that the latter are known to demand that the price of peace with them is the right to advocate the stupidity of armed insurrection.

Party members should also be on their guard against the Communist plants who have slipped into the party and are serving as the active advisors of the "militant" insurrectionists. Party members should also remember that the fraternal cooperation between the "militants" and the Communist party, now clearly revealed, follows the "new line" of a resolution adopted by the Communist International.

The Socialist Party will not tolerate the infantile Communists in the party and their secession allies. Make sure of that!

Next week The New Leader will have more to say of this treachery in the Socialist Party.

"First Houses" Hoodlums Beat Only a Start Florida Socialist

(Continued from Page One)

For six years now, on the average from month to month, from one-half to four-fifths of the building trades mechanics and laborers have been unwillingly idle—able to work, eager to work, not permitted to earn their living by useful labor.

Get Busy!

Set them to work, and you will be solving the unemployment problem and the housing problem at the same time. Year by year thousands of families will be living in cheerful and healthful homes at rents lower than they now pay in fire-traps and nests of disease. And the men who build those new houses are not going to hoard their wages. Their spending will give employment to workers in other trades.

Get busy, gentlemen of the Housing Authority. Build, and build, and build! Don't offer excuses, and don't accept excuses. If Secretary Ickes stands in your way, if the bankers and landlords stand in your way, even if the courts stand in your way—make them get out of your way. Accuse them before the public, expose them, put them on the spot. Take the lead, and you will get support. The tenement population will back you up. Organized Labor will back you up. You can do it if you will.

Offer no excuses, and accept no excuses—but build, and build, and build!

A. L.

(Continued from Page One)

a point several miles outside the city where they were subjected to a merciless lashing, tarred and feathered by these sadistic brutes. Shoemaker and Rogers are in the hospital, not expected to live, while Poulnot likewise suffered severely from the effects resulting from this outrage.

The capitalist press has been publishing stories that these men were released by the police and then abducted by a masked mob. This is the sheerest nonsense, and is a fairy tale concocted in the imagination of the reporter who covered the case and who was told by the victim that they were beaten by the police themselves.

Plans are being laid to prosecute the guilty officers on the charges of illegal entry, false arrest, kidnapping, assault with intent to kill and slander.

Protests should be sent to Mayor Chancy of Tampa, and Chief of Police Tittsworth, and demands for prosecution to Sheriff McLeod, Hillsborough County Court House, Tampa. Funds are desperately needed for the prosecution of these brutes and should be sent to Charles E. Jensen, State Secretary, 7303 Nebraska Avenue, Tampa. All money received will be strictly accounted for. Rush your protests and contributions at once! The safety, perhaps even the lives, of the Socialists in the State of Florida depends on prompt and generous assistance.

THE GREAT "SPECIALIST" SPEAKS



Here is the "new" Germany which those who are being summoned to attend the Olympic Games will see. On the rostrum the notorious Julius Streicher, self-described as a "Specialist in Race Questions," is seeking to inflame a huge Berlin audience against the Jewish people. The banner explains that there can be no world peace while Jews are permitted to live in freedom.

'Militants' Demand Right To Preach Insurrection

TWO days before the dual organization of the "militants" in Local New York bolted the meeting of the City Central Committee on December 4 and organized itself into a dual "central committee" a conference was held between a group of comrades occupying the centrist position who had made strenuous efforts to bring about peace and the leaders of the "militant" faction. It throws an interesting light on what has happened since. The demands of the "militants" as the minimum basis on which they would reestablish peace were such that the centrist comrades were forced to turn them down. These demands of the "militants" included the right to advocate armed insurrection in the party.

Those who conferred with the "militants" were Dr. S. J. Fried, Mrs. Fried, George J. Steinhardt and Matthew Levy, all members of the 8th A.D. in the Bronx.

Comrades Steinhardt, Fried and Levy have given The New Leader the following report of what took place at the conference. We quote it in full:

"Following the report of the delegates to the Central Committee at a meeting of the 8th A.D. Bronx. Dr. S. J. Fried, a member of that branch, proposed to George Steinhardt that, before the Central Committee takes final action on the question of reorganizing Local New York, another effort to bring about peace be made. As a result, a conference was held at the home of Dr. Fried, on Monday, December 2nd. Present besides Dr. Fried were the following: Mrs. Fried, Charles B. Garfinkel, Jack Altman, Max Delson, Matthew Levy and George I. Steinhardt.

"Garfinkel submitted a number of proposals which he read from a prepared manuscript, and these proposals were fully supported by Delson and Altman. In effect they are as follows:

"1. The right of members to express any opinion, including the right to advocate force, violence, armed insurrection, and dictatorship.

"2. That a committee, evenly divided, consisting of Militants and Old Guards, be chosen to supersede the present Executive Committee of Local New York and be given control of the local, the property of the party, and its various sections.

"The Militants declared that if both of these propositions would be accepted by the party in New York City, they agreed that they would do their part to satisfy our demands regarding the publication of The Socialist Call, and dissolve their dual organization in New York City. They also asked for proportional representation in party committees, but when a weighted representation was suggested, which would entitle each delegate to vote exactly the number of votes he represented, the militants rejected it.

"When Dr. Fried arranged the conference, and when Comrade Levy and Steinhardt agreed to participate, it was the opinion of all three that the success or failure of this conference would depend upon the ability of the conferees to agree upon the question of the abolition of the dual organization in New York City and its dual institutions, and that to achieve that end, which would result in one united party, organizational concessions to the "militant" faction would necessarily have to be made.

Unsocialistic Demands

"It was therefore a great surprise to us when we found a new and unexpected obstacle an astonishing proposal, presented to a conference which was gathered to make an effort at peace, at a very critical moment in the party's history. We have always maintained that there is room within the framework of Socialism, for wide differences of opinion on theory and practice, but we as Socialists could not possibly subscribe to such a proposal, and the conference, which lasted five hours, ended without results.

From this report it is clear that the "militants" came to the meeting of the Central Committee of Local New York on the evening of December 4 with the determination to enforce their policy of rule or ruin. It is significant that Chas. Garfinkel, one of the "militants" who participated in the conference at the home of Comrade Dr. Fried, was elected chairman of the "militant" dual "central committee" after the bolt of the "militants" Jack Altman and Max Delson, the other two "militants" who participated in the conference at the home of Dr. Fried, are among the chief spokesmen of the "militants" and armed insurrectionists in New York City.

The "militants" have at last thrown off their mask. They demand the right as Socialist Party members to advocate armed insurrection, force and violence. They

demand also that the legally constituted executive committee of Local New York be ditched and that they be given power with which the membership of Local New York has not vested them. They demand that the legally constituted organization of Local New York abdicate to make room for them. This is what they consider a proper basis for peace in the party. They have now made clear their position.

The statement by Comrades Fried, Levy and Steinhardt given above, was presented to the meeting of the City Central Committee on Wednesday night.

Militant Tactics Revealed

Nothing could demonstrate more clearly than this incident why all the many attempts made by committees, both official and unofficial, in Local New York to bring about peace with the "militants" have always failed. Many, probably the vast majority of the comrades representing all points of view in the party, who participated in these conferences at various times in the past year or two, have come away from them with the feeling that the demands advanced by the "militants" were not sincere ones, that they were based not on a desire for peace and unity, but on the desire to prevent the attainment of this and while making the non-militants appear to be at fault in the eyes of the comrades throughout the country. This conference proves beyond dispute that those who entertained these suspicions were fully justified. In this case the "militants" made, as one of their two absolutely necessary prerequisites to peace, that they be allowed to preach doctrines which both the State Committee and the National Executive Committee had declared incompatible with membership in the Socialist Party.

Mass. Calls Conference Of Eastern States to Seek Harmony in Party

Special to The New Leader

NEW BEDFORD, Mass. — After thoroughly discussing the critical internal situation of the Socialist Party in New York State and the paralyzing effect it has upon the party nationally, the Massachusetts State Executive Committee, meeting here Dec. 1st, decided to call a conference of representatives from party organizations of the eastern states to convene in January with the purpose of bringing about peace.

It was decided to invite the state committees of the eastern states, each to send three delegates to the conference, one fraternal delegate from each language federation in the East, and also to extend an invitation for the N.E.C. to send a committee to follow the work of the conference.

The various sides in the New York dispute will be asked to send representatives to give necessary information for the conference.

It is planned to hold the conference in New York possibly on January 18th and 19th, the date, however, being not yet fixed in order not to conflict with the N.E.C. January meeting.

Joseph Bearak and Alfred Baker Lewis of Boston and Thomas Nicolson of Lawrence were elected as the three delegates of the Massachusetts state committee and they also will serve as the organization committee of the conference.

Invitations and further details concerning the conference will immediately be sent to all state committees.

Good Vote Increase in Bergen County, N. J.

RUTHERFORD, N. J. — Despite adverse conditions the Socialist vote in Bergen County, just over the river from New York, showed a healthy increase over the vote of 1934, according to official figures just made public.

The Assembly vote was as follows: Arnell, 1,261; Doremus, 1,353; Frapkin, 1,148; Smith, 1,242; Bales, 1,182. The vote for Freeholder was as follows: Kadel, 1,432; Cox, 1,505. The 1934 vote for Freeholder was 1,179.

DISSOLUTION NOTICE

STATE OF NEW YORK, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, ss.: I do hereby certify that a certificate of dissolution of

MODERATE CLOTHES, INC. has been filed in this department this day and that it appears therefrom that such corporation has complied with section one hundred and five of the Stock Corporation Law and that it is dissolved.

Given in duplicate under my hand and official seal of the Department of State, at the City of Albany, this (Seal) thirty-first day of October, one thousand nine hundred and thirty-five.

EDWARD J. FLYNN, Secretary of State. By FRANK S. SHARP, Deputy Secretary of State.

For a Most Enjoyable Evening . . .

Visit the NEW YORK LABOR TEMPLE

243-247 EAST 84th STREET

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

LECTURES AND FORUMS

The Department of Social Philosophy of Cooper Union

(Formerly People's Institute) IN THE GREAT HALL 8th Street and Astor Place At 8 o'clock Admission free

FRIDAY, Dec. 6th—Thesis V: EVERETT DEAN MARTIN "The Materialist Conception of History is Unsound"

SUNDAY, Dec. 8th: Professor SCOTT BUCHANAN Department of Philosophy, University of Virginia, "Class and Leadership"

TUESDAY, Dec. 10th: Professor SCOTT BUCHANAN "Freedom and Moral Responsibility." Admission 50 cents, for the three lectures \$1.50.

INGERSOLL FORUM

PYTHIAN TEMPLE, 135 W. 70th St. SUNDAYS—3 P.M. Admission: Debates, 35c; Lectures, 25c

—December 8— "IS COMMUNISM A RELIGION?" Ex-Priest Lehman vs. M. Talspar

AT YOUR SERVICE FOR OVER 85 YEARS

INTEREST BEGINS THE DAY OF DEPOSIT,

when left to the end of quarter.

"Banking by Mail"

\$1 Opens an Account—Deposits from \$5 to \$7,500 JOIN OUR "CHRISTMAS CLUB"

MANHATTAN SAVINGS INSTITUTION

154 EAST 86th ST. 644 BROADWAY bet. 3rd and Lexington Aves. Corner Bleecker St.

Banking Hours: Weekdays from 10 to 3 noon Saturday from 10 to 12 noon (Organized 1856)

Ohio Trade Unions Welcome New Leader Editor Who Will Return

RETURNING to New York after several days spent in Cleveland and Akron, Ohio, James O'Neal, editor of The New Leader, reported a fine and progressive trade union movement in this northern section of Ohio. One of the outstanding features of the movement in Cleveland is the support given the Cleveland Citizen, a trade union weekly edited by Max S. Hayes. The unions subscribe for the members and about 18,000 workers are organized into a buyers' club to patronize advertisers.

Sunday night O'Neal spoke to about 500 rubber workers in Akron and had a fine reception. He lectured on the history and principles of the American trade union movement, which was preceded by inspiring short speeches by Tom Burns, president, and William Bessemer, a veteran Socialist who has given valuable service to the rubber workers. O'Neal was assured of a return engagement should he return to Ohio and a larger audience if the weather is more favorable.

Leader Subs Taken

On Monday night he lectured to Painters' Union, Local 867, and had a similar reception with the assurance of another engagement should he be able to make it. At both meetings many subscriptions to The New Leader were taken and quite a number of sub blanks were asked for by members who were unable to pay for a subscription at the meetings. While in Cleveland the Plumbers agreed to arrange for a lecture later and a dinner is planned for some time in February with O'Neal as principal speaker.

On Tuesday night O'Neal was to have lectured before the Electrical Workers, but as important nominations for officers were to be made that night and there were one or two interesting and important contests, it was decided to postpone the lecture to some time in February. Other unions will arrange for lectures and it is only a question of how much time O'Neal can give that will determine the number of unions he will later address.

The Cleveland Party

Down to last May Day the local Socialist organization had established fine relations with the trade union movement but this is now history. Due to "militant" policies the party is now isolated from the labor movement. This isolation began when national chairman Kryske spoke at a united front May Day meeting which included the Communists. The breach was made irreparable when later The Call carried a story by Hy. Fish of Cleveland that Edward F. McGrady of the Federal Labor Department had proven to be a "national strikebreaker" in the settlement of a strike of rayon workers. The strike had reached a desperate stage and the union itself was at

Safeguards Against Child Labor Lost Under Supreme Court Division

THE decision of the United States Supreme Court nullifying the National Recovery Act has reduced national safeguards against child labor to where they were three years ago, a report of the National Child Labor Committee, published this week, revealed.

The report declared that the elimination of child labor in most of the principal industries through New Deal legislation has been virtually checked by the Supreme Court decision and that the trend is now toward re-employment of children.

It recommended adoption of the stake and active labor men declare that the settlement effected by McGrady saved the union.

The Call story enraged many union men and this put the finishing touch on the friendly relations between the party and the trade unions. Fish has since been promoted to a position in the national office of the party. However, Socialists who know the philosophy of the working class movement are welcomed by the organized workers in Cleveland and Akron.

O'Neal reports an incident in Akron. As he and several others entered the high school where the meeting was held, a number of rubber workers inquired, "Is this a Communist set-up?" The organized workers will have nothing to do with the dishonest maneuver of the united front.

Frohmman, Dewey and Van Loon At Air University Opening

FRIDAY evening, Dec. 13th, at the new City College auditorium, 23rd St. and Lexington Ave., N. Y. C., Radio Station WEVD will inaugurate the fourth year of its University of the Air with an impressive program.

Hendrik Willem van Loon, famous historian and author; Prof. John Dewey, America's leading educator and philosopher; Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild, sociologist; H. V. Kaltenborn, editor and radio commentator, and Daniel Frohman, dean of the American theatre, will take part in a panel discussion on "The Race Between Education and Anarchy." As a feature of this event, a brilliant musical program has been arranged. Readers of The New Leader may obtain free tickets to this inaugural of the University of the Air by writing to Radio Station WEVD, Hotel Claridge, New York City.

Hendrik Willem van Loon recalls the beginnings of the University of the Air in a letter he addressed to leaders in the fields of education, literature and the arts, reading in part:

"Four years ago—and four

Federal Child Labor Amendment as essential to the "elimination of child labor from our national life forever."

"In New York City, for instance," the report said, "during the month of September, 1935, there were 1,428 permits for full-time work granted to 14 and 15 year old children as compared to only 390 in 1934."

The report cited other conditions with similar significance throughout the country and emphasized in particular an investigation in four Paterson, N. J., silk mills, where children 13, 14 and 15 years of age were working.

Concerning industrial home work the report said:

"It (the committee) has kept in touch with actual home work conditions in tenement areas through visits which have shown the continuance of abuses wherever home work is permitted or exists, and has pressed constantly for the complete abolition of this farming out of production in homes, which is an anachronism in our industrial life."

The report held that industrial work is carried on in 77,000 homes throughout the country. The earnings of the children were found to be "extremely low and hours inhumanly long."

"The gainful employment of nearly 1,000,000 children of 15 years or younger during the expiring years and months of the recent era of business expansion pointed directly to one of the

weakest spots in our defenses against an economic breakdown," the statement continued.

"Rightfully interpreted, this exploitation of children without a shadow of necessity was an evidence of unsoundness at the very core of our shiny apple of prosperity. Children, with their readiness to work for low wages, were not only keeping adults out of employment but were acting as a brake on the distribution of wages and purchasing power."

"While these truths were far from obvious to most persons before the depression, they were revealed with startling sharpness in the economic debacle of 1929-33. With twelve to fifteen million adult breadwinners out of employment, children were being snatched from school at the earliest ages permitted by law, put to work at starvation wages, actually replacing adults in many cases. So crudely was cheap child labor used to drive down the pay of their elders that it became evident to many, even among those to whom the science of economics is an impenetrable jungle, that the labor of immature children was a most potent destructive force sapping the foundation of our national security."

Socialists Back The Cooperative Movements

CHICAGO.—"We recognize that the necessary transformation from a capitalist to a Socialist society cannot be brought about by a political organization alone," declares the Socialist Party in an N.E.C. statement.

The statement reads, "Inasmuch as a complete reconstruction of the functional machinery of the present society is involved, it necessarily follows that workers in all lines must be organized to take care of this machinery and keep it running. In such a task the co-operative movement could serve as the quartermaster corps of the army of labor in its onward march to victory."

Although recognizing that a political organization alone cannot bring about a transformation from a capitalist to a Socialist society, the Socialist Party cautions the co-operative movement not to fall victim to the belief that its plans alone will reconstruct society.

"A strong political labor movement is as necessary an ally to the co-operative movement as it is to the political movement. Each has a distinct duty to perform in this great undertaking, but that duty can only be fulfilled in close co-operation and with an harmonious understanding of the part of each in the labor movement."

SOCIALIST WOMEN TO SEE "MOTHER" AT THEATRE PARTY

It is pre-ordained that the theatre party of the Socialist women will be a great success. Everyone simply must see "Mother," the revolutionary play by Maxim Gorky now being performed at the Civic Repertory Theatre. We see the Russian revolution through Mother's eyes, get revolutionary doctrine from Mother's lips. There is rapid action and rapid thought—never a dull breathing space.

The Women's Committee of the Socialist Party has taken the entire house for the evening of Thursday, Dec. 19. Tickets are low-priced, and there is a heavy demand for them. Comrades can still be accommodated at the Party office. Call up or drop in and get your tickets.

Don't forget the date, Dec. 19.

A. F. of L. Hits Profit System

(Continued from Page One)
need not throw millions out of work every few years to create a shortage of goods so as to make profits.

"The American people are beginning to realize that if we would shift from control to make profits over to control to make higher standards of living we must have the machinery for social planning. Any satisfactory measures for control of human welfare must grow out of the thought and experience of business and labor leaders and of experts who know industry and agriculture, and know how to make them serve our needs.

"Depression abroad has swept nations into fascism. If we want to avoid a similar fate in this country, we must be ready before the next depression is upon us."

Racketeering Charge Fails In Court

ANOTHER "racketeering" charge against workers by the Kings County District Attorney's office blew up a few days ago when a unanimous bench in the Court of Special Sessions, Brooklyn, dismissed coercion and conspiracy charges against Samuel Margolis and Abraham Bergman, Coney Island tailors and officers of the Coney Island Tailors' Association.

Charles Solomon, of Goldberg & Solomon, counsel for the tailors, moved for their acquittal at the end of the prosecution's case and his motion was granted, the defendant's not being required to take the stand.

Notwithstanding the total failure of proof against these tailors, they were held in \$5,000 bail each and kept in jail four days before the bail could be raised. The complainant against Margolis and Bergman was Harry Lerner, another Coney Island tailor, with whom the organization has been having repeated difficulties.

The defendant tailors were severely beaten by the arresting officers, according to a complaint filed against such officers with the police authorities. Moreover, they were kept all day and over night before being arraigned in the Magistrate's Court, in clear violation of their legal rights.

Solomon says this is the second case of its nature he has tried successfully in recent weeks, each originating in the District Attorney's office in Brooklyn, and in each case the defendants being similarly treated.

The real victims of the hysteria engendered by the "racketeering" propaganda have been so far, in the main, working people, declared Solomon.

LAUNDRY WORKERS BATTLE FOR HUMAN WORK CONDITIONS

All workers employed in laundries in the Bronx and Manhattan serving the flat work, finished bundle, family and wet wash trade have been called to a meeting Wednesday night, Dec. 11, in the Harlem Labor Center, 312 West 125th St., N. Y. C. The meeting is under the auspices of Local 290 of the Laundry Workers' International Union, A. F. of L.

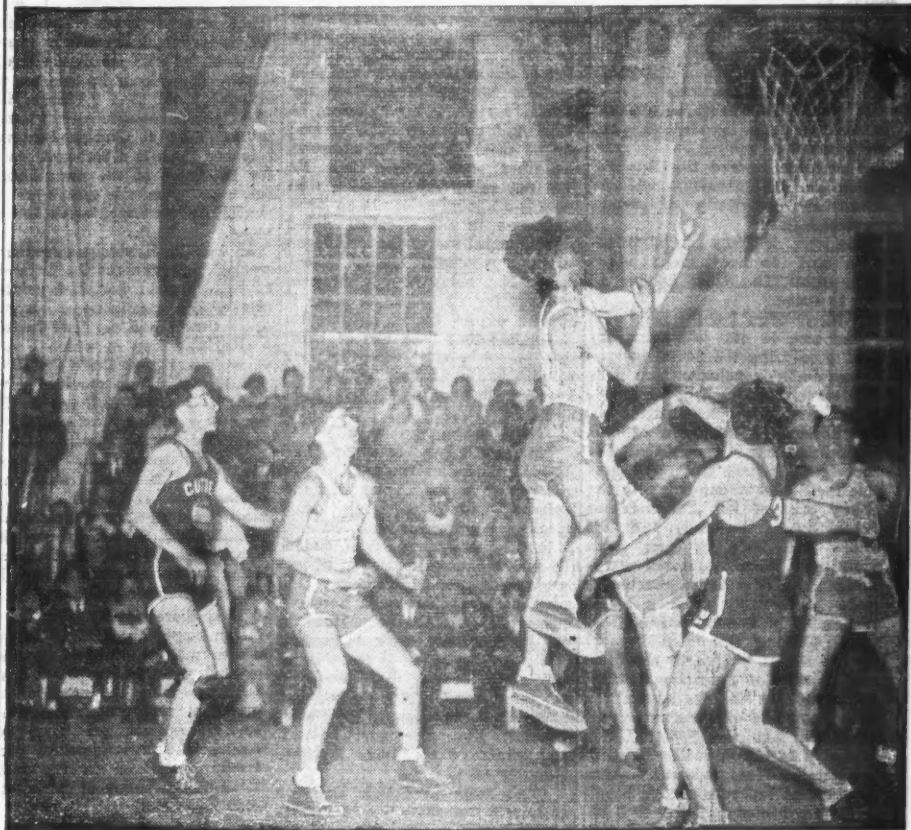
According to Noah C. A. Walter, organizer of the union, "the continued worsening of conditions and drop to starvation levels of wages has reached a point where laundry workers are the most exploited in this city. While in organized shops conditions and wages have steadily improved, it is directing its resources to organize the thousands of unorganized to win greater improvements and establish union labor standards."

At present the male workers, Negro and white, have had their working hours lengthened to 60 and 70 hours a week and receive as low as 30c per hour, less than women workers.

Less than a year old, the union has grown from one shop to a membership spreading throughout the Bronx and Manhattan covering over 15 shops employing thousands of workers. The demands of the union include a 48-hour week-work for men; increase in wages for all workers; guarantee of steady employment; all holidays off and closed shop.

The union, formerly located in the Bronx Labor Center, has moved its office and headquarters to the recently established Harlem Labor Center, 312 West 125th St., N. Y. C.

TELL OUR ADVERTISERS
THAT YOU ARE A READER
OF THE NEW LEADER!



Trade Union Basketballers Caught in Spirited Play

I.L.G.W.U. Basketball

In a doubleheader in the Basketball League of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Local 91 girls' team outscored Local 62, 48 to 13.

In the men's game, Local 155, Knit Goods Workers, triumphed over Local 22, Dressmakers, in a hard-fought contest, 20 to 13. Both encounters were held at Stuyvesant High School, Nov. 30.

The next league contests take place at Stuyvesant High School, Saturday, Dec. 7, when the Italian Dressmakers, Local 89, make their debut in sports. In the opener, Local 89, Bronx Branch, takes on Local 89, Williamsburg Branch, girls' team, and the men's team of Local 89 collides with Local 60, Dress Pressers in what should be an interesting affair. Tickets are on sale at all offices of Local 89 and the offices of Local 60, at 1369 Broadway.

WISCONSIN FORMS LABOR PARTY BLOC

(Continued from Page One)

"WHEREAS, this domination and control of government by the exploiters is due to the lack of political unity on the part of those who produce the wealth and render socially useful service,

"THEREFORE, we the representatives of economic and liberal and progressive political groups hereby establish this constitution and under it a political federation so that we may effect political unity and elect to office in our governmental agencies persons committed to advance the general welfare of the masses of our people by the creation of a sane, constructive system of production for use in place of the present chaotic system of production for profit."

LABOR EDITOR EXPOSES COMPANY UNION

(Continued from Page One)

ices against their will through an arrangement by which an employer forms a company union, forces all the employees to belong to it, then deducts from every employee's wages the premium for the group insurance policy. Will you please arrange for a public hearing at once at which we may present these charges in detail.

"I am certain you will agree with the unions for whom I am acting in this instance, that the workers of Pennsylvania, under the law, must be and can be protected from illegal, and to say the least, unethical, insurance practice of this kind."

Reports reaching Labor Publications following announcement of its formal protest to the State Insurance Commissioner against the Prudential Insurance Company, indicate the full strength of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the American Federation of Hosiery Workers will support the complaint designed to bring an officially-ordered halt to the company's practice of aiding the bosses to set up company unions in order to sell group insurance.

The Amalgamated ran into the effects of the company's "smash-the-trade unions" campaign in Lebanon where the company aided in forming and maintaining the company union at the Baskind Shirt Co., in direct and conscious violation of the state insurance statutes and the Wagner-Connelly Labor Disputes law.

Meriden, Conn., Polls Big Socialist Vote

Special to The New Leader

MERIDEN, Conn. — Carl M. Rhodin, Socialist, polled about eight per cent of the total vote cast for Mayor in Tuesday's election, receiving about one-fifth of the vote cast for the winning candidate. This is considered an excellent showing, despite the fact that in the previous city elections a slightly larger Socialist vote was polled.

The vote was as follows:
Democrats — 6,885
Republicans — 5,986
Rhodin, Socialist — 1,232
Independent — 1,495
Two years ago the Socialists polled about 1,500 votes for Mayor.

RAND SCHOOL 7 EAST 15th STREET

THREE SPECIAL FRIDAY
EVENING LECTURES

December 6, 13, 20 — 8:30 p.m.

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Politics and the Novel

HENRY HAZLITT

Literature and Opinion

EUGENE LYONS

Is There a Proletarian Literature?

Admission—50¢, for the three lectures—\$1.00

The New Leader is published every

Saturday by The New Leader Pub-

lishing Association, 7 E. 15th St., New

York, N. Y.; Tel. ALgonquin 4-4622.

Entered as Second Class Matter, Janu-

ary 13, 1924, at the Post Office at New

York, under the act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. XVIII Sat. Dec. 7 No. 49

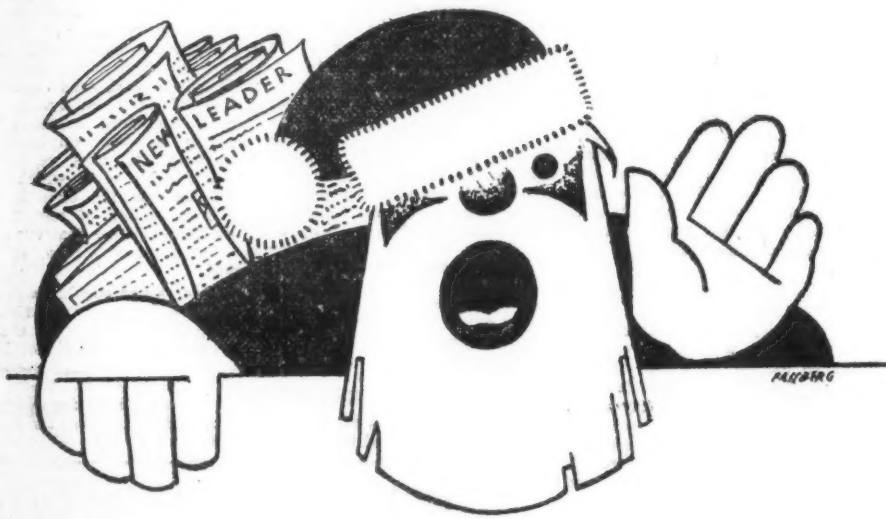
SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

1 Year, New York City Edition.....\$2.00

1 Year, National Edition.....\$2.00

1 Year to Foreign Countries.....\$3.00

1 Year to Canada.....\$2.50



Scoop!

Make This a Real Socialist Christmas!

Free!

for every 5 new yearly subs
you send in at the rate of
\$1.00
a year, you will receive

'IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE'
A novel by Sinclair Lewis.

Keep the book—
Send five friends The
New Leader in 1936.

Fascism in the United States!
Will it come? The Nobel prize
winner Sinclair Lewis furiously
tears apart the troubles of our
chaotic world.

THE NEW LEADER SCOOPS THE FIELD
WITH AN EXCITING COMBINATION OFFER

BOOKS YOU
WANT
CHALLENGING
NOVELS YOU
WILL NEVER
FORGET
Gifts you must send

Special Combination
(New Subs Only)

for \$1.50

The New Leader

for one year and

'Looking Backward'

by Edward Bellamy,
with an introduction by
Heywood Broun.

This Combination Makes a
Splendid Christmas Gift!

Socialist Voice of American Labor—THE NEW LEADER—7 East 15th Street, New York City

Some Facts and Fictions About Soviet Russia

A Reply to a Reply to an Article

By Mark Khinoy

IN a letter dated October 21st Comrade Theodor Atworth of the Llano Cooperative Colony calls the Editor's attention to my article "Taxation in Russia," published in The New Leader of August 10th.

The Llano Comrade was evidently so unfavorably impressed by this brain child of mine that ten weeks later he still remembers it and writes demanding a refutation of the facts "If they are not in harmony with the truth." Comrade Atworth bases his request on an editorial in "Soviet Russia Today" where this article was taken to task. Together with the editorial he expresses his regrets "that a leading Socialist paper like The New Leader should have been misled by either the erroneous or openly lying statements" of mine. (S.R. Today Sept. 1935.)

Let me express my gratitude to Comrade Atworth for calling attention to the outburst of "Soviet Russia Today." I overlooked it. However, after reading and re-reading it, I still fail to comprehend how an intelligent reader of my article could be impressed by criticism that completely ignores the issues raised in my article and replaces them with innuendoes and "arguments" whose fallacy even a kindergarten pupil should have noticed.

In passing let me remind the readers that my article on Taxation in Russia represents only once chapter of a series of two scores of articles on the present trends in Soviet Russia, which I published last spring in the Forward and in a number of other Jewish, Russian, French and English Socialist publications.

It would, therefore, be unwise to look to this isolated chapter for a complete answer on my general attitude toward the Russian revolution, its enormous achievements and tragically dangerous shortcomings.

The topic deserves special treatment and requires much more space than The New Leader is able to spare.

What Was Really Said

And now to our particular article. Analyzing the Soviet budget I came to the conclusion that it is at present the largest in the world, being based on an expected income for the current 1935 year of 65.9 billion rubles. I stated that the "universal income tax" will provide the Soviet strong-box with the paltry sum of 2.2 billion rubles (about 3% of the total), and that 81.8% will have to come from taxes and assessments on everything the Soviet toiler consumes; more particularly from a sales-tax, called in Russian *nalog s oborota*. Quoting the official report on the Soviet budget in the Moscow *Izvestia* of February 9, 1935, I stated, that the "sales tax" on bread alone is expected this year to bring into the Soviet Union treasury 24 billion rubles (35% of the total federal income). Also, that a like tax on alcoholic beverages is expected to bring in 6 billion rubles.

Did the Bolshevik critic refute these unsavory, from his point of view, facts? No, he did not. And he could not. For the official record as indicated above speaks against him. So, instead of refuting them he simply "forgets" about them and with an audacity that deserves a much better use he attempts to convey the impression that no sales tax could be found in the fiscal system of the Soviet Union, and that Mark Khinoy, the "self-appointed expert on Soviet problems" either invented the Soviet sales-tax or was misinformed by his anti-Soviet friends in Russia.

Official Soviet Evidence

Now, even a superficial consultation of the Year Book of the USSR, published by the Gosplan, Moscow, 1934, could easily convince me that the sales-tax has been an integral part, indeed the most important part, of the Soviet Union fiscal system since October 1, 1930. Two years later it already furnished 88.2% of all income derived from federal taxation. (17,693,400,000 rubles out of 20,050,900,000 rubles.)

Ignoring this important part of my essay; overlooking a number of other equally essential items, including the inflation which in seven years reduced the buying power of the Soviet ruble twenty-five fold and "compensated" the wage-earner with only a two-fold increase in the union scales; glossing over that part of my article in which I made an attempt to explain for the first time to American readers the historical causes which made this tragic course inevitable; explained how and why the Soviet leaders in order to finance their titanic efforts of rapid industrialization and collectivization, were forced to introduce sales taxes, special assessments, levies, inflation, sky-high prices on goods of mass consumption, and other equally unjust and anti-social forms of taxation, as the only chance to accumulate the 39 to 40 billions in gold which they invested in new industries during the last seven years.

Ignoring all this, my intelligent critic of Soviet Russia Today permits himself to make some sweeping statements purporting to show my "rather rudimentary knowledge of Soviet economics" and then proceeds to pick "errors" in my article. By his own admission, he could find only two such errors; one of them deals with kerosene, the other with income tax. He does not relish my assertion that there is a 1,300% sales tax on kerosene even in the so-called closed governmental stores for privileged workers, possessing special ration-cards. Not being able to deny it, he looks for an excuse to make it appear of no social importance. He claims that "the use of kerosene is not a vital necessity" for "all the newer workers settlements are provided with electric light and gas."

Criticisms Answered
This argument MISSES ITS MARK. There are no gas light or gas ranges in the city of Dnepropetrovsk, of which my critic speaks, and there is very little of it in the rest of the Soviet Union. To find a house supplied with gas is very hard even in Moscow. One must not forget that a kerosene burner is . . . the only stove in use in most city kitchens, and it is almost impossible to find a house which uses coal or wood for cooking purposes. "No worker can live without kerosene in the Soviet Union." Everyone must have it and everyone consumes a large quantity of it.

(This from my article Taxation in Russia.) A sales tax of 1,300% is therefore an extremely heavy burden on the budget of every worker and farmer in Russia. My second "error" consists, it seems, in remarking that every wage-earner, even the poorest, pays an income tax. My critic denies this. He claims, without mentioning the source of his information, that "monthly salaries under 115 rubles are entirely exempt from income tax." I sincerely wish this were the case. However, I never heard of any such exemption and my personal observation furnishes quite a different story.

To give only a few examples: Park workers in Leningrad had in

September, 1934, a union scale of 72 rubles a month (5 weeks of 5 working days each), but they actually were receiving only 63 rubles—9 rubles were deducted monthly for taxes, assessments, installments on government loans and other "obligatory deductions." Printers, doctors, certain classes of metal workers in Moscow with a monthly union scale of 225 rubles were getting only about 200 rubles. The balance never reached them because it represented "obligatory deductions." Cleaners, sweepers and watchmen at the Kharkov railroad station had a monthly union scale of 54 rubles. This is evidently less than half of the 115 rubles Soviet Russia Today speaks as the minimum below which nobody pays an income tax. Well—the 54 rubles-a-month-workers were receiving only 49 rubles, the missing 5 rubles represented again the "obligatory deductions," including, I was told, the income tax.

The "Sworn Enemy"
In Moscow, Kharkov and Dnepropetrovsk I met labor veterans and invalids on pension. They were getting 41 rubles a month. However, none of them received more than 37 rubles—the rest they never saw. It went as "obligatory deductions." I was therefore not transgressing the truth when I wrote as I did on this point.

And now to the "sworn enemy of the Soviet Revolution," as the S.R. Today kindly labels me. Speaking of the great industrial center Dnepropetrovsk, I mentioned also the name Ekaterinoslav, under which the city is known to most of our readers. Soviet Russia Today saw in this an additional proof that I, Mark Khinoy, "prefer the old Czarist name" to the new, to Dnepropetrovsk. I do and there is a personal reason for it. Some of the most beautiful, most romantic years of my youth are connected with the old name.

It was in Ekaterinoslav that I worked for years as the organizer of underground Socialist printing plants and publications. It was there that I had my first taste of a Czarist prison in which I spent 43 months. It was there that I was publicly tried and received a verdict of 5 years' solitary confinement in a military fortress. It was from there that I went into my first exile to Siberia. It is also there that the mill workers, during the revolution of 1905, elected me as their representative to the First Soviet. It was there again that the mother of my children and life-partner spent half of her 8 prison terms.

It is there, finally, that the Soviet museum has a large hall decorated with products of my underground printing shops, naturally, without giving the name of their principal performer. The time it seems has not yet come when names of active Socialists can be freely mentioned in the institutions of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Chicago Socialists Push Literature Distribution

CHICAGO.—Members of the 7th Congressional Branch are busy pushing the sale of tickets of their social of which the entire proceeds will be turned over to the Branch literature distribution fund. The Branch wants to start early with its Sunday morning literature distribution.

The social and entertainment will be held in Workmen's Circle Hall, 1241 N. California Ave., Sat. evening, Dec. 14. Refreshments will be served. "

Unions Invade the Dramatic Field

By Eugene Lyons Secretary of Labor Stage, Inc.

A GROUP of trade-union leaders announced recently, in the course of the Atlantic City convention, the launching of Labor Stage, Inc., a theatre and recreation enterprise of, by and for organized labor! The news received what might seem, on the surface, national attention far beyond its deserts—prominent space in the New York Times and the New York Herald-Tribune; 8-column headlines on the drama page of the Syracuse Herald, etc.

But the news instinct of American editors was quite correct in this connection. They were impressed not so much by the effort just announced, but by the vast possibilities for growth that it represented. To the press it meant, apparently, that organized labor had set out to conquer another department of human activity, had invaded boldly the domain of culture.

And that, to be sure, is news! There was a time, a few generations ago, when the activities of organized labor were regarded as strictly limited to the job of getting higher wages and lower hours. The history of the labor movement since then has been a process of enlarging that narrow, timid, too modest idea. Labor, through its trade unions, began to take an ever larger interest in its own life beyond the basic questions of hours and wages. There appeared labor schools, papers, banks, clubs, libraries, social insurance enterprises, fraternal undertakings, etc.

Unions as Cultural Centers
The establishment of Labor Stage, Inc., is another important step in line with this advance of trade unionism into the broad fields of the workers' everyday life. Stripped of all fancy language, it amounts to this:

Organized labor is trying, for the first time, to break into the reservations of Culture with a capital C, now monopolized by out-and-out commercial interests or by intellectuals who are in no way related to the bona fide labor forces. Although the attempt is being made, as a starter, only in New York, its success will mean the spread of the idea wherever large masses of unionized working men and women are concentrated. There is neither the intention

nor the possibility of competing with the established theatres and other forms of entertainment. But there is every possibility of providing at least one theatrical center inspired by labor, controlled by labor and expressive of the problems and strivings of labor. The workers who will come to that theatre will no longer be outsiders—they will feel that it is part and parcel of their own lives, an extension of their existence as union men and women, concerned exclusively with their welfare and their problems.

The men and women who sponsored the enterprise, whether union leaders or intellectuals in intimate sympathy with labor's struggles, are fully aware that they have bitten off a large chunk. And they are prepared to chew for a long time. Practically every one of the purposes they have outlined for themselves means pioneering work so far as organized labor is concerned.

Aims of Labor Stage

What are some of those purposes? The actual production of plays of the professional type, which it figures in the program, is neither the only objective, nor even the most important one. Labor Stage must become a rallying center for many other non-professional activities, drawing their strength as far as possible from the ranks of organized labor itself.

There are scores and hundreds of men and women not in the labor movement directly—writers, performers, directors, other intellectuals—who are keenly aware of the role of labor in the modern world. They are not only willing but anxious to translate their talent into practical service to the labor movement. Labor Stage, in some measure at any rate, will give them a ready channel of approach and a welcome opportunity for actual rather than make-believe collaboration with the organized workers.

The old Princess Theatre, on 39th St. and Sixth Ave., New York City, has been leased to house this undertaking and has been renamed Labor Stage. Alterations are under way that will make it a suitable and comfortable center for labor's own theatrical and recreational pioneering.

Everybody Is Doing Plays About Labor These Days

By Gertrude Weil Klein

EVERYONE is "doing" labor plays. From Brooklyn's "little theatre" groups to Broadway's professionals, uptown and downtown, the theatre has discovered drama in labor. And, stimulated perhaps by the almost unanimous praise which the drama critics bestow upon even the feeblest efforts (as witness the encomiums heaped on "Waiting for Lefty") everybody who is not producing a labor play, is writing one.

It is impossible to walk in the streets without being buttonholed by one who wants to tell you about the play he is writing. Which is all to the good. Eventually, something great is likely to come of it. Meanwhile, the only way to defend yourself against your friends who insist on reading their works to you—is to write a labor play yourself. If it is any good at all it is almost certain to find a producer.

LABOR STAGE
Never before have there been so many agencies interested in labor drama, and never before has labor itself taken a hand in this vast and potentially powerful propaganda field. In another column you can read Eugene Lyons' interesting article on "Labor Stage, Inc.," the enterprise launched by a group of powerful unions, chief among them the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which has rented for "Labor Stage" practically the whole of the Princess Theatre. The Princess Theatre is to be the home of both "Labor Stage" and the coordinated dramatic activities of the International

RAND PLAYHOUSE
Even closer to home, the Rand School, as part of its cultural program has launched the Rand Playhouse. With a cast of experienced players, semi-professionals for the most part, under the direction of a professional producer, Mrs. Henry B. Harris, the Rand Playhouse is putting on regular Saturday night performances of labor plays. Its first presentation, "The Question Before the House," was fully reviewed by Joseph T. Shipley in this paper last week. I only want to add that both these organizations are looking for scripts

with a social background, preferably indigenous to the American scene. In the case of the Rand Playhouse, talent, particularly male, is also wanted for an auxiliary group which is being formed.

THEATRE UNION
The oldest in the field of labor drama is the Theatre Union, and its current offering, based on the Gorky novel "Mother," is an exciting and provocative play. It is something different in the theatre, and whether you will like it or not, you won't forget about it as soon as you board the subway for home. You will feel impelled to talk about it. In fact, I got into such a heated discussion over it with a close friend that there is a decided coolness between us to this day.

Its method of presentation raises a whole raft of questions as to what is legitimate theatre and what isn't, or whether we can define or confine legitimate theatre at all. To those who are familiar at first hand with the early work, suffering and struggles of the Russian revolutionists, to the many in this country who were participants in those struggles, and to those who, like myself, have an almost fanatical interest in, and admiration for the pioneers of our Socialist movement, the play has a poignant appeal.

Of course, ideologically, I cannot help feeling that the gallant "mother" of the play is by this time rotting in some Russian concentration camp; that the young friends of her son have been tortured, exiled or executed for some deviation from the Russian dictatorship that the gentle teacher, being a member of the intelligentsia, early suffered a fate worse than death, and that many of the other brave men and women so graphically portrayed, are scattered over the Russian wastes, suffering, embittered, disillusioned. The play ends with the revolution and does not indicate whether the various characters were Bolsheviks or Mensheviks. But they were simple people and it is not unlikely that they did not always succeed in correctly following "the line." However, that is another labor drama, one that should be written.

(Gertrude, did you forget that the Women's Committee is running a theatre party with "Mother" on December 19th?—Ed.)
(I did not forget, but everything I said here goes. It has nothing to do with the play itself, which is worth seeing.—G.W.K.)

"Can Such Things Be?"

By Adrien Gambet

The Political Football

USING the unemployed as a political football is a pretty ghastly process, but it is one that the administration of President Roosevelt has never failed to employ when it would serve his ends. The latest example in a long chain is the abolition of Federal assistance to the states in the job of caring for those on home relief but the technic of kicking the unemployed around like a football began almost simultaneously with the beginning of relief plans.

The CWA, for instance, had not been in operation a month before the rumors began to fly fast and furious that it would end in another month because of lack of funds. The rumors were promptly given verisimilitude by cuts in pay that had never been more than meager, and in three weeks the "clients," as they are so delicately called, had received three different amounts of money for the same amount of work.

Finally the whole thing blew up when it became apparent that the Great - White - Father - with - the - Voice - of - a - Crooner had only been trying to blackmail Congress into passing further appropriations. Then things settled down, temporarily at least, into what Republican chairmen used to call "normalcy," only to be followed within a few months with the Pageant of the Alphabet: CWA, CWS, TERA, ERA, ERB, FERA, PWA and WPA were only a few. I can't keep track of the others.

POSSIBLY the Fireside Chatter
simply wanted to revive the faded attention of Congress with a show the variety of which would put any three-ringed circus to shame and thus secure the passage of important relief measures. Possibly; but what of the "clients" in the meantime? Much innocent prattling has been done by politicians about the necessity of preserving the self-respect of the unemployed. Most of it has been with a view to showing that these same unemployed would rather starve in dignity than accept one cent of money rung by taxation from the tin boxes of Morgans, Mellons, Insulls and other honest captains of industry. But apparently no one has considered the tremendous wear and tear on the nervous system, the squeezing out of the last drop of self-respect from the man on relief when he knows that his home relief cut off at a minute's notice in order that the vaudeville artist in the White House may properly dramatize the situation before the callous yokels who rate the dignified term of Congressman.

Chicago Charity

I HAVE heard much of the big-hearted, breezy way in which things are done in the Windy City. A fine example comes to hand—only by coincidence, of course—Federal relief to the unemployed ends. The Real Estate Board of that noble and generous city has just issued instructions to its members that they are either to get the rent or the apartments of those on relief, and this carries the information that 30,000 people are threatened with eviction.

The president of the board blames the local relief administration and says that he doubts whether many families can pay their rent on their \$13 a week allowance. That, at least, offers a solution. Why not simply tax all real estate owners enough to raise the allowance to \$30 a week? Then the landlords can pay themselves by taking money out of one pocket and putting it in another. Chicago should not overlook this proposal.

Birth Control and Economics
WHILE many countries have for years disseminated information

about birth control, the opposition to it here has always been so vigorous that it is still forbidden. The reasons have been obvious. In Europe there has been an over-supply of labor, while in this country industrialists have needed more and more men. Thus, in Europe birth control helped to avoid the problem of feeding surplus population, while its absence in this country helped large employers to get cheap labor at their own price.

But since the depression began, there have been signs of a change here. The agitation for birth control information has grown steadily as the "big shots" have begun to realize that a larger population would mean not more but less money for them. There has been, during the last year or two, an extensive display of resentment that the unemployed should be so thoughtless as to continue to bring children into the world. Need I add that this resentment has come chiefly from those who have always prevented the spread of information which would have allowed the unemployed to do otherwise?

The climax was reached the other night at a meeting in Carnegie Hall, New York, where 2,500 people were addressed by a canon of the Episcopal Cathedral, a Rabbi and the secretary of the City Bar Association. The speakers pointed out that the annual birth of 250,000 children to mothers on relief is "inhumane, anti-social and undemocratic." No mention was made of the fact that it is equally inhumane to make a child-bearing machine out of a woman who isn't on relief—that didn't hurt the pocketbook of any of the speakers. No mention was made of the fact that it is anti-social to expect a mother—not on relief but with a small income—to produce more children than she can properly nourish and educate. Although it is such children who later become a large proportion of the social burden from chronic invalids and unemployables, and thus the matter did touch the pocketbooks of the speakers, it was a bit too remote to expect them to realize it.

That the meeting was moving in the right direction must be admitted. But it must also be pointed out that it was not necessarily for the right reasons. Capitalism will more and more favor birth control, since it is now to its economic advantage to do so. More dangerous, although more remote, it may eventually use the sterilization laws which it is passing against criminals to further its own ends. But that is a subject which deserves more space than I can here give it. Incidentally, the chairman of the Carnegie Hall meeting was one of New York's high-price obstetricians.

Women on the Warpath

WE all thought the old suffrage days were over, but apparently they aren't, for burgeoning into full bloom in Ohio is the National Women's Party, whose sole platform seems to be full equality for women. They demand equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex. This isn't a platform—it is only a plank, and the rest of the platform must realize that this is only one aspect of the struggle between employed and employers. It must realize the necessity of a party which represents the working class and opposes oppression of any part of that class, whether that oppression be based on sex, race, color or creed.

These women should realize that there is such a party and that they belong in it. To create a second party for the same object is only to divide their supporters and weaken their cause. Their party has already existed for over thirty years and is known as the Socialist Party.

State Constitutions

(Continued from Page One)

tion for Social Security revealed—Connecticut, Maryland, Michigan, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New York and Vermont. Of the remaining states, 22 clearly need constitutional amendments if they are to follow suit—Arkansas, Alabama, California, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Idaho, Kansas, Louisiana, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, North Carolina, Nevada, South Carolina, Tennessee, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming. The remaining 19 states are in a doubtful column—some may require, some may not require such amendments, depending on court decisions.

Another difficulty presented by the Federal Act is the provision requiring the states to turn over "immediately upon receipt" the money collected by them under the payroll taxes to a Federal fund for investment. The survey found that many constitutions prohibit any payments for purposes and to bodies not under the exclusive control and management of the state government. "Whether under this limitation a state can surrender its power of investment to the Federal Government, as required by the Federal Social Security Act,

is extremely questionable," according to the survey.

The American Association for Social Security drew a sharp contrast between the difficulties in the method used for encouraging state legislation on unemployment insurance and the effectiveness of the means used for obtaining pension legislation in the Federal Act. The section on old age pensions is based on the direct and unquestioned principle of giving subsidies to states passing pension laws of certain minimal character, and, as a result, no constitutional difficulties have been encountered, and the number of pension states is rising fast.

"During the last two months, eight states held special sessions. Six of them legislated on pension measures, but only Oregon passed a law for unemployment insurance." The number of pension states is now thirty-nine and the District of Columbia. Even the southern states, traditionally lagging in social legislation, are joining the roll, encouraged by the promise of Federal aid. The Oregon Unemployment Insurance Bill was drafted so confusedly, to conform with all the suggestions of the Federal Act, that the Governor permitted it to become law without his signature.



RUSSIAN ELECTIONEERING IN REMOTE REGIONS—Scene during an "election" campaign (where only the Communist ticket was on the ballot) at a political meeting in Chardjui, Turkoman Republic of the U.S.S.R., Central Asia.

How Bridgeport Was Captured *by Jasper McLevy*

Mayor of Bridgeport

The Socialist Triumphs in the Connecticut City Were No Mere Strokes of Luck, But They Were Based on Solid Educational Work Over a Period of a Third of a Century. -- The Bridgeport Movement Is Based Only on the Working Class, and It Will Remain Solid for Socialism

IT is no accident or mere stroke of luck that gave the Socialist Party of Bridgeport its splendid victory in the recent election. Our return to office by a much larger majority than in the previous campaign was the result

of our having made good on our program and given a cleaner and more serviceable administration than this city had experienced in many years.

Something over 35 years ago about half a dozen Bridgeport cit-

izens organized a Socialist Local. We started to hold street meetings and to distribute literature. Our members were strong in the belief that a political party in the interests of the workers could grow and attain power only by being active in the political field. Therefore every election found us in the field with a ticket. Oftentimes we had to place every member of the local on the ballot, and then were short the full quota of candidates. Nevertheless, we pegged away until we had a membership that permitted a complete ticket.

Street meetings, educational lectures, systematic and continuous distribution of literature brought results in a gradual growth of local party membership and an increased vote, so that by 1911 we polled a vote large enough to alarm the old parties.

All during the war period we maintained our organization, held our street meetings and spoke at noon factory meetings. Our policy has always been to avoid any unnecessary conflict with the police, and in every case where we had to make a fight for our constitutional rights we approached the situation after careful and thoughtful planning. We are proud of our record in this respect. In the course of events we won the respect of the police force as well as the citizens generally, and our rights have not been interfered with in many years.

Meeting the Enemy

Our various branches, or clubs as we call them, in recent years have been organized according to city wards. Among our main

sources of revenue are entertainments and pinhole games which every ward branch conducts.

In the 1935 campaign we were on the defensive. The other fellows were in a position to attack us and therefore we did not start our really active battle until the other parties had named their candidates and had launched their campaign. We had two sound trucks which were used at open-air meetings, enabling the voice of the speaker to be heard many blocks. But even more valuable than these open-air or hall meetings was the almost daily distribution of literature.

Bridgeport Local has had little or no trouble with "militant" or "united front" types of Socialists. Communications from Communists are speedily filed away and forgotten. Our movement here is concerned in gaining power for the purpose of carrying on the work of developing a political and social program for the good of the workers and common people.

The opposing parties carried on a systematic campaign against us and used the daily press for big campaign ads attacking us. These broadcasts were also used to pin the Communist label on us, but we anticipated that and we also used the daily press the third Sunday before the election to put our case before the voting masses, and gave our opponents plenty of time to reply to us.

Facts vs. Straw Men

In one full-page statement we reviewed what we had accomplished during the period of the Socialist administration. We pre-

sented the record in detail under various headings and brought the record to an end by urging in bold black type, eight columns across the page, "Vote Socialist—Pull the Third Lever."

Our opponents were at a loss to answer the cold array of facts and figures which made so deep an impression on the voters. Every important fact was backed up by audited city records, and such statements left our political opponents nothing to hit at but straw men of their own making.

The voters of this city supported our ticket because we had a practical program. They elected our legislative ticket a year ago, because we showed that unless certain measures were enacted our municipal program could not be carried out. As a result of the work done by the Socialist members in the legislature home rule was restored to our city. The civil service was established and the spoils and patronage system abolished.

The Socialist Vote

There was only a difference of some 800 votes between the highest and lowest candidates on the Socialist ticket out of more than 24,000 ballots cast for the head of the ticket. The reason for so straight a Socialist vote was that I pointed out in all my campaign speeches and newspaper interviews that if the citizens of Bridgeport approved of our program and wished us to carry it out they must vote the straight ticket and give me the men to work out our program. A vote for me as a "good man" meant nothing. The

readiness with which the voters responded was evidence of their approval of our line of procedure.

All our council and committee meetings have been held openly. No star chamber proceedings.

We have broken down the prejudice against Socialism. We have shown that the Socialists are practical and we purpose to follow this campaign with constructive educational meetings that will serve to

educate the general public as well as our own membership.

Bridgeport Socialists have a vision of a new social order. They know it can only be realized by constructive and practical plans. They have their feet on the ground. They know where they are going. Every move is carefully planned. Their goal is the new social order. Their ideal is the cooperative commonwealth.



Comrade Jasper McLevy who had just been re-elected Mayor of Bridgeport receives the congratulations of some of his young admirers on election evening as the figures pour in showing the overwhelming success of the Socialist ticket. McLevy polled nearly 60% of the total vote or more than the combined vote of his two opponents.



Lewis, well-known Socialist of San Francisco, who took an active part in Comrade McLevy's campaign for re-election. The people of Bridgeport know a good thing when they see it—and Comrades Lewis and McLevy look as though they appreciate the loyalty of the voters. Comrade Jasper McLevy receives congratulations of Lena Morrow

Industrial Unionism in the American Federation of Labor

By John P. Burke

President of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers

President Burke was a supporter of the resolution in favor of industrial unionism at the recent A. F. of L. convention. Next week we will print an article by George Q. Lynch, President of the Patternmakers, and the speech by President Howard of the Typographical Union, on the same subject.

THE report of Secretary Frank Morrison to the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor showed a membership of 3,045,347. These figures show a gain of 437,336 over those submitted to the San Francisco convention last year and 918,551 more members than were represented at the Washington convention in 1933. This increase in membership during the past two years, although not sensational, does represent a steady and substantial regaining of the ground lost since 1920.

In viewing the accomplishments of the organizing efforts of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions during recent years we must not rely wholly upon these membership figures. These figures represent the per capita tax received by the A. F. of L. from national, international, and directly affiliated federal labor unions. Many thousands of unemployed or partially employed members of various national and international unions were kept in good standing by the issuance of free out-of-work stamps, but no per capita tax was paid upon such members. To arrive at the actual membership of the Federation during a period of depression (such as we have been experiencing during the past six years), it is necessary to add a million or more unemployed members, on whom no per capita tax is being paid, to the membership on which per capita is paid.

Membership Peak

The high watermark of the American Federation of Labor membership was reached in 1920, when the figures went over the four million mark; but that was before the business slump following the war had set in. That was before organized labor in this country had fought its post-war strikes in a heroic effort to hold the gains made during the prosperous war years. That was before the speed-up and labor-displacing machinery had reduced the membership of local unions to two-thirds and even one-half of their former size. That was before the labor unions were issuing thousands of free out-of-work stamps monthly to unemployed members.

The American Federation of Labor today, in my opinion (and this opinion is based on pretty conclusive evidence), has a larger membership, is more powerful, has

greater influence, and is more feared by anti-union employers and other reactionary elements than at any time in its history. No member of the Federation need be ashamed of or make any apologies for a paid-up membership of upward of three million at a time when ten or eleven million wage earners are totally unemployed and millions more working but part time. Nor should he forget, when considering the progress of organized labor in America, the powerfully entrenched forces that have been arrayed against our movement.

When I look back upon the struggles we have had to establish permanent labor organizations in the pulp and paper industry I do not weep because we have not achieved more, but I rejoice exceedingly because we have been able to do as well as we have done. This does not mean that the organized labor movement of this country should be satisfied to rest on its laurels and say, "Lo! behold our deeds." Not at all. I know of no member of the American Federation of Labor who is satisfied with the progress we have made. However, just because we have not accomplished as much as we wished to is no reason for belittling or denying what has been done. In my opinion some of the spokesmen for industrial unionism (or, as it is now more popularly called, vertical unions) at the Atlantic City convention prejudiced many of the delegates against their cause by disparaging the achievements of the American Federation of Labor.

Amalgamations

Would the American Federation of Labor have made greater progress if its affiliates had been organized on an industrial rather than on a craft basis? In some industries craft unionism has been, without any question of doubt, a hindrance to the more effective organization of the workers. In other industries craft organization has proved no great handicap. Many industries are organized on a craft basis because that is the form of organization chosen by the workers themselves. We must always bear in mind that the American Federation of Labor does not insist upon craft unionism. There is more flexibility in the Federation as far as the form of organization is concerned than is generally known. For instance, if the members of two international or national unions working in the same industry or in allied industries wish to amalgamate and form one organization, the A. F. of L. would not prevent them from doing so. As a matter of fact—and I think it can be proven by the record—the Executive Council of the Federation has lent encouragement to the amalgamation of unions at various times.

At the Atlantic City convention all the delegates from the Typo-

There Is Ample Provisions in the A. F. of L. Constitution for Industrial Unionism Wherever and Whenever the Workers Want It, President Burke Explains

graphical Union, with one exception, and all the delegates from the Printing Pressmen's Union voted for industrial unionism. The work performed by the members of these two unions is closely allied. If the Typographical Union and the Printing Pressmen's Union decided to take steps toward industrial unionism in the printing industry and were to amalgamate, would the Federation say nay? Most assuredly not.

Story of Two Unions

The delegates from the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers and from the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers also voted for industrial unionism. There is nothing to prevent these two unions, right within the framework of the American Federation of Labor, from amalgamating and forming what would practically be an industrial union in the pulp and paper industry. As a matter of fact, when the Federation first issued a charter to the Paper Makers more than thirty years ago, it granted that organization jurisdiction over about ninety per cent of the jobs

in the paper industry. The mechanical trades, comprising only about ten per cent of the workers, were the only ones not covered by



John P. Burke

that charter. The reason there are two International Unions in the pulp and paper industry now is because the Pulp and Sulphite Workers seceded from the Paper

Makers and established their own organization. The A. F. of L., as represented at that time by Samuel Gompers and the Executive Council, did not urge the Pulp Workers to leave the Paper Makers. On the contrary, they tried to persuade the Pulp Workers to remain part of the Paper Makers' Union; but we wanted our own union. Eventually, the Executive Council very reluctantly, and not until the Paper Makers gave consent, granted the Pulp and Sulphite Workers a charter of affiliation. Progress toward industrial unionism can be made right within the Federation any time the majority of the members in closely allied trades desire to take the step.

The Main Fault

As one who is actively participating in the day-to-day work of the labor movement, I see no reason why the various problems of organization cannot be worked out in a friendly and constructive manner, provided, of course, we bear in mind that the welfare of the labor movement as a whole is of far greater importance than some tem-

porary advantage of a particular group. The principal fault I find with the heads of national and international unions organized on a craft basis is their insistence at all times upon their jurisdictional rights, entirely irrespective of what effect such an attitude may have upon the movement as a whole. Oftentimes the craft unions raise a ruction because some other union has admitted to membership some workers over whom they claim jurisdiction. They demand that these workers be turned over to them even though these workers do not want to be transferred and will drop out altogether if separated from the union of their choice. It was this insistence upon what they term their jurisdictional rights, this dogged refusal to take cognizance of the changes taking place in industry, this failure to take a liberal and realistic view of the question of jurisdiction that were responsible for bringing the question of industrial unionism

versus craft unionism before the Atlantic City convention in such a sensational manner.

No one can blame the officers of the craft unions for looking after the interest of their own locals and their own members. However, in an age like this, when such revolutionary changes are taking place in industry, no matter how large or how small an organization may be, no matter whether it is a craft union or an industrial union, the mental horizon of its officers should be broader than the boundary lines of their own union. It is also well to remember in the midst of all this debate whether we shall have horizontal or vertical unionism, that the mere changing of the form of organization will be of no avail unless there is a desire for organization on the part of the American wage earners.

No Illusions

I voted for industrial unionism at the Atlantic City convention; but I have no illusions as to what either craft unions or industrial unions will bring the workers unless the workers themselves—the men and the women who work on farms, in mills, mines, and factories—want organization, and want it so badly that they will pay monthly dues, attend union meetings, and do the work that is necessary to organize and maintain organization.

During the debate on the industrial union question at Atlantic City President Wharton of the Machinists made one very effective statement. He said that only ten per cent of the workers in the automobile industry were skilled, and he asked why the ninety per cent could not maintain organization. It seems from President Wharton's statement that ninety per cent of the workers in the automobile industry could be organized into one union. Surely, if the automobile workers of this country really wanted to organize, the fact that the craft unions claim jurisdiction over ten per cent ought not to stand in their way. I wish the organization I represent had jurisdiction over ninety per cent of the workers in the pulp and paper industry. I certainly would not come to conventions of the American Federation of Labor arguing about jurisdiction over the other ten per cent.

It is important that the best form of labor organization be developed. However, we must face the fact frankly that before either industrial unionism or craft unionism can do the workers any good the workers must desire organization—desire it with such intensity and fervor, with such intelligence and understanding that unity will be their "cloud" by day and their "pillar of fire" by night, leading them onward toward the day of redemption, a redemption from unemployment, poverty, and fratricidal warfare between nation and nation.

Wrecking Tactics of Communists In Argentine and Australia Flayed

Methods of Stalinists Are Identical in All Countries and Have the Same Objects, and Their Inspiration Comes From Moscow

By Ben Lichtenberg

IN Cordoba, Argentina, the Communists ran true to form in a recent election for the provincial governmentship, when they supported one of the two capitalist parties as against the Socialists in a three-cornered fight.

Commenting upon that situation *La Vanguardia*, the powerful Socialist daily of Buenos Aires, wrote:

"The sole mission of the Communists is to sow confusion and weave intrigue among the proletarians. They pose as rabid revolutionaries, clothe themselves with the reddest of garments, decry the lukewarmness of the 'social fascists,' hurl the vilest of epithets at the most representative men in the Socialist Party, laugh at parliamentaryism, demand the renunciation of the 'proletarian benches' [that is, abandoning the seats in legislative bodies to which they had been elected], make other pretty statements of that nature—but when the moment comes for

a real battle for defense of democratic institutions and civil liberties they are nowhere to be found.

"Such are the dyed-in-the-wool revolutionists, whose revolutionary actions consist of demanding a united front on any pretext or no pretext, so that they may later on have the pleasure of disrupting the Socialist Party.

Bourgeois-Communist Front

"A definite and categorical proof of the revolutionary anti-fascist and anti-imperialist spirit of these gentlemen has been offered recently. In order to make evident their advanced character and to demonstrate that they are really leftist this group has decided to vote the ticket of the Radical [government] party in the coming elections. One would have thought in these times when the two sections of conservative Argentine political life are fighting each other for control the logical thing to do would be to support the party of the workers, the Socialist Party. But the Communists, who had in this election an opportunity to evince their marked class spirit, their revolutionary character and their

class consciousness found no other way to display those attributes than to give support to the Radical party.

"If we did not know them better we would despair and be saddened at such a decision from those self-styled faithful interpreters of the thoughts and sentiments, of the faith and aspiration of the exploited and downtrodden masses.

"It is hardly worth-while saying that there never has been nor is there now such a revolutionary spirit among them. The Communists who lately have been everywhere hysterically bestirring themselves centering their attack upon the Socialist Party have as a matter of fact never pursued any other objective than that of confusing the Argentine proletariat. The time has arrived for them to unmask themselves, to show themselves in their true colors, and they have done so without any scruples."

La Vanguardia comments upon the fact that the Radical party, supported by the Communists, has often taken a stand against workers on strike, and that that party

While our Argentine comrades were expressing themselves so vigorously on the subject of Communist activity in their territory the Labor Party of Australia was likewise making its position clear on the subject of Communist "innocents" organizations.

In the Labor Call of Melbourne, official organ of the Labor Party in the state of Victoria, we read (Oct. 21):

"The Central Executive of the Australian Labor Party in this State has decided that individual members of the party and its Branches which are or have been prominent in the Victorian Council Against War and Fascism, are to be given until November 15 to sever their connection with that organization.

"It also has decided that the C. E. was the only action that it could take in the circumstances in which it found itself placed. It previously had decided that the V.C.A.W. was a subsidiary organization of the Communist party. Therefore, it also was duty bound to declare its attitude towards

members of the A.L.P., either as individuals or as members of branches or affiliated unions, who are on strike, and that that party

(Continued on Page Six)

All-Socialist Council Meets

(Continued from Page One)

Administrative problems to be solved in the near future.

Socialist "Alderwoman"

For the first time a woman sat as a member of Bridgeport's Board of Aldermen. Mrs. Sadie K. Griffin, representing the second district, assured her colleagues that she could easily accustom herself to responding to the appellation of "Alderman," since some were nuzzled at first whether to address her as Alderman or Alderwoman.

Mayor McLevy later appointed her aldermanic representative on the Board of Recreation. Before her election as an Alderman, Comrade Griffin had been a Recreation Commissioner, appointed by the Mayor two years ago, and retaining her position on the commission until election to her new post.

An example of the zeal of the Socialists is furnished by George Rosenbeck, Alderman from the seventh district. Since an Alderman may not hold any paying municipal position, and a civil service employee may not engage actively in politics, Comrade Rosenbeck had to make a choice between holding his job as a mechanic in the city garage under the steady tenure of the recently effective civil service, or to serve his city in the capacity of Alderman with no reimbursement. Rosenbeck, one of the oldest members of the party, chose to serve as a Socialist.

SHARECROPPERS SUFFER SLAVERY UNDER A.A.A.

(Continued from Page One)

nishing their tenants with goods which could and should have been furnished by themselves.

Debt Serfs Increasing

"On the other hand, nearly 40 per cent of the landlords who had tenants on relief were opposed to government aid for their tenants on the ground of its demoralizing effects upon them.

"If the cropper were to become self-directing and take over his own affairs, the system would necessarily crumble.

"In the second place, the landlords were influenced by the relief that when members of any group are given privileges to which they are unaccustomed, they are likely in their inexperience to abuse them for a time."

In most Southern states the number of tenants and sharecroppers has increased during the last five years, according to statistics of the 1934 farm census. The figures are available for all Southern states except Texas, Mississippi and Arkansas. In Tennessee, Oklahoma, North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, Kentucky, Florida, Alabama and Virginia there were 1,133,307 tenant families in 1934 composed of around 5,893,196 individuals. Of this number, 412,293 families were sharecroppers composed of around 2,143,923 individuals.

All Southern states for which census statistics have been completed show a gradual rise in tenancy and sharecropping with the exception of Georgia and Oklahoma. In Georgia the number of tenants declined from 174,390 families in 1930 to 164,331 in 1935 and the number of sharecroppers was reduced from 100,854 to 80,425.

Cooper Union Lectures

Under the auspices of the Department of Social Philosophy, the following lectures will be given in Cooper Union: Dec. 6, "The Materialist Conception of History Is

Wrecking Tactics Flayed

(Continued from Page Five)

were associated with the V.C.A.W. "For the purpose of making the position of the C. E. clear to such members, particularly those who have not yet made up their minds as to what they should do, it is necessary to point out that:—

"The policies adopted by the A.L.P. and the V.C.A.W. are diametrically opposed to each other. The A.L.P. also stands for the right of self-government by its members, as opposed to the V.C.A.W., which would deny its members that right. Thus the issue also is one of democracy versus dictatorship within the ranks of the organization.

"The policy of the V.C.A.W. or what is said to be its policy against war, so far as it is known, was agreed to by leading members of the Communist party overseas.

"If the V.C.A.W. were an organization which confined its activities to organizing meetings and doing educational work only in opposition to war, very few in the A.L.P. would object to it.

"But when it seeks under cover to its so-called opposition to war to discredit the A.L.P. in the eyes of the workers and to defeat its policy, the A.L.P. has no alternative but to take up a stand in opposition. And in doing so it is bound to take action against any of its members who supported the V.C.A.W. against it.

"If such action were not taken, the A.L.P., as an organization, might as well go out of existence. Either that or allow itself to be controlled by the Communist party

Alderman. Mayor McLevy will make a trip to Washington this week to press the Federal government to move faster in the proposed slum clearance and housing project for Bridgeport. Options have been obtained from more than 90% of the property owners in the proposed new housing area, and all details have long ago been taken care of by the Bridgeport authorities, but the Washington Federal Housing Authority appears for some unknown reason to be stalling.

Similarly, a request for a Federal grant for rehabilitation of one of Bridgeport's bridges has been filed with the Washington officials since January, but nothing has been heard about it since, although the city administration on several occasions has sought to push the project to completion.

A victory dance will be held by the Bridgeport Socialist Party at the Mosque, State St., Bridgeport, on Saturday night, December 14. All the Socialist city officials, including Mayor McLevy, will be present, and a host of party members and friends from other parts of the state and from outside the state are expected to attend. Entertainment, refreshments, one of the best dance orchestras in the state, and a darn good time are in store for anyone who plans to attend. Tickets can be obtained from City Treasurer John Shenton, chairman, or at the door.

BUSINESS RISE BRINGS GAINS IN EMPLOYMENT

(Continued from Page One)

ducing the army of unemployed. "Trade union reports for November indicate that this fall's employment gain is slackening. Records covering 975,000 members in 24 cities show a very much smaller decline in unemployment in November than in October. Our weighted figures show the following per cent of the membership unemployed: August, 18.4; September, 17.9; October, 17.2; November, 16.8.

Gains Are Small

"In building, trade union figures show a gain in employment in November for the first time in the history of our reports. This would indicate that the building program has made enough headway to counteract the usual seasonal trend.

"Gains thus far, however, are too small to make an impression on the very serious unemployment in the building industry. In the last year 40,000 have gone back to work, but nearly two-thirds of all building workers (union and non-union) are still without jobs, except as provided by PWA and the emergency programs. The Federal Government has added 97,000 to its staff of workers in the past year, in addition to those on relief jobs.

"These small employment gains have made little reduction in the millions dependent on the Government for their existence. In September, FERA reports 3,254,000 cases, including over 14,000,000 persons. By November 16, 2,267,000 had been transferred to Work Projects, but jobs have by no means been found for all those without support. With winter approaching, this is no time for the Federal Government to cut off relief."

Unsound," Dec. 8, "Class and Leadership," Prof. Scott Buchanan. On Dec. 10, Prof. Buchanan will speak on "Freedom and Moral Responsibility."

Wrecking Tactics Flayed

(Continued from Page Five)

were associated with the V.C.A.W. "For the purpose of making the position of the C. E. clear to such members, particularly those who have not yet made up their minds as to what they should do, it is necessary to point out that:—

"The policies adopted by the A.L.P. and the V.C.A.W. are diametrically opposed to each other. The A.L.P. also stands for the right of self-government by its members, as opposed to the V.C.A.W., which would deny its members that right. Thus the issue also is one of democracy versus dictatorship within the ranks of the organization.

"The policy of the V.C.A.W. or what is said to be its policy against war, so far as it is known, was agreed to by leading members of the Communist party overseas.

"If the V.C.A.W. were an organization which confined its activities to organizing meetings and doing educational work only in opposition to war, very few in the A.L.P. would object to it.

"But when it seeks under cover to its so-called opposition to war to discredit the A.L.P. in the eyes of the workers and to defeat its policy, the A.L.P. has no alternative but to take up a stand in opposition. And in doing so it is bound to take action against any of its members who supported the V.C.A.W. against it.

"If such action were not taken, the A.L.P., as an organization, might as well go out of existence. Either that or allow itself to be controlled by the Communist party

ELEANORE LEVENSON ON PALESTINE IN NEWARK LECTURE

Eleanore Levenson, co-author of "Lawless Judges," published by the Rand School Press, will speak at the South Side Branch, 1085 Broad St., Newark, Saturday evening, Dec. 14, on "Palestine and Labor."

Comrade Levenson, a talented speaker and student of human relations and social problems, recently spent a year in Palestine where she made a first-hand investigation of conditions which serves as the basis of her talk. The small admission charge will be devoted to the benefit of the Branch headquarters.

Lena Morrow Lewis on Connecticut Lecture Tour

BRIDGEPORT.—A series of lectures by Lena Morrow Lewis under the auspices of the Connecticut State Executive Committee will start Sunday night, Dec. 8, when she will speak for Local Bridgeport in Sons of St. George Hall, Stratford Ave.

Connecticut locals desiring her services are requested to communicate with George Murgatroyd, 37 Curtis Ave., Bridgeport.

Rand School Prepares Big Rummage Sale

Donations are pouring in for the rummage sale soon to be held for the benefit of Rand School scholarships. No place or date has as yet been set for the sale as its sponsors desire to give every one full opportunity to donate goods that can be disposed of to the greater glory and profit of the school's scholarship fund.

So if you are yearning for the opportunity to buy everything you want at give-away prices, tell every one you know who has anything to give to hurry up and give it.

Not quite everything, though. Only non-perishable articles should be sent, as otherwise the storage problem is too complex.

Some of the unions have already responded with fine generosity and a splendid supply of merchandise. Among them are the Ladies' Neckwear Union, the Men's Neckwear Union, the Bonnaz Embroidery Workers, the Belt Makers, Grocery Clerks and Corset and Brassiere Workers. So send them in; we'll sell them cheap and you'll be sure to find something you want to buy at a price you want to pay.

WEVD University of the Air Fourth Year Inaugural

Hendrik Willem van Loon, famous author and historian, in a letter which is now being forwarded to leaders in the fields of education, literature, music and the arts, is sending out the call for the inaugural program which will open the fourth year of the WEVD University of the Air.

The inaugural is scheduled for Friday evening, December 13, at the new City College auditorium, 23rd St. and Lexington Ave. A feature of this year's program will be a panel discussion wherein "the faculty talks it over" on the topic "The Race Between Education and Anarchy." Among those who have agreed to participate are Willem van Loon, Prof. John Dewey and Henry Pratt Fairchild. A fine musical program will soon be announced as part of this official opening of the WEVD University of the Air.

Seger Packs Hall In New Haven

NEW HAVEN.—Gerhart Seger, former Social-Democratic member of the German Reichstag, spoke to an audience of 200, which packed the Workmen's Circle Hall, 72 Legion Ave., here last Monday. The meeting was held under the auspices of the youth committee of the Workmen's Circle.

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

RESTAURANTS

CHAS. MAYER
New Bar and Restaurant
1544 Third Ave., near 87 St.
Always Excellent Food
Wines—Beers—Liquors
at Popular Prices

AFTER THE MEETING...
L. LUND
1588 SECOND AVE., bet. 82 & 83 Sts.
BAKERY and RESTAURANT

Fifth Avenue Bar
Wines - Beers - Liquors
77 FIFTH AVENUE
bet. 15th & 16th St. New York
Tel.: STUYVESANT 9-5164
Special Luncheon 35¢

Tompkins Square 6-9402-3
TIP TOE INN
62 EAST 14th STREET
(Between Broadway & 4th Avenue)
SHULEM, Mgr. NEW YORK CITY

Mexican Workers Want Ban on Fascist Silk

MEXICO CITY.—The Confederation of Workers and Peasants, Mexico's largest labor organization, has requested the Finance Ministry to forbid all imports of Italian silk and artificial silk in the form of clothes or garments.

Confederation officials express belief that this action will strengthen sanctions which the Mexican government has approved, as in the case of many other nations, in protest of Mussolini's Ethiopian aggression and fascist wrecking of labor unions in Italy.

The confederation contends that an ample supply for all requirements of Mexico for silk and artificial silk is available from the United States and elsewhere.

Charges Against Nemser Are Dismissed by Party

After several months of thorough investigation of the accusations made against Hyman Nemser of the Retail Salesmen's Union, Local 717, the City Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Local New York accepted the report of the grievance committee that none of the charges had been sustained and the complaints were dismissed.

After months of gossip and vague accusations in which none of the accusers would accept responsibility by bringing charges, Morris Bershad, a party member and member of Local 717, finally filed charges and hearings began on June 20. Among the accusers were Jack Altman, Norman Thomas and other "militants" but no accuser had any concrete evidence to present. Thomas sent a letter which merely repeated the gossip, based mainly upon statements contained in employers' affidavits applying for an injunction. The affidavits were so false that they were thrown out of court.

In the meantime the gossip has been circulated in party circles throughout the country with the view of giving the impression that Local New York protects grafters and crooks. It was a "militant" maneuver from its inception.

Dr. Emil Ludwig to Speak "German Day"

Dr. Emil Ludwig, the famous biographer of Goethe, William II, Lincoln, Hindenburg, Mussolini, etc., will be the principal speaker at the Anti-Nazi "German Day" in New York, Dec. 15.

The German Day will be celebrated at St. Nicholas Palace, West 66th St. and Columbus Ave., by the German-American League for Culture, a nation-wide organization of non-Nazi groups. Among the other speakers will be Dr. Frank Bohn.

The engagement of Dr. Ludwig is announced by Gerhart H. Seger, former member of the German Reichstag, now editor of the "Neue Volkszeitung" and national organizer of the German-American League for Culture.

Bronx Socialists Back New Leader With Cash

The Joint Campaign Committee of the 8th A. D. in the Bronx, in mopping up the financial affairs of the past campaign, voted a substantial contribution to The New Leader.

The contribution was made, according to the motion by which it was carried unanimously by the branch members, "as an appreciation for its good work during the campaign."

ORGANIZATIONS

Get estimates on your printing jobs from
THE CHELSEA PRESS
Union Printers
8 WEST 19th STREET
Chelsea 3-6964-6965

FLORIST

Patronize our Comrade
Fred Spitz, Inc.
Florist
74 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY
Telephone Dry Dock 4-3188, 4-3889
Not connected with any other store in New York or Brooklyn

HALLS and LYCEUMS

LABOR LYCEUM
940 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn
Large and small hall suitable for all occasions and meetings at reasonable rentals.
STAGG 2-3843

Labor Temple 243-247 EAST 84th ST. NEW YORK
Workmen's Educational Association
Free library open from 1 to 10 p.m.
Halls for Meetings, Entertainments and Balls. Tel. REGENT 4-1038

TRAVEL

"GARTNER'S" TRAVEL BUREAU
207 EAST 84th STREET, NEAR 3rd AVE.
Immigration and Naturalization Matters :: "TORGSIN" Lowest Rates
Foreign Money Orders :: Passports secured

BEAUTY SALON

MME. ROSE, Inc.
Exclusive Beauty Salons
ELECTROLYSIS \$1.00 per Treatment
PERMANENT WAVING—ALL METHODS
Largest and most exclusive in Bensonhurst
Expert always at your service
6704 BAY P'WAY 2249 65th STREET
Bensonhurst 4-10044, 9435 Beachview 3-8666

LECTURE CALENDAR

(All lectures begin at 8:30 p. m. unless otherwise noted.)

Friday, December 6
William E. Bohn: "Socialism and the American Tradition," 1113 Brighton Beach Ave., Brooklyn; Brighton Branch.
Jacob Bernstein: "Dictatorship and Democracy," 8112 Boulevard, Hammels, L. I.; Rockaway Branch and Workmen's Circle.

Sunday, December 8
August Claessens: "Can Wealth Be Equitably Distributed?" 204 East Broadway, Manhattan; 4th A. D. Branch.

Monday, December 9
Theodore Shapiro: "Results of the British Elections," Studio of WEVD, Hotel Claridge, 44th St. and Broadway, Manhattan; Chelsea Branch.

Tuesday, December 10
Morris Feinstein: "The A. F. of L. Convention," 6618 Bay Parkway, Brooklyn; 16th A. D. Branch.

Wednesday, December 11
George I. Steinhilber: symposium: "Do Americans Want Socialism," Jacob Schiff Center, 2510 Valentine Ave., Bronx; Board of Education, Adult Education Project.

Friday, December 13
William M. Feigenbaum: "The Road to Power in America," 1703 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn; Paole Zion and Y.P.S.L.

PARTY NEWS

Women's Activity
Saturday, Dec. 7, 2 p. m.—Picket line of Shoe Salesmen's strike, Fulton St., Brooklyn. Women called to cooperate. For information telephone Minnie Weisberg, Dick. 2-1940 or Alg. 4-2620.

Monday, Dec. 9, 7:30 p. m.—Rand School class, "Relief." Guest speaker, Henry Rosner.

Monday, Dec. 9, 3 p. m.—Rand School. Public speaking and parliamentary practice. Instructor, Rebecca Jarvis.

Tuesday, Dec. 10, 1:30 p. m.—Rand School. History of Labor in America. Instructor, William E. Duffy.

Tuesday, Dec. 10, at Amalgamated Cooperative Houses, Bronx.—"The Tragedy of Relief."

Wednesday, Dec. 11, 2 p. m.—at 1140 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn—"The Tragedy of Relief."

Thursday, Dec. 12, 2 p. m.—at 1113 Brighton Beach Ave., Brooklyn—"The Tragedy of Relief." Instructor, Esther Friedman.

MANHATTAN
4th A. D.—Branch activities in full swing, with weekly forums functioning. A dance will be held in January. With headquarters at 204 East Broadway, the entire membership is being enlisted for building up our branch and aiding the Socialist Party in every way.

Working to increase The New Leader circulation. At meeting of Nov. 26, called specially to discuss Central Committee resolution for reorganization, branch voted full approval to Central Committee in its effort to establish a united Socialist Party.

6th A. D.—Following the campaign, branch undertook activities to increase its membership. Enrolled voters being canvassed and educational work is in progress. The branch has headquarters at 95

cording to the motion by which it was carried unanimously by the branch members, "as an appreciation for its good work during the campaign."

The Joint Campaign Committee of the 8th A. D. in the Bronx, in mopping up the financial affairs of the past campaign, voted a substantial contribution to The New Leader.

PRINTING

Get estimates on your printing jobs from
THE CHELSEA PRESS
Union Printers
8 WEST 19th STREET
Chelsea 3-6964-6965

FLORIST

Patronize our Comrade
Fred Spitz, Inc.
Florist
74 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY
Telephone Dry Dock 4-3188, 4-3889
Not connected with any other store in New York or Brooklyn

HALLS and LYCEUMS

LABOR LYCEUM
940 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn
Large and small hall suitable for all occasions and meetings at reasonable rentals.
STAGG 2-3843

Labor Temple 243-247 EAST 84th ST. NEW YORK
Workmen's Educational Association
Free library open from 1 to 10 p.m.
Halls for Meetings, Entertainments and Balls. Tel. REGENT 4-1038

TRAVEL

"GARTNER'S" TRAVEL BUREAU
207 EAST 84th STREET, NEAR 3rd AVE.
Immigration and Naturalization Matters :: "TORGSIN" Lowest Rates
Foreign Money Orders :: Passports secured

BEAUTY SALON

MME. ROSE, Inc.
Exclusive Beauty Salons
ELECTROLYSIS \$1.00 per Treatment
PERMANENT WAVING—ALL METHODS
Largest and most exclusive in Bensonhurst
Expert always at your service
6704 BAY P'WAY 2249 65th STREET
Bensonhurst 4-10044, 9435 Beachview 3-8666

Avenue B and its membership, the second largest branch in Manhattan, is making good use of the hall almost every night.

Beginning Sunday evening, Dec. 15, at 9 o'clock, August Claessens will conduct for six weeks a class in "The Fundamentals of the Socialist Philosophy and Movement," open to all comers. The quiz and discussion method will be used rather than lectures. Enrollments now being made.

KINGS

East Flatbush Branch, 2nd A. D.,

will hold a house warming at new headquarters, Saturday, Dec. 14, at 863 Saratoga Ave.

Brighton Beach Branch—Regular meeting Monday, Dec. 9, at 1113 Brighton Beach Ave.

Midwood Branch—Regular business meeting Monday, Dec. 7, at Kingsway Mansion, 1602 Ave. P.

BRONX

Lower 8th A. D.—Instead of meeting on Dec. 10, the monthly card and bridge party will be held at Burnside Manor. Next meeting on Dec. 24.

Over 46,000,000 Boxes

were bought last year alone of that pleasant, gentle, and effective laxative that people enjoy taking. It is Ex-Lax—the most popular laxative in America—good for every member of the family.

Keep Regular with
EX-LAX
THE CHOCOLATED LAXATIVE

Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Organized 1884 Incorporated 1889
Main Office: 714-716 SENECA AVENUE, Ridgewood Station, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Telephone—HEGEMAN 3-4858

OVER 50,000 MEMBERS IN 352 BRANCHES
Reserves on December 31, 1932—\$3,500,000.00
Benefits paid since its existence:

Death Benefit \$5,300,000.00 Sick Benefit \$13,000,000.00
WORKERS! PROTECT YOURSELVES!
In Case of Sickness, Accident, or Death!

Death Benefit according to age at time of initiation in one or both classes:
Class A: 40 cents per month—Death Benefit \$395 at the age of 16 to 44
Class B: 50 cents per month—Death Benefit \$550 to \$230
Parents may insure their children in case of death up to the age of 16
Death Benefit according to age \$20 to \$200.

SICK BENEFIT PAID:
Per week \$12.00 for 50 weeks and \$6.00 for another 50 weeks.
\$6 or \$9 for 40 weeks and half of that amount for another 40 weeks.
SICK BENEFIT FOR WOMEN:
\$8 per week for the first forty weeks; \$4.50 for another forty weeks.

For further information apply to Main Office, William Spahr, National Secretary, or to the Financial Secretaries of the Branches.

We Employ Only Union Labor

Established since 1889
The Oldest Independent Retail Milk Concern in the Bronx

MORRISANIA
STOCK FARMS, Inc.
883 TINTON AVE. BRONX, N. Y.
Phone—MELORE 5-8500

Deliveries Made to Your Door

THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

75,000 MEMBERS
The Largest Radical Workingmen's Fraternal Order in Existence.

\$5,000,000 ASSETS
100 Branches All Over the United States and Canada.

Insurance from \$100 to \$3,000
Sick benefit, 15 weeks per year, at \$8, \$18, \$25 and \$35 per week. Many branches pay additional benefit from \$3 to \$5 per week. Consumption benefit \$400 and \$600 or nine months in our own sanatorium, located in the most beautiful region of the Catskill mountains—besides the regular weekly benefit.

For information apply to
THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
175 East Broadway, N. Y. City
Telephone Orchard 4-6000

Columbia Tea Co.



Order from your grocer this famous Russian tea known to millions as "SWEE-TOUCH-NEE TEA"

WORKMEN'S MUTUAL FIRE INSURANCE SOCIETY, Inc.

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

Why Pay Exorbitant Fire Rates?
When our Society offers you **HOUSEHOLD FIRE INSURANCE AT ACTUAL COST** ONLY

10¢ Annually \$100 Insurance for Every household, regardless of location or character of dwelling.

Fire Losses Appraised Liberally and Paid Promptly.

\$75,000,000.00 Insurance in Force.
\$1,000,000.00 in Assets.
\$500,000.00 paid out in fire claims.

The Group Theatre Opens Its New Season

"Boy Meets Girl": Success Formula For the Court

INFALLIBLE "BOY MEETS GIRL." By Bella and Samuel Spewack. At Court. "Boy Meets Girl... Boy Loses Girl... Boy Gets Girl." This is the basic formula for literary success, proclaimed and exemplified in the uproarious farce the Spewacks have whacked at Hollywood and two joking geniuses everyone denies are Ben Hecht and his pal, wily Mac Arthur. They bounce over the film industry like a balloon from which Mark Twain, Chauncey, Depew and Will Rogers are trying to dismount—only it changes into a typewriter they are playing on the Road to Fortune. Except that "Boy Meets Girl" stands on Chauncey's shoulders—save the Mark!

Infant stars—caught in the embryo stage; "Young England" with an all-foreign cast in half-French half-Castilian uniforms; lordlings and waifs and cowboy stars; music makers (always ignored, as they should be); Hollywood on stage,

screen and radio;—flippant and swift; staid but it sets us staggering; big chief and executives kidded and cower (not to mention prodded and poked and pinned for satiric picture) by the two created authors, the jiggling geniuses who—like all sane intelligences, finding Hollywood intolerable—alone turned it into something they could endure. They neither shirked their jobs, nor fled, nor talked themselves sour nor drank themselves dull; they turned the whole film industry into a topsy-turvy joke; they laughed at it—from Big Chief to cur-top star—in its own baby face. This world is not yet ripe for a Don Quixote to laugh away these outworn follies; they flourish, far from outworn, still widely and seriously accepted. But a gale of bright mocking laughter, a whirlwind of forthright farcical film-splitting fun, cavorts at the Court, when it's caught the success-formula, laughed at and exemplified in "Boy Meets Girl." J. T. S.

Brock Pemberton... The Man Who Never Produced a Bad Play

Along the highways and byways of Broadway they call him "the man who never produced a bad play." To those not immediately in and of the theatre, he is better known as Brock Pemberton. And now that Mr. Pemberton has successfully launched the first road company of "Personal Appearance," and has arranged for the original company to depart shortly from Henry Miller's Theatre for Chicago, theatre folk are wondering what this astute producer has up his sleeve in the way of another entertaining play this season.

There was talk last summer of his producing "I Want a Policeman" by Milton Lazarus and Rufus King, but when the organization of road companies of his own play threatened to take up his spare time until the first of the year, he consented to turn over production rights of the Lazarus-King play to the new firm of Curtis and Myers.

Then he told of having commissioned Zona Gale, whose first play, "Miss Lulu Bett," Mr. Pemberton produced, in to write him a new play. He is still awaiting its delivery. There have also been frequent rumblings from over Sutton Place way where Lawrence Riley (who wrote "Personal Appearance") lives. Mr. Riley is working on the last act of his new play, "Cardboard Castle." And so, it seems for the moment that Brock Pemberton is without a play to produce.

"It isn't because nobody is writing good plays," Mr. Pemberton explains. "Every producer comes across a good play now and then but there may be a variety of reasons why he doesn't produce it and the next man does. The cost of production may be too high. It may not suit the particular actor or actress for whom he is seeking a play. Or he may feel no interest in the subject matter. It never disturbs me to discover that a play I had rejected is making money for someone else."

"It may come tomorrow, it may come next week," Pemberton will tell you. "I never lose sight of the fact that the very next play I pick

up to read may prove to be the finest play I have ever put on the stage. That is what keeps producers going."

Gladys Shelley



Who essays the feminine lead in "Moon Over Mulberry Street," Standish O'Neill's long-running play, at the 44th St. Theatre.

Theatre Union to Resume Weekly Broadcasts

On next Sunday, December 8th, the Theatre Union will resume its weekly series of broadcasts of social plays, which were highly successful last season, when the program was known as "Plays That Speak With a New Voice." Last season's programs included only American plays, but those given this year will be plays of all countries, and the program will be titled, "Social Plays From All Over the World." The first to be given will be Ibsen's "Enemy of the People."

"Weep for the Virgins" Opens Group Season at 46th Street Theatre

Along with a prime interest in good plays as such, the Group Theatre has always had a particular fondness for plays typically representative of the American scene, whether of today or in the past. This idea, crystallized in their productions during the past four seasons, had led them pretty extensively over the face of these United States, as well as back into the past hundred and fifty years.

Some of the Group plays have dealt with the New York of today: "1931," "Success Story," "Men in White," "Awake and Sing!," and "Waiting For Lefty." "The House of Connelly," however, was laid in the contemporary deep South; "Gold Eagle Guy" ranged back through sixty years to tap the colorful stream of American pioneering days in the Far West; "Night Over Taos" was set in the Southwest in the last days of Spanish feudalism.

Such a roster of plays with their variety, not only of geographic background, but of racial and social types: southern aristocrats, Bronx Jews, taxi-trivers, Empire builders of the Victorian era, holds rich promise for the day when the Group Theatre will be able to fulfill its hope of becoming a repertory organization. With the exception of Jasper Deeter's Hedgerow Theatre outside of Philadelphia, no repertory unit devoted to American plays exists in this country, or has ever existed. Eva Le Gallienne's Civic Repertory was, for reasons inherent in its structure, concerned with the European classics, both old and modern. A repertory of plays dealing with the American scene and American history, as well as other classics, offers a great challenge to a permanent company, a challenge which the Group hopes some day to take up.

With "Weep for the Virgins," by Nellie Child, which opened at the 46th Street on Friday (November 29th), the Group turns to yet another corner of American life. This play, the first by a newcomer to the theatre, is about the fortunes of a working family in the fish-cannery town of San Diego.

Among the Group actors who appear in "Weep for the Virgins" are Phoebe Brand, Ruth Nelson, Paula Miller, J. E. Bromberg, Alexander Kirkland, Art Smith

Popular in the Group Theatre's Two New Plays



Seen above are Alexander Kirkland and Stella Adler. The former has an important role in "Weep for the Virgins" at the 46th Street Theatre. Miss Adler will appear in the new Clifford Odets play, "Paradise Port," opening Monday night at the Longacre.



Extraordinary Dance Recital Scheduled for Sunday Eve, Dec. 15th

The high point in the current dance season will undoubtedly be reached in the group dance recital at Carnegie Hall on December 15, America's greatest dancers and their groups, Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey, Tamiris, Charles Weidman, and the dance unit of the New Dance League will join in a recital that presents on one program, for the first time in several years, the most brilliant achievements of the modern American dance.

Martha Graham, who has appeared before enthusiastic audiences during the past month, has won high critical praise for her and Jules Garfield. Some of these are well-known to Group audiences; others are handling their first major acting assignment for the Group.

daring social comment in one of her newest compositions, "Imperial Gesture." Speaking of Doris Humphrey and Charles Weidman in the New York Times, John Martin said: "Their work marks the beginning of a new phase in the modern dance movement hereabouts. Miss Humphrey's 'New Dance' is the most distinguished work of her career."

To those who have been following the recent work of the individual artists, as well as those who wish to gain a comprehensive picture of the achievements of modern choreography, no better opportunity has been offered than this to compare the mature work of these great dancers in a program that will make new dance history.

Bill Holds at Brooklyn Strand

Shattering all previous double feature attendance records at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre, Sylvia Sidney in "Mary Burns, Fugitive,"

"First Lady" Is FIRST In Many Ways

PETTICOAT POLITICS

"FIRST LADY." By Katharine Dayton and George S. Kaufman. At the Music Box.

Parlor tricks in politics. And cute Jane Cowell. Only petticoats went off with the ouija board. So it's Washington scandals in seanties—although evening gowns are gay over the gossip. But how can you help it, if you've really been born in the White House?

So "First Lady" is first-rate entertainment, as well as silk and satin satire on the making of presidents, as the wife of the Secretary of State and the less wily but more willing wife of a Justice of the Supreme Court seek the presidential nomination. The steadies and stand-bys of D.C. are there, and those whom each election blows in and out, like famous Finnigan. Only there's more glamor in rivalry when it's not Mrs. O'Grady but the Governor's Lady; for of

course polite satire never gets under our skins. But when Lily Cahill and Jane Cowl smile their sweet poison across a cup of tea, some of the season's most succulent acting (like sea-islanders' blow-pipes) speeds the darts of the dialogue. Even when we discover that the Lady President of the League for Peace, Purity, and Putrefaction (maybe that's not quite right!) is wearing a white flower made of a small spilling of chicken salad, we do not lose hope that love will save the land. But the ways in which Madame Secretary, having been hoist by her own petard, makes everyone jump off the other bandwagon, engage us in the movement of genuine high comedy, that one was beginning to fear had become a lost art. "First Lady" will last! J. T. S.

DANCE RECITALS

ON ONE PROGRAM America's Greatest Dancers and Their Groups

GOOD SEATS STILL AVAILABLE

MARTHA GRAHAM
DORIS HUMPHREY
TAMIRIS
CHARLES WEIDMAN
DANCE UNIT
of the New Dance League
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 15
8:45 P.M.
Tickets: 55c to \$2.50
CARNegie HALL
57th Street and 7th Avenue

Held Over - JAMES CAGNEY

as the rough, tough "Frisco Kid"
Warner Bros. New Hit
With a Cast of 1000
STRAND—25c
B'WAY & 47th St. to 1 P.M.

JOAN BLONDELL

"Miss Pacific Fleet"

Warner Bros. Laugh Riot with
GLENNA FARRELL
HUGH HERBERT
ALLEN JENKINS

★ PLUS BIG STAGE SHOW ★
JOAQUIN GARAY and many other
star acts — GAE FOSTER GIRLS —
FREDDY MACK — ROXY ORCHESTRA
ROXY ANY DAY!
25c to 2 P.M.
35c to 7 P.M.
15c to 10 P.M.
SHOW VALUE OF THE NATION

TWO BIG FEATURES RONALD COLMAN

in
"THE MAN WHO
BROKE THE BANK
OF MONTE CARLO"

with
JOAN BENNETT
ALSO
BART MACLANE
MARY ASTOR
in
"MEN OF IRON"
PALACE
B'WAY & 47th St.

FABIAN'S BARBARA STANWYCK — ROBERT YOUNG

"RED SALUTE"
FLATBUSH 44th ST. MOVIE
MARGARET LINDSAY — ANITA LOUISE
25c to 6 P.M. "PERSONAL MAIDS'S SECRET"

HELD OVER FOR A 2nd WEEK!

SYLVIA SIDNEY in "MARY BURNS, FUGITIVE"
Also, NORMAN FOSTER in "SUPERSPEED"
BROOKLYN STRAND
25c After-
noons 40c Even-
ings 25c Midnite
Show Sat. 15c Childr.
at all times

ROY HARGRAVE and GEORGE COULOURIS

"Completely fascinating."—Anderson, Journal.
BLIND ALLEY
MOROSCO THEATRE WEST 45th STREET, L.A. 4-2520.
Eve. 8:40. Mat. Wed. & Sat. 2:40

GUTHRIE McCLINTIC presents MAXWELL ANDERSON'S

WINTERSET ★★★
"The kind of play our theatre is fortunate to have written and produced."
—John Mason Brown, Post
MARTIN BECK THEATRE, 45 St. W. of
8th Ave. Eve. 8:40. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40

The Outstanding Laugh Hit of the Season!

"Its fun is large and obnoxious"—Percy Hammond, Herald Tribune
"Comical enough to provide a rough-and-ready evening"—Rob. Garland, W.T.

SQUARING THE CIRCLE

ADELPHI THEATRE, 54th St. and 7th Ave. Seats 8 weeks in advance. Eve. 50c-52. Wed. Mat. 50c-51.50. Sat. Mat. 50c-52.

LAST TIMES 2nd SENSATIONAL YEAR Brock Pemberton presents

PERSONAL APPEARANCE
with GLADYS GEORGE
by Lawrence Riley — Staged by Antoinette Devy
HENRY MILLER'S Theatre, W. 43rd St.—Eve. 8:40. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

GOOD BAL- CONY SEATS

50c \$1.00
\$1.50 \$2.00

SCIENTIFICALLY AIR
CONDITIONED AT
75% ONLY 10c
ITIMATE THE-
ATRE SO
EQUIPPED
3 MEN ON A HORSE
"A
Knockout"
Sobel-Mirror
PLAYHOUSE 18th St. E.
Eve. 8:45. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:45

The GROUP THEATRE presents

"Weep for the Virgins"
with the Group Theatre Acting Company.
46TH ST. THEATRE West of Broadway. Evenings 8:40.
Matinee—Wednesday & Saturday 2:40

SAM H. HARRIS presents

JANE COWL
in a new comedy
"FIRST LADY"
By KATHARINE DAYTON and
GEORGE S. KAUFMAN
MUSIC BOX THEATRE 43rd St., WEST OF BROADWAY
Mats. Thurs. and Sat.

A New High in Rib-Splitting Hilarious Comedy!

ERNEST TRUEX
"Spreads Abundant Merriment" in
"WHATEVER GOES UP"
See It and Get the Laugh of Your Life
BILTMORE THEATRE 47th STREET, W. of Broadway
500 Good Seats, 50c to \$2.00.

"A thing of shining beauty, a fantasy of delight"—Sun

WARNER BROS. present MAX REINHARDT'S Production of
"MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM"
HOLLYWOOD THEATRE, Broadway & 51st St.
Phone Circle 7-3000 or by mail.
Twice Daily, 2:30 & 8:30. Eve. 55c-82.20. Mats. 55c-81.30

HONK! HONK!

CAPITOL NOW

OKAY GIRLS! THE LINE FORMS AT THE RIGHT! AT LAST I CAN GET RID OF THAT GABLE—NOW WATCH THE ROMANTIC MARKS!

A Night at the Opera
Groucho Chico Harpo

THE FUNNIEST PICTURE IN 10 YEARS!
The Merry Mad
MARK BROTHERS
in Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's \$1,000,000 Comedy Musical Hit
"A NIGHT AT THE OPERA"
with ALLAN JONES — KITTY CARLISLE

Extra On Screen! Charles "Coke" Sale as Lincoln in "The Perfect Tribute"

MUSIC

PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY

KLEMPERER, Conductor
AT CARNegie HALL
This Afternoon at 3:00
Soprano
Soloist
LOTTE LEHMANN
Thurs. Eve., 8:45; Fri. Aft., 2:30
Sunday Aft. at 3:00
MAHLER: Symphony No. 2 in C minor
Soloists—ENTZ SZANTHO, Contralto
SUSANNE FISHER, Soprano
SCHOLA CANTORUM CHORUS
Sat. Eve. at 8:45
Tchaikovsky "Pathetic"—Brahms First
ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Stetway Piano)

PHILADELPHIA

Organized workers MUST see
THE NEW THEATRE PRESENTS
ALBERT MALTZ'S
"BLACK PIT"
ERLANGER THEATRE
Market at 21st St. PHILA., Pa.
Beg. Monday Eve. Dec. 30
Monday Evening Benefit
Socialist Party

THEATRE PARTIES

Party Branches and sym-
thetic organizations are re-
quested when planning theatre
parties to do so through the
Theatrical Department of THE
NEW LEADER, Phone Algon-
quin 4-4622 or write to Ber-
nard 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
 Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of The New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with its declared purpose.
 Official Organ of the Socialist Party of the States of New York—Maryland—Pennsylvania and Endorsed by Massachusetts and California
 Vol. XVIII No. 49

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1935

A TOUGH MUG

AN American writer now in Italy says that one thing which has been accomplished in that country is that the people have been relieved of the trouble of doing any thinking for themselves. The Italian does not have to go to the polls to select his rulers, and "even if he were permitted to vote every now and again, as free men are in democratic lands, he would be sure to elect his routine proportion of grafters, barflies, ignoramuses and sickle nuts, all to the detriment of the nation, and in the long run, of himself. . . . They have put it all up to a tough mug who knocked their heads together and took charge."

And the tough mug is having his way, too. He is not troubled by any false notions of shrinking modesty. He sees to it that his face is everywhere in sight, and "his" soldiers are supposed to rush into battle yelling "Du-chay! Du-chay!" like so many football rooters. Come to think of it, neither does Hitler suffer from reluctance in putting pictures of his vacant face around, nor does Stalin.

Indeed, in countries in which "strong" men have the helm it appears to be necessary to keep the name and the picture of the head man always in sight. Hitler's will is Germany's law; Mussolini is always right; Stalin's imprimatur makes legal the sweating speed-up system known as Stakhanoffism. And you can't escape their pictures.

Of course, "it can't happen here"; but equally of course we have people ballyhooing Mussolini and "wishing to God he would come over here and do the same job," as General Sherrill did. Of course, America is barren soil for Nazism—or is it? And there are plenty of infatuated people here who literally swoon when they see Stalin's picture.

It isn't a bad idea to remind people now and again just what dictatorship means. Besides its cheap and vulgar crudity—as witness the picture on this page—it is silly and cruel and brutal.

Democracy can make its mistakes, and it does. But what Macaulay said nearly a century ago is still true; the remedy for the evils of democracy is more democracy. And now is as good a time as any to hammer home that point when dictators are running wild and the whole structure of civilization is trembling as a result.

WHILE MILLIONS ARE JOBLESS

WHILE over ten million are still jobless, while millions more depend upon relief jobs at shockingly low wages our "better" people are doing quite well, thank you.

The Securities and Exchange Commission has been making public details of salaries and fees "earned" by industrial magnates, which will make excellent fireside reading for our jobless and underpaid.

General Motors, for example, reports compensation of \$211,128 for a vice-president, while President Sloan received \$201,743 in 1934. Lamont du Pont, Chairman of the Board, received \$12,001—but it is safe to guess that he was not obliged to depend upon that trifle for his living. Eight other General Motors officers received over \$100,000 in that year.

That is only one company; the S.E.C. list gave details of hundreds of officials of many other companies in its first list making sums of money in 1934 that literally stagger the imagination.

One is compelled to ask why there are so many jobless, why wages are so low, why workers must organize and wage what often amounts to virtual civil war to make ends meet. The country is rich and fertile; there is plenty of efficient machinery, there are willing workers armed with skill and strength. What, then, is wrong that there are such shocking industrial contrasts?

Capitalism—there is the enemy! So long as capitalism lasts there will be no justice, no decency, no happiness, no industrial peace!

PIG ECONOMICS

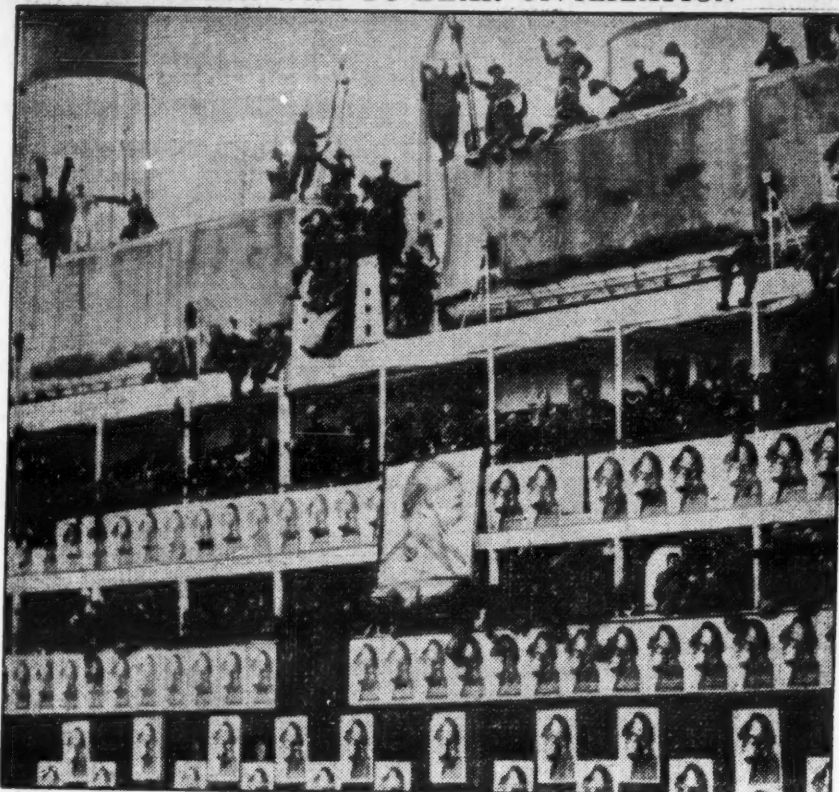
PIG economics under the New Deal is a program of zig-zag from scarcity to abundance and abundance to scarcity. In 1933 the government paid farmers about \$40,000,000 to kill 6,000,000 pigs. Then the price of pork went up and workers in the city complained. Now those 6,000,000 little piggies who were condemned to death are very much in demand so the program is reversed.

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration is now out for 15,000,000 more piggies than were raised this year, nine million more pigs than were killed in 1933. The government will pay about \$100,000,000 to farmers for raising 15,000,000 more little piggies in 1936 than they raised in 1935.

By this time the reader is likely to be a little groggy over this killing one year and nursing another year and wonder what it is all about. If we are asked what it means the answer is that the Brain Trust is doing its best to effect some control over conflicting factors of capitalist production, such as prices and markets, purchasing power and human needs, the domestic market and the world market and the Brain Trust simply cannot effect this control. So pigs are not raised one year but they are raised another year, the government paying for something one year and paying for nothing the next year.

And that's the story of pig economics.

ON THEIR WAY TO BEAR CIVILIZATION



Italian soldiers on their way to the Ethiopian wars, in a ship tastefully decorated (by Mussolini's orders) with pictures of Mussolini.

Behind the Scenes in Washington

By Benjamin Meiman
 Our Washington Correspondent

ACCORDING to all official reports—and a good many unofficial—recovery has at last made its turn around the corner. More unemployed find jobs. Total amount of paid wages is on the increase and a definite "industrial boom" is in sight.

Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins reports that continuation of the substantial gains in employment and payrolls reported in September was shown in October in the combined manufacturing and non-manufacturing industries.

Approximately 250,000 workers were returned to employment in those industries in October. Weekly wage disbursements were \$3,200,000 greater than in the preceding month.

Factory employment continued the forward movement which began in August. Estimates computed from reports supplied by firms employing more than one-half of the total factory wage earners of the country indicate additional jobs for nearly 150,000 workers in manufacturing industries between September and October. Retail trade establishments showed a seasonal expansion reflecting fall buying. Employment in anthracite mines also increased sharply.

The durable goods group of industries continued the expansion recorded in the preceding two months with an employment increase of 5.2 per cent. Employment in this group in October was 19.1 per cent above the level of October of a year ago. In the non-durable goods industries small declines in employment were reported.

Employment Gains Widespread

The gains in factory employment and payrolls were widespread, 69 of the 90 manufacturing industries surveyed showing gains in employment and a similar number showing gains in payrolls.

Based on reports received from 51,584 retail trade establishments employing 847,675 workers in October, there was an estimated gain of over 75,000 employees in retail establishments.

Additional bulletins of recovery: From the Federal Reserve Board—"Most substantial economic advance since the depression began; index of production up from 89 to 94 in a month."

From the American Federation of Labor—"An industrial boom is indicated within the next few years, unless an inflated stock market draws off funds that should go into consumption."

From the Treasury's unofficial housing coordinator, Peter Grimm—"With building going forward at more than double last year's rate, the nation is looking forward to unusual building activity during the spring and summer of 1936. New construction in 1934 failed even to replace dwellings that burned or collapsed."

Based on these and other reports, President Roosevelt makes the following summary of the New Deal's work:

Roosevelt's Atlanta Speech
 Re-counting past gains under the New Deal and promising still wider ones in the future, the President in his Atlanta address tells the country that—

Lavish government spending is over and the nation may look forward with assurance to decreasing deficits.

Government credit is now better than in any other great nation, despite the attacks of those who seek to dictate to the Administration and Congress on how to run

Definite Signs That Recovery Has Finally Turned the Corner—Plutocracy Demands Full and Absolute Control—Roosevelt the "Revolutionist"

the Treasury and how to let the needy starve.

Of former recipients of the dole, \$120,000 have been given relief jobs, in substantial fulfillment of the Administration's pledge to put an end to "this business of relief" by November, 1935.

Through operation of the agricultural program, farm income has risen by three billion dollars annually since 1932, bringing a rebirth of city business, reopening of closed factories, doubling of automobile production, improvement of transportation and new employment to millions of people.

But even if all that were true, business is displeased and starts a strong campaign against government control and government competition. From the United States Chamber of Commerce come reports of a poll of members, whose votes show a 98 per cent majority for these policies. In addition, opposition is recorded against government competition with private business and against enlarging discretionary powers of Federal agencies in carrying out laws.

Still further goes the National Association of Manufacturers in a 14-point "recovery program" recommended for adoption at the annual convention to be held this month.

Plutocracy is like autocracy: It insists on ruling alone, unhindered by anybody! Absolute dictatorship!

Roosevelt the "Revolutionist"
 A GOOD many Republicans try to paint Roosevelt red. They represent him as a velvet-gloved revolutionist, trying under Democratic cover to introduce alien ideas into the American scheme of things.

But Roosevelt is trying to prove that all he does is calculated to save the capitalist system from the capitalists themselves. That was especially apparent from his Atlanta speech, which is considered by all political observers the opening gun of the 1936 presidential campaign. This was implied in all that he said.

His address steered clear of revolutionary suggestions. There was no hint of menace to private initiative and profits. Rather there was the promise that rewards would be more fairly distributed, that every effort was being made to improve the functioning of the American system, to give everyone his chance at the feed bag, and not to permit the stronger to get more than their just share. That is roughly the old familiar policeman theory of government.

At least in this the Socialists will absolutely agree with Roosevelt. Every Socialist will take a special oath that Roosevelt is not a Socialist.

Peek Quits Export-Import Banks

GEORGE N. PEEK, original New Dealer, severed all connections with the Roosevelt Administration on Monday.

Peek's association with the Administration has been a stormy one. He was one of the first of the New Dealers, coming here in May, 1933, as head of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. There he disagreed with Secretary Wallace and with Rexford Guy Tugwell, now Undersecretary of Agriculture. From the agricultural post he was shifted to the State

Department to advise Secretary Hull on reciprocal trade policies.

Finding himself in disagreement with his chiefs in the State Department, Peek was shifted to the Export-Import Bank presidency, retaining his place as adviser to the President on foreign commerce.

Florida-faced, positive, but not talkative, Peek failed to fit in with other New Dealers almost from the beginning. He is a close student of agriculture, having been a leader in the farm movement and a farm implement manufacturer. He is a close friend of General Johnson, who has been insisting that Peek should be Secretary of Agriculture.

Those that have laid great hopes on extended trade with Russia foresaw a great future for the Export-Import banks, but also that proved to be a dream that the dreamer dreamed. The big Russian trade did not come this way; and if it had come the export-import banks could not take care of it.

Now Peek has left, and while theoretically the banks remain in existence very little can be expected of them. They may die a slow death.

"It Can't Happen Here"

By William M. Feigenbaum

"MORE and more as I think," pondered Doremus Jessup, "I am convinced that everything that is worth while in the world has been accomplished by the free, inquiring, critical spirit, and that the preservation of this spirit is more important than any social system whatsoever. But the men of ritual and the men of barbarism are capable of shutting up the men of science and silencing them forever."

And so Doremus Jessup, decent American, was at war with fascism and he had dedicated his life to that war.

Doremus Jessup was just another country editor, running a little daily in Vermont, who believed in liberty, justice and democracy. He was surrounded by the usual run-of-the-mine Americans—bankers, tailors, odd-jobs men, clerks, D. A. R.ers, and their wives. They liked him and considered him slightly eccentric because he really believed in the things they avowed as part of their creed. And there you have the set-up for Sinclair Lewis to inquire what would happen if fascism ever came to America.

"Fascism?" his associates sneered: "It can't happen here." "Can't it?" retorted a gentle clergyman. "The hell it can't!"

Sinclair Lewis hates fascism with a wholesome, full-bodied hate. He knows what it is, for he has seen it at work abroad. And he is annoyed that in America there are smug and fatuous people who say that they're against fascism, of course, but after all Hitler saved Germany and Europe from Communism and that under Mussolini the trains run on time. Hence his latest (and possibly his most important) novel, "It Can't Happen Here" (New York, Doubleday, Doran), a story of the next few years in America, beginning next spring, as it might be, if . . .

In Lewis' fantasy a demagogue arises in an unnamed state who catches the imagination of vast sections of the American people; Senator Berzelius ("Buzz") Wind-

A Historian Who Was More Than Just a Historian

By Algernon Lee

LAST Sunday was marked by the passing of a woman and a man of whom America has a right to be proud and to whom America ought to be grateful—M. Carey Thomas, president emerita of Bryn Mawr College, and James H. Breasted, archaeologist, historian, and social philosopher. They had lived long and fully—Dr. Breasted for seventy years, Miss Thomas for seventy-nine. Neither of them was tired of life, because neither of them had ever been afraid of

life, and for the same reason both of them were too busy to be afraid of death.

Of Miss Thomas two things should be said which so far the press has failed to say. One thing is that she was exceptional in that she was an able college president and also a great educator. When she became dean of Bryn Mawr at the time of its founding in 1884, and even when she became its president in 1894, that combination was not unusual; today it is rare indeed. Let us hope that there will again come a time when the heads of our colleges and universities need not be primarily fund raisers and publicity men.

It ought also to be remembered that in 1917 and the three or four following years, Miss Thomas did not discreetly lay aside her humane and democratic conception of life. In that era of hypocrisy she spoke out like the brave and honest soul she was against the violation of civil liberty by bureaucrats and mobs. A good many educators did that, but very few college presidents.

DR. BREASTED was rightly famed for his intellectual keenness, his profound learning, his tireless industry. Few among those who have written about him this week have noted something greater yet, something that suffused his scholarship with fine human emotion and made it more than mere erudition. An editorial writer of The New York Times last Tuesday struck the true keynote when he quoted, as most deeply characteristic of Breasted and his work, a very recent saying of his: "What we need of this generation more than anything else is confidence in man."

It is an old-fogey attitude, isn't it?—naïve, pre-war, Victorian, scornfully decided by the juvenile philosophers (some of them not so young in years) who go about telling us that democracy is an illusion, democracy a fetish, intel-

lectual honesty a bourgeois prejudice, and that we have to choose between fascist dictators and Bolshevik dictators.

Well, it is my guess that in the long run such Victorianism as Breasted's is going to be victorious. We may have to wait a few years yet for the maturing of boys and girls who were fortunate enough to be born just too late to be scared stiff by the World War and its first aftermath and infatuated with the "smartness" of the jazz era. But even now, it is safe to say, the working class as a whole is neither frightened nor cynical, and in the making of real history it will be a greater force than the more vocal "intellectuals."

In reading some of Breasted's books I have more than once been reminded of another great scholar and thinker, a dozen years older yet than he—Long may he live!—and who, under far more depressing circumstances, retains the same zestful interest in life and has the same undefeatable "confidence in man." It is very likely that Breasted knew nothing about Karl Kautsky and his work. But more than once, by very different roads, the two men reached similar conclusions. When I came to that passage in Breasted's "Religion and Thought of the Ancient Egyptians" in which he connects the origins of monotheism with the development of imperial states which transcend local, tribal, and national limits, I called to mind what Kautsky had written in his "Foundations of Christianity" and elsewhere.

AND turning from great men to petty ones, we have a judge here in New York—or shall I, as a Manhattanite, cheerfully yield the distinction to Brooklyn?—who is doing his full share to expose the judiciary to contempt. Justice Wenzel—I suppose he needs the word "justice" as a title because the quality is so lacking in his conduct—Justice Wenzel the other day had before him a woman who is president of a local trade union and is active in a glove workers' strike. He had made up his mind to grant the employers an injunction against the union. The young woman's behavior in court was modest and quickly self-possessed. This embarrassed the judge, because he had to pretend to believe that she was, as he chose to put it, "shriekingly violent"—else how could he justify issuance of the injunction? So he laid down the broad generalization that "Duplicity is one of women's natural weapons," whence he inferred that this young woman's real character was just the reverse of what it appeared to be. Of course he will forget his maxim about feminine duplicity as soon as a rich lady instead of a working girl is concerned.

Judges of this sort are to be found in other places besides Brooklyn, nor are they peculiar to the twentieth century. Shakespeare knew the breed, and immortalized it in the person of Justice Dogberry, who insisted on having himself written down as an ass.

I don't know whether Wenzel figures in the book entitled "Lawless Judges" by Louis P. Goldberg and Eleanor Levenson, which will be out in a few days, but there are others to match him.

Let it not be thought that all judges are like that. To adopt what Senator Ingalls used to say about good Democrats and bad Republicans, I don't think that all judges are either stupid or dishonest—"there are wise and just judges . . . a few . . . not many . . . here and there one."

to cooperate with the Stalinists—even to join them, if necessary—he finds he is not welcome nor even wanted by them because he will not abdicate his reason and his own free, inquiring mind to them. Later he secures copies of the underground New Masses, with cartoons by Will Gropper showing the head of the whole underground movement in a fascist uniform [the SS and SA men are called MM's—Minute Men or Minnie Mouses—and are dressed in army uniforms of the General Custer days], kissing the toe of Buzz Windrip. Yes, indeed, Sinclair Lewis knows that anyone who will not swallow everything in the latest Stalin "line" is a "fascist." We have heard that before.

The book ends with the country in revolt against fascism, and with all the forces opposed to the coordinated state (except, of course, the Communists) united on a program for a cooperative system of society leaving to individuals the greatest possible freedom, liberty and democracy; Sinclair Lewis' own ideals.

Doremus Jessup goes on in the fight; to him life means nothing but the upholding of liberty and of that freedom of intellect that fascism destroys and that to him means everything. "And still Doremus goes on in the red sunrise, for a Doremus Jessup can never die."

THE NEW LEADER MAGAZINE SECTION

Page Nine

Vol. 6—No. 49

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1935

Section Two

A Letter from Norman Thomas And A Reply by Algernon Lee

Thomas' Letter

On other occasions I have expressed my position on Party controversies in the pages of Forward. I now wish to make a final statement; if I like, a final appeal. I shall put it in the form of a letter to the heads:

A national split in the Socialist Party will be a general disaster. I think it can be averted. I think we can keep the National Party together. We should like to see it together including the elements in New York City which want to split it. It is useless to claim that the proposed reorganization of Local New York is a movement to split the Party. I think, clearly unconsciously, it is obviously inspired by a desire to get rid of myself and a large number of other Socialists, to reduce us to a position of impotence in the Party. The people responsible for the reorganization are also responsible for refusing to delay it pending a referendum; that is to say, they are taking a kind of Hitler referendum; they take power and then get ap-

peared. I am not going to argue the constitutionality of that at all. I am simply saying, suppose that these tactics succeed in splitting the Party, what next? I believe you and your readers do believe that the old guard which has done so badly in elections in the last two or three years do better in the election after they have further split the Party and kicked out some of us who have before worked hard at elections and at other times. Surely you do not seriously believe that you will be in a better position to have a really Socialist influence in any Farmer-Labor movement that may emerge if you have reduced the ranks still further and have nothing more to offer than you could offer under these circumstances. What is it you want? A split S.L.P.? A little church synagogue where people who have just the way you do can find spiritual consolation? Or is it enough to have a little party of our own for bargaining purposes, perhaps with LaGuardia, perhaps with the labor movement? On the one hand I do not believe anything of this sort. It is a split the Party goes through. Personally I do not think that the Party can be split on a national level. We shall prevent that effort in my opinion. But I do not want a split even in New York City temporarily.

An "Inclusive Party"

It cannot be argued that the attempt to split the party is meant to be the party against Communism against the advocacy of armed insurrection. No faction of the Socialist Party advocates armed insurrection. All of us sincerely support the definite condemnation of armed insurrection that the NEC has made. There are ideological

Issues Agitating Socialist Party Discussed in Communication Addressed by Leader of Left Wing and Comment by Chairman of Local New York—The Threat of Split, Danger of Sectarianism and the Question of the Unity of the Party

differences in the Party. There ought to be room enough for all of us who will work democratically within the Party, using the democratic machinery which is still left to us in the country as efficiently as we can while we can. Forward knows too much of Socialist history—yes, and of American history—to try to impose as a basis for membership within an American Socialist Party an agreement that never under any circumstances at any time will Socialists countenance the use of violence in resistance to fascist tyranny. We will make the likelihood of violence less by building an inclusive party now. It is to clarify this issue; indeed, it is to clarify our Socialist line as against the Communist line, which has been bewilderingly changed, that I regard this forthcoming debate with Browder as so important. It is a debate which the Socialist Call, organ of five states had a right to set up. It served the Party by doing it.

3. Now let me state briefly the Party I want and which I think on second thought most of your readers want. It must be international in the sense that it knows that Socialism will never be safely

On November 19, 1935, Norman Thomas addressed a letter to Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, Socialist organ, dealing with the situation in the Socialist Party. This letter was published in the Forward with a reply by Algernon Lee, New York City chairman of the Socialist Party.

Because the matters touched in these documents are of vital concern to all party members throughout the country, The New Leader believes it is its duty to make them available to a wider audience. We hope the material will help clarify the situation in the minds of comrades and will contribute to a solution of the party conflict and the preservation of party unity.

In the reply by Comrade Lee reference is made to matters which occurred subsequent to its publication in the Forward. To include these matters the reply contains a few additional remarks.

and securely established, that peace, plenty and freedom will never be surely obtained except as we win a world. It will be American in the sense that we try to

meet American conditions in the light of American psychology. It will be inclusive in the sense that it has room for everyone who will work under the discipline of a genuinely democratically controlled party for Socialism, without the advocacy of violence. Such a party will not turn itself into a tribe of witchhunters. It will judge only on the basis of overt acts. Above all, such a party must be Socialist. It will be alive to the immediate things that can and must be done for workers and their children. It will insist upon a course likely to keep the peace of the country, but it knows that in the end plenty, peace, and freedom depends upon a planned economy of abundance resting upon social ownership. It will be the job of the Party to bring that message home to America, to the workers with hand and brain, many of whom still fatuously think of themselves as in the middle class. This is our hope against fascism and against war. This party is the more necessary if we are to have a mass political movement of farmers and workers because that party can easily be captured by demagogues, by the quack medicine doctor or

(Continued on Page Twelve)

Lee's Answer

I have refrained in the past from arguing with Norman Thomas. It is difficult to argue with him. He has no firm convictions. He will express what is apparently a definite view or make what appears to be a definite accusation; but having done this he will inject something which gives the utterance a contrary meaning. This opposite view he expresses upon second thought. One can never be sure where he stands. One can never be sure whether he means the first or second thing he says.

Thomas's letter to the Forward characterizes him very well. It is a peculiar letter, full of contradictions. As usual, he makes serious accusations, but immediately takes them back. The letter is written in an amiable, mild tone, in a holier-than-thou manner. For heaven's sake, how can a man pursue such a double-entry system of bookkeeping? Thomas's actions in the party are exactly the opposite of what he says. He is the leader of the left wing faction. He even attends the very smallest group meetings of Yipsels at which he incites those present against the Old Guard. Why, then, does he strike this righteous attitude?

It is different for me to follow Thomas's first and second thoughts. For this reason I will reply in my own way to points which are important. I will leave to the end the main question as to which side really wants peace in the party.

Charge of Split

1. Thomas begins his letter with the accusation that we, the Old Guard, want to exclude him from (Continued on Page Ten)

Resolution of the Comintern Reveals True Purpose of the United Front

WE reprint below from The New Leader of November 23rd the full text of the resolution adopted at the recent seventh congress of the Communist International in Moscow on the united front and the tactics prescribed for the Communist parties in pressing their battle for the destruction of the Socialist parties.

Note the elements of the resolution:

Communists are ordered to help intensify the struggle between the right and left wings in the Socialist parties under the guise of the united front appeal.

This is to be used as a means of intensifying the struggle of the Communists against Social Democracy, which is slandered in the resolution in the usual Communist manner.

The purpose of the united front is clearly expressed. It is not to be brought about for the purpose of establishing genuine unity of the working class, but for the purpose of promoting the Communist objectives.

The Resolution

The Comintern resolution reads as follows:

"Within the Social Democratic parties and the whole Second International a process of differentiation into two main camps is taking place—side by side with the

existing camp of the reactionary elements who are trying to continue the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, there is being formed a camp of elements who are becoming revolutionized, elements who declare for the establishment of the united proletarian front and are adopting more and more the position of the revolutionary class struggle.

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

"While revealing to the masses the meaning of the demagogic arguments advanced by the Right Social Democratic leaders against the united front, while intensifying the struggle against the reactionary section of Social Democracy, the Communists must establish the closest cooperation with those Left Social Democratic workers, functionaries and organizations that fight against the reformist policy and advocate a united front with the Communist Party. The more

we intensify our fight against the reactionary camp of Social Democracy, which is participating in a bloc with the bourgeoisie, the more effective will be the assistance we give to that part of Social Democracy which is becoming revolutionized, and the self-determination of the various elements within the Left camp will take place the sooner the more resolutely the Communists fight for a united front with the Social Democratic parties.

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

Save the Party!

With this frank resolution before us, we have no hesitation in saying that those who agitate for a united front with the Communists are enemies of the Socialist parties. Only the frank or secret agents of Stalin or of the Communist splinter groups seeking to regain his favor by helping destroy the Socialist parties and win-

ning in reward permission to return to the ranks of the Comintern can permit themselves to agitate for the united front.

And, we may add, only those Socialists hopelessly misled by the Communist maneuver can permit themselves to be influenced by the Communist propaganda and to stage united front demonstrations with them, as did our "militants" in New York at a huge rally in Madison Square Garden last week.

By assailing the Old Guard in the Socialist Party and conducting a systematic campaign against it, our left wing is helping the Communists achieve the purposes of the Comintern resolution.

Fortunately, in other countries the Socialist parties are thoroughly aware of the true character of the Communist maneuver. That is why they have overwhelmingly rejected the united front proposal and will have nothing to do with the Communists. Even left wing parties in Europe, which constitute a small minority, have taken the same position.

COMRADES, DON'T LET THE COMMUNISTS DESTROY OUR PARTY. LET OUR LEFT WINGERS KNOW THAT YOU WILL NOT TOLERATE THEIR POLICY OF HELPING THE COMMUNISTS, CONSCIOUSLY OR UNCONSCIOUSLY, TO ACHIEVE THEIR PURPOSE!

Thomas and Lee Letters on Issues Agitating Party

(Continued from Page Nine)

the party or to render him useless in the party. We, the Old Guard, do not wish to make anyone useless; we certainly do not want to exclude anybody. We do not seek to drive useful members from the party. The contrary is true. Comrade Thomas has been arguing for three years that the Old Guard must not remain in the party any longer, that its role in the Socialist Party is finished. We have not yet forgotten the Milwaukee convention, where under the guise of seeking to Americanize the party he undertook to depose Morris Hillquit as national chairman. We recall the underground campaign conducted against Hillquit. We recall that at the last moment a group of comrades begged Thomas not to destroy the unity of the party and to abandon his efforts to depose Hillquit. His answer was: "We have a majority of the votes and we will go through with the operation!" And now he says that it is we who are trying to split the party and that it is he who is seeking to preserve its unity.

Fortunately, it developed at Milwaukee that he did not have a majority of the votes against Hillquit. His plan failed. A year later death took Comrade Hillquit from our ranks. Has our party been Americanized in the past two years since Karycki became national chairman in Hillquit's place? Has it helped our party very much?

For this reason I view with suspicion Thomas's assertion that he wants to build an "American" party. Leaving aside such names as Beardsley, Graham, Maily, Stump, Maurer, Cassidy, Oneal, Kirkpatrick, McLevy, does Thomas believe that he is a better American than Caham, Claessens, Gerber, Karlin, Panken, Solomon or Waldman? I do not believe he is, and I do not believe that I am.

2. Thomas denies that there are groups in the party who believe in the necessity of armed insurrection. The assertion is contrary to the facts.

What is the substance of the Detroit Declaration?

Is it not an extreme leftist summons to prepare for seizure of power by armed uprising? And what is the history of the "Revolutionary Policy Committee," which speaks constantly of armed insurrection? And what is the history of the other lefts, the "militants"? We will be told that officially they have changed their tune. Why? How? Why does not Thomas explain? Thomas knows very well that it is only for "political," "underground" reasons that they have ceased to agitate openly for armed insurrection. And if he is not deaf and blind, he must know that in their own circle, among themselves, they talk differently. They talk of armed insurrection, dictatorship and other Communist theories. Only on the platform, in public, do the left wingers use ambiguous phrases to conceal the substance of their theories and they are not always careful to do that. These are the same elements who sing "Thomas is our leader, we shall not be moved!"

Many of these elements are inexperienced, romantic young people; others are just fools, not so young. Some are certainly Communist agents; and others bear all the earmarks of professional spies.

Question of Sects

3. Thomas says we, the Old Guard, want to have a sect, a church, a synagogue, a small S.L.P.

We have repeatedly declared that is extreme left-wingism that is driving the party to sectarianism. The Old Guard made the same argument against DeLeon and now we make the same argument against Thomas and the ex-

reme left. Last year, when the left wing took over the national leadership of the party at the Detroit convention with the adoption of the declaration of principles, they assured us that tens of thousands of new members would flock into the party. Has Thomas forgotten that? What have been the results under the left wing leadership, with Thomas at the head, and of the Detroit declaration of principles? In the past year the party lost approximately 7,000 members, or about one-third of the membership.

How does Thomas intend to build a mass party of Socialism in America? By flirting with the Communists, by fraternizing with them, by arranging debates with them and participating in united front demonstrations? No, Comrade Thomas, by such means you will not build a mass party of Socialism in America. By such methods you will reduce the party to the status of a sect.

Road to Mass Party

4. How do WE propose to build a mass party of Socialism in America? We point out that the hope of Socialism lies in the organized labor movement. But Thomas accuses us that we want to bargain with the labor movement in order to obtain concessions from it. How do you like the logic? It is all right to bargain with the Communists, to fraternize with the Communists, to arrange debates with them, but it is wrong to fraternize with the labor movement, to seek a healthy, fruitful relation with organized labor.

No, we of the Old Guard do not seek to bargain with the labor movement. We certainly do not seek to bargain for votes or jobs. What we want is mutual respect and mutual help, based upon class interests and class consciousness.

But Thomas has quite a different conception of the labor movement. I have long followed his statements on the labor movement in an effort to detect a clear, honest, unambiguous evaluation of the labor movement. I have never been able to discover it. Even when he does utter a good word about the labor movement he does it with a "but" and an "if."

Even a child will understand that if we are to establish friendly relations with the labor movement we cannot do it by fraternizing with the Communists. The organized labor movement has had enough experience with the Communists and will have nothing to do with them.

Yes, I know, as Thomas asserts, that the Communists have recently changed their "line." The labor movement knows, however, through bitter experience, that when Moscow orders the Communists to change their line it may expect new trouble, new maneuvers, new tricks, new treachery from the Communists. The labor movement is not as easily impressed as Thomas by changes in the Communist "line." It knows that whatever the changes are it can expect only new efforts to disrupt and destroy the unions and the labor movement.

As to Reorganization

5. As regards the reorganization decided upon by Local New York, it is entirely proper and constitutional. Its purpose is to make it possible for Local New York to work and to function. The "militant" elements are staging scandals and obstructing our meetings. They have made it almost impossible to do any constructive work. We, the Old Guard, stand for democracy and democratic discipline.

But what does Thomas say to us? He cries: "Hitlerism!" This is a strong expression. Hitler seized power over a nation, and we, Thomas tells us, have seized power in the party. But on this point, too, the contrary is true. If

there is anyone who has seized power over the party it is the militants, not the Old Guard. The analogy applies not to us but to the extreme lefts in the party, whose spokesman and defender Thomas has become.

Why does Thomas rush so eagerly to the defense of the left, of the "militants"? Why was he silent when the party in New Jersey, where the left wing is in control, expelled an entire county organization, with 16 right-wing Socialist branches, without a hearing, without trial, and for no other reason than that they refused to sell raffle tickets for a left wing newspaper? And what about Indiana? Why did Thomas and the left wing National Executive Committee expel an entire state organization for no other reason than that it was right wing in sentiment?

And now when Local New York and the New York State Committee have decided that they will no longer tolerate in the party elements who preach armed insurrection, dictatorship and Communism Thomas speaks of a split in the party.

Thomas says he believes that armed insurrection should not be preached in the party. Well, Local Buffalo expelled five members who preached armed insurrection and who admitted that they were Communists with a little "c." Why does Thomas defend them?

Thomas says we must wait, we must not act hastily against such members, we must await the overt act. Thomas has to wait before that he does not want a party which permits the propaganda of armed insurrection, but he forgets this when it comes to dealing with his left wing comrades. We must await the overt act, he tells us, before we venture to discipline them; we must wait until they obtain a number of misled followers ready to participate in armed insurrection.

Thomas declares that if Local New York will dissolve organized factions in the party and suspend or expel members who preach Communist doctrines, the result will be a national split in the party. I assume Thomas knows what he is talking about. He and the extreme lefts control the National Executive Committee. They have the power. If they so desire, they can split the party. There is little we can do about it if he wants to find an excuse, an issue. But this particular issue is a very weak issue over which Thomas can try to split the party.

As a matter of fact, as early as last July the left wingers made an attempt to split the party. The "militants" were greatly disappointed and in despair after the July meeting of the National Executive Committee in New York. They declared that Thomas and his colleagues in the National Executive Committee had promised them that they would withdraw the charter of the state of New York and that they were double-crossed, betrayed. We know that a split was averted at that time thanks only to the New York Old Guard and a couple of members of the National Executive Committee who simply forced a peace pact upon the left wing majority of the N.E.C. It was obvious at that time that this left wing majority did not like the peace pact. Thomas certainly did not show any enthusiasm for the peace pact. The fact is that the left wing majority of the N.E.C. never did take the peace pact seriously. How, then, does Thomas now venture to speak so righteously of justice and unity in the party?

Where Is the Proof?

6. Thomas has a habit of making accusations without the slightest foundation. He asks whether we,

the Old Guard, want to have a small sect in order that we may be able to bargain with LaGuardia for concessions. The falsity of this accusation is too apparent to require an answer. Why make statements based upon thin air? I say to Norman Thomas: we are not guilty. If you have the proof, why don't you have the courage to formulate your accusation concretely? Why don't you mention names? Let us set up a court of honor to examine your charge, to sift the evidence and to decide whether we are guilty of bargaining with politicians or whether you are guilty of scurrilous slander!

The Loss of Votes

7. Comrade Thomas makes charges without the slightest attempt at thought. The Old Guard, he says, is responsible for the decline of the Socialist vote in New York. How about Chicago, where the N.E.C. controlled by the left wing, and the entire extreme left wing office of the party is located? Why has the vote declined there? The party barely managed to get on the ticket in Illinois, where there is no Old Guard. What about Cleveland? The lefts are in control there, too. In Cleveland they have had a "united front" with the Communists on various occasions. Why did the party suffer such a severe defeat there? Why did the Communists poll more votes than the Socialists in Cleveland? And why did the Socialist Party win such a magnificent victory in Bridgeport, where the left wingers have no influence whatever? The same was true in Reading.

Yes, we lost votes in New York this year. Why? Two weeks before election, Comrade Claessens, who is well acquainted with the facts and whose honesty no one doubts, presented a report on the progress of the campaign in New York. He reported that the "militants" were deliberately sabotaging the campaign. Is it any wonder that Local New York has been compelled to put an end, once and for all, to this unbearable situation?

Comrade Thomas's assertions are contrary to the facts. Did he expect that no one would challenge them, that no one would point to the true, honest, undeniable facts?

Helping Communists

8. The substance of the whole situation is as follows:

Comrade Thomas's letter gives the impression that nothing is going on between the Communists and the left wingers. He tells us that he is fighting the Communists. The facts are quite different. At its recent seventh congress in Moscow the Communist International adopted a resolution (the full text is printed elsewhere in this section) instructing Communists everywhere to fan the factional conflict between the right and left wings in the Socialist parties and to utilize the left wings as instruments for destroying the Socialists. Three months before the congress of the Communist International, Browder, leader of the American Communist Party, made a speech in New York in which he urged the policy prescribed in the Comintern resolution, i.e. that the Communists must encourage the left wing of the Socialist Party.

And what do we see now? The policy of the Comintern is being carried out on a large scale in this country, as elsewhere. The Communist Party in New York is carrying out Moscow's instructions to the last detail. It has taken our leftists under its wing. The Communist press is reprinting the editorials appearing in The Socialist Call, the organ of our left wing, of which Thomas is the leader. Why not? These are Communist editorials. The "debate" staged under the auspices of The Socialist Call in Madison Square Garden be-

tween Thomas and Browder turned into a gigantic united front demonstration. On that occasion, too, Browder hailed Thomas and our left wingers as allies in war on the Old Guard, a which has but one purpose: the destruction of the Socialist Party line with the Comintern resolution. And Comrade Thomas encouraged this Communist effort by declaring in Madison Square Garden that he believed the Communists were sincere in their "new line" after long their ability to overnight.

Who Is Doing the Splitting?

9. Comrade Thomas said he wanted to debate Browder in order to criticize Communism. But Communism can be criticized from the Socialist platform and in the Socialist press. Why this sudden fraternization with the Communists?

The Madison Square Garden debate was part of the propaganda and mechanics of the united front of the fraternization program between the left wingers and the Communists for the destruction of the Old Guard. This is clearly provided for in the resolution of the Comintern. And poor Comrade Thomas knows nothing about it. He knows nothing of the existence of the Comintern. He is not a member of the orders issued by the Comintern to the Communist parties to nurse and encourage the left wing in the effort to destroy the Socialist parties. The Old Guard, we believe, is doing the destruction. The Old Guard wants to split the party! Such is the logic of our wingers.

A United Front

10. But strangest of all is the following:

One shrugs one's shoulders reading the Communist press. It is difficult to believe one's eyes. What is this? What a transformation? The Communist press seems to make the impression of being the best friend of the Socialist Party. It protests against a split in the Socialist Party. It speaks as if it were the organ of the Socialist Party.

And Norman Thomas, in his letter to the editor of the Forward speaks in the same tone. He speaks against a split, he says: "The Communists make love to our left wingers and accuse the Old Guard that it seeks to bring about a split." And Norman Thomas makes the same accusation! Why does Comrade Thomas pretend to be unaware of what is taking place behind the scenes between the left wingers and the Communists?

We, the Old Guard, take the position of the entire Socialist movement in Europe—the British Labour Party, the great Socialist parties of Scandinavia, of Holland, of Czechoslovakia. All these great parties have rejected emphatically the united front with the Communists.

Appeal for Unity

11. And now we come to the main point:

I have dwelt at length upon various points touched by Thomas not because I like to quarrel with him. I wanted, once and for all, to state my own position and that of my comrades.

But the question that touches all is whether there shall be unity in the party. To accuse those who have devoted their entire lives to the building of the Socialist Party of seeking a split is to fail to understand that a split would be a very tragic moment for the party. I do not want a split in the party. Local New York, New York State and the thousands of my comrades throughout the country do not want a split in the party.

We do not want a sect. We do not want a church. We do not want a synagogue. No, Comrade Thomas, we want a strong Socialist Party.

(Continued on Page Twelve)

Communists Hail the Thomas-Browder Debate as a Victory for the United Front

By "Social Democrat"

The propaganda of the Communist Party for the united front, a method chosen by the Communists for the destruction of the United States in all countries, gained much momentum since Tuesday, November 27, 1935. The Communists, as their avowed aim, this will remain a permanent date. It was the date of the "debate" in Madison Square Garden between Norman Thomas and Earl Browder, Communist Party leader. As reported in the press, during the New Leader, more than twenty thousand Communists, comprising fully eighty per cent of the audience) left wingers and "camp followers," turned the debate into a united front demonstration. In this they were assisted by Comrade Thomas and Leo P. Barker, national chairman of the Communist Party who presided. Barker characterized the occasion as an introductory remarks as a "significant and marvellous gesture."

The Daily Worker declared after the debate, the occasion marked an important step in the united front and it was "a will speed joint action in every field." On that day the Communist organ published a photograph of the meeting on its front page showing part of the crowd and, above it, Thomas and Browder shaking hands, with Thomas looking on with smiling face.

Communists Satisfied
Every day since the "memorable debate" The Daily Worker and the Communist press have been hammering home the point that a great step forward has been taken toward the united front. We note a few of the expressions of Communist joy, all from The Daily Worker:

"The proverbial man from Madison Square Garden Wednesday would have had a devil of a time figuring out whether it was a Socialist or a Communist who was so bitterly opposed to the right wing 'Old Guard' in control of the New York apparatus of the Socialist Party. . . . I rejoice that tonight we will not have to use so much energy in fighting the 'Old Guard' as we did at the end of his speech. . . . The united front grows out of our sincerity, why tarry? Why not conclude the united front at once? And if you refuse, we are justified in accusing you of lack of sincerity, since you approve of the united front in principle and are willing to conclude it on specific issues as a preliminary."

But for the Communists it was just as well that Comrade Thomas did have the last word, for it has enabled them ever since to emphasize the significance of the united front demonstration and to support themselves upon Comrade Thomas' testimony as to their "sincerity."

Communist "Past"
After this testimony everything sharp criticism of Communist doctrine and methods was considerably vitiated. And, in fact, the Communist press has ignored completely his attack on Communism as such and the Communist "past." By his admission of the "sincerity" of the Communist united front proposal, the Communist "past" ceased

Stalinist Press Regards Madison Square Garden Affair as Big Step Toward Achievement of Communist Objective—Other Papers See Advance in Same Direction—Comments on the Debate

the Communists got the opportunity to turn the meeting into a united front demonstration. From the point of view of the interests of the Communist Party it was a good bargain. To be sure, Judas sold Jesus for thirty pieces of silver, while The Socialist Call and its "militant" backers asked a somewhat higher price, but look at the talent they supplied!

Bargain for Communists
We repeat: for the Communists it was a good bargain. But the membership of the Socialist Party throughout the country will have a different view of the matter than that of the "militants." The membership of the party will want to know, we are sure, by what moral right the "militants" and their official organ undertook to play into the hands of the Communist Party in exchange for coin. And when the membership of the Socialist Party speaks, as it is bound to speak now, the Communists will discover that the road to the united front cannot be paved with dollars, and the "militants" will learn that the members of the Socialist Party intend to preserve the integrity of the Socialist Party.

Nor will the membership of the Socialist Party be impressed by Comrade Thomas' sudden discovery at the Madison Square Garden "debate" that the Communists are "sincere" in their "new line." The membership knows better and we suspect that Comrade Thomas knows better, too. To be fair to him, we are prepared to believe that he made this statement at one of those moments, so frequent in his life, when he says one thing and means the opposite. We are prepared to believe that he was kidding the Communists, just as the Communists were kidding him, but, nevertheless, we repeat again, they got the better part of the bargain.

As we said last week in our account of the "debate," in the final analysis Browder won his point. It was fortunate for Comrade Thomas that he had the last word under the rules of the debate, when he expressed his belief in the "sincerity" of the Communists. Previously, he had declared that it was up to them to prove their sincerity. Had Browder been able to follow Comrade Thomas he could have said with perfect justification, "Well, Comrade Thomas, if you believe in our sincerity, why tarry? Why not conclude the united front at once? And if you refuse, we are justified in accusing you of lack of sincerity, since you approve of the united front in principle and are willing to conclude it on specific issues as a preliminary."

There is in New York City a Communist distributing organization called the Central Distribution Agency, with offices at 52 West 15th Street. The New Leader has obtained a copy of the list of publications distributed by this agency. There are twenty-six publications on the list. Twenty-five of these are Communist. The other is The Socialist Call.

We understand perfectly why the Communist agency distributes The Socialist Call and why the Call gets Communist advertising. There is little difference between this alleged Socialist organ and Communist journals. Does not The

to play a role in the minds of the ignorant and uninitiated. It became a "past," when as a matter of fact there is no "past"—there is just one, uninterrupted, continuous process of Communist disruptionism and destruction. Comrade Thomas knows that this, too, is true. It was a costly rhetorical flight, for it gave the Communists another point of support.

But let us be fair to the Communists. They may be celebrating prematurely, as we firmly believe they are, but the press in general reported the Madison Square Garden performance as a loud demonstration for the united front. The New York Times, for example, while doubting the belief in Communist sincerity, took the position that "a Communist promise to behave (as demanded by Comrade Thomas) may really be good for a considerable time to come." In this the Times was more careful than Comrade Thomas, suggesting by implication that good Communist behavior at this time is no guarantee for the future.

In an editorial entitled "United Front," The Times said:

"A frankly tentative trial marriage was celebrated in Madison Square Garden the other night between the Communist party and the Left Wing Socialists under the leadership of Norman Thomas. Twice the standard-bearer of the Socialist Party in national elections, Mr. Thomas now speaks for the majority in the national Socialist organization, which is in favor of trying out a united front with the Communists. In this he is opposed by the Socialist Party in this city and State."

"The so-called Socialist Old Guard is convinced that there is no relying on Communist promises and that at the first opportunity the stiletto will be brought into play again. Mr. Thomas is willing to take a chance, though he warns the Communists that proof of a real change of heart must be forthcoming. Loyal cooperation was promised by the Communist spokesman, who was

happy to point out that Mr. Thomas no longer opposes a sharp negative to the Communist "answer." As Mr. Browder sees it, Mr. Thomas has softened down his "Never" on the subject of insurrection and dictatorship to a "Hardly ever," and this makes an alliance possible.

"Communist ideology has hitherto been so realistic that any formal Communist pledge in itself would carry little weight. But to the observer from the outside it does seem that a Communist promise to behave democratically should mean more than once upon a time. Events have brought a sober lesson for the Communist faithful. Into the discard has gone the former strategy underlying their venomous campaigns against Socialism and liberalism. Gone is the doctrine that Communism is the designated beneficiary of democratic breakdown. Events have amply proved that Communists are not the predestined heirs of chaos. German Communists joyfully cooperated with Hitler to overthrow the Weimar Republic, but it was Hitler who succeeded to the estate."

"Mussolini got himself in power by playing on the nation's dread of Communism, and his example is being imitated by all the would-be Napoleons in their assorted sizes. The Red menace is often a bogey, yet the demonstration is complete that the world's answer in a choice between Communism and fascism will be fascist and not Communist. That is why the recent Comintern congress at Moscow decreed Communist cooperation with democracy, and why a Communist promise to behave may really be good for a considerable time to come."

Commenting on The Times' editorial, the liberal Evening Post, never unfriendly to Comrade Thomas, declared:

"Some of Norman Thomas' respectability rubbed off on the shoulders of Communism at the Madison Square Garden debate Wednesday evening."

Communist Agency Distributes "Socialist Call", List Shows

Stalinists Use Their Distribution Machinery to Help Circulate Dual Organ Assailing Socialist Old Guard and International Social Democracy.

The Socialist Call, organ of the dual "militant" organization in New York City, is the only paper calling itself Socialist distributed by the Communists.

There is in New York City a Communist distributing organization called the Central Distribution Agency, with offices at 52 West 15th Street. The New Leader has obtained a copy of the list of publications distributed by this agency. There are twenty-six publications on the list. Twenty-five of these are Communist. The other is The Socialist Call.

We understand perfectly why the Communist agency distributes The Socialist Call and why the Call gets Communist advertising. There is little difference between this alleged Socialist organ and Communist journals. Does not The

Socialist Call echo faithfully the slander and character assassination heaped upon the Old Guard by the Communist press? Does not The Socialist Call attack international Social Democracy in the style of the Communists? And is there not perfect cooperation between The Socialist Call and the Communist press in the effort to drive the Old Guard from the Socialist Party to make possible the Communist united front?

The service performed for the Communists by The Socialist Call is entirely in line with the requirements set forth in the Comintern's united front resolution.

That is why the Communist distributing agency mentioned above distributes The Socialist Call. The Communists know who their friends are.

"Though a hater of dictatorship and a courageous exponent of democracy, Mr. Thomas believes the gulf between democracy and Communism is not as wide as it once was. Whether the two can ever find a common meeting place, he said, depends upon the 'good faith' of Communism."

"It is hard to believe there can ever be anything in common between democracy with its guarantees of civil rights and Communism with its hard-boiled dictatorships."

"We must judge Communism by its deeds, not by its professions. In the only Communist Government on the face of the globe, the dictatorship is quite as irresistible as it is in the several fascist governments. A Norman Thomas in Russia would be squelched just as effectively as a Norman Thomas in Italy."

"Mr. Thomas probably was thinking of just that when he insisted that Communists must demonstrate their 'good faith.' But if Communists demonstrate their 'good faith' in democracy, then they are no longer Communists. It is too much to expect and we can't believe that Norman Thomas is so naive as to expect it."

"Yet his words, tinged with friendliness toward Communism, are alarming to his right-wing colleagues. But no more alarming than The New York Times, which must have shocked its Union League subscribers, yesterday morning. Commenting on the Thomas-Browder debate and the shift in the Communist position, the Times says: '... it does seem that a Communist promise to behave democratically should mean more than once upon a time' and 'a Communist promise to behave may really be good for a considerable time to come.'"

"The Post sees no more reason to depend upon the 'good faith' of Communism toward democratic institutions than to depend upon the 'good faith' of any other form of undemocratic dictatorship. It is not a matter of good faith. It is recognition of a fundamental fact—that Communism is the absolute negation of democracy. Until Communism actually practices as much tolerance as Mr. Thomas, it is a system Americans must abhor. Mr. Thomas is optimistic indeed if he can discern such a trend, even through the new Paloma telescope."

How much faith one can place in Communist professions of support of democracy and in the sincerity of the Communist united front appeal may be gleaned from the resolution adopted on the question at the recent seventh congress of the Comintern, appearing elsewhere in this issue.

Commenting upon criticism by Comr. Louis Waldman of the Madison Square Garden debate and the parts he and Krzycki played therein, Comrade Thomas gave an interview to The Daily Worker in which he lent additional encouragement to the Communist organ in its campaign against the Socialist Old Guard.

"A party that is destroyed by a debate in which its representative defends its position is a party that hasn't much vitality anyhow." The Daily Worker quoted Comrade Thomas as saying to its representative, under the heading "Old Guard Is Rebuked by Thomas."

To this we reply:
The defense which Comrade Thomas made in the debate of the Socialist position lost its value when he admitted the sincerity of

Thomas and Lee Letters on Issues Agitating Party

(Continued from Page Nine)

the party or to render him useless in the party. We, the Old Guard, do not wish to make anyone useless; we certainly do not want to exclude anybody. We do not seek to drive useful members from the party. The contrary is true. Comrade Thomas has been arguing for three years that the Old Guard must not remain in the party any longer, that its role in the Socialist Party is finished. We have not yet forgotten the Milwaukee convention, where under the guise of seeking to Americanize the party he undertook to depose Morris Hillquit as national chairman. We recall the underground campaign conducted against Hillquit. We recall that at the last moment a group of comrades begged Thomas not to destroy the unity of the party and to abandon his efforts to depose Hillquit. His answer was: "We have a majority of the votes and we will go through with the operation!" And now he says that it is we who are trying to split the party and that it is he who is seeking to preserve its unity.

Fortunately, it developed at Milwaukee that he did not have a majority of the votes against Hillquit. His plan failed. A year later death took Comrade Hillquit from our ranks. Has our party been Americanized in the past two years since Krycki became national chairman in Hillquit's place? Has it helped our party very much?

For this reason I view with suspicion Thomas's assertion that he wants to build an "American" party. Leaving aside such names as Beardsley, Graham, Mailly, Stump, Maurer, Cassidy, O'neal, Kirkpatrick, McLevy, does Thomas believe that he is a better American than Cahan, Claessens, Gerber, Karlin, Panken, Solomon or Waldman? I do not believe he is, and I do not believe that I am.

2. Thomas denies that there are groups in the party who believe in the necessity of armed insurrection. The assertion is contrary to the facts.

What is the substance of the Detroit Declaration?

Is it not an extreme leftist summons to prepare for seizure of power by armed uprising? And what is the history of the "Revolutionary Policy Committee," which speaks constantly of armed insurrection? And what is the history of the other lefts, the "militants"? We will be told that officially they have changed their tune. Why? How? Why does not Thomas explain? Thomas knows very well that it is only for "political," "underground" reasons that they have ceased to agitate openly for armed insurrection. And if he is not deaf and blind, he must know that in their own circle, among themselves, they talk differently. They talk of armed insurrection, dictatorship and other Communist theories. Only on the platform, in public, do the left wingers use ambiguous phrases to conceal the substance of their theories and they are not always careful to do that. These are the same elements who sing "Thomas is our leader, we shall not be moved!"

Many of these elements are inexperienced, romantic young people; others are just fools, not so young. Some are certainly Communist agents; and others bear all the earmarks of professional spies.

Question of Sects

3. Thomas says we, the Old Guard, want to have a sect, a church, a synagogue, a small S.L.P.

We have repeatedly declared that it is extreme left-wingism that is driving the party to sectarianism. The Old Guard made the same argument against DeLeon and now we make the same argument against Thomas and the ex-

treme left. Last year, when the left wing took over the national leadership of the party at the Detroit convention with the adoption of the declaration of principles, they assured us that tens of thousands of new members would flock into the party. Has Thomas forgotten that? What have been the results under the left wing leadership, with Thomas at the head, and of the Detroit declaration of principles? In the past year the party lost approximately 7,000 members, or about one-third of the membership.

How does Thomas intend to build a mass party of Socialism in America? By flirting with the Communists, by fraternizing with them, by arranging debates with them and participating in united front demonstrations? No, Comrade Thomas, by such means you will not build a mass party of Socialism in America. By such methods you will reduce the party to the status of a sect.

Road to Mass Party

4. How do we propose to build a mass party of Socialism in America? We point out that the hope of Socialism lies in the organized labor movement. But Thomas accuses us that we want to bargain with the labor movement in order to obtain concessions from it. How do you like the logic? It is all right to bargain with the Communists, to fraternize with the Communists, to arrange debates with them, but it is wrong to fraternize with the labor movement, to seek a healthy, fruitful relation with organized labor.

No, we of the Old Guard do not seek to bargain with the labor movement. We certainly do not seek to bargain for votes or jobs. What we want is mutual respect and mutual help, based upon class interests and class consciousness.

But Thomas has quite a different conception of the labor movement. I have long followed his statements on the labor movement in an effort to detect a clear, honest, unambiguous evaluation of the labor movement. I have never been able to discover it. Even when he does utter a good word about the labor movement he does it with a "but" and an "if."

Even a child will understand that if we are to establish friendly relations with the labor movement we cannot do it by fraternizing with the Communists. The organized labor movement has had enough experience with the Communists and will have nothing to do with them.

Yes, I know, as Thomas asserts, that the Communists have recently changed their "line." The labor movement knows, however, through bitter experience, that when Moscow orders the Communists to change their line it may expect new trouble, new maneuvers, new tricks, new treachery from the Communists. The labor movement is not as easily impressed as Thomas by changes in the Communist "line." It knows that whatever the changes are it can expect only new efforts to disrupt and destroy the unions and the labor movement.

As to Reorganization

5. As regards the reorganization decided upon by Local New York, it is entirely proper and constitutional. Its purpose is to make it possible for Local New York to work and to function. The "militant" elements are staging scandals and obstructing our meetings. They have made it almost impossible to do any constructive work. We, the Old Guard, stand for democracy and democratic discipline.

But what does Thomas say to us? He cries: "Hitlerism!" This is a strong expression. Hitler seized power over a nation, and we, Thomas tells us, have seized power in the party. But on this point, too, the contrary is true. If

there is anyone who has seized power over the party it is the militants, not the Old Guard. The analogy applies not to us but to the extreme lefts in the party, whose spokesman and defender Thomas has become.

Why does Thomas rush so eagerly to the defense of the left, of the "militants"? Why was he silent when the party in New Jersey, where the left wing is in control, expelled an entire county organization, with 16 right-wing Socialist branches, without a hearing, without trial, and for no other reason than that they refused to sell raffle tickets for a left wing newspaper? And what about Indiana? Why did Thomas and the left wing National Executive Committee expel an entire state organization for no other reason than that it was right wing in sentiment?

And now when Local New York and the New York State Committee have decided that they will no longer tolerate in the party elements who preach armed insurrection, dictatorship and Communism Thomas speaks of a split in the party.

Thomas says he believes that armed insurrection should not be preached in the party. Well, Local Buffalo expelled five members who preached armed insurrection and who admitted that they were Communists with a little "c." Why does Thomas defend them?

Thomas says we must wait, we must not act hastily against such members, we must await the overt act. Thomas has told us before that he does not want a party which permits the propaganda of armed insurrection, but he forgets this when it comes to dealing with his left wing comrades. We must await the overt act, he tells us, before we venture to discipline them; we must wait until they obtain a number of misled followers ready to participate in armed insurrection.

Thomas declares that if Local New York will dissolve organized factions in the party and suspend or expel members who preach Communist doctrines, the result will be a national split in the party. I assume Thomas knows what he is talking about. He and the extreme lefts control the National Executive Committee. They have the power. If they so desire, they can split the party. There is little we can do about it if he wants to find an excuse, an issue. But this particular issue is a very weak issue over which Thomas can try to split the party.

As a matter of fact, as early as last July the left wingers made an attempt to split the party. The "militants" were greatly disappointed and in despair after the July meeting of the National Executive Committee in New York. They declared that Thomas and his colleagues in the National Executive Committee had promised them that they would withdraw the charter of the state of New York and that they were double-crossed, betrayed. We know that a split was averted at that time thanks only to the New York Old Guard and a couple of members of the National Executive Committee who simply forced a peace pact upon the left wing majority of the N.E.C. It was obvious at that time that this left wing majority did not like the peace pact. Thomas certainly did not show any enthusiasm for the peace pact. The fact is that the left wing majority of the N.E.C. never did take the peace pact seriously. How, then, does Thomas now venture to speak so righteously of justice and unity in the party?

Where Is the Proof?

6. Thomas has a habit of making accusations without the slightest foundation. He asks whether we,

the Old Guard, want to have a small sect in order that we may be able to bargain with LaGuardia for concessions. The falsity of this accusation is too apparent to require an answer. Why make statements based upon thin air? I say to Norman Thomas: we are not guilty. If you have the proof, why don't you have the courage to formulate your accusation concretely? Why don't you mention names? Let us set up a court of honor to examine your charge, to sift the evidence and to decide whether we are guilty of bargaining with politicians or whether you are guilty of scurrilous slander!

The Loss of Votes

7. Comrade Thomas makes charges without the slightest attempt at thought. The Old Guard, he says, is responsible for the decline of the Socialist vote in New York. How about Chicago, where the N.E.C. controlled by the left wing, and the entire extreme left wing office of the party is located? Why has the vote declined there? The party barely managed to get on the ticket in Illinois, where there is no Old Guard. What about Cleveland? The lefts are in control there, too. In Cleveland they have had a "united front" with the Communists on various occasions. Why did the party suffer such a severe defeat there? Why did the Communists poll more votes than the Socialists in Cleveland? And why did the Socialist Party win such a magnificent victory in Bridgeport, where the left wingers have no influence whatever? The same was true in Reading.

Yes, we lost votes in New York this year. Why? Two weeks before election, Comrade Claessens, who is well acquainted with the facts and whose honesty no one doubts, presented a report on the progress of the campaign in New York. He reported that the "militants" were deliberately sabotaging the campaign. Is it any wonder that Local New York has been compelled to put an end, once and for all, to this unbearable situation?

Comrade Thomas's assertions are contrary to the facts. Did he expect that no one would challenge them, that no one would point to the true, honest, undeniable facts?

Helping Communists

8. The substance of the whole situation is as follows:

Comrade Thomas's letter gives the impression that nothing is going on between the Communists and the left wingers. He tells us that he is fighting the Communists. The facts are quite different. At its recent seventh congress in Moscow the Communist International adopted a resolution (the full text is printed elsewhere in this section) instructing Communists everywhere to fan the factional conflict between the right and left wings in the Socialist parties and to utilize the left wings as instruments for destroying the Socialists. Three months before the congress of the Communist International, Browder, leader of the American Communist Party, made a speech in New York in which he urged the policy prescribed in the Comintern resolution, i.e. that the Communists must encourage the left wing of the Socialist Party.

And what do we see now? The policy of the Comintern is being carried out on a large scale in this country, as elsewhere. The Communist Party in New York is carrying out Moscow's instructions to the last detail. It has taken our leftists under its wing. The Communist press is reprinting the editorials appearing in The Socialist Call, the organ of our left wing, of which Thomas is the leader. Why not? These are Communist editorials. The "debate" staged under the auspices of The Socialist Call in Madison Square Garden be-

tween Thomas and Browder turned into a gigantic united demonstration. On that occasion, Browder hailed Thomas, our left wingers as allies in war on the Old Guard, a which has but one purpose: the destruction of the Socialist Party line with the Comintern resolution. And Comrade Thomas encouraged this Communist effort by declaring in Madison Square Garden that he believed the Communists were sincere in their "new line" after lengthening their ability to overnight.

Who Is Doing the Splitting?

9. Comrade Thomas said he wanted to debate Browder in order to criticize Communism. But Communism can be criticized from a Socialist platform and in the Socialist press. Why this sudden fraternization with the Communists?

The Madison Square Garden debate was part of the propaganda and mechanics of the united front of the fraternization program between the left wingers and Communists for the destruction of the Old Guard. This is clear provided for in the resolution of the Comintern. And poor Comrade Thomas knows nothing about it. He knows nothing of the existence of the Comintern. He is not aware of the orders issued by the Comintern to the Communist parties to nurse and encourage the left wing in the effort to destroy the Socialist parties. The Old Guard, we believe, is doing the destruction. The Old Guard wants to split the party! Such is the logic of our wingers.

A United Front

10. But strangest of all is the following:

One shrugs one's shoulders reading the Communist press. It is difficult to believe one's eyes. What is this? What a transformation? The Communist press seeks to make the impression of being the best friend of the Socialist Party. It protests against a split in the Socialist Party. It speaks as if it were the organ of the Socialist Party.

And Norman Thomas, in his letter to the editor of the Forward, speaks in the same tone. He speaks against a split, he says: "The Communists make love to our left wingers and accuse the Old Guard that it seeks to bring about a split." And Norman Thomas makes the same accusation! Why does Comrade Thomas pretend to be unaware of what is taking place behind the scenes between the left wingers and the Communists?

We, the Old Guard, take the position of the entire Socialist movement in Europe—the British Labour Party, the great Socialist party of Scandinavia, of Holland, Czechoslovakia. All these great parties have rejected emphatically the united front with the Communists.

Appeal for Unity

11. And now we come to the main point:

I have dwelt at length upon various points touched by Thomas not because I like to quarrel with him. I wanted, once and for all, to state my own position and that of my comrades.

But the question that touches all is whether there shall be unity in the party. To accuse those who have devoted their entire lives to the building of the Socialist Party of seeking a split is to fail to understand that a split would be a very tragic moment for the party. I do not want a split in the party. Local New York, New York State and the thousands of my comrades throughout the country do not want a split in the party.

We do not want a sect. We do not want a church. We do not want a synagogue. No, Comrade Thomas, we want a strong Socialist Party.

(Continued on Page Twelve)

Communists Hail the Thomas-Browder Debate as a Victory for the United Front

By "Social Democrat"

The propaganda of the Communist Party for the united front, the method chosen by the Communists for the destruction of the United Front in all countries, has gained much momentum since Tuesday, November 27, 1935.

The Communists, as their avers, this will remain a debatable date. It was the date of the "debate" in Madison Square Garden between Norman Thomas and Earl Browder, Communist Party leader. As reported in the press, the debate was a triumph for the Communists. Twenty thousand Communists, comprising fully eighty per cent of the audience, left wingers and camp followers, turned the debate into a united front demonstration. In this they were assisted by Comrade Thomas and Leo Krzycki, national chairman of the Communist Party, who presided. The debate was characterized by the introductory remarks as a "brilliant and marvellous get-together."

The Daily Worker declared after the debate, the occasion marked an important step in the united front and it was "a will speed joint action in every field." On that day the Communist organ published a photograph of the meeting and a front page showing part of the debate and, above it, Thomas and Browder shaking hands, with Thomas looking on with smiling face.

Communists Satisfied

Every day since the "memorable" debate, the Daily Worker and other Communist press have been hammering home the point that the debate was a great step forward has been taken toward the united front. We note a few of the expressions of Communist joy, all from The Daily Worker:

"The proverbial man from Madison Square Garden Wednesday would have had a devil of a time figuring out whether it was a Socialist or a Communist victory. . . . Yes, that meeting in Madison Square Garden will be remembered. . . . The fact that the debate was so bitterly opposed by the right wing 'Old Guard' of the Communist Party in control of the New York apparatus of the Socialist Party shows how greatly they feared its effect in furthering the united front. . . . I rejoice that tonight we will not have to use too much energy in fighting the 'Old Guard' said Norman Thomas at the end of his speech. . . . The united front will come. . . . The united front grows stronger. . . . S. P. Old Guard resistance is not cited these utterances as official organ of the Communist Party because we agree that the united front is coming. The members of the Communist Party have not yet said. The fact that The Socialist Call, organ of the dual front organization in New York, sponsored the 'debate' as a 'making proposition and a will to barter the proceeds of the debate in exchange for supply of Communists with an opportunity to celebrate a 'milestone' road to the united front," is proof that the members of the Communist Party will acquiesce in the deal, even though it did the imprimatur and blessing of the national chairman of the Communist Party."

For the arrangements for the debate, as announced, The Socialist Call got all the proceeds and

Stalinist Press Regards Madison Square Garden Affair as Big Step Toward Achievement of Communist Objective—Other Papers See Advance in Same Direction—Comments on the Debate

the Communists got the opportunity to turn the meeting into a united front demonstration. From the point of view of the interests of the Communist Party it was a good bargain. To be sure, Judas sold Jesus for thirty pieces of silver, while The Socialist Call and its "militant" backers asked a somewhat higher price, but look at the talent they supplied! •

Bargain for Communists

We repeat: for the Communists it was a good bargain. But the membership of the Socialist Party throughout the country will have a different view of the matter than that of the "militants." The membership of the party will want to know, we are sure, by what moral right the "militants" and their official organ undertook to play into the hands of the Communist Party in exchange for coin. And when the membership of the Socialist Party speaks, as it is bound to speak now, the Communists will discover that the road to the united front cannot be paved with dollars, and the "militants" will learn that the members of the Socialist Party intend to preserve the integrity of the Socialist Party.

Nor will the membership of the Socialist Party be impressed by Comrade Thomas' sudden discovery at the Madison Square Garden "debate" that the Communists are "sincere" in their "new line." The membership knows better and we suspect that Comrade Thomas knows better, too. To be fair to him, we are prepared to believe that he made this statement at one of those moments, so frequent in his life, when he says one thing and means the opposite. We are prepared to believe that he was kidding the Communists, just as the Communists were kidding him, but, nevertheless, we repeat again, they got the better part of the bargain.

As we said last week in our account of the "debate," in the final analysis Browder won his point. It was fortunate for Comrade Thomas that he had the last word under the rules of the debate, when he expressed his belief in the "sincerity" of the Communists. Previously, he had declared that it was up to them to prove their sincerity. Had Browder been able to follow Comrade Thomas he could have said with perfect justification, "Well, Comrade Thomas, if you believe in our sincerity, why tarry? Why not conclude the united front at once? And if you refuse, we are justified in accusing you of lack of sincerity, since you approve of the united front in principle and are willing to conclude it on specific issues as a preliminary."

But for the Communists it was just as well that Comrade Thomas did have the last word, for it has enabled them ever since to emphasize the significance of the united front demonstration and to support themselves upon Comrade Thomas' testimony as to their "sincerity."

Communist "Past"

After this testimony everything Comrade Thomas said before in sharp criticism of Communist doctrine and methods was considerably vitiated. And, in fact, the Communist press has ignored completely his attack on Communism as such and the Communist "past." By his admission of the "sincerity" of the Communist united front proposal, the Communist "past" ceased

to play a role in the minds of the ignorant and uninitiated. It became a "past," when as a matter of fact there is no "past"—there is just one, uninterrupted, continuous process of Communist disruptionism and destruction. Comrade Thomas knows that this, too, is true. It was a costly rhetorical fight, for it gave the Communists another point of support.

But let us be fair to the Communists. They may be celebrating prematurely, as we firmly believe they are, but the press in general reported the Madison Square Garden performance as a loud demonstration for the united front. The New York Times, for example, while doubting the belief in Communist sincerity, took the position that "a Communist promise to behave (as demanded by Comrade Thomas) may really be good for a considerable time to come." In this the Times was more careful than Comrade Thomas, suggesting by implication that good Communist behavior at this time is no guarantee for the future.

In an editorial entitled "United Front," The Times said:

"A frankly tentative trial marriage was celebrated in Madison Square Garden the other night between the Communist party and the Left Wing Socialists under the leadership of Norman Thomas. Twice the standard-bearer of the Socialist Party in national elections, Mr. Thomas now speaks for the majority in the national Socialist organization, which is in favor of trying out a united front with the Communists. In this he is opposed by the Socialist Party in this city and State.

"The so-called Socialist Old Guard is convinced that there is no relying on Communist promises and that at the first opportunity the stiletto will be brought into play again. Mr. Thomas is willing to take a chance, though he warns the Communists that proof of a real change of heart must be forthcoming. Loyal cooperation was promised by the Communist spokesman, who was

happy to point out that Mr. Thomas no longer opposes a sharp negative to the Communist 'answer.' As Mr. Browder sees it, Mr. Thomas has softened down his 'Never' on the subject of insurrection and dictatorship to a 'Hardly ever,' and this makes an alliance possible.

"Communist ideology has hitherto been so realistic that any formal Communist pledge in itself would carry little weight. But to the observer from the outside it does seem that a Communist promise to behave democratically should mean more than once upon a time. Events have brought a sober lesson for the Communist faithful. Into the discard has gone the former strategy underlying their venomous campaigns against Socialism and liberalism. Gone is the doctrine that Communism is the designated beneficiary of democratic breakdown. Events have amply proved that Communists are not the predestined heirs of chaos. German Communists joyfully cooperated with Hitler to overthrow the Weimar Republic, but it was Hitler who succeeded to the estate.

"Mussolini got himself in power by playing on the nation's dread of Communism, and his example is being imitated by all the would-be Napoleons in their assorted sizes. The Red menace is often a bogey, yet the demonstration is complete that the world's answer is a choice between Communism and fascism will be fascist and not Communist. That is why the recent Comintern congress at Moscow decreed Communist cooperation with democracy, and why a Communist promise to behave may really be good for a considerable time to come."

Commenting on The Times' editorial, the liberal Evening Post, never unfriendly to Comrade Thomas, declared:

"Some of Norman Thomas' respectability rubbed off on the shoulders of Communism at the Madison Square Garden debate Wednesday evening.

"Though a hater of dictatorship and a courageous exponent of democracy, Mr. Thomas believes the gulf between democracy and Communism is not as wide as it once was. Whether the two can ever find a common meeting place, he said, depends upon the 'good faith' of Communism.

"It is hard to believe there can ever be anything in common between democracy with its guarantees of civil rights and Communism with its hard-boiled dictatorships.

"We must judge Communism by its deeds, not by its professions. In the only Communist Government on the face of the globe, the dictatorship is quite as irresistible as it is in the several fascist governments. A Norman Thomas in Russia would be squelched just as effectively as a Norman Thomas in Italy.

"Mr. Thomas probably was thinking of just that when he insisted that Communists must demonstrate their 'good faith.' But if Communists demonstrate their 'good faith' in democracy, then they are no longer Communists. It is too much to expect and we can't believe that Norman Thomas is so naive as to expect it.

"Yet his words, tinged with friendliness toward Communism, are alarming to his right-wing colleagues. But no more alarming than The New York Times, which must have shocked its Union League subscribers, yesterday morning. Commenting on the Thomas-Browder debate and the shift in the Communist position, the Times says: '... it does seem that a Communist promise to behave democratically should mean more than once upon a time' and 'a Communist promise to behave may really be good for a considerable time to come.'

"The Post sees no more reason to depend upon the 'good faith' of Communism toward democratic institutions than to depend upon the 'good faith' of any other form of undemocratic dictatorship. It is not a matter of good faith. It is recognition of a fundamental fact—that Communism is the absolute negation of democracy. Until Communism actually practices as much tolerance as Mr. Thomas, it is a system Americans must abhor. Mr. Thomas is optimistic indeed if he can discern such a trend, even through the new Paloma telescope."

How much faith one can place in Communist professions of support of democracy and in the sincerity of the Communist united front appeal may be gleaned from the resolution adopted on the question at the recent seventh congress of the Comintern, appearing elsewhere in this issue.

Commenting upon criticism by Comr. Louis Waldman of the Madison Square Garden debate and the parts he and Krzycki played therein, Comrade Thomas gave an interview to The Daily Worker in which he lent additional encouragement to the Communist organ in its campaign against the Socialist Old Guard.

"A party that is destroyed by a debate in which its representative defends its position is a party that hasn't much vitality anyhow," The Daily Worker quoted Comrade Thomas as saying to its representative, under the heading "Old Guard Is Rebuked by Thomas."

To this we reply: The defense which Comrade Thomas made in the debate of the Socialist position lost its value when he admitted the sincerity of

Communist Agency Distributes "Socialist Call", List Shows

Stalinists Use Their Distribution Machinery to Help Circulate Dual Organ Assailing Socialist Old Guard and International Social Democracy.

The Socialist Call, organ of the dual "militant" organization in New York City, is the only paper calling itself Socialist distributed by the Communists.

There is in New York City a Communist distributing organization called the Central Distribution Agency, with offices at 52 West 15th Street. The New Leader has obtained a copy of the list of publications distributed by this agency. There are twenty-six publications on the list. Twenty-five of these are Communist. The other is The Socialist Call.

We understand perfectly why the Communist agency distributes The Socialist Call and why the Call gets Communist advertising. There is little difference between this alleged Socialist organ and Communist journals. Does not The

Socialist Call echo faithfully the slander and character assassination heaped upon the Old Guard by the Communist press? Does not The Socialist Call attack international Social Democracy in the style of the Communists? And is there not perfect cooperation between The Socialist Call and the Communist press in the effort to drive the Old Guard from the Socialist Party to make possible the Communist united front?

The service performed for the Communists by The Socialist Call is entirely in line with the requirements set forth in the Comintern's united front resolution.

That is why the Communist distributing agency mentioned above distributes The Socialist Call. The Communists know who their friends are.

Communists Hail 'Debate' as Big Step to United Front

The Communists in their "new line" and gave them the one big talking point they wanted. His participation in the debate was not a defense of the Socialist position, but an encouragement to the Communist united front propaganda. As we said last week, Comrade Thomas was devastating in his criticism of the doctrines and methods of Communism, but what good did it do? He showed plainly the unbridgeable gulf between Socialism and Communism and then proceeded to bridge it to the delight of the Communists. He gave the Communist press an opportunity to make united front propaganda such as it never had before.

Did he expect to convince the Communists of the correctness of the Socialist position? If he did, he was naive. They did not come there to be convinced. They came there to turn the "debate" into a united front demonstration and they did it. And Comrade Thomas helped them.

Can Comrade Thomas point to a single word printed by The Daily Worker of what he said with regard to Socialist fundamentals? He cannot. On the day after the debate, The Daily Worker promised to publish "a complete account" of the debate on Saturday, November 30. We are still waiting for that account. All that The Daily Worker published were only those of Comrade Thomas' utterances which served the purposes of the united front, with such mild comment on secondary points as required elucidation to strengthen the Communist objective. Not a word about Comrade Thomas' defense of the Socialist position in principle as against Communism. In the light of these facts, does Comrade Thomas mean to say that his part in the debate served as a defense of the Socialist position? No person possessing a modicum of logic will believe that.

Yes, the Socialist Party and its spokesmen should not be afraid to meet all comers in debate, but they must be honest opponents, seeking light and truth and willing to give the opposition a fair chance. Would Comrade Thomas debate with Hitler? Would he debate with Goebbels? Would he debate with Mussolini? Comrade Thomas told his audience that by their policies and methods the Communists were helping fascism and reaction, and, in his sober moments, he knows that as opponents the Communists are no more fair and honest than the fascists. Didn't he tell the Communists in Madison Square Garden, "You cannot change over night"? Well, they didn't. Comrade Thomas was right on that point. Oh, yes, they behaved during the debate. That was part of the stage setting. But witness the manner in which the Communist press treated his defense of the Socialist position and the eagerness it displays in harping upon the significance of the debate as a "milestone" to the united front. No one who knows the Communists (and Comrade Thomas knows them—we will not deny that) could have expected the Communists to behave otherwise. That is why Local New York disapproved of the debate. Its position has been justified by the event.

Comrade Waldman was right. He pointed out that the debate was in violation not only of the rules of Local New York against participation in any debates, fraternizations or united actions with the Communists, but also in violation of the National Executive Committee's decision leaving it to the respective states and locals to decide whether they wished to participate in such actions. Comrade Thomas and Comrade Krzycki knew well

that both the New York State organization and Local New York disapproved of the debate.

"The get-together which the Left Wing Socialists and the Communists arranged under the guise of a debate, for the purpose of celebrating the beginnings of a united front, can have but one effect, and the effect which the Communists intend that it should have—the destruction of the Socialist Party in this nation." Waldman said in a statement to the press in an effort to counteract the impression created by the debate and save the Socialist Party from embarrassment. "That Mr. Thomas, whom the Socialists have twice honored by naming him as their standard bearer, and Mr. Krzycki, the party's national chairman, should take part in this conspiracy in clear defiance of the decisions of the national executive committee, of which both of them are members, reveals the utter lack of responsibility which characterizes the present leadership of the Socialist Party nationally."

"We regard unity with the Communists, either on specific or general issues, as suicidal from a tactical standpoint and as thoroughly dishonest as a matter of principle. The Socialist Party has traditionally and consistently adhered to the principles of democracy and freedom. The Communist party believes in dictatorship and the suppression of civil rights. Between the two there is an unbridgeable gulf."

The "militants" point out the National Executive Committee gave specific approval to the debate. It did, and in doing so violated its own decision. But what does that matter? What does it matter that the Communists are celebrating a victory for the united front? Didn't The Socialist Call make \$5,000? Didn't the national office, controlled by the Left Wing, get a rake-off? It was a profitable racket.

The Socialist Call and the "militants" may feel gratified at their financial success. The Communists, too, got what they wanted. But the battle against Communism and Communist disruptionism in the party goes on.

WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT IN THIS BATTLE THE FINAL VICTORY WILL BELONG TO SOCIALISM.

Communists Themselves Expose "United Front"

Kirby Page Pamphlet Cites Official Communist Evidence Showing Purpose of "Unity" Appeal Is Destruction of Socialist Party—By Their Own Words Are the Communists Convicted.

THE United Front! What a noble ideal!

"Does it not gladden the heart of every worker, Socialist Communist, or whatever he be," writes the Daily Worker, Oct. 30, 1935, "to know that the time has come when official representatives of the Labor and Socialist (Second) International in the persons of Louis de Broeckere and Friedrich Adler sit on the same platform, act in the same presiding committee with the official representatives of the Communist International, Harry Pollitt and Maurice Thorez? [The Daily Worker misrepresents the facts, as usual; but let that pass.] . . ."

"We are . . . glad to note that Norman Thomas backed the United Front on specific issues in a speech . . . last Monday in Louisville. . . . Thomas' work for the freedom of Angelo Herndon is well known. He has played a big part in broadening the United Front for the liberation of the heroic Negro worker."

" . . . We call upon the American Socialist Party, in view of the dangerous international situation and the reaction at home, to move forward more quickly to formal realization of the United Front! Only our common enemies benefit from his slow and piecemeal procedure!"

This is what they say in public; this is what they say in their drive among Socialists in their campaign to throw the Socialist ranks in confusion.

But among themselves they let their back hair down and tell each other the truth.

Following are a few recent citations from responsible and official Communist sources, publications designed not for general public circulation but for use among the Communist officials and insiders.

The quotations were gathered by Kirby Page and are used by him in a recent pamphlet, "Capitalism and Its Rivals."

Dedicated to any simple-minded Socialist who takes Communist professions of good faith seriously,

the following quotations are herewith presented:

"The Communist International openly announces to the millions of workers of the whole world that there cannot be genuine working class unity without a struggle for the violent overthrow of the whole existing capitalist order, for the establishment of proletarian dictatorship."

The Communist (house organ of the Communist Party, May, 1933, p. 436).

"An armed uprising and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of soviets is the only way to Socialism, and . . . there is no other way to victory, irrespective of the peculiarities existing in one or another country. . . . The Social Democratic and non-party workers can best be led up to the struggle for soviet power in present conditions by drawing them into the struggle against fascism. . . . That is precisely why the Comintern is today paying so much attention to the question of the United Front."

The Communist International (Communist house organ), Dec. 20, 1934, p. 861.

"The time will come when the entire and now still powerful Social Democratic parties will collapse, or if they persist in their treachery, will burst like soap bubbles; and when whole strata of the Social Democratic workers will come over to us. The tactics of the united front further and expedite this process."

The Communist, April, 1933, p. 331.

Not a Peace Pact

"The United Front is not a peace pact with the reformists. The united front is a method of struggle against the reformists, against the social fascists, for the possession of the masses. . . . It is absolutely necessary to convince each worker in the Socialist Party, Musteltes, members of A. F. of L., through his own contacts, that the Communists are the only sincere, active and efficient fighters for unity in the struggle for their own

Thomas' Letter

(Continued from Page Nine)

the labor politician unless there is the influence of Socialist education, agitation and organization. He who in the name of Socialism at this crisis discredits Socialism and its ideals in the unions or in the country, or who tries to split the Party or to slander it, is aiding our common enemy. Forward's services to real Socialism in years gone by warrant a better hope of it than that in this hour of emergency.

Fraternally yours,
NORMAN THOMAS.

daily needs. . . . We have a tendency to neglect or slur over differences in principle between the Communists and the social fascist leaders. We can never win the workers to a united front struggle, which means winning them away from the social fascist influence, unless we meet squarely and explain sharply the basic differences between us and them." [Of course, it is understood that in the Communist lingo "social fascist" and "reformist" means Socialist.]

Earl Browder in the Communist, August, 1933, pp. 723, 752.

"The Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920 demanded that the Communists in all countries should . . . enter the trade unions in order to make them into conscious organs of struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and for Communism."

Communist International, April 20, 1925.

Aim of United Front

"The tactics of the united front were only put into operation by Lenin in order to make it easier for the millions of workers infected by the prejudices of Social Democratic conciliation to come over to the side of Communism."

Stalin, quoted in the Communist International, Dec. 20, 1934.

"We do not regard the united front as a maneuver. We make it easier for the Social Democratic masses to come over to Communism by showing in the practical work of a united front that we alone carry on a consistent struggle against fascism, the capitalist offensive and the war danger. But we do not conceal the chief aim of the united front. This chief aim of the united front is to make it easier for the Social Democratic masses to come over to the side of Communism for the conquest of soviet power. This was and still remains our chief objective in the new tactics of the united front. Our new united front tactics have to be coordinated with and subordinated to this."

Communist International, Dec. 20, 1934.

"What is the central conclusion? To utilize to the fullest the new and broader opportunities for united front struggles and, on the basis of these, to win the masses for the revolutionary out for a Soviet America." ["Out" in original.—Ed.]

The Communist, July, 1925, p. 603.

"Have You Forgotten?"

" . . . the united front is at the present time (the maturing of the world revolutionary crisis) the main road along which the masses will be prepared for the struggle for soviet power under the leadership of the Communist Party . . . the advance of the united front opens up before the Communists new and wider opportunities for spreading among the masses the slogan of Soviet Power, the slogan of Soviet America."

The Communist, Jan. 1935, pp. 10, 21.

" . . . the united front is at the present time (the maturing of the world revolutionary crisis) the

Lee's Answer

(Continued from Page Ten)

Party! That is why we are fighting because we are deeply convinced that the tactics of the wing are reducing the party status of a sect!

There is a Communist Party in America and a half dozen Communist splinter groups. Both the Communist Party and these groups want to swallow our Party. They have been at work for years to this end. In Comrade Thomas' surprise because we are against this? We are fighting because we do not want to occur. We know that the of the Socialist Party does in the direction in which the wingers, the Communists and splinter groups want to drag us. But Comrade Thomas asks we want. For heaven's sake, not Comrade Thomas under that he is not speaking to us. Our desire is that Comrade Thomas determine, once and for all, what HE wants and to firm position and cling to it.

If Thomas does really peace in the party, he can make it possible. We will not reject any honest proposal, even if it be made last moment.

Fraternally yours,
ALGERNON

main road along which the will be prepared for the for Soviet Power under the ship of the Communist Party

The Communist, Jan., 1935

"The united front is not a pact with the reformists. The united front is a method of struggle against the reformists, against social fascists, for the possession of the masses. . . . Have you gotten that precisely the why we have made the united with them is because we take their followers away from them?"

Earl Browder, in the Communist, August, 1933, pp. 752.

Does anybody want more elementary proof of the good of the Communists in pressing united front "struggle"? There are many more documents with similar proof of good readily available.

CLASS COLLABORATION

WHILE on the subject of the Communists call class collaboration—one of the points upon which they in the past leveled their attacks upon the Socialist Party is interesting to read, an circular of the Communist in the recent campaign in Rochelle, N. Y., which is possession.

The Communist candidate Mayor was one Antonio Lombardo. Under the caption, "Elect Mayor," the Communist Party declared:

"Rank and file Democratic Republicans, as well as organizations of both parties looking for progressive political fight for Vito Marcantonio elected to the United States Congress on the Republican yet he endorses Antonio Lombardo as the only candidate Mayor representing . . . the jority of the people."

"Eugene Conolly and Glickstein lead the Knickerbocker Democratic Club in New York [the organization backed by Farley in the interest of J. V. McKee when he ran Mayor.—Ed.], a club which controls the Democratic ticket territory . . . yet they endorse Antonio Lombardo."