

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

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In This Issue
Mussolini's American
Build-Up
by William E. Bohn
Christmas Carol, 1935
by Eugene Lyons
The Worker and the Theatre
by Hendrik W. Van Loon
Industrial Unionism
by Charles P. Howard

Tampa Murder Stirs Workers

**Socialists Leading Fight to
End Terror in Florida
City—Public Mass Meet-
ing Held to Protest Sadist
Floggings.**

Green's Threat Helps

**City Fears to Lose 1936
A. F. of L. Convention—
Back of Outrage Is Long
Story of Terrorism and
Corruption.**

By M. E. Edson

SPECIAL TO THE NEW LEADER
TAMPA, Fla.—Soon after the recent murderous outrages here, a conference of active Socialists decided to make a drive to arouse public opinion by appealing personally and quietly but vigorously to sympathetic and influential liberal citizens.

A Citizens' Defense Committee of five was elected, with myself as chairman. Each member was instructed to call upon personal acquaintances. It was my duty to see editors of newspapers, several sympathetic ministers and liberal lawyers that I knew. The others made similar contacts with those that they knew, and with the labor unions and several civic organizations.

The situation was rather ticklish until we could see how public opinion was going, because during the raids and kidnapping of the Communists a few years ago public opinion was against them and few voices were raised in their defense. We Socialists in Tampa have won the respect and sympathy of a large section of the people by our practical, sane and sensible educational work, and without trying to pull off any preposterous and probably disastrous demonstrations we soon had public opinion coming our way.

At first there was a tendency to ignore the lawless raid of the police, which was obviously the first move in a dastardly plot. We kept hammering on that as the instigation of the outrage until it is now publicly recognized as such. Otherwise a few drunken "dopes" who were in the flogging mob might have been the "goats" for the sinister influences which control the city government. It is a fortunate circumstance that the political faction which was beaten in the recent disgraceful municipal primaries is in control of the law enforcement offices of Sheriff and State's Attorney. They seem glad of an opportunity to make things hot for their bitter opponents who control the city government.

Intercessions of Socialists elsewhere were well received upon the groundwork which the local comrades had prepared and added fuel to the flames of public indignation.

Sentiment Turns
We were all surprised to see strong denunciations of the outrage issued by the American Legion and the Tampa Trades and Labor Assembly. These two organizations have usually vied with each other supporting the powers that be under the guise of 100% Americanism.

The murdered Shoemaker was a millionaire, and his brother is prominent in their organization. The Tampa labor unions have been showing more friendliness towards recently. They have taken the workers' Alliance into their councils, and we hope that this declaration for civil rights is a sign of awakening.

The threat of William Green to change the 1936 convention from Tampa to some other city was what caused consternation in the camps of the Philistines and also brought things to a climax just before Shoemaker's death from the effects of the flogging. The statement of Wendell Heaton, president

(Continued on Page Two)

Detroit Socialist Slain in Motor Strike

DETROIT—Shot several weeks ago while engaged in strike activities, Carl Swanson died here this week from his wounds. A scab foreman has been arrested and charged with murder.

Young Swanson was an active trade unionist and Socialist and received the fatal wound in a strike at the Motor Products corporation plant. The strike has been on for several weeks and the murder of Swanson has aroused the organized workers to a high pitch of indignation.

Chas. Solomon On Magistrate's Bench in N. Y.

**Jos. Schlossberg Appointed
to Board of Higher Edu-
cation—Labor Gratified
at Selections.**

CHARLES SOLOMON, leading Socialist spokesman, labor attorney and five times elected Assemblyman on the Socialist ticket, was sworn in as a New York City Magistrate Monday, and on Wednesday he assumed



Charles Solomon



Joseph Schlossberg

his duties in the Gates Avenue Court, Brooklyn.

At the same time, Joseph Schlossberg, life-long Socialist and secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, was sworn in by the Mayor as a member of the Board of Higher Education. The Board of Higher Education controls the three city-operated colleges—the College of the City of New York for men, Hunter College for women, and Brooklyn College for both men and women. The Board is also contemplating establishing a city-operated college in Queens County. All of the city's colleges are attended largely by the sons and daughters of working people.

Solomon's appointment to the highly important office of Magistrate is justly considered by everyone as a recognition of the importance of the labor movement, and was made at the request of union leaders. Magistrates have important powers in labor cases, especially when pickets are arrested; and on the very day he assumed office Comrade Solomon was scheduled to appear as counsel in the court over which he now presides to defend several workmen arrested for picketing.

The First Case

Magistrate Solomon's first hours on the bench in the Gates Avenue Court were characterized by the humanitarianism for which he is noted. Seated on the bench with his former law partner, Louis P. Goldberg, he said he did not want any ceremonies to accompany his induction, and then he plunged into his work.

The first case to come before him was that of a deaf and dumb woman, Isabel McCormick, arrested for intoxication. The case had to be conducted with written language, there being no interpreter.

(Continued on Page Four)

German Workers in New York Declare At Meeting "Hitler Is Not Germany!"

**German Day Celebration Brings Out Thousands to Protest
Their Devotion to the Real Germany Destroyed by Hitler—
Emil Ludwig's Notable Address**

By Bela Low

Big Socialist Gains Won in Swiss Capital

BERNE—This city, capital of the Swiss Republic, returned to the Socialist Party as the largest in the city at the recent elections and defeated the Bourgeois-Liberal alliance that has long been in control of the city government.

Two governmental bodies were elected, the City Council of seven members, and Board of Aldermen (Gemeinderat and Stadtrat). The Socialists elected three out of seven members of the first, the Coalition elected three, and all parties united upon one candidate who was re-elected President of the Council. In the previous Council the Socialists had two members, the Coalition four, and the President was the seventh.

The Socialists gained two Aldermen, now having 39 to 37 for the Coalition.

Women Battle The High Cost Of Living

**Six Hundred Attend Notable
Conference at Penn-
sylvania Hotel—Im-
portant Addresses by Spe-
cialists Feature Gathering**

By George Field

FIVE hundred women, representing more than sixty organizations, crowded every available corner of the Hotel Pennsylvania ballroom when Esther Friedman, chairman of the Women's Conference against the High Cost of Living, called to order the first session of a two-day conference last Saturday afternoon. Many weeks of hard work by members of the Women's Committee of the Socialist Party who initiated this drive against the mounting cost of food, housing and utility services, brought a ready response from leaders and rank and file members of women's clubs, civic organizations, consumer leagues and trade unions in New York City.

The delegates were organized as a fact-finding body; they came to hear reports and to bring back findings to their respective organizations. They were also preparing for action, and Esther Friedman answered their query "What Next?" when she explained that within a few weeks the delegates would be called to another meeting to discuss the situation, determine policy and decide on a course of immediate action.

Louis Waldman, Socialist State Chairman, in a letter addressed to the conference, urged a determined fight by consumers and government agencies, to reduce the huge spread between prices paid to producers and those charged to consumers. "While making this im-

(Continued on Page Seven)

**"HITLER IS NOT GER-
MANY."** A huge poster with this slogan faced 5000 German-Americans who filled St. Nicholas Palace Sunday afternoon and demonstrated that Germany is not Hitler. The occasion was the celebration of "German Day," the 252nd anniversary of the landing of the first German settlers in America.

Eugene F. Grigat, former member of the Reichsbanner and President of the Friends of German Democracy as chairman of the meeting declared that "American institutions permit the pursuit of liberty and happiness regardless of race and creed and that 'we are here to reclaim German respectability in the eyes of the world.'"

Peter Ehlen, Chairman of the German Workers' Sick and Death Benefit Fund, with a membership of 60,000, explained the purpose of the German-American League for Culture, under whose auspices the meeting was held as a dam against the flood of Nazi propaganda and to stand by and help the heroes in Germany who sacrifice freedom and life to carry on the fight against Hitler.

Kurt Rosenfeld, former Socialist Minister of Justice, emphasized that culture without rights is an impossibility. In Germany, where professors of jurisprudence proclaim that the source of law is to be found in the program of the Nazi party and in the utterance of the leader, the executioner's axe has become, together with the swastika, the symbol of the Third Reich. The American people must be told that the real Germany is the Germany of poets and thinkers; the fight against German barbarism must be waged also from those places where German emigrants have found a temporary abode.

After the German Workingmen's Singing Society's chorus had rendered two of the songs of freedom which are so dear to the heart of German workingmen, the chairman read a message from President Roosevelt regretting his inability to attend, but sending warm greetings.

Never Surrender

Dr. Frank Bohn reviewed the role of the German immigrants during the past 250 years; they came to secure political and religious liberty; they fought in the War of Independence and in the Civil War; those who were expelled by Bismarck transplanted the Socialist movement to the United States. The Germans here shed their blood in every cause of liberty and partook in the building of American civilization. Our first duty is to educate the misguided followers of Hitler here, our second task is to raise money to support the exiles and the starving opponents of Hitler in Germany, such as the emaciated old workingman whom he had visited in his home and who said to him in parting: "I shall always stand by the Republic and the Social Democratic Party," to which his wife added: "I shall never surrender."

Ernest L. Jahneke, former Assistant Secretary of the Navy and a member of the International Olympic Committee, pointed out that Hitler Germany is the opposite to the American spirit of fairness, which is also the essence of sports; no true sportsmanship can exist where tyranny reigns. The

(Continued on Page Three)

One Socialist Loses, Second Wins recount

Special to The New Leader

READING, Pa.—One Socialist declared elected to county office last month lost his seat as a result of the official tabulation of votes, to be replaced by another, it is revealed here. The two Socialists were candidates for the Berks County Prison Board.

Robert M. Work of Reading was declared elected on the unofficial tabulation, receiving a vote of 26,234 to 25,561 for Mrs. Gertrude Hiller of Hyde Park. Mrs. Hiller, a Socialist candidate, appeared to have fallen below the lowest non-Socialist to be elected. The official count gave Mrs. Hiller 27,122, and Work 26,427. Mrs. Hiller is therefore declared elected, but Work is defeated.

Deport Aliens, Is Demand of Reactionaries

**Their Plan Not Only Cruel
and Stupid, But Econom-
ically Disastrous—Mac-
fadden Joins Campaign.**

CONGRESSMAN Martin Dies of Texas is again pushing his pet measure, a proposed law to deport all aliens. The illustrious statesman's idea is that with the deportation of six million em-ployed non-citizens jobs will be automatically created for six million Americans—presumably voters—and thus the problem of unemployment will be solved.

No less a patriot than Bernard Macfadden, former radical, eminent exponent of the nut diet, proponent of what he calls "sane" sex education (as exemplified in his newspaper, the daily Grapher), entrepreneur of "true confession" magazines, leaps into the breach with ardent support of the noble idea.

"Our foreign charity wards," he shouts in sixty-point type in his magazine Liberty, "Send them home!"

There is no doubt that there will be considerable support for this humanitarian proposal, not only among the black reactionaries like Dies, who are constitutionally prejudiced against "furriners," but even among people who think there is an economic argument in favor of the plan.

If, indeed, there are six million aliens here who hold jobs it would create six millions jobs for American citizens if they were removed from their jobs. But six million men of jobs usually mean from twelve to fifteen million people, including women and children. And those millions are being fed today, and they will continue to be some-how fed even if the (putative) six million are tossed out of their jobs.

(Continued on Page Five)

Green Indicts Profit System

Labor Planning Broad Program Of Legislation

**Shorter Work-Week, En-
forceable Right to Orga-
nize, Economic Stability on
the Program of the A. F.
of L.**

WASHINGTON—A broad program of legislation designed to secure fundamental rights for working men and women, farmers and consumers, and to protect children from economic exploitation was set forth by William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, for the consideration of the labor representatives participating in the recent Industry Conference convened by Major George L. Berry, Coordinator for Industrial Cooperation.

Expressing the belief that recovery and prosperity unless controlled in the interest of the masses will result in "greater unemployment, want and privation," Green stressed the importance of the prompt enactment of measures designed to shorten the work-week without reduction in earnings, give legal solidarity to the workers' right to organize and bargain collectively, permanently abolish the child labor evil, eliminate night work for women, end industrial home work, and establish minimum pay standards for minors and women, together with a comprehensive Federal Housing Bill requiring corporations in interstate commerce to observe certain definite rights of labor.

"Today the American people must make a momentous choice," Green said in presenting the A. F. of L. program.

"It is a choice between a brief speculative prosperity which will end in a worse economic collapse than we have known, and a planned, regulated, and orderly advance toward lasting economic stability which would bring a higher standard of living to the masses of the people."

"It is a choice between a fleeting prosperity for the few and an enduring security for the many."

Economic Stability Essential
"The American people cannot and will not stand another depression," (Continued on Page Five)

One Dictator Dies in Bed

JUAN VICENTE GOMEZ.

President and "strong man" of Venezuela, has died in bed and that is real news. For twenty-seven years this semi-illiterate has ruled his country with a ruthless barbarism, and he reaped his reward in a colossal fortune.

Unlike virtually every other dictator in history, he lived out his years and died peacefully while still in power. Unlike Cipriano Castro, the predecessor he betrayed, Gomez did not antagonize foreign capitalists but, like Porfirio Diaz, he gave them whatever they wanted. In return he remained in power to the end, but tressed by the friendship of foreign capitalist powers. He had tens of millions, he had his fabulous palace, he had his private lake, he had his eighty illegitimate children, and his people were shockingly enslaved.

Rosas of Argentina, the two Francias and Lopez of Uruguay, Santa Ana, Diaz and Huerta of Mexico, Zelaya of Nicaragua, Leguia and Sanchez Cerro of Peru, Dessalines, Henry Christophe and the cannibal Souleouque of Haiti, Machado of Cuba, all fell, as did the two Napoleons of France. Either their infuriated people drove them out or they perished in a welter of blood.

Gomez was the sole exception to an otherwise invariable rule that those who rule by force will not live out their brutal careers. And today there is every indication that the country that Gomez ruled and exploited so cruelly will fall into chaos and bloodshed.

There is a lesson here for those who view the European scene.

**A.F. of L. President Charges
Masters of Industry With
Responsibility for Vast
Army of Jobless in the
United States.**

11,650,000 Still Idle

**Despite Business Recovery
No Work Is Found for
Millions of Willing Work-
ers—Real Recovery Lags
for the Workers.**

WASHINGTON—Pointing out that the number of idle workers now totals 11,650,000, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, in a statement on the unemployment situation, charged those who own and control industry with complete responsibility for the existence and persistence of this immense army of out-of-works.

Unless a broad and effective work-providing policy is promptly adopted, he declared society would be compelled to intervene in an emphatic manner and guarantee to the idle millions the inherent right to work.

"Our revised unemployment estimate," Mr. Green said, "indicates that there were in October, 1935, nearly 11,650,000 American workers without jobs."

"Although some 3,000,000 of these jobless workers are now receiving emergency work under the Public Works Administration, Works Progress Administration and other emergency Federal agencies, the total number of unemployed workers recovered more than half of its depression decline, we still have more than 11,500,000 unemployed in this country."

"Even in 1929, our revised estimate shows, nearly 2,000,000 persons were without jobs in the United States. Unemployment increased during depression until in March, 1933, 15,470,000 were without work. Today, with a half recovery of business, we still have with us 74 per cent of the depression unemployment."

**Business Recovers, Employ-
ment Lags**

"From March, 1933, to October, 1935, industry has created 5,657,000 jobs. In the same period, however, the number of persons seeking work has increased by 1,564,000. The employment increase was enough to offset this and also to cut 4,093,000 of the unemployed to work."

"A business rise halfway back to normal has re-employed only one-fourth of those out of work. Do business executives expect the other half of business recovery to give jobs to the remaining 75 per cent and also to create work for the new army of job seekers who, because of the present increase in our population, number about 100,000 per year?"

"These figures are a clarion call to action. They show that unless industry, in cooperation with labor, is willing to face this problem and provide work for the unemployed, society will be forced to take some other means to give these millions their rightful chance to earn their livelihood."

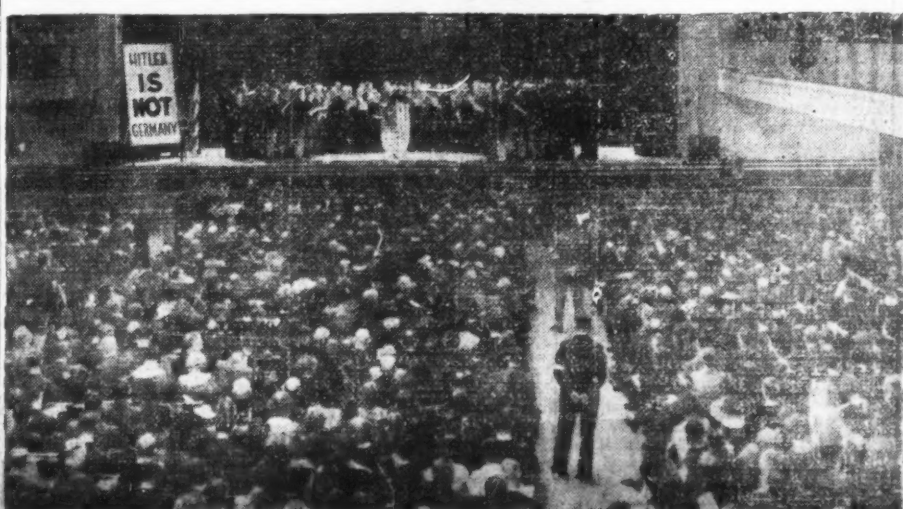
"Our figures also show that of all jobs furnished since March, 1933, 4,174,000 were created between March and September, 1934, during the period when NRA codes were put into effect and the President's Re-employment Program had industry's cooperation."

"Since September, 1933, employment gains have rarely lifted the number at work more than 500,000 above the September, 1933, level. Not until September, 1935—two years after NRA—did we succeed in adding another million jobs. In October, 1935, total employment exceeded September, 1933, by 1,483,000."

"Recent censuses and statistical research work have added to our information on employment. In compiling its revised estimate, the Federation has made thorough and careful search of available statistical material."

"In industries where the employment situation has previously been unknown, our estimates are based on the same methods used by the United States Department of Commerce in their study of income in the United States and the figures have been developed after careful

(Continued on Page Four)



Scene at the great German Day mass meeting in New York, December 15.

Bronx Socialists Rally To Party By Big Majority; Answers Bolters

By George I. Steinhardt
Chairman, Socialist Party,
Bronx County

THE war-bulletins of the secessionists that have appeared in the Communist and capitalist press give the uninformed reader the impression that the party in the Bronx has been annihilated. One communiqué of the former Bronx County chairman claims six of the seven branches. I do not deny the secessionist claim to six branches, but the Bronx has seven branches, and not seven branches. It is therefore apparent that the ex-chairman's statement is slightly exaggerated.

The following table shows the makeup of the branches and the total membership of each branch based on dues stamps, including exempt stamps purchased during the first eleven months of 1935:

LOYAL	
1st A.D. Upper	20
2nd A.D. Upper	29
3rd A.D. Upper	43
4th A.D. Lower	79
5th A.D. Upper	12
6th A.D. Upper	68
7th A.D. Upper	85
8th A.D. Upper	30
9th A.D. Upper	19
10th A.D. Upper	17

SECESSIONIST	
1st A.D. Lower	8
2nd A.D. Lower	42
3rd A.D. Lower	24
4th A.D. Lower	31
5th A.D. Lower	11
6th A.D. Lower	31

DOUBTFUL	
1st A.D. Lower	25
2nd A.D. Lower	25
3rd A.D. Lower	25
4th A.D. Lower	25
5th A.D. Lower	25
6th A.D. Lower	25

	For Secession	Against
1	6	5
2	42	24
3	20	7
4	2	13
5	15	6
6 Upper	14	27
6 Lower	9	8
7	6	28
8 Upper	0	11
8 Amalgamated	0	54
	114	183

Allowing for a discrepancy of 6 votes in the 3rd and 5th A.D.—the secessionists claim their total that is more than the information available to me—the figures already indicate that a majority of the members have put themselves on record as loyal to the party.

It should also be noted that ALL of the secessionist branches, with the exception of Jewish Branch 2, have voted. This branch has a small membership.

Five branches definitely loyal are yet to be heard from. Among the five are the two very large branches—the Lower 8th and Jewish Branch 1. These two, including the smaller branches, will cast decisive majorities against secession.

When the totals are finally in, there will be no question as to where the Bronx stands.

It should also be noted here that, with few exceptions, those members who for years have been active in building and maintaining the party organizations and institutions in the Bronx, remain steadfast at their posts in the party.

Also the branches that were the mainstay of the county organization remain solidly in their position today. Chiefly, in the order of their importance, these are: the Lower 8th A.D., the Amalgamated Branch, the 7th A.D. and Jewish Branch No. 1. The 2nd A.D. in spite of their large membership never played an important role in county affairs. In their own territory, however, they were active and effective. Among the 24 (now 31) members of this branch who remained loyal, are included many of those who were largely responsible for such activities.

The other branches, on the se-

cessionist side, besides the 2nd A.D., that may be classed as of some consequence, are the 3rd and 5th A.D.'s. But these two branches have for years been a liability to the County Organization. Generally we had to finance their campaigns and maintain for them their headquarters.

Their activities were mostly of a negative character. Primarily they were occupied with passing resolutions and passing the buck. Also with obstructing the work of the county. Even Jack Altman must admit this. He has had his experience with them when he was organizer in the Bronx.

On the other hand, the 7th A.D., which in the past was almost evenly divided between the "militants" and "non-militants," showed its reaction against secession by the one-sided vote of 28 to 6. And in the 4th A.D. in which the deposed County Chairman is a member, secession was defeated by a vote of 13 to 2.

The Bronx, prior to the days of the Declaration of Principles, was always known as an independent borough of the Socialist Party. Whatever alignments may have existed in other sections of the city, members in this section voting for delegates to the Central Committee or to State and National Conventions, never grouped themselves along factional lines. They always voted for delegates irrespective of theoretical differences, were active in Bronx affairs.

Next week Comrade Steinhardt will tell the story of a majority of experienced members two years ago trusting the "militants" with the Labor Center and how they wrecked it.



DEBS BRANCH PLEDGES 1,000 NEW LEADER SUBSCRIBERS

THE Debs Branch of the Workmen's Circle, Branch 665 of that organization, in addition to staging a New Leader dance and celebration in connection with its 15th anniversary has pledged itself to add at least 1,000 new subscribers to The New Leader.

The New Leader dance will be held at the People's House, 7 East 15th Street, January 30th. The Branch is made up wholly of Socialist Party members, and they are unanimously with the party and against the splitters, and are enthusiastic backers of The New Leader.

Bolters Beaten Goldberg's Book on Judicial Tyranny Flays Judges

LATEST figures of the vote on the secession issue in Local New York of the Socialist Party show the collapse of the Altman-Thomas attack on the Socialist Party. This information is contained in a statement by Algernon Lee, chairman of the City Executive Committee, just as The New Leader goes to press. Comrade Lee declares:

"The two weeks within which the City Central Committee instructed branches to replace bolting delegates have now expired and the reports received from the branches indicate complete collapse of the bolt and the failure of the seceding delegates to receive endorsement in their own branches. Of the 28 branches whose delegates walked out three branches have repudiated their action and removed them."

"The other branches, all small, contained only a total of 693 members, and of these 301 have voted to remain loyal to the Socialist Party, have reorganized their branches and replaced the bolting delegates."

"In the remaining 42 branches of the city the vote was 10 to 1 in favor of sustaining the action of the Central Committee, 23 of these branches being unanimous in their vote against the Thomasite Left Wingers. In these branches 2,160 members have affirmed their loyalty to the organization while only 205 have joined the bolters. Thus in the whole of New York City at least 2,461 members have indicated their intention of remaining loyal to the Socialist Party, while only 597 have gone with the secessionists, and many of these will soon return to the party."

A sensational picture of the dictatorship set up by judges and the use of such dictatorship to curtail the rights of labor and minority groups is set forth in "Lawless Judges," a book issued by the Rand School Press (price \$2.50), by Louis P. Goldberg and Eleanor Levenson.

Louis P. Goldberg has been a lawyer for twenty-five years, and has achieved a fine reputation at the bar. He is an active and prominent Socialist, and his firm, Goldberg & Solomon, of which Charles Solomon was a member until his appointment as City Magistrate, has represented many labor and radical organizations. Eleanor Levenson, his wife, is also a active Socialist as well as a journalist.

The book deals with the topic of the usurpation of power by Supreme Court justices and the use of that power to curtail the rights of labor to strike, picket, boycott, and to use other weapons in the struggle of labor against economic exploitation.

Written in a popular, free reading style, with a punch, it is a book written primarily for the layman. The book is based upon actual cases in which judges have expressed in decision or opinion their judicial bias against labor and minority groups. The cases include the Sacco-Vanzetti, Tom Mooney, Debs, Haymarket, I.W.W., cases, and Communist persecutions. Some of the cases display not only lawlessness on the part of judges but are also, in many instances, ludicrous. For instance: There is the case of the barber who was fined \$200 for exhibiting a sign stating "No scabs wanted here". In another instance miners were forbidden by injunction from singing hymns in a church. A shopkeeper in Miami was fined for an-

Socialists Leading Fight To End Terror in Florida

(Continued from Page One)
of the Florida Federation of Labor, that because no union men were involved he did not see that the A. F. of L. should be concerned, is resented by the local unions, and a movement has been started to have the Tampa Trades and Labor Assembly issue a statement repudiating Heaton's declaration.

The Murdered Worker

Joseph A. Shoemaker, the murdered man, came to Tampa last May from Vermont, where he had been a member of the party and a member of the State Executive Committee until in the campaign of 1934 he supported the Democratic candidate for Congress and urged that the party endorse him and Roosevelt's administration. He was told that he might support whom he pleased, but not as a member of the Socialist Party. Soon after coming to Tampa he became interested in the municipal election and acted as a checker for the defeated faction in the primary of "The White Municipal Party."

After the primary he organized a small group of liberal-progressives which he called the "Modern Democrats," with a quasi-Socialist program. They supported an independent candidate for Mayor and also supported the Socialist candidates for Aldermen. These candidates received so many votes that they aroused the fury of the gangsters who had stolen control of the city government, and this was undoubtedly the cause of the kidnapping and flogging.

Shoemaker had drafted a platform for "A national organization of Modern Democrats," which was

nouncing that he was "going back north, where men are men and rents are reasonable."

A lengthy preface to the book was written by Professor Morris R. Cohen of the City College of the City of New York, in which he says: "If our existence as a free people depends in any way on the free use of our intelligence, Mr. Goldberg and Miss Levenson have rendered a real service in challenging our traditional complacency in regard to the judiciary... I heartily commend this book."

The authors conclude that we have a judicial dictatorship in this country and propose remedies. An extended review by a prominent labor leader will appear in an early issue of The New Leader.

somewhat like Sinclair's EPIC plan, and he urged us Socialists to cooperate with him in promoting "Production for use, instead of profit," and in trying to get control of the Democratic party in Florida. As the election laws in Florida do not permit us to have the names of our candidates on the ballot, and the Democratic party is virtually the only party that can function, the proposal has a strong and reasonable appeal, especially as it appears that the "militant" disruptionists seem likely to destroy our national organization.

The Raided Meeting

The meeting which was raided was a committee meeting for the purpose of trying to draw up a plan by which the Socialist Party in Florida might cooperate with the "Modern Democrats" in educational work pending the outcome of our next national convention and the political campaign. I was not present because I did not think much of the plan, although I did not actively oppose it.

I am a Socialist of over 25 years' standing, and I would feel lost if our party is disrupted or turned into a cheap imitation of the many Communist groups.

There was a great public meeting last Sunday afternoon under the auspices of the Tampa Ministerial Association, with whom we have been working quietly and harmoniously. The addresses by Rev. Walter Metcalf Congregationalist, and Rev. Rufus W. Wicker, Methodist, were most vigorous and scathing demands for the restoration of civilization in Tampa. The audience of over 1,000 applauded them lustily and it was a cheering sight for us old war horses of Socialism. Metcalf and Wicker are both declared Socialists but do not yet feel that it is best for them to be card members. They did not neglect the Socialist explanation of the great underlying economic injustice and corruption of capitalism. I believe that the effect of this meeting and our tactics have done far more to win public opinion and confound the enemy than any imported speakers could possibly have done.

Monday afternoon's paper carried big headlines saying that the two circuit court judges vigorously charged the grand jury, which has been called into session for the case, to go to the bottom of the matter and not fail to indict all who are guilty, whoever they may be, whether of high or low station. It looks as though they mean business, but there has been so much whitewashing done here in the past that we are all very skeptical. I hope that there will come a real awakening from this dark tragedy, and that we will all move forward towards the happier state of Socialism.

Impressive Program of Education by I.L.G.W.U.

OVER 270 groups are now being conducted through the Educational Department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, according to a census taken at the end of November. These range from classes in Economics, Story of the Union, American Labor Movement, Public Speaking and Parliamentary Law to classes in dancing and callisthenics.

The groups include 146 study classes, 39 athletics, 28 gym, 34 music, 14 dramatics, and 12 dance groups. In addition there are many educational meetings, week-end institutes and organized visits for adults and children. The largest class is one of 190 students dealing with Psychology and Social Life; the normal sized class is about 20. Some of the gym groups number 60. The gym groups include men's and seven women's basketball teams, who are now beginning to play off the first matches for the Hochman and Dubinsky trophies.

The Educational Department directors in towns as widely scattered as Houston, Texas, and Toronto, Canada—and San Francisco, Cal., and Boston, Mass.

Other unions and labor groups are being assisted by the services of the I.L.G.W.U. dramatic groups, orchestras and choirs, and mandolin orchestra and the choir (150 voices) are now active, preparing for a big public concert in the Town Hall, New York City, January 25, 1936.

Porto Rican Labor Protests Against Unsound Housing

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico.—The Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration's decision to start slum clearance in San Juan by constructing an apartment house housing 216 families has aroused the Labor Federation, whose secretary, Rafael Alonzo, denounced the project as hygienically and socially unsound.

Alonzo ridiculed the Reconstruction leaders for the revival of Fourier's phalanx plan for housing his followers. He said the plan would perpetuate the island's economic feudalism, enabling bosses to control the politics of the occupants of the apartments and impede the work of labor organizations.

Philip Geliebter Dies at 49; Was A.-R. Educational Director

THE Jewish section of the Socialist movement, and especially the Workmen's Circle, suffered a great loss Saturday when Philip Geliebter, educational director of that great international organization, died.

Comrade Geliebter, who would have reached his 50th birthday on February 1st, died of double pneumonia at Mount Sinai Hospital after a brief illness.

Philip Geliebter was born in Poland, February 1st, 1886, the son of a merchant. Early in his life he became active in the Socialist movement, participating in the work of the Bund. Almost from the first moment of his arrival in this country he was active in the labor and Socialist movement, participating in the work of the old Jewish-Socialist Federation, and in the publication of a number of Jewish propaganda papers.

In 1916 he became Executive Secretary of the Workmen's Circle. He helped build that organization up to a high state of efficiency for a long time he was editor of its official monthly publication, "Friend." Ten years later, because of the great growth of the educational work of the Workmen's



Philip Geliebter

Circle, he was made Educational Director, a post he held until the time of his death. Under his direction were scores of schools in every part of the country in which children of members of the organization received instruction in different subjects. In addition the work of the educational department included sending lecturers on cultural, labor and Socialist subjects to every part of the United States and Canada.

The funeral was held from the Forward building Tuesday, a large throng of comrades attending to do honor to his memory. Representatives of the Socialist Party, the Workmen's Circle, the Forward scores of unions and cultural organizations spoke. Burial was in the Workmen's Circle cemetery at Mount Carmel in Queens County.

'News and Literature Under Dictators'

Lecture by
EUGENE LYONS
(Author of "Moscow Carrousel")
Friday Eve., Dec. 20, 8:30
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Bolters Loose Their Stronghold: Repudiated by Bronx

WITHIN the past week the bolting "militants" of New York have suffered severe defeats in Socialist Party branches in which they had claimed a substantial majority.

The Upper West Side Branch of Manhattan, one of the largest and most important of the city's sub-divisions, long considered a "militant" stronghold, by a decisive vote reaffirmed its loyalty to the Socialist Party and sternly repudiated its delegates to the Central Committee that had participated in the theatrical bolt of December 4th. The Upper West Side Branch was one of the 27 the secessionists claimed when the coup d'etat was staged, and it includes in its membership several of the most active of the "militant" leaders.

As an expression of loyalty to the party the branch members raised \$225 for party work. Dr. Simon Berlin and Dr. Siegfried Lipschitz were elected delegates to the Central Committee; and Organizer Leon Gibson was warmly complimented by the members upon his work.

In the 4th A.D., Bronx, the splitters were overwhelmed, only two members voting for the bolters. Among the members of the branch was the County Chairman who had announced in the Communist and the Capitalist press that the

Bronx was going with the secessionists.

With only two votes in the negative the branch passed the following resolution:

"BE IT RESOLVED: That we adopt the report of our delegate to the City Central Committee, S. Maggin, on the regular meeting of the committee held December 4, and approve the decision of our delegate to remain loyal to the City Central and City Executive Committee of Local New York with headquarters at 7 East 15th St."

"That we adopt the report of our delegate to the County Committee, Meyer Diamond, on the regular meeting of the County Committee held December 12th, at 540 Southern Boulevard, and approve of the unanimous decision of the committee in repudiating the resolution of the County Executive Committee, passed at a meeting December 6th, which supported secession from the party."

"That we approve of the action of the County Committee in vacating the office of the County Chairman, County Organizer and the four other members of the Executive Committee who voted for this resolution and that we pledge our support to the new County Administration headed by George I. Steinhardt, Chairman, and to the new County Executive Committee."



Italian conscripts marching for Fascist plunder in Ethiopia.

Russian Dictatorship Described by Walter Citrine

Lord and Lady Passfield Report No Dictatorship in Russia

SIDNEY and Beatrice Webb (Lord and Lady Passfield), both in their own words "nearing their ninth decade," have written an intensive survey of the Soviet Union.

The work, in two volumes, running to more than 1,000 pages, has just been published under the title "Soviet Communism: A New Civilization." It is being hailed by the Communist press.

The Webbs deny the view that the Soviet is under a dictatorship. "The Sidney Webb universal pattern," they declare, "shows even an exaggerated devotion to collegiate decision."



Sidney Webb

"From one end of the hierarchy to the other, the members of every council or committee, including its president, can always be 'recalled' without notice by a resolution passed by the body (or at a meeting of the electorate) to which they owe their office."

"Our own conclusion is that, if by autocracy or dictatorship is meant government without prior discussion or debate, either by public opinion or in private session, the Government of the U.S.S.R. is, in that sense, actually less of an autocracy than many a Parliamentary Cabinet."

"The Soviet Union," they add, "has quite obviously grown richer in the very years in which most, if not all, other countries have grown poorer."

"Will this new civilization, with its abandonment of the incentive of profit-making, its extinction of unemployment, its planned production for community consumption and the consequent liquidation of the landlord and the capitalist, spread to other countries?"

"Our reply is: 'Yes, it will.' But how, when, where or with what modifications and whether through violent revolution or by peaceful penetration or even by conscious imitation, are questions we cannot answer."

In the London Daily Herald of November 28, organ of the British Labor Party, Sir Walter Citrine publishes a review of the book. The review, reprinted here, is valuable for two reasons: first, because it is written by the president of the International Federation of Trade Unions and General Secretary of the British Trades Union Congress; and second, because Citrine has just returned from a trip to Soviet Russia, where he was the guest of the Soviet Government. Unlike other "guests," however, Citrine looked at Soviet Russia with the eye of an experienced trade union leader and Socialist.

We reprint here his review of the Webb book in which Citrine gives an account of his own observations in Russia.

Citrine Disputes Findings Of the Webbs on Russia

By Sir Walter Citrine
President, International Federation of Trade Unions; Secretary, British Trades Union Congress

THROUGHOUT its twelve hundred pages, this well-written book is courageously and challengingly controversial. There is scarcely a chapter which will not evoke criticism, both as to the strict accuracy of its facts and, more particularly, as to the interpretation which has been placed on them.

The magnitude of the task has made it impossible for the authors to follow the excellent precepts which they themselves have laid down for social investigation.

No one has recognized more fully than the Webbs the need in such work for investigation of original material at the source, aided by skilled and entirely impartial assistance, as well as the meticulous checking of statements by personal contacts.

They, like most visitors who have tried to penetrate the barrage of Soviet propaganda, have been hampered by the absence of familiarity with the Russian language and of that intimate knowledge of the lives of the people which can only be attained by long residence.

The book is extremely readable,

well indexed and furnished with a series of appendices which are most useful. The first volume is concerned with the constitution as a whole, while the second deals with social trends in Soviet Communism.

The Webbs come to the somewhat remarkable conclusion that the Soviet system is not a dictatorship. They do not even accept Stalin's definition that the "dictatorship of the proletariat is substantially the dictatorship of the party." They contend that the Communist Party can only "persuade."

This sentiment indicates the standpoint from which they have examined the Soviet system. They make insufficient distinction between the system on paper and its actual working in practice.

For most readers the point will be not so much as to whether the legal and constitutional powers of the Communist Party permit it to act as a dictatorship, but whether in fact it does so. Ample material is found in the book itself for the evidence necessary to establish a quite contrary conclusion to that which the Webbs have reached.

It is shown that the Central Committee of the party, despite the complete absence of legal authority, publishes decrees. They

say that some of these are not even signed by the government, but only by Stalin, who holds no government post. Once published, these decrees become enforceable throughout the land. This innovation clearly vitiates a good deal of the written Constitution.

Authors' Assertion

The authors attest that no decision is ever taken by the government without "directives" from the party, and they show how little control the party as a whole has over these directives. Not even the full Central Committee of seventy members asserts the real authority. "Its authority is practically exercised by the President, General Secretary (Stalin), and three Assistant Secretaries, and the two influential committees it elects."

Of these committees the most important is the "Politbureau," which consists of about a dozen members. We are told that it is in this committee that the real power exists.

The decisions are absolutely binding on the party member, "whether in his public capacity as a people's Commissar, member of a trust or combine, director of works manager—or in his private capacity as a citizen."

If a Communist wants to retain his membership and his post, he must obey. What the Webbs set out to prove is that the Constitution is democratic. What they succeed in proving is that, in its actual operation, the real power is exercised by a handful of men without any constitutional authority whatever.

Simple Explanation

They regard the trade unions as voluntary and independent organizations. Yet they afford ample material to prove that every important trade union official is a Communist who, as we have seen, must carry out the dictates of the party irrespective of the wishes of his members. Moreover, the principal decisions are first taken by the "Politbureau" and then applied by the trade unions.

They do not give a single instance where the instructions of the Communist Party have been disobeyed by the union officials. The reason is simple. When, in 1929, the president of the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions, Tomsky, tried to assert, to some extent, the independence of the unions, he was summarily removed from his post and expelled from the party.

The wholesale enforcement of piece work, coupled with speeding up, the absence of the right to strike, the exposure of individual workers to public dishonor and shame for carelessness, bad work, absenteeism, and so on, although referred to, escape censure.

The encyclopedic character of the book defies adequate review as scarcely any phase of Soviet activities is left untouched. The economic and material gains resulting from the widespread system of planning, the advantages which have accrued to the workers in the form of the shorter working day, the establishment of health and recreational centers are portrayed in a thoroughly objective fashion.

Altogether, the advent of the Soviets is rightly regarded as an epoch in the history of civilization.

Considerable space is devoted to a consideration of the meaning of freedom.

The absence of freedom of speech and press and the right of public meeting; the complete suppression of all political parties other than the Communist Party; the throwing of political opponents into prisons and concentration camps; the existence of a secret police; the widespread arrests and summary executions; the maintenance of a strict censorship of all public writings; the elimination from every post of influence in the realm of education of all but trustworthy adherents of the regime leave the authors unmoved.

For them the supreme consideration is whether it is mechanically more efficient to have an authori-

tarian State than freedom of thought for the masses.

Soviet vs. Fascist

Altogether, there is much material in this book which goes far to justify the methods of Mussolini and Hitler, as well as those of the Soviet, although the Webbs make crystal-clear the complete difference of social purpose and aim of the Soviet and fascist systems.

To all of which The New Leader desires to add the following:

A regime like that described by Citrine has not the remotest relation to Socialism. A regime which justifies the methods of Mussolini and Hitler serves only to encourage fascism and to discredit Socialism. The fact that the "social purpose and aim" of the Soviet regime may differ from those of the fascist systems is of no significance whatever. Political and social systems are judged not by what they profess to seek but by what they actually are.

Comrade Citrine shows clearly that the Soviet system is the opposite of what Socialists have always pictured a Socialist regime to be. It is significant that the dictatorial character of the Soviet regime, so akin to fascism, has been increasingly emphasized with the years. What we were asked to believe eighteen years ago, namely that the dictatorship and terrorism in Russia were only "transitory," has turned out to be more and more permanent. This is not surprising. No dictatorship has ever abdicated voluntarily. The only consequence of dictatorship can be more dictatorship. There is not a single instance in the whole of history of dictatorship leading to liberty.

The only way to liberty is liberty, and Socialism without liberty is impossible. Soviet Russia will never advance to Socialism until the Communist dictatorship gives way to democracy. THE SYSTEM DESCRIBED BY COMRADE CITRINE IS A DENIAL AND CARICATURE OF SOCIALISM.

"Hitler Is Not Germany" German Workers Declare

(Continued from Page One)

present German regime does not represent the German people. He warned that it is up to us to see to it that liberty shall not perish from the face of this earth. The indifference of people to their heritage of freedom is the greatest danger, and helps a rising dictator more than his armed cohorts.

Gerhart Seger spoke of the fallacy in saying that the mere existence of the Hitler dictatorship proved the consent of the German people. The nation is terrorized and in fear, so that no open opposition can be made. If there were a really free election today, Hitler would find himself in a small minority. America must wake up to the danger: fascism means war; only liberty allows a people to preserve peace.

Two Tragedies

The main speaker was Emil Ludwig. No summary can give an adequate idea of the impression made by his speech, which in spots rose to heights of pathos, of indignation and of hatred of injustice and wrong, and which was as brilliant as it was original in the wit and sarcasm with which he lashed the present rulers of Germany.

How could he asked, an unknown fore- with no accomplishment? "It became the master over 60 million people? Two tragedies contributed to this: the war which was lost — not through the fault of the people; and the leniency of the republic towards its destroyers. While Rathenau, Stresemann, and also Brüning sacrificed health in life in order to regain the confidence of the world in Germany, a few hundred highwaymen for whom the war had ended too soon, simply forged the cause of the defeat, to exploit the tragedy to their advantage."

Who are the men of the Third Reich? Unsuccessful creatures: jobless clerks, dismissed teachers, half-brained inventors—all failures, born egoists, brutalized through the long war, determined rather to continue the life of adventurers than to return to peaceful occupations. They are, however, true specimens of their new Wotan cult: there is the wicked dwarf Alberich, now called Goebbels; Thor, the powerful, whose thunder destroys all before him, is Göring who like his prototype, is a tremendous eater and drinker; Hagen the betrayer of his friends, now Streicher.

A Portrait of Hitler

And then there is Parsifal, the pure fool, now called Adolf. An amateur who failed in everything who before the war just accomplished the painting of picture postcards, and during the war remained the eternal corporal. A mixture of mysticism and violence, who like his predecessor Wilhelm II has only two distinctive qualities, the power of speech and of stagecraft. He recognized the weakness of the Germans, their obedience to orders. After years of starvation, he again showed the hungry republic flags and parades, and when he yelled the names of Germany's enemies, everything melted in this theatrical sun, in the drumbeat of the old military marches.

In the stream of words which pours through the radio, only one is forbidden: liberty. With his inherent faithlessness, Hitler first abandoned his program, and then deceived his friends. Only in one point he remained true to himself, in his hatred for the Jews; they are to be blamed for everything, for the defeat, the republic and for communism. But maybe fate played a joke, and the Unknown Soldier is a Jew! We do not worry so much how the Jews will live without Germany, as how Germany will get along without the Jews, who constituted only one percent of the population, but twenty percent of the Nobel Prize winners.

CALLES IS BACK IN MEXICO

MEXICO CITY.—General Plutarco Elias Calles, his son-in-law, Ferdinand Torreblanca, and many other supporters of Calles have been expelled from the national Revolutionary Party. Workers' and farmers' unions are arranging demonstrations for President Cardenas on Sunday and to express their opposition to the return of General Calles to Mexico after his self-imposed exile. It is expected that Calles will not remain long in Mexico.

The "destroyer of Marxism" is afraid of—the Jewish grand-mother!

Germany stands before the world, strapped in steel and iron, guarded by gas and baccilli, ready to throw bombs by airplanes at every minute. The men in power in Germany believe that the world is trembling; but is she? Are we powerless? Germans in foreign lands must fight! Thirty millions abroad owe help to the sixty millions at home.

Also in the issue of the Olympic games the Teutonic past is symbolic of the present German. In the Fourth Century, the Goths destroyed the Olympic stadium in Greece, just as the present Vandals destroy the idea of the Olympics. Nothing did they take from Greece except the love for boys; and that they misunderstood.

Hitler may go into history, but in a different sense than he thinks, namely as the man who unwittingly prepared the road to Socialism. Former political enemies are now friends in Paris and Prague. The 6,000 pastors who prefer persecution to preaching what a German professor recently wrote, that "Jesus Christ was a German, born near Heidelberg"—they are the real Germans. It is the Germany of the old-fashioned typesetting machines with which newspapers were printed in dark cellars and secretly passed from hand to hand. Not the oppressors from above, but the pressmen from below are making way for a new Germany!

It is not true that glory is to be found in war, and not in peace. All dictators of today with their shirts and flags will be witnesses to a passing epoch. The international ideal will be realized, as it is demanded by our technical development and by reason. The world is divided, not horizontally into nations, but vertically into classes. Across national boundaries, members of the same class have a common interest.

A Real New Germany
Indignant friends of German culture! We greet the free democracies and all heroes who fought for liberty. We salute all countries that shelter and help exiled Germans; in the first place we thank this country, the United States, old harbor of exiles, in fact originated and developed by dissatisfied Europeans.

Over there, where the dome of the Reichstag stood aflame, ignited by the destroyers of German freedom, a new unseen dome will arise over the temple of tolerance. Yes, from their criminal acts will arise a new spirit, like a phoenix out of the ashes. A spontaneous ovation at the end of this speech concluded the first part of this memorable meeting.

In the second part, Otto Sattler, editor of *Solidarität*, organ of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, spoke about the history of German Day; the comrades of the Gymnastic Societies displayed their skill; Hedwig Wirsching sang songs by Schubert, Strauss and others, and Lisah Markah recited a revolutionary poem. With a chorus by men and women, among the songs the "Moor Soldiers", written and composed anonymously in a concentration camp, the meeting ended.

Probably due to thirty "informed" policemen, the few Nazis who were present refrained wisely from their usual attempts at disruption.

Greet

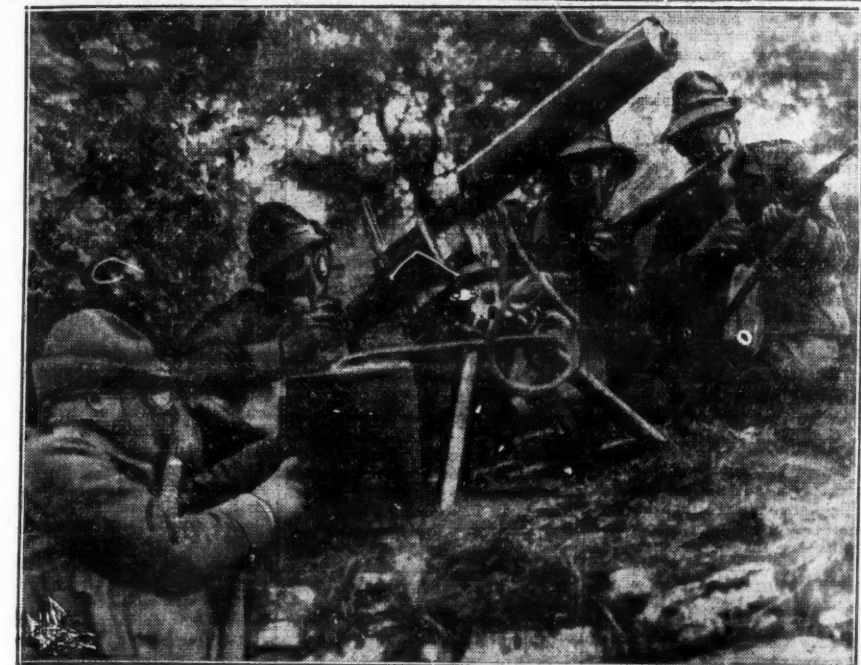
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Bringing Civilization to the Backward Ethiopians

New York Bolt Is Concern Of Whole Party, Says Heath

By Frederic Heath

Fred Heath, editor and artist, is one of the founders of the present Socialist Party. Together with Eugene V. Debs, Victor L. Berger and others Heath served on the National Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party founded by Debs in 1898 until it was merged with other elements into the present Socialist Party in 1901. For many years Heath edited the *Social Democratic Herald*, one of the most effective propaganda papers ever published in this country, one that played an important part in organizing Milwaukee for the first great Socialist victories in 1910. Heath is, and has been for decades, a member of the Milwaukee County Board of Supervisors.

Milwaukee, Wis.

THE stirred-up trouble in New York has now gone so far that it becomes the concern of all true Socialists, no matter in what state they reside. The destructive tactics there, made worse by the peculiar conduct of what may be called the duds majority on the National Executive Committee, goes from bad to worse; and the conclusion also that Norman Thomas has abetted the attacks, if he has not inspired them, seems inescapable.

And there has been something mighty mean in the deliberate attempt to give the New York party administration a bad name through the national party. There are also indications as to just what individual is to blame. The dude ranch in Chicago does not seem to have done anything to correct this. The truth is that the present

national committee has not made much of a hit with the Socialists who are informed as to its conduct. The Indiana affair did not look so very good, either. We will have to get back to state autonomy if we have the present national board on our backs much longer.

It is a decided flaw in our Constitution that it permits half-baked scholastics to enter our ranks one day and allows them to be boosted to the N.E.C. the next. Ours is, or ought to be, a working class party.

United Front Hump

While New York seems to have been the leading point of attack from the Bolsheviks, the united front hump has not been asleep elsewhere. We have managed to get along well enough with regard to the Communist activity here in Milwaukee, even from the start when they tried to wreck us, following the war and the triumph of the Bolsheviks in Russia. But of late the united front has developed some Assistant Communists within our ranks bent on making as much mischief as possible. One of these has been a cotton-battling professor, together with his satellites. There was also a suburban preacher, who was deposited outside the party, for the party's good, which was a very good beginning.

We noted with some surprise recently that the N.E.C. was to send Mrs. Meta Berger around the country on a lecture tour, the party to get some of the proceeds. As her one idea these days is to boost Stalinism wherever possible, one wonders what has become of the N.E.C. pronouncement against the united front. Mrs. Berger is a rich woman and does not need the money, so that the real reason for her tour seems to be to misrepresent the party on the united front

question, with the party's sanction.

The Political Federation

We here in Milwaukee just now are in a state of uncertainty, if not apprehension, in connection with the attempt to set up a federation with the LaFollette Progressives, and the unions, on Farmer-Labor lines. A referendum may be rushed through to cinch it unless the comrades begin to realize that the terms thus far arranged are full of pitfalls. Caution will be necessary lest the federation becomes an absorption instead of a partnership. The plan tentatively agreed to ostensibly gives the Socialists a continuation of their political control in the Milwaukee field, but it also permits the Progressives to develop a dual system of ward organizations in Milwaukee which in the hands of old party politicians can be easily recruited so as to get control, through force of numbers, with the right to make their own nominations—gentlemen's agreements or no gentlemen's agreements.

Old political hacks, who have been put in the shade by the Socialists, would find the LaFollette branches an easy backdoor approach to public office, and they would be willing to stand on any kind of a platform in order to get elected.

The Socialists are to give up their name and their place on the ballot, while the progressives are to retain their column for the federation's use. But the Socialists are to draft the platform, at least at first.

It is felt that some of the dangers indicated can be met by further parleying, provided a hasty referendum does not shut off the opportunity.

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By Charles P. Howard

scene at City Hall upon the occasion of the swearing-in of Charles Solomon as Magistrate. Left to right: Max Zaritsky, President, Millinery Workers' Union; Louis P. Goldberg; David Dubinsky, President, I.L.G.W.; Salvatore Ninfa, Vice-President, I.G.W.; Mayor LaGuardia; Luigi Antonini, First Vice-President, I.L.G.W.; Joseph Twinn, Manager, Local 142, I.L.G.W.; Charles Solomon; Abraham Cahan; Nathan Chavin, President, Workmen's Circle; Morris C. Finestone, Secretary, United Hebrew Trades; Abram Herschkowitz of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Mussolini's American Build-up By William E. Bohn

SAWDUST CAESAR, by George Seldes. Harper and Bros. \$3.

UP to 1933 fascism stood high in America. Mussolini looked handsome. Italian railways ran on time. Great highways, aqueducts and palaces had been built. There were no strikes. The Italian budget had been balanced. Blackshirts in virile ranks swung triumphantly athwart the pages of the rotogravure section. Young ladies returning from Italy were in ecstacy. Democracy really was a bit inferior in the matter of uniforms and thrills.

Adolf Hitler spoiled the picture. It would have paid Mussolini to have had him quietly assassinated. His messing around with the Jews was really disgusting. There are no statistics, but probably he has committed fewer than a tenth as many murders as the big-jawed Italian. But murdering Jews was bad. The Jews are vocal. Some of them are great writers and scientists. The thing got talked about. American trade unions heard about the crushing of the German unions. The Italian unions had been crushed ten years earlier, but that must have happened in a quiet corner. Hitler was soon marked in this country for what he really is. He has spoiled the fascist game.

But he has not ruined it. Mussolini is still a "great" man in America. His personal character is infinitely worse than Hitler's; he has committed ten times as many crimes; his attitudinizing is more ridiculous; his failure as a statesman is quite as clear. Yet America thinks him a great man and a great ruler. The contrast is worth an inquiry.

In slight degree the differences may be due to external circumstances. During the war Germany was the enemy and Italy was an ally. Perhaps Hitler suffers in American estimation because the war-inspired hates have been easily transferred to him. But if this accounts for anything, it doesn't account for much. There are positive reasons for Mussolini's high reputation, and they are American reasons.

Mussolini's Admirers

Read George Seldes' "Sawdust Caesar" and the whole matter will clear. The traitors are in our own

Deport Aliens

(Continued from Page One)

But the Dies-MacFadden statesmanship would not allow them to sit around and live on the dole and private charity; it would deport them.

Some Facts

And there the supporters of that sort of policy stub their toes on the rock of economic facts.

There are in the United States today some 125,000,000 people, and all of them are being fed, housed and clothed. They are not all faring very luxuriously; some of them are comfortably off, but most of them are not. Over ten million of them are jobless, but even they and their families manage to eat. Some are on the dole, some on the breadline, some live on their families. Some of them have been bootlegging jobs and others beg and borrow and steal. But somehow food is found for them.

To feed 125,000,000 people; to clothe them and shelter them—many of them with crusts and in rags, it is true—takes a certain amount of labor.

We have not yet learned to distribute all that work without creating millions jobless, and many millions in misery, uncertainty and distress. Under our inhuman and cruel capitalist system of production for profit there literally is enough work in feeding and clothing us all to go around to all clothed and fed.

MacFadden and Dies have a way 12,000,000 to 15,000,000 people here will be deported. There will be just that much work to be done to feed and shelter those left behind. And joblessness will be proportionally as high as it is now.

But you wouldn't expect Martin Dies or Bernard MacFadden or people who support them to know that, for their minds are filled with prejudices and stupid hates when they are not full of ignorance.

Those proposals are asinine, but alas! the more idiotic a proposal is the better chance it has of being enacted. American politics being what it is.

Only Socialists understand the social and economic forces that create joblessness; only Socialists realize that it is not "furnishers" nor spots on the moon but the profit system—CAPITALISM—that is at the bottom of these evils.

Only Socialists know that the only permanent solution of all the problems arising out of our economic system is Socialism; that the only way to meet the day-to-day problems that face us is to apply the Socialist program, based upon Socialist principles.

And to that end the Socialists dedicate themselves!

A bankrupt nation, ruled by terror and murder, is painted in glowing colors by Americans to help float bond issues here — Seldes' "Sawdust Caesar" rips lid from enslaved nation

camp. Americans have been fooling other Americans about this man and his work. He represents the opposite to all that we have thought of as Americanism. Here democracy has been a sacred doctrine. This man talks of the "putrid carcass of the Goddess of Liberty." Yet Americans have "sold" this man to our public.

Their job is not finished. They are still at it. Most Americans have a sense of disgust when Hitler is mentioned, but Mussolini still looks fine to them. We have a very real boycott of Germany, but there is no effective boycott of Italy. Our people, except for a radical minority, still think of him as a splendid figure. And the dirty work of deception is still being carried on by some of our own citizens. This is what gives this book by George Seldes its importance. He turns the spotlight on where it is needed.

There are two main groups of criminals. We need not count the donkeys who come back and report the punctual trains. Animals of the same breed go to Germany and Russia, go everywhere. The men who have created the "hero" Mussolini have done it deliberately and for reward. They are American bankers and certain correspondents of newspapers and press agencies.

The bankers first. At the end of the war they had developed a magnificent machine for putting over foreign bonds. No one could expect them to junk it. From 1919 to 1929 it was constantly in service. And the mechanism has a catholic taste. Bonds are bonds, whether they are German, Bolivian, British or Italian. They all produce a profit. Seldes gives the total of Italian bonds sold to American investors as \$600,000,000. That took some selling. The myth of Italian solvency had to be put over again and again. Every time the pieces of paper came back into the market the story had to be told anew. Banker publicity has had a large part in giving Mussolini his American build-up.

Leaning heavily on Professor Gaetano Salvemini for material, Seldes punctures the Italian financial myth once and for all. Americans who hold those securities may as well use them for decorative purposes. The Italian budget has never been balanced since Mussolini came in. The figures published have been false. Much of the money from the American loans has been stolen by fascist grafters. As a financial wizard Mussolini has been a good actor.

The Italian Debt

The Italian treasury has concealed its true condition by charging both ordinary and ex-

traordinary obligations with promises to pay. The dates of payment run to 1987, and the amount of these obligations amounted in 1933 to more than seventy-four billion lire. Giving these promises a present valuation of thirty-five billion lire, Professor Salvemini calculates

SAWDUST CAESAR



Always Talking

that since 1922 the Italian national debt has increased fifty-five billions. And the increase goes on at a rapid rate.

Mussolini has been advertised as the Saint George who slew the economic dragon. He has oratorically invited leaders of other capitalist economies to come to him to—decreased population, unemployment, reduced wages, lessened foreign commerce. The depression in other lands, when it came, relieved

the sad situation of the Italian government. After that Mussolini could say: "See, there is trouble everywhere—even in the United States." Since then things have been fed to American newspaper readers. The fact is that in Italy the depression started in 1925 instead of 1929. All the marks of a great economic set-back were there: got worse and worse, business rotten, wages constantly going lower. But America doesn't know it.

There have been pictures of "improvements." Boulevards, palaces, fountains, aqueducts, power plants—everyone of them opened by Benito in person, and with a speech. In Italy a new delicatessen can't be opened without a speech. What is the truth about these bright new wonders? First, they have been largely paid for—as far as they have been paid for at all—out of money lent by Americans. The parts of the loans which have not been stolen by blackshirt heroes or used for ammunition to shoot Socialists or Catholics or someone else have largely gone toward the financing of fine sights for tourists—which, in turn, give new confidence in progress and solvency and so become security for new loans. Professor Salvemini has gathered all the evidence about these improvements, and George Seldes makes capital use of it. Many of them were started while Mussolini was still dodging the police, and the big ones were practically finished before anyone asked his opinion about such things. He got there just in time to stick one hand between his vest buttons, wave the other in the air and open his mouth to claim the credit. He can as well claim credit for building St. Peter's!

No Fascist Magic

In short, the improvements are no proof of prosperity. The capitalist system of Italy has not been stabilized. No other capitalist system lies in such complete ruin. Financiers and industrialists may be pleased at the subjugation of the workers and the low level of wages. But the market is down and their profits are down. Anyone who thinks Italy is a capitalist heaven just doesn't know. The Duce's wand has had no magic to put the Red sea of economic contradictions. Military power has not known how to make economics behave.

The truth has been concealed, the myth has been put over, by the "public relations counsels," by Richard Washburn Child, an ambassador whose salary was paid by the American people, by Isaac F. Marcossan, great "expert" of the Saturday Evening Post. But the chief part in the crime must be

placed on the shoulders of a long list of well-known and highly respected American bankers.

The newspaper men have taken their part in putting over this financial myth, but theirs is a wider responsibility. The whole popular conception of Mussolini's

MURDERED BY MUSSOLINI



Giacomo Matteotti

life and character is pure fabrication. The American correspondents didn't create it, but they knew its falsity and they have passed it on to this country. They have deliberately lied to their countrymen about a set of facts which are of tragic importance in the modern world. There have been bright exceptions. George Seldes himself was driven out of Italy because he told the truth—so were William Bolitho and David Darrah. There are others who have refused to lie. But the great Associated Press still gives us correspondence which is nothing but propaganda. Arnoldo Cortesi, correspondent of the New York Times, and practically all Italians who write for American papers, are helping every day to perpetuate the false picture.

Mussolini's Record

Think for a moment about the notions which these men have put across. In addition to the financial myth, there are three chief misconceptions: that Mussolini is a brave man, a great soldier and patriot, a fine fellow, that he saved Italy from Bolshevism and disorder, that he is more decent, less violent, less cruel than Hitler.

First about his patriotism, his war record. Up to September 21, 1914, Mussolini was not against entrance into the war. The Socialists, trade unionists, anarchists, all the working class and radical

elements in the country were against it. The future patriot was with them, the most radical anti-militarist of all. On Sept. 25 he was just as hot on the other side, and in two weeks he had started his daily, *Il Popolo d'Italia*, to advocate his new nationalistic, militaristic doctrine. Every journalist worth his salt in Italy has known the secret behind this miracle, but it wasn't considered fit to print in the United States. Marcel Cachin, now the leader of Communism in France, met Mussolini in Switzerland, handed him fifteen thousand francs and promised him a subvention of ten thousand a month. That was the price of patriotism. To be sure, this was not a unique case. Both Great Britain and France were "persuading" editors in neutral countries, by no means overlooking the United States. But this is the worst case, the dirtiest case.

Now as to his having downed the Bolsheviks and restored order. In 1921 came the strikes, the disruption of railway service, the occupation of the factories. And Mussolini was violently shouting encouragement to the strikers, the disrupters. By 1922, when he came into power, the strikes were over, the trains were running on time. Peace was restored and "prosperity" was coming back. Business was getting better. And proof of the powerlessness of the Communists lies in the 1921 election returns. In the Chamber of Deputies, where the Socialists had 195 members, the Communists had but 18. This whole fabrication was an afterthought, a piece of propaganda sent out long after to justify violence and dictatorship. In Italy, where the Cheka and the blackshirts contrived the press, it is possible thus to rewrite history. But it could not be done in America without the active cooperation of American journalists.

Murdering Opponents

When I say that Mussolini is a worse man than Hitler, rather than a better one, I am not thinking of the dirtiness of his private life, his ingratitude, his duplicity. I have in mind his public and senseless cruelty. For every man or woman killed, tortured, wrecked by Hitler there have been a hundred done away with by the Italian dictator. The man was always talking of a blood-bath as the symbol of successful revolution. Much to his disappointment he came to power in perfect peace. His blackshirts had murdered and tortured plenty in advance, but the final occupation of Rome and the starting of the government took place without physical opposition. The man couldn't stand it. All the machinery of fascism, of

militia, of police, or Cheka and private vendetta was set in motion. The best and the noblest, Matteotti, Amendola, many others, were cruelly murdered. The Socialists, the Communists, the trade unionists, the Free Masons, the Catholics were set upon everywhere. No one will ever know how many thousands were killed and maimed. Nothing like it has been seen in Germany. And Germany has no prison like the island penal colonies, where thousands are now rotting and dying of the fever.

The Big Danger

Possibly George Seldes' book contains more important matters. There is much about the economic and political origins of fascism, about why and how the thing came to pass. But I am not writing about Italy. I am writing about America. I happen to have finished just recently another book, an American book, Sinclair Lewis' "It Can't Happen Here." American fascism, as Lewis sees it in his imagination, is put over chiefly by means of a newspaper built up. And anyone who recalls Coolidge was built up, how E. H. Clegg was built up, must acknowledge the danger that lies in such nationalistic myth-making.

My point is, not that Mussolini is bad, that fascism is bad, that Italy is in a mess.

What I am driving at is that our bankers and our journalists have put Mussolini and fascism over in a big way in America. This is a distinct danger. Dictatorship is brought nearer because our people are misinformed about it. The sources of our thinking are fouled. The Italian tyrant cannot be blamed for this betrayal. His arm hardly reaches this far—no matter how much money he has spent on American propaganda. Our own people are guilty. They are traitors to the best tradition of their own land.

And to George Seldes must go the credit for having done one journalist's best to set the record straight.

Labor Planning

(Continued from Page One)

"Nor will the workers, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the people, accept the choice of an uncontrolled recovery with its inescapable effect of greater unemployment, want, and privation in the immediate future.

"In the light, therefore, of our experience during the recent years and mindful of the situation with which we are immediately confronted, I submit the following suggestions with regard to the legislative proposals to be considered by this conference.

"1. Further shortening of weekly hours of work without reduction in weekly pay is imperative if the millions of unemployed workers are to be assured employment. Without a complete solution of our unemployment problem, there can be no lasting recovery. It is therefore essential that the principles embodied in the Black-Connery Bill now pending in Congress be made part of any comprehensive legislative proposal brought out of this conference.

"2. Minimum wage standards for women and minors designed to operate on an industry-wide basis are essential to restore for this group at least the wage standards destroyed as the result of the Schechter decision.

"3. Elimination of child labor, of night work for women, and of home work, as well as a number of other uniform standards for regulating employment conditions of workers, must be reestablished.

"4. Since no minimum standards can be maintained or prove effective unless they are supplemented by free and unfettered collective bargaining, there must be established an enforceable guarantee of the workers' right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choice under a majority rule and without interference on the part of the management, for wage earners in all industries. Unstinted enforcement of the National Labor Relations Act and of the Bituminous Coal Conservation Act must prevail.

"5. The standards of hours, wages, and employment discussed in the foregoing proposals should be arrived at through direct participation in their formulation of management and labor organized on a nation-wide basis.

"6. Legislation covering special fields and phases such as governmental protection of labor's rights to bargain collectively, reconstruction of the coal industry, the emergency railway control, protection of the investment structure through the regulation of securities, etc., which has set up major machinery for national economic planning must be coordinated into one comprehensive program designed to achieve balanced recovery and economic stability."

Christmas Carol = Nineteen Thirty-Five

By Eugene Lyons

"Old folk, ill and destitute in the twilight of life; homeless children, orphaned and forgotten; deserted mothers, heart-broken and fearful; crippled fathers, powerless to fend off the woe from their loved ones."

"Read the brave, losing struggle of the aged heroine of Case 5 to make a home for her paralytic brother; of the frail mother of Case 27, who fainted at her work trying to earn for her little folk and her broken husband. Read of the hopeless misery of the seven children of Case 49, and of the forsaken boy of Case 45, who 'wanted to die.'"

RANTING agitator belly-aching about the ills of our capitalist society? A Socialist or Bolshevik alarmist maligning the blessed status quo? Merely a professional side-show barker showing off his chamber of horrors?

Nothing of the sort. It is the staid and dignified old New York Times singing its annual Christmas Carol, proudly exhibiting New York's One Hundred Neediest Cases.

The twenty-fourth annual exhibition of this Roll of Honor. Bigger and better misery every year. "Instances of peculiar misfortune, devastating illness and exceptional distress... unadorned accounts of human suffering."

Tragedies among our fellows, recorded as starkly as they happen. Every item is hand-picked from the counters of the largest private charities, guaranteed genuine and carries a price-tag of the "amount needed." Only space limitations, it is clear, keeps the exhibits to one hundred. A good round number,

but it could easily have been two hundred or a thousand or two hundred thousand.

Not routine garden-variety suffering, either. Our governments, local, State and Federal, are left "to assist the destitute on a scale unprecedented in our history" in the unfortunate "continuing crisis of unemployment." There is no room in this special holiday display for the commonplace of hunger and homelessness.

Step Right Up!

Here you are invited to view the more exquisite diseases in the body social. One hundred select cases of cancer, tumor, economic pestilence, domestic gangrene, social leprosy... each in its own case, neatly labeled.

There is ample evidence of the deft hand of showmanship. Every exhibit is unique. No boring repetitions. A young rabbi, a war veteran, two old stage people, an old nurse, a scrubwoman, a young violinist, a baby of 4, an old man of 80—each with a special brand of noxious misery that will yield only to treatment with \$644 or \$200 or \$475, as the case may be.

All year round the New York Times does its bit to keep up appearances. It is engaged, with all other agencies of respectability, in the permanent save-the-surface campaign. It gives no quarter to the vulgar folk (nice Christmas word!) who try to scrape off the varnish and expose the teeming iniquities underneath.

But once a year it digs one hundred peep holes in the surface and invites the world to take a look. Its technique is infinitely more effective than that of the indignant and ill-mannered agitators. Instead of shrill generalizations—specific exhibits. Instead of invectives against the system—a demonstration in which the system condemns itself.

"To the community," it declares blandly, "the appeal has become an annual educational campaign that

stirs the hearts of the metropolis and informs the citizen of the plight of his neighbors."

100 Peepholes

Is the New York Times aware of the implications of its peep-show of everyday horrors? It does not matter. Even if unconscious, the social propaganda of the thing is remarkably subtle.

Nowhere in the compilation is there the faintest suggestion that the prostrate and suffering men, women and children are in any way responsible for their own plight. On the contrary, the barker goes out of his way to emphasize the courage, high moral character and helplessness of the victims. They are all "deserving" cases—innocent and valorous neighbors tortured for no sins of their own. The lessons of this "annual educational campaign" are plain enough. There is no need to specify

the social moral when it is implicit in every one of the hundred exhibits. We see hard-working, ambitious, patriotic, right-thinking individuals—all of them potentially useful to themselves and their fellow-men—reaping hunger and pain and hopelessness as the rewards of their labor.

Look at the 34-year-old veteran in the Fifth Case, over there in the corner. A war hero at 18. Worked in a factory by day, studied music at night. Reached the heights of conducting his own dance orchestra. Everything in the best Horatio Alger tradition. But he had brought a bad heart from the fields of Flanders and it forced him to give up his career. His young wife went into a laundry and emerged six months later "worn out in health and spirit." The \$35-a-month pension does not suffice for food and medicine, and

the noble young people are sick and starving.

A Nice Case

Or peep into the Eighteenth Case on the other side of the room. Nice, gentle old lady, loves poetry and painting and served humanity. Now destitute in the most genteel style. Listen to the Times guide describing this fine flower of capitalist justice:

"For more than forty years Mary F. worked as a nurse, faithfully easing the pain of the suffering in city hospitals. Now, at 69, she is alone with her cherished books—Keats and Shelley and Tennyson—and with her copy of a Madonna by Raphael, which she painted long ago. Her sight is dimming; she knows that she is going blind, but she is unafraid. She has had to give up painting—though she can still see to read the poetry she loves. It has been ten years since Miss F. was taken ill. Until two years ago she lived on her savings, proudly independent. Then, old and with failing sight, she had to have the assistance of a welfare agency. For one more year, until she is eligible for the old-age pension that will sustain her in the twilight of life, kindly aid is needed to keep her in her two small crowded rooms, which are so deeply stamped with her own personality. Amount needed, \$475."

Now step this way, ladies and gentlemen... Equally innocent, equally pathetic... One hundred selected cases... The cream of the crop...

If I were editing a Socialist paper, I should spread the story in sensational headlines:

"NEW YORK TIMES EXPOSES THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM. ACCUSES SOCIETY OF VIC-TIMIZING DESERVING CASES. STARTLING REVELATIONS OF CAPITALIST HORRORS. HEARTS EXPECTED TO DEFEND SYSTEM AGAINST TIMES DEFAMATIONS."



No Merry Christmas for Them

"The Old Curiosity Shop" Has Film Premiere at World Theatre

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

OLD ILLUSION

"PARADISE LOST." By Clifford

St. The Group at the Long

as long ago this sorry world

to be saved by that vague

ability. The Future. At the

of Lawson's "Procellanial"

and the big moment: the

big with child and in that

ties hope and smiling com-

But today, the drama, for

anacea, its cure-all for the

of the overburdened world,

replaced pregnancy by irrevoc-

Only, in "Paradise Lost,"

and to tell to what extent the

is kidding.

ing by Mr. Odet's earlier

we should think him a ser-

advocate of violent activity

that so many, in naive figure,

a new world. But here Mr.

is a futile visionary, that

is a contradiction a capitalist

ideals. Only a petty capital-

be sure, but then his ideals

petty bourgeois, too: he re-

to "sweat" his workers (as

ne capitalists must!); he re-

to buy arson to collect in-

crease when business is bad. The

asis of the play makes us

that Gordon's partner, the

deal business-man, is more to

united: he wouldn't refrain

violence to achieve his ends.

When the great illumination

of the world to be made,

is upon and exalts the evicted

is, he suddenly a clear-

ed philosopher—or still the

ed visionary, clutching at

straws?

transformation is brought

by two of the unemployed,

by chance from the street.

novels have been growing steadily

in popularity during the inter-

vening years. The greatest of

them, "Pride and Prejudice,"

stands today a landmark in litera-

ture, a book whose wit and under-

standing have endeared it to mil-

lions of readers who find other

novels of the period insupportably

dull.

And now Helen Jerome has

fashioned a play from the im-

mortal novel. Max Gordon's pro-

duction of "Pride and Prejudice"

at the Plymouth Theatre features

Adrianna Allen, Lucile Watson,

Colin Keith-Johnston and Helen

Chandler in the leading roles. In

her dramatization Miss Jerome has

attempted to recapture not only

the mood and spirit but the char-

acters and incidents of the original

novel.

He was especially fortunate

in securing William Edmunds for

cellar role in "Moon Over

erry Street" and the support-

ing including, of note, Valerie

Cast in Max Gordon's

duction of "Pride and

Prejudice" at the Plymouth

erity has a strange way of

ing with authors. Some who

ended in their lifetime sink

into obscurity and the foot-

of the more painstaking

ans. Others, who were

y noticed while they lived

rote, receive their just ac-

com from readers of later genera-

was the case of Jane

who lived and died more

a century ago and whose

George White



Whose much delayed "Scandals" opens Wednesday at the New Amsterdam Theatre

"Frisco Kid" at Palace

James Cagney opens at the Palace today in "Frisco Kid," tale of the Barbary Coast of old San Francisco. An imposing cast, including Margaret Lindsay, Ricardo Cortez, Bart MacLane and Lili Damita, support the star. "Seven Keys to Baldpate," Earl Derr Biggers' novel and famous George M. Cohan stage play, is the second feature with Gene Raymond in the starring role.

Jore Simon and Letitia Ide



Who are appearing in the new Dance League's Solo Recital Sunday evening at the Adelphi Theatre

Brooklyn Strand Offers Two New Film Features

"Miss Pacific Fleet," with that famous quartette of film comedians Joan Blondell, Glenda Farrell, Hugh Herbert and Allen Jenkins, head the double feature program this week at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre. "Too Tough to Kill," with Victor Jory and Sally O'Neill, is the second feature.

DuWorld Films Offer New English Film at World

Charles Dickens was one of the few great writers who have had recognition in their own day and as great popularity after their death. Dickens was truly a writer of the people, and although his works have become literary classics, they have never lost their popularity or reputation as "best sellers."

Dickens lived almost a hundred years ago, but the people he described and the stories he wrote are as vital today as when they were first penned. It is for this reason that Dickens has been one of the favorite giants as far as the motion pictures are concerned.

"David Copperfield," "Great Expectations," "A Tale of Two Cities," "A Christmas Carol," "Mystery of Edwin Drood," and "Dombey and Son" (filmed as "Rich Man's Folly") have all been popular as well as artistic successes in the motion pictures.

Now at the World Theatre, 49th Street off 7th Avenue, motion picture audiences will have an opportunity to see "The Old Curiosity Shop," which was filmed with the aid of great scholars of the author and which was adapted for the screen by Margaret Kennedy, author of "The Constant Nymph."

Besides meeting all the lovable characters created by Dickens, such as Little Nell, Quilp, Kit, Dick Swiveller, Mrs. Jarley and others, the film fans will be introduced to a new star, 14-year-old Elaine Benson, who was chosen from thousands of applicants for the role of Little Nell.

In order to accommodate the many children who are expected to attend "The Old Curiosity Shop," the management will open the theatre every morning at 9 o'clock, starting Saturday and continuing through Christmas week. A special admission price of 25 cents will be available for children during the run of "The Old Curiosity Shop."

WRONG SEASONING

Looking about Broadway, one is struck by the absence of some good plays. Surely any work by so sincere and searching a dramatist as Philip Barry deserves more audience than "Bright Star" secured. And "Achilles Had a Heel" is one further illustration of Broadway's reluctance to rise from its rut; an intelligent play, with an original development and unusual setting, was "killed by the critics" who have praise to spare for routine presentation of sentimental shoddy or tinsel lure of sex. "Winter set," mother of the season's really valid plays, has built up its business by word-of-mouth audience praise, which should undoubtedly have come to "Achilles Had a Heel" had Walter Hampden been able to wait. While it may not be safe to make

Colin Clive



The stage and screen star who has the star role in "Libel" at the Henry Miller's Theatre—"Libel" has been directed by Otto Ludwig Preminger, celebrated Viennese director

Garrison Films Offers List of Movies for Clubs, Unions

The Garrison Film Distributors, Inc., issued their new catalogue of talks in all languages that may be used by labor unions, schools and clubs. Long a specialist in the field of films for organizations, this firm is now equipped with 16mm safety films that are not only non-inflammable but are inexpensive and easily arranged.

The new list issued this week is called The Blue List, which is composed of films produced in America, England, France and the U.S.S.R. Of immediate concern to all labor and fraternal organizations is the fact that these films (talkies) can be shown in union halls, clubhouses, schools, etc., without special fire permits. The Garrison Film Distributors, Inc., through their New York offices, 729 Seventh Ave., supplies films, union operators, projectors, screens and transportation.

a general rule that every play damned by the critics of the capitalist press is good, and every drama they praise is bad, it is assuredly true that there is little the average reviewer can be relied on to tell, of either the social or the artistic value of a new play. It is time for some socially-minded person to organize an audience group, a loosely bound body (without ties or dues) of those interested in good drama, not subscribing to any one repertory theatre's play, but alert to what is going on, and ready at their advisors' call to rush to the rescue (in the critical first two weeks) of any really worth-while play Broadway rust and unintelligent boredom are threatening to kill.

6th SENSATIONAL WEEK!

"LET'S FACE THE FACT BOLDLY..." in every way the French screen version lives up to the greatness of the novel.

—Wm. Roedel, World-Telegram

DOSTOEVSKI'S Classic

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

"Crime et Châtiment"—Over 600 English Dialogue Titles

at 12th St. 25c to 2 P.M.

at LOEWS NEAR YOUR HOME!

BIG HOLIDAY SHOWS!

MUTINY ON THE BOUNTY
Chas. Laughton - Clark Gable - Tone
Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's \$2,000,000 Hit

Week Comm. Tues., Dec. 24th

x-SHERIDAN, 12th St. & 7th Ave.

x-COMMODORE, 6th St. & 2d Ave.

(also aft. of Dec. 31st)

x-DELANCY, at Suffolk St.

(also aft. of Dec. 31st)

x-ORPHEUM, 86th St. & 3rd Ave.

x-116th, bet. Lenox & 7th Aves.

x-VICTORIA, 125th St. W. of 7 Av.

x-BOULEVARD, So. Blvd. West Av.

x-LINCOLN SQ., 66th St. & B'way

x-BURLAND, 955 Prospect Ave.

x-BURNSIDE, Burnside & Walton

x-FAIRMONT, Tremont at Crotona

x-GRAND, Fordham Rd. Jerome Av.

x-NATIONAL, 149th & Bergen Av.

x-167th St., at Jerome Ave.

x-ALPINE, 69th St. & 5th Ave.

x-BEDFORD, at Bergen St.

x-BROADWAY, at Myrtle Ave.

x-CONEY ISLAND, Surf & Stillwell

x-146th St., at Utrecht Ave.

x-GATES, Gates Ave. & B'way

x-KAMEO, E. P'way Nestrand Ave.

x-MELBA, Livingston St. Han. Pl.

x-ORIENTAL, 86th St. & 18th Ave.

Week Comm. Tues., Dec. 24th

o-PREMIER, Sutter Ave. Hinesdale St.

o-WILLARD, Woodhaven, L. I.

x-PLAZA, Corona, L. I.

x-PROSPECT, Main St., Flushing

x-WOODSIDE, Roosevelt Ave.

x-YONKERS, Loew's, So. B'way

(and aft. of Dec. 31st)

x-MT. VERNON, Loew's

(and aft. of Dec. 31st)

x-NEW ROCHELLE, Loew's

(and aft. of Dec. 31st)

WHITE PLAINS, Loew's State

(and aft. of Dec. 31st)

o-ASTORIA, Steinway & Grand

Wed. to Sun., Dec. 25th-29th

o-42nd St., at Lexington Ave.

Thurs. to Sun., Dec. 26th-29th

o-RIO, 160th St. & B'way

Wed. to Sat., Dec. 25th to 28th

o-INWOOD, Dyckman St. Post Av.

Wed. to Mon., Dec. 25th-30th

o-HILLSIDE, Sutphin Blvd. Jamaica

x-Atlas St. Nick, a Happy Harmonies in color

o-Bon Bon Parade, Christmas cartoon in color

Good Drought of Music And Plot in "May Wine"

JUNE MOON

"MAY WINE." By Frank Mandel. Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein II. Music by Sigmund Romberg. At the St. James.

A springtime fancy in the doctor's heart (doctor of psychology, "nut-pick" to you!) and what a chain of frustrations will clank, repressions reap wild oats, com-

Carola Goya in Dance Recital Sunday Evening at 44th St. Theatre

Carola Goya, who returned Wednesday from an autumn tour of four weeks, under the management of Haensel and Jones, which took her to a score of cities east of the Alleghenies, is preparing for her first New York recital of Spanish dances which is scheduled to be given Sunday evening, December 29, at the 44th Street Theatre with the assistance of Beatrice Burford, harpist, and Norman Secon, pianist.

Miss Goya will present twelve dances, all except one with her own choreography developed upon traditional Spanish themes. And the exception, the Fandango Gitano, while one of the oldest dances in Spain, is nevertheless, in a sense, peculiarly Carola Goya's own, at least so far as this country is concerned, for, so far as the records show, no other Spanish dancer ever has included a Fandango on her program here, while this has been one of Miss Goya's most popular numbers.

plexes come strike the solar plexus of our plot! And in May wine is heady, hearts eternally young.

Wherefore there is good humor, as well as good story, in "May Wine," a musical play without chorus, but a good play with good music—and an excellent cast: Walter Slezak, Walter (Wolf) King, Nancy McCord, Patricia Calvert do some effective work, and Jack Cole and Alice Dudley dance so lightly and gracefully we wish they had more to do.

But to our doctor. He is drawn, by music and a money-hunter's plot, into an amour that grows into a deep love, beyond the money-hunter's plans. But just as wife grows to love him, our doctor does on Othello—unjustified suspicion takes deep root—to an ingenious springtime end.

Most of the lyrics are what the baron says should be women's treatment; but a few, as "Somebody ought to be told that I'm deprived" are delightful, as is the music. The play has a genuine and ingenious plot, one of the most valid of this chorusless musical type; and all is merry as a marriage bell, with May wine.

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CAPITOL 8'way at 51st St.
Major Edward Bowes, Mng. Dir.—25c to 1 P.M.

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"A TALE OF TWO CITIES"

GILBERT MILLER presents
"LIBEL!" COLIN CLIVE
Staged by Otto Ludwig Preminger
HENRY MILLER'S THEATRE
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MAXWELL ANDERSON'S
WINTERSET ***
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—Heywood Brown, World-Telegram
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Mass Meeting of Loyal Socialist Party Members Sunday, December 29

MEMBERS of the Socialist Party in New York State should make a note of the big mass meeting in Cooper Union on Sunday, December 29, at 2 p.m. The State Committee will be in session for two days and to this meeting members from all parts of the state are invited. Various members of the State Committee will speak and the meeting will celebrate the rising of the party members against the disruptionists.

Admission will be by special card which members can get in their branches or at the party office, 7 East 15th Street, if they personally call for them.

Yorkville Annual Socialist Christmas Eve Festival

Yorkville Socialists will hold their annual Christmas Eve Festival at their club rooms, 241 East 84th St., Tuesday night. A large tree will be decorated to brighten the club rooms, and "santa" will see that the children of our members and friends are remembered. This occasion is one that sees the reunion of comrades who have moved from the neighborhood, who keep up their interest in our movement, and come to spread the Yuletide tidings at our headquarters.

There will be the usual games, pinocle and otherwise, good eats, smokes and what goes with it. Admission free, and loyal members from other branches are welcome.

LECTURE CALENDAR

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

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 20
William Karlin, "Pages from American Socialist History," No. 811 Boulevard, Hammels, L. I., auspices of Workmen Circle.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 22
Louis P. Goldberg, "Lawless Judges," 204 E. Broadway Manhattan.
August Claessens, "Fundamentals of Socialism," 95 Avenue B, Manhattan.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 23
Jessie W. Hughan, William E. Fourn, debate "Should Socialists Approve of Sanctions," Studio, W.E.V.D., Hotel Claridge, 44th St. and Broadway, Manhattan.

Women's Conference Plans War on High Prices

(Continued from Page One)
mediate fight, it should be borne in mind that a real solution to the problem of freeing the city from the grip of food monopolies requires the setting up of non-profit public authorities with central purchasing agencies to handle the city's needs in food and fuel.

Referring to the utility services, Waldman pointed out that the only adequate solution would be public ownership. He expressed regret at his inability to attend the opening session on account of illness.

Public Ownership
The Socialist view was further emphasized by Algernon Lee, City Chairman of the party, when he called for the public ownership of all the socially necessary services and means of production. He expressed the view that the interests of the farmers and the industrial workers were not identical, but that these differences could only be bridged by broad social planning and the adoption of the principle of production for use. Lee praised the Socialist women who took the initiative in launching the drive against the high cost of living.

The Federal administration was represented by Donald E. Montgomery, Consumers' Counsel of the A.A.A., and the city administration by Frances Foley Gannon, Second Deputy Commissioner of the Department of Markets. Mrs. Gannon read an address prepared by the A.A.A. Fellowes Morgan who had been scheduled to speak, was unable to attend.

City statistics on payrolls and living costs showed that food prices were not out of line with other prices. Montgomery was urged to transfer their emphasis from the question of increasing production to the question of balancing the products of industry with those of agriculture. Marie B. MacDonald, chairman of this session, countered with the statement that it was not up to the government to increase production, but that the captains of industry, those who own the machines of production, to provide employment for the millions who wish to work and are deprived of the opportunity.

"If the solution of this grave condition to beat down present food prices," Montgomery asked, "is to build up employment and income so that consumers have enough money with which to buy the food they need? You will not find the answer to it in requiring farmers to sell their products so cheaply that every one, regardless of income, may buy all the food he needs. Food prices were lower in 1932 than at any time since the war. Even so, millions of people had to go without adequate diet because they lacked sufficient income."

Taxes and Rents

Housing occupied the attention of the conference during the second session on Sunday morning. B. Charney Vladeck, member of the New York City Housing Authority and Manager of the Jewish Daily

Polin Dinner in Baltimore

One of the ablest and best loved Socialists in Maryland is Morris L. Polin of Baltimore, whose sixth anniversary of activity in the Socialist and Labor movement will be celebrated Sunday evening, Dec. 22, in the Workmen's Circle Lyceum, 1029 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore.

A dinner will be served and a union orchestra will render a musical program. Organizations that will participate are the Socialist Party, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, including the Joint Board, the Workmen's Circle, Jewish Socialist Verband, the Ladies' Clubs of the Workmen's Circle, and Bakers' Union, Local 209.

Lectures on Social Problems Free at Cooper Union

The department of Social Philosophy has brought a prominent group of lecturers to the platform at Cooper Union. Contemporary social needs and essential problems of a free and democratic society, in line with the principles of liberal education and philosophy, have been discussed by such men as Everett Dean Martin, lecturer and writer, Dr. G. F. Beck, of New York University, and many others. Admission is free to all these lectures, which are held Sunday, Tuesday and Friday evenings in the Great Hall of Cooper Union, 8th St. and Astor Place. Open forum discussion follows every talk.

Forward, charged that excessive taxes were in part responsible for high rents, and this condition grew out of the fact that "for many years real estate speculation and politics went hand in hand."

Vladeck pointed out that the tax value of real estate determined the borrowing capacity of the city; therefore the assessed valuation of real property bore no relation to actual values. He praised the Dutch system of taxing income from real estate holdings rather than hypothetical valuations.

According to Vladeck, the Federal Housing Administration was a fraud from the standpoint of the consumer. "Eighty per cent of what it did," he said, "was to pay people to pay banks. The government poured hundreds of millions of dollars into making frozen assets liquid for the benefit of the banks, and now the banks refuse to provide liquid assets for housing." He referred to his recent European trip, and eloquently praised the Socialist housing experiment in Holland. Vladeck was warmly applauded.

The best way to put through an adequate housing program, according to Langdon W. Post, Chairman of the New York Housing Authority, was "to get on your hind legs and holler."

Modern Housing
Mr. Post called upon the women to "put this thing into politics; make it an issue until all political parties accept it." The Labor Party was first to take it up in England. "But now even the Conservative Party has included housing as part of its program," Mr. Post pointed out.

Catherine Bauer, executive secretary of Labor Housing Conference, and author of one of the standard books on this subject entitled "Modern Housing," presented an impressive array of statistics. She warned the delegates of a pending shortage in housing which faces the country unless prompt public aid was forthcoming. Otherwise, she predicted, rents would double and slums would get progressively worse.

Miss Bauer urged careful study of proposed housing legislation, and called for support of such bills as the one being proposed by Senator Wagner. She expressed doubt that "many of them will be in the interest of the consumer and of labor." Bertha H. Mailly of the Rand School was chairman of the morning session.

The closing session was devoted to "The Utilities and the Consum-

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Buffalo Insurrectionists Claim Recognition of N.E.C.

Special to The New Leader
BUFFALO.—A dual organization to Local Buffalo of the Socialist Party has been organized, composed of the expelled insurrectionists and others who resigned in sympathy with them. They assert that they have advance knowledge that they will be recognized by the National Executive Committee!

Magistrate Charles Solomon, Leland Olds, Secretary of the New York State Power Authority, and Maurice P. Davidson, Commissioner of the Department of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity, were in substantial agreement on the immediate step, that of forcing legislation for a yardstick power plant. However, Solomon was considerably beyond this proposal when he urged "outright government ownership and operation of all utilities."

Program of Conference

All three speakers pointed to the importance of this issue, which they maintained must be judged in terms of the uses which electricity could be put to if rates were low enough. In Ontario, Canada, the average family uses three times as many kilowatt hours of electric current as we do in New York, for approximately the same cost. Gertrude Weil Klein, contributor to The New Leader, was chairman of the Sunday afternoon session.

The delegates gave tacit approval to the immediate program proposed by The Women's Conference as a basis for future activity. The six points of this program were:

1. Establishment of public markets to eliminate the useless middle man, the city to buy essential foods direct from the producers and sell to the people at cost.
2. Establishment by the city of a city-wide milk distribution service and sell to the people at cost.
3. Establishment of a city-owned and operated power plant and other utilities to serve the people at cost.
4. Speedy slum clearance and comprehensive construction of healthful, comfortable low rental houses.
5. Increase in appropriations for adequate medical attention and for ample lunches to all children in our public schools.
6. Abolition of present sales tax. Abolition of exempt tax on profit-bearing incomes. Establishment of steeply graded tax on luxuries, incomes and inheritance.

Gerhart H. Seger Lectures in New York City

Gerhart Seger will speak in and around New York City the next few weeks. Last Saturday he spoke to a large audience in Jersey City under the auspices of Local Hudson County, Socialist Party, the most successful held there in years. Comrade Seger held his audience spellbound with his recital of Socialist heroism in Germany.

Geo. H. Goebel and August Claessens also spoke, with the result that a large number of New Leader subs were obtained, new members signed up and a good stock of literature sold.

Last Monday Seger addressed an audience that crowded every inch of space in the headquarters of the Williamsburg Branch and here also new members and subscriptions were obtained.

Thursday, Jan. 2, Seger will speak for the reorganized Y.P.S.L. A large audience of young people will hear him tell of the Socialist youth in several European countries, their form of organization, their activities and their relations to the Socialist Parties and the Labor Movement.

He will also speak on Friday, Jan. 3, for the Brighton Beach S.P., Branch Forum, at 1114 Brighton Beach Ave.; Monday, Jan. 6, in the Auditorium of the Amalgamated Cooperative Houses Branch S.P.; Tuesday, Jan. 7, at 95 Avenue B, Manhattan, 6th A.D. Branch; Wednesday, Jan. 8, Savoy Mansion, 64th St. and 20th Ave.; Brooklyn; Bensonhurst S.P. Br.; Thursday, Jan. 9, Arcadium Hall, Dover, N. J., Local Dover, S.P.

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Penna. Socialists Flay WPA State Administrator

Special to The New Leader
PITTSBURGH.—The State Committee of the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania in a statement characterized a speech made at Wilkes-Barre by E. H. Jones, State WPA Administrator, in reference to the Conference of Trade Union and Unemployed groups, held at Harrisburg recently, as "conclusive evidence that the man is unfit to be vested with authority to determine the welfare of millions in this state."

The statement, signed by the party's state chairman, Mayor-elect J. Henry Stump of Reading, and Executive Secretary Sarah Ambach, concerned particularly that part of Jones' speech in which he referred to the delegates to the Trade Union and Unemployed Conference "as motly a mob as ever spit tobacco juice against the marble walls of any capitol."

"Heretofore, obviously, expectorating tobacco juice in capitol halls has been the prerogative only of politicians," the statement continues, "but Mr. Jones was not present at the conference and therefore made this observation as his judgment of those who seek an explanation of his activities as head of the Works Relief Administration of this state."

"Evidently this Democratic official, with power far beyond his intellectual scope, proposes to add abuse to a relief program which is neither adequate or humane. It is long since any native industrial overlord or even any foreign monarch or dictator dared to speak of the people in such manner."

"This motly mob, representatives of the trade unions and the unemployed, who were addressed by President John Phillips of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, State Representative Darlington Hoopes of Perks County and Rabbi Philip Bookstaber of Harrisburg, will ere long prove to be the undoing of the political careers of not only Mr. Jones, but of all those who have the power to remove him and failed to act."

A Correction
The New Leader of December 7 carried an announcement that the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of California had endorsed The New Leader. The committee asks that we announce that the endorsement included the American Leader and Socialist Call and that it recommended "these papers to our members."

The California organization apparently desires to maintain a neutral position on the party conflict and we are glad to make this correction.

Portchester Repudiates Bolters' Convention

At a meeting in the home of Leonard Bright in New Rochelle, Westchester County, at which a minority of the members was present, a majority of one—7 to 6—voted to send a delegate to the secession convention.

The Portchester Branch, in the same county, a majority of members being present, repudiated the action of the New Rochelle Branch. Portchester contains the majority of the members of the county.

Carl Parsons, State Committee-man from Westchester, reports that of 200 members in the county only 38 will follow the secessionists.

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PARTY NEWS

Upper West Side.—Our branch, by a vote of 41 to 34, voted loyalty to the Socialist Party and elected a new Executive Committee which will meet Monday, Dec. 23, at home of Comrade A. Presser, The West Side Forum will be initiated. A general membership meeting has been called for Sunday, Dec. 22, at 2 p. m., at the Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves. Tentatively scheduled to speak are I. Minkoff, Matthew M. Levy and N. Minkoff. County Chairman George I. Steinhilber will preside.

2nd A.D. meets Monday, Dec. 23 at Paradise Manor, Mt. Eden and Jerome Aves. Important! Amalgamated Cooperative Branch.—Branch meeting last Monday passed the following resolution unanimously: "We pledge our loyalty and support to the City Central Committee and Executive Committee of the Socialist Party at 7 E. 15th St." The financial secretary was instructed to send the City Office a check for \$25, pledged at the People's House meeting Dec. 8.

A social and card party will take place Saturday evening, Dec. 21, at Shifra's Tea Room, 3975 Sedgewick Ave., instead of the Sholem Alechem Cafeteria. August Ann Claessens, will spend the evening with us.

7th A.D.—The social of our branch will be held Christmas Eve, at our new headquarters, 791 Elmore Place, Bronx (Workmen Circle School 2). August Claessens will speak. Refreshments.

KINGS
Midwood Branch.—Business meeting Monday, Dec. 23, at Kingsway Mansion, 1602 Avenue P, 8:30 p. m.

BRONX
Upper 8th A.D. Branch.—Our Branch cast a unanimous vote expressing its loyalty to the Socialist Party and the State organization and voted to uphold decision of the Bronx County Committee in recalling previous officers and electing new officers in their place and additional members to the County Executive Committee in place of bolters. Branch also voted to express its sympathy for the family of our deceased Comrade Philip Geliebter.

NEW YORK STATE
State Committee.—The State Committee is to hold a two-day session in New York City Dec. 28 and 29. Members of the S.E.C. will meet the State Committee.

State Membership.—The report of the National Office on stamps taken by the several states for the eleven months of 1935, ending Nov. 30, shows that New York had 20% of the total party membership of the country, compared with 18% for the calendar year 1934, and 16% for the calendar year 1933.

Sullivan County.—The Workmen's Circle Forum is to hold its sessions every Sunday during the winter at the Woodridge High School. The South Fallsburg Branch has requested the services of Louis P. Goldberg of New York as speaker at the Riverside Hotel on January 3.

EUGENE LYONS AT THE RAND SCHOOL

Eugene Lyons, author of "Moscow Carrousel," will speak at the Rand School, 7 E. 15th St., Friday, December 20th, at 8:30 P. M., on "News and Literature Under Dictators."

Special Sale at Jackfin's

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

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Women's Committee Expresses Thanks

The Rand School Women's Committee wishes to express its deep appreciation for the generous cooperation of friends in helping to make its recent Thrift and Rummage Sale so great a success. In spite of the little time we had in which to prepare and gather merchandise, we succeeded beyond our hopes.

We are most grateful that the Rand School has so many warm friends and we shall continue to hope for their support.

Bolters May Lose in the One Boro They Had Controlled

Queens County in Greater New York is the only borough which Socialists had conceded to the "militant" Communist alliance on secession. To the consternation of the alliance the vote in Queens, just before The New Leader goes to press, shows a secession majority of only 16! The vote is 80 for and 64 opposed. Complete returns may even wipe out this slender majority. More about Queens next week.

Dr. Hughan—Bohn Debate

An interesting discussion on the attitude of Socialists toward war, sanctions and the League of Nations will be held in the Studio of W.E.V.D. on Monday, Dec. 23, at 8:30 p. m., at Hotel Claridge, 44th St. and Broadway, before the Chelsea Branch. Dr. Jessie W. Hughan and William E. Bohn will discuss the subject.

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

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CORSET and BRASSIERE WORKERS' UNION, Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., 96-5th Ave., New York City; ALG. 4-6727. Abraham Snyder, Manager.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th St., New York City; TOMpkins Square 6-5400. L. Hollander, J. Catalano, Managers; Abraham Miller, Sec'y-Treasurer.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union, Office and headquarters, 910 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn; STAGG 2-0708. Regular meetings 1st and 3rd Mondays. President: Robert Glass; Vice-President, Stephen Tolson; Business Agent, Morris Reiss; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Bell.

JOINT BOARD DRESS AND WAIST-MAKERS' UNION, 232 West 40th St., New York City; LONGacre 3-5100. Board of Directors meets every Monday evening. Joint Board meets every Wednesday evening in the Council Room at 212 W. 40th St., Julius Reichman, Gen. Manager; Philip Kapp, Sec'y-Treasurer.

Women's Neckwear Union at Rand Playhouse

The performance of "The Question Before the House" at the Rand Playhouse is taken for this Saturday night's performance by the Ladies' Neckwear Makers' Union, Local 142 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers. Joseph Tuvim, manager, has arranged to take almost the entire house. A few tickets are still available.

On New Year's Eve the Rand Playhouse is sponsoring a dance in the auditorium of the People's House with entertainment, dancing to a well-known orchestra, refreshments and promises of a grand time for all. Tickets at Rand School office.

Dr. Hughan—Bohn Debate

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NEW LEADER

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

JAMES ONEAL, Editor

WM. M. FEIGENBAUM, Associate

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

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CHRISTMAS

It is a sorry world, a world of desolation, a world of fears, of suspicion between nations, of workmen without work, of vast armaments, of fascist madmen, of ill-fed children, of idle resources, of stagnant commerce and civilization in the doldrums. When James Watt plumbed the secret of steam power while looking at his tea kettle, he never anticipated the monstrous things which would grow out of his invention.

Today we live in a mechanical age. We have harnessed machines to do the work of the world. Man has weighed the planet on which he lives. He has plumbed the ocean's depths, discovered solar systems, determined the chemical composition of stars, brought millions of planets millions of light years nearer the earth. Man has conquered the air and explored the mysteries of force and matter. He has hunted out invisible microbes and made known their history. He has told the story of his own history from the time when the first living cell floated in an unknown sea.

But man has not learned how to feed, house, clothe and educate the human race! He has built societies in which classes face each other in antagonism, one to exploit and the other to be exploited. We still fight over food as our shaggy ancestors of the jungle did hundreds of thousands of years ago. And there is enough for all!

Capitalism, hideous, monstrous and dying. Speed its passing!

But we cannot say Merry Christmas. That would be to mock tens of millions of our class throughout the world.

LaGUARDIA IN BAD COMPANY

It would take a cleverer casuist than Mayor LaGuardia will ever be to excuse his participation in the meeting held in Madison Square Garden last Saturday—ostensibly a humanitarian gathering for the relief of suffering among Italian soldiers, but in purpose and effect, as the Mayor well knew, a war rally on behalf of Mussolini's cruel dictatorship at home and his brigand war in Africa.

If Mr. LaGuardia was proud of associating himself with Sirovich, Cotillo, Pecora and Generoso Pope, we surely do not grudge him that honor. But he cannot then dissociate himself from the praise which Sirovich lavished on the "cultural achievements" of Italian fascism, nor from the cynical speech of Cotillo, justifying the slaughter of Ethiopians to serve official Italy's economic needs, nor from Pecora's clear intimation that he is proposing to support a fascist movement here, nor from the utterances of Pope before the meeting, in which there was no attempt to conceal its real nature.

Fiorello LaGuardia has many amiable qualities. He has said and done many good things. His fatal weakness is that he tries "to be all things unto all men," and is always getting into bad company. He is not a fascist and does not intend to become a fascist—but if he mixes himself with fascists now, what assurance have we that at some more critical moment in the future he will not get into the same bad company?

A NEW NAME FOR AN OLD THING

The great thinkers in the Kremlin have given the stamp of their approval to a new method of industrial activity; that is, they have given a new name to an old thing, and Bolsheviks being what they are they have already made a religion of it.

Indeed, the shootings have begun. Foes of what is called Stakhanoffism are being "liquidated." A great All-Union Congress of Stakhanoffists has been held, with a snappy 6,000-word speech by Stalin to bless the movement.

And what is this Stakhanoffism? It is supposed to be the invention of one Alexei Stakhanoff, a Russian worker; but in reality it's our old friend, the sweating speed-up system. Maybe Russian industry needs speeding up, but American workers need it about as much as they need the small-pox. But that doesn't deter the valiant Stalinists. First their daily organ printed Comrade Stalin's speech in full; second, they began to explain that Stakhanoffism is a wonderful thing; third, they are beginning very uneasily and nervously to explain the difference between being sweated and worked to a nervous frazzle in an American factory and being worked to a nervous frazzle and sweated in a factory in Stalingrad.

There is one aspect of this new Soviet fad that may rise up to embarrass the Stalinists. They must, of course, give three rousing cheers for anything that Stalin gives three rousing cheers for; that's why a ferris wheel or a hot-dog stand is a wonderful thing in a "park of culture and rest" but vulgar in Coney Island. And so they must display pure proletarian ecstasy over Stakhanoffism; and they must also seek close affiliation with the organized workers.

How they can come to the organized workers bearing garlands for the brow of the inventor of a sweating speed-up system only Browder can say. But, then, that's what Bolshevism means. One who embraces the true Kremlin faith must check his brains, his initiative and his originality outside.

... And Good Will to Men



Here are some selected scenes from the past few months, giving a picture of a world in which the Christmas bells will peal a message of Peace on Earth. Workers on strike against intolerable conditions; workers on strike against miserable wages; workers on strike to win shorter hours, workers on strike to win a modicum of human self-respect. And in every case they are treated like outcasts, slugged, beaten, bayoneted, gassed. And in every case the police that clubs them, the militia that bayonets and gasses them, the judges who jail them have been sent by mayors and governors ELECTED BY THE VOTES OF THE VERY MEN AND WOMEN WHO ARE BEING JAILED, SLUGGED, BAYONETTED AND GASED. And that is a thought for this very merrie Christmas Day!

Christmas 1935

By Chester M. Wright

CHRISTMAS, just around the corner.

Tales of joy on every hand. Tales of woe on every hand.

One of the troubles with a season of happiness is that so many don't have much to be happy about.

So many don't have anything. Not even any hope of anything.

Poets have made songs about sleigh bells at Christmas, but there will be snow only over a part of the country and in many places where there is snow there won't be any fuel to make the heat required to create comfort in the midst of cold.

And there are no sleigh bells in the Carolinas. Not much of anything to take the mean edge off the misery of unemployment.

No sleigh bells in Georgia, either. Commander-in-chief Talmadge isn't bringing any joy of any other kind, either.

MEANWHILE the moguls of business are ranting against taxes. They are willing to let the jobless ones shrivel up in their joblessness.

They will fight taxes for unemployment insurance and for old age relief. They seem to think they have got the hungry ones licked and that they can now be thrown over the fence without either compunction or danger.

They are a great lot—those organized business men.

They seem to think that business is something marked off, apart from the rest of our social existence and that it has a fence around it, marked "strictly private."

They seem to think the nation has no right to be concerned about it, no right to impose laws upon it, no right to even try to find a loophole through which to have a look at what goes on.

WHEN private business indulges in practices that hurt the millions, then we have to do something about those practices.

That's all the people want to do.

That's what business doesn't want.

That's where the conflict comes. That's where the issue is buried.

It is a particularly interesting thing to face this just at Christmas time.

You can write down for yourself the facts about it all and you can see which facts do not square with the Christmas idea. In that way, you can be just as good a judge as anybody.

You will find it very interesting to try. Forget about labels. Just take the facts, sort them out and see where they fit with rights and wrongs.

It is a nice time for the Supreme Court to be going into action, too, to see just how far the people can go in governing themselves under a representative form of government.

It will be interesting to see which kind of thinking the court will do in weighing issues that will have a great deal to do with whether there is to be help for the otherwise helpless. That's about what it comes to.

It is interesting that just as Christmas approaches, the lines of conflict and struggle are being drawn.

There is little interest in peace, for there is no peace. There is strife and the prospect of strife.

The poor will read the Christmas story and they will know, too, that if they are to have the rights and safeguards of a decent freedom, they have got to fight for them.

The privileged and over-fat will read the Christmas story and somehow they will make their privilege and their fat fit in with it, to their satisfaction. And they will push forward their plans to keep their privilege by fighting for it.

Everywhere everyone will know that struggle is the order of the day.

The New Leader Book Corner

All books reviewed here can be secured through the Round Book Store, 7 East 15th St., N. Y. City.

The Militia

THE MILITIA. By Walter Wilson. New York: Tomorrow Publishers.

THIS pamphlet of 32 pages tells the story of the use of the state militia against strikers and presents many cases of the perversion of the use of such police forces. Some of the instances cited run back two and three decades and the story is brought down to the present period with the consideration of dangerous bills either signed or pending at Washington.

About twenty-five years ago Socialists and trade unionists made a fight against a militia bill introduced by Congressman Dick of Ohio. It was a particularly vicious measure and it is unfortunate that the author did not include some reference to this notable struggle.

The pamphlet carries much information that is useful and helpful in combatting the militarist trend since the end of the World

War. Of a Nebraska Governor, however, who threatened compulsory arbitration the author says that this is "always a sign of fascism." This appears to us as an exaggeration. New Zealand had compulsory arbitration over twenty years before fascism appeared and a few other nations have had legislation that was a near approach to it long before Mussolini made his march on Rome. There is reaction, to be sure, but all reaction is not necessarily fascism.

Pseudo-Science Flayed

GENETICS AND THE SOCIAL ORDER. By Dr. Mark Graubard. Tomorrow Publishers, New York. 50 cts. cloth 75 cts.

THIS is a timely contribution to genetic research. At a time when irresponsible politicians and fascist scoundrels are busy concocting pretty theories of racial superiority to explain their excesses and mistakes this pamphlet is of great value in exploding such pseudo-scientific balderdash.

A brief introduction flays the pseudo-scientific explanations of theories of racial superiority emanating from fascist countries. A brief, Christmas cartoon.

Graubard then presents a short exposition of the scientific view of heredity and evolution. He demonstrates the futility of attempting to rigidly define such loose terms as race and nationality which are the stock in trade of the Mussolinis, Hitlers, Goebbels and Streichers. "The term 'race,'" says Dr. Graubard, "... was not introduced into our language by biologists but by politicians and journalists." Of special interest to Socialists is a thorough consideration of the concept of "human nature." One cannot afford to miss Dr. Graubard's chapter on this subject which also appraises schools of psychology like that of Freud.

The work is thoroughly refreshing and stimulating to all students of this theme.

Joseph Mandelson.

A Distinguished Liberal "LIBERALISM AND SOCIAL ACTION." By John Dewey. New York: Minton, Balch. \$1.50.

THE most advanced liberal in this country is John Dewey, certainly our foremost authority on education and a kindly philosopher who earnestly seeks a way out of the wreck and ruin of capitalism. Dedicated to the memory of the late Jane Addams, the three

Unemployment, a Disease of the Capitalist Order

By Morris Hillquit

UNEMPLOYMENT is not a natural or necessary incident of industrial life, but a specific disease of the capitalist order. The people always need clothes, food, buildings, fuel, tools, means of transportation, amusement and countless other things which go to make up the requirements of everyday modern life, and workers are always needed to produce these things.

A rational and socialized system of wealth production would be based on an accurate determination of the needs of the whole people of a country, the extent of its natural resources, and the full number of its available workers. Such a system would receive from each worker an amount of labor required to keep the community going, and labor would be evenly distributed, regular and continuous.

But our present system of producing and distributing wealth is not organized on a rational plan and has no relation to the needs of the people as consumers or producers. Our industries are managed by numerous competing and conflicting private interests, individual or corporate, operating planlessly and purely for personal gain. The inevitable result is disorder and chaos.

From time to time manufactured commodities accumulate beyond the ability of the people to absorb. The workers get back in wage equivalent only a part of their product. They cannot collectively repurchase the things which they have collectively created. The idle

minority of the population is no numerous enough to consume surplus. The "excess" stock of goods cannot be exported. In times like the present, when most foreign countries have been paperized by war, they have no means to import goods.

The accumulated stock of goods, therefore, remains a drag on the market. It depresses prices and renders it unprofitable to produce more. Factories and plants are shut or their working forces curtailed. Diminished production affects the transportation services, and most other lines of industrial activity. Their earnings are reduced and so is their purchasing power. At a time when the greatest industrial need of the country is to deplete the accumulated and undigested stock of commodities, the people are least able to buy. Overproduction is aggravated by underconsumption.

When the disproportion between supply and demand is relatively mild, industrial stagnation and unemployment are of short duration. When it happens to reach large dimensions, the situation is apt to lead to an industrial crisis, which may last for years and throw millions of workers out of employment.

The government may relieve the misery of unemployment to some extent by various measures often suggested and sometimes tried. But all such measures are of necessity inadequate.

No radical method can be devised to overcome the evil under a system of private competitive industries. The cure for unemployment is Socialism.

"Recipients of Relief" Have No Right to Go on Strike

By Gertrude Weil Klein

THE "untouchables" in our complex American society are threatening a concerted movement against the starvation wages paid on WPA projects. In Iowa, a convention of labor union leaders and representatives of unemployed councils has voted a statewide strike for "prevailing" wage-rates, and the reactionary daily press is enraged at the "postponement" of such a threat on the part of "recipients of public relief."

Says the Herald-Tribune: "If the threat of a strike is to be taken at all seriously, then the situation is full of dynamite—not for the public treasury, but for a whole relief system which can lead to such preposterous results as a threat of a 'strike' by recipients of public relief to increase the sums they would like to have paid them."

There we are! "Recipients of public relief!" A class apart, pariahs, outcasts! How we got there, doesn't matter! How we feel about being there, doesn't matter! Harassed, ridiculed, hounded, we are "recipients of public relief." Against us must be enacted "numerous clauses." Once we were unemployed workers; once we were even "fellow-citizens" with votes on election day; once we were the "back-bone of our great nation"; once we were tailors, miners, cotton growers, teachers, actors, bookkeepers; poets, dreamers, baseball fans, potential consumers—now we are "recipients of relief!"—a class apart. And we outcasts presume to say how much we are to be paid on relief jobs; Don't we know they've figured all that out for us? Who are we anyway? "Recipients of public relief!"

THE High Cost of Living BELIEVE in miracles. With everything against us, including the weather, the Women's Con-

ventions, the weather, the Women's Con-

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ference on the High Cost of Living, was a success. Whatever you can ascribe it to, one thing is certain—a great deal of work and quite a little money went into it. The money that was spent was money that didn't exist. It is now being raised. The theatre party being held this week, from all indications, will chalk up another success to the credit of the Women's Committee and help pay the bills of the conference. The Women's Committee of the Board of School also, put over a very successful affair last week, a Rummage Sale, which netted them over \$1,000. I believe in miracles.

AT the recent communion breakfast of the Catholic Social Workers Guild, Miss Martha Byrne, Registrar of New York County, favored the passage of a law calling for the deportation of all who admit they are Communists and who are not citizens, and for the imprisonment of all citizens holding communistic beliefs.

Where does the woman think she is—in Russia? Heaven knows, she's bad enough here already, with Tampa, Fla., and Teri Haute, Ind., and other terroristic spots.

COLUMNISTS on the daily papers get all sorts of gifts from all sorts of people; private persons, advertisers, firms. I don't know how they work it, so I have to try this rather simple, if not primitive method of hinting. The other day, I read my column about buying a sable coat, and I went and bought a sable coat. My wife said, "You're a good girl." I said, "I'm glad I've bought it. It's warm, but now I need more books for a time. I can't buy G. B. Seldes' 'Freedom of the Press' or 'Sawdust Caesar' or 'History of the American Federation of Labor.' You've got to be good. But I think that's all for today."

activity are cooperatively controlled and used in the interest of the effective liberty and the cultural development of the individuals that constitute society.

Socialists will also dissent with some other views of the author but he who would understand the best that is in contemporary liberalism will have to consult this interesting little book.

J. O.

Schwartz on WEVD for New Leader Dec. 24

ALEXANDER SCHWARTZ will speak on "Basic Causes of Depressions." Tuesday night at 10 over WEVD for The New Leader.

Dr. Frank Bohn will speak for The New Leader Dec. 31st at the same hour on "New Year's Greetings to the Working Class."

Up-State Socialists Strongly Repudiate Bolters

Oneal Plays N. E. C. Plan To Recognize Faction

Refuses to Serve as "Official Observer" at Secessionist Convention; "Militants" Treason to Party Exposed in Strong Statement

TWO motions are pending in the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party on the secession in New York. One proposes that a committee of five members of the N.E.C. be sent as "observers" to the state conference called by the secessionists. The second names the committee — Krzycki, Hoopes, Oneal, Thomas and Senior.

The proposal to send a committee not to the local and state organization of the party in New York, but to a secession conference, is the most startling phase of the drama of disruption that has yet occurred. More amazing is the fact that the leader of the secession, Norman Thomas, is named as one of the "observers."

James Oneal, a member of the N.E.C., has voted No on both proposals and has announced that he will not serve as an "observer" of the second stage of the secession. He has given his reasons for his action in the letter below to members of the N.E.C. He erroneously mentions Comrade Hoan as one of the proposed "observers." This was based upon an earlier report that Comrade Hoan was listed in the committee of five.

Actions of a majority of the N.E.C. on the disruption in New York State may now be summarized as follows:

Early this year the N.E.C. adopted a motion by Coolidge requiring New York State to "show cause" why the charter of the state should not be revoked. This reversed the democratic processes observed by all democratic organizations and even by capitalist courts. It is like asking a man accused of murder to show cause why he should not be hanged. New York, of course, refused to respond to such an oligarchic procedure and the majority of the N.E.C. did not get away with it.

The next move was a motion by Norman Thomas to send a committee of three to investigate Local New York, he naming the committee. He added that unless the committee he picked was chosen he wanted no committee at all. This was bad enough, but when it is remembered that Thomas is the leader of the special machine in New York City which brought on all the trouble, need anything more be said?

Now it is proposed that a committee of the N.E.C. shall ignore the local and state organizations and go to a secession conference to "observe" its actions! With this introduction, our readers will be interested in the following comment by Oneal on the proposal that a committee "observe" secession in action.

Comment by Oneal

I vote No on motions 48 and 49, and the following comment will serve for both:

"Militants" have seceded from the party in New York City and it is proposed to send Krzycki, Thomas, Oneal, Hoopes and Senior to a state conference called by the secessionists as observers, these observers to report their observations to the next meeting of the N.E.C. Why Comrade Hoan agreed to this proposal I do not know, but do not question his good intentions. Comrade Hoopes was not present and is not a party to the proposal. Thomas and Krzycki bear the responsibility for the secession, especially Thomas, who has for several years been the counselor and leader of the secessionists. As observers, both Krzycki and Thomas constitute a farce.

Let me say at the outset that I do not serve as one of the observers. My reasons are obvious. In the first place, this proposal is quite in contrast with the action taken on the Indiana case. In that state a referendum was pending proposing secession, and without any attempt to get responsible state officials to abandon it, the charter of the state was suspended within less than three days. By "mistake" my notice of this proposal was also received by slow mail while other members received it by airmail. Swift action was taken against those who were not yet secessionists but contemplated secession.

Recognizing Bolters
Now that secession from the party in this state is an accomplished fact, the proposals before us are that the N.E.C. actually send a committee of five to observe and report upon a conference that is intended to make the local secession a state-wide secession! What tender solicitude for secessionists in New York and what bitter resentment against proposed secession in Indiana!

The course proposed in these two

motions actually means semi-recognition by five members of the N.E.C. of secession from a state organization whose members are affiliated with the national organization. I will not be a party to it, and I hope that Comrades Hoan and Hoopes will not be parties to such an amazing and outrageous procedure.

The motion itself is disingenuous in its first paragraph. It reads that "five official observers be sent to the state conference called for New York State at Utica, December 28 and 29."

A state conference called by whom? Members of the N.E.C. not acquainted with the facts would be led by this statement to believe that the alleged conference is to be a gathering of the party members of the state through delegates chosen by locals in response to a call by the only authority the party members have vested with the power to call such a conference, the State Committee.

This is not the case. The conference is called by the secessionists of New York City, a group that has bolted the party organization. It is called to make the local split a state-wide split, so five observers of the N.E.C. are chosen to go to this illegal conference to observe and report upon an attempt to split the state organization as well! Never in the history of a labor party or trade union has there ever been such a proposal by responsible members of the national executive.

The farce is even more fantastic when one remembers that the leader of the splitters, Norman Thomas, has the brass to permit his name to be included in the list of those who are to observe the attempt to split. Does anybody doubt what kind of a report Thomas will make to the N.E.C. of the ruin he has wrought?

What would be the proper course of the N.E.C. in such a situation? Its duty would be, if it selected any committee at all, to send a committee to New York to confer with the local and state officers of the party and learn from them first as to what has happened. That is what the responsible executives of a trade union would do if members of a local union had seceded. That committee would inquire of us as to whether we have any documentary or other evidence of the following accusations which we make against the secessionists:

Charges Against Bolters
1. Have they violated the decisions of the N.E.C. at its sessions in Boston last December, at Buffalo in March, and at New York in July, regarding the ineligibility to membership of those who favor advocacy of the Communist ideas of violence, dictatorship, and armed insurrection?

2. Is it true that the "militant" delegates in the City Central Committee voted against the expulsion of Abe Kruger, who admitted under his own signature that he is a Communist? Is it true that Kruger's apartment was a gathering place for Yipsels whom he taught Communism and that twelve of these Yipsels signed a manifesto resigning from the party and declaring that they were joining the Trotsky Communists? Were the "militant" delegates guilty of treachery to the party by opposing the expulsion of a member of this type?

3. Is it true that fourteen Yipsels, six of whom were party members, signed a program which provided for the organization of armed forces to carry on armed insurrection and elaborated reasons for carrying on agitation in support of this proposal?

4. Is it true that when the grievance committee recommended the suspension of four of these party members for a year, again the "militant" delegates in the City Central Committee voted against their suspension?

5. Is it true that two days before the "militant" delegates walked out of the City Central Committee, three of their leaders—Charles B. Garfinkel, Jack Altman and Max Delson—and three party members representing the centrist position—Dr. S. J. Fried, George I. Steinhardt and Matthew Levy—met for five hours, the latter three hoping to get from the "militant" leaders minimum proposals as a basis for peace and harmony in the party?

6. Is it true, as the three centrists declare, that Altman, Garfinkel and Delson made a proposal the substance of which was the following: "The right of members to express any opinion, including the right to advocate force, violence, armed insurrection, and dictatorship?"

Treachery in New York
Instead of the N.E.C. sending a committee to New York to ascertain the truth of these accusations, it is proposed that a committee go to Utica to observe the splitters in action. The "observers" are to ignore the basic causes of the conflict. They aren't interested in them.

Either the accusations are false or they are not. If they are true, we have faced treachery in Local New York and the party has rendered a service to the whole movement by trying to expel the Communist plants within the party.

I can well understand why Thomas does not want to consult the evidence. He has fatally committed himself to the allies of the Communists and has placed himself at the head of the secessionists.

A letter from Dan Hoan to Julius Gerber, in response to an inquiry by the latter, also indicates that the matter of the secession conference in Utica was not honestly placed before him. Hoan refers to a "state-wide meeting being called." He apparently was not informed that it is a conference of secessionists.

It would be ridiculous for any one local still affiliated with the party to call a state conference, but here we have secessionists from one local calling it, and now we are asked to vote on two proposals that ignore the responsible local and state organizations and give semi-official recognition to a comic opera coup d'état.

Insurrection Issue
Finally, let me say that the action of Thomas and Krzycki in supporting the secession allies of the Communists is not surprising. Both voted to condemn the New York State Committee for not directing the reinstatement of the Buffalo insurrectionists who frankly declared that they were Communists at their trial.

This is the third time in the history of the American Socialist movement that it has faced the issue of armed insurrection since 1883. The Socialists never lost that battle, and they will not lose this one. They will not support a course which even a majority of the N.E.C. at the Boston meeting a year ago declared would invite police spies and government agents into the party.

The big majority of the party members in this state are with us in this fight against party suicide and we have plenty of support in other states, now that the issue is clear, and every mail brings word of this support. The secession allies of the Communists have plenty of support from the Daily Worker, every issue of which for months shows that it has become the official organ of the secessionists.

We welcome this evidence from (Continued on Page Ten)

Women Socialists Spurn Splitters and Secessionists

THE Women's Committee of the Socialist Party, one of the most active sections of the party and the one that has done the most effective educational and organization work within the past year, will not be involved in any party controversies. The women Socialists are working for Socialism and not for a faction, and they will have nothing to do with bolters, secessionists and splitters.

At its last meeting the Women's Committee voted unanimously to support the Socialist Party in its battle against the bolters and secessionists who are working in New York to split the party.

YPSSELS TO BUILD YOUTH SECTION OF PARTY

DESPITE a driving rain, in answer to a call sent out by the Party Youth Committee of Local New York, 200 Yipsels met last Sunday evening at the Rand School to show their loyalty to the parent organization.

After listening to Louis P. Goldberg, Chairman of the party's Youth Committee, who called upon them to continue their fight in winning the workingclass youth to Socialism and to build up a YPSL capable of preparing future fighters for Socialism, and to August Claessens, the meeting without speeches attacked organization problems of a pressing nature.

Joe Mendelsohn, Kay Sampolinsky, Eli Rosenblatt, Louis Kammernan, Abe Jaffee, Irving Shapiro, Mac Eisenberg and Seymour Klamper were elected as members of the new Executive Committee of the Greater New York Federation of the Y.P.S.L.

A committee of seven to revise the Y.P.S.L. constitution was elected.

A committee to arrange for and publicize a meeting of the Socialist youth with Gerhart Seger as main speaker was referred to the Executive Committee. The meeting will be held early in January. The topic will be "The Relationship of the Socialist Youth Movement of Germany, Czechoslovakia and France to Their Respective Socialist Parties."

The meeting adjourned with the singing of the International.

Penna. Socialists Protest N.E.C. Aid to "Militants"

Branches Spurn Bid of Bolters in New York

By Algernon Lee

THE bolt from the Socialist Party by the left-wing faction headed by Norman Thomas has failed dismally, as we predicted it would. Not only have they failed to gain any branches beyond those whose delegates walked out of the Central Committee two weeks ago, but they have not even succeeded in holding all of those.

The largest of them, the Upper West Side Branch, repudiated the action of its delegates, removed them and elected successors and reaffirmed its loyalty to the organization. And this despite the fact that two leaders of the Thomasite bolters were members of that branch. Even in Norman Thomas' own branch there are not more than nine or ten members who support him while in those few branches, invariably the small ones, where the bolters made a ma-

majority, a substantial minority of between 45% and close to 50% has in every case voted to remain loyal to the Socialist Party.

Their defeat has apparently left the Thomasite faction in very nervous state, and since actual figures have now become too unpleasant for them, they have resorted to flights of imagination in their publicity releases. Thus they have announced that the Knickerbocker Village Branch had joined their bolt and repudiated its delegate to the Central Committee, Louis P. Goldberg, who proposed the reorganization motion in the Central Committee. This statement, like the Thomasite claims of victory in the Bronx, is remarkably economical of truth and accuracy. The fact is that the Knickerbocker Village Branch almost unanimously endorsed Goldberg and the party and only three of its members have aligned themselves with Thomas. In the Bronx the bolting county chairman, Aaron Levenstein, was repudiated by his own branch.

It is regrettable that Thomas and his followers find themselves in such desperate straits that they must descend to falsification and misrepresentation of a type that have made the Communist Party notorious, but I suppose it is simply a case of whistling to keep up their courage.

"Thomas IS the Party", Siegel Declares in Up-State Local

ROBERT A. HOFFMAN of Buffalo, a former member of the "militant" group in the Socialist Party, made a tour of up-state New York last week and reported that of 47 locals outside of New York City only three small ones had voted to send delegates to the secession "conference." In Buffalo there are three "militant" sympathizers who left after the expulsion of five insurrectionists.

When the secession call for the "conference" came up in the City Committee of 21 members, it was unanimously voted to file communications received from the dual organization. The motion was made by one of the "militant" sympathizers.

The secessionists sent Harold Siegel of Brooklyn up-state to get delegates. Hoffman met him before Local Olean, and after a long

debate Siegel urged that the members send a delegate to the "conference." The answer was a motion to adjourn, which was carried unanimously.

At this meeting, Hoffman reports, Siegel read a letter from Norman Thomas urging the members to send a delegate! That plea by Thomas was carried by Siegel to other locals up-state. Thus a "national leader" under his own signature urges support of a secession "conference." Hoffman's report of the Olean meeting is so extraordinary and throws such a light on the "militant" mind that the following sections deserve a permanent record in The New Leader.

"Siegel read a letter from Norman Thomas urging favorable action," writes Hoffman. "He said inasmuch as Thomas was our standard bearer, Olean should OBEY HIM. I interrupted and said, 'What about Maurer—it is Thomas and Maurer—and Maurer is with the Old Guard. Besides, Thomas is only one member of the Socialist Party.' Siegel answered—I quote him exactly—'Norman Thomas IS the Socialist Party, like it or not.' (In New York City, Harlemites say 'Father Divine is God.' Has it reached the point in the Socialist Party that ANY comrade—Thomas, Hoan, Hoffman, or any one else—IS the Socialist Party?)"

Hoffman also declares that National Secretary Senior furnished the dual secession group in New York City "a late list of local and branch secretaries in New York State for purposes of creating division and split in the party." Hoffman has sent a protest to the Senior regarding this and in his report to State Secretary Merrill he says:

"I am the only one in Buffalo having a correct up-to-date list of our branch secretaries. I sent a copy of such list to State Secretary Merrill (it is quite obvious that Merrill did not send a copy to Altman), and the only other copy went to the national office."

"What right has the national office to furnish such a list to a group that, regardless of merits and demerits of the controversy in New York City, has called a state convention without following the procedure of the Constitution?"

Thus the "militant" mind has raised Thomas to the heights of divinity. "OBEY HIM" is the command of the secessionists by way of illustrating what they mean by democracy. "Obeys him" because he "IS the Socialist Party." Perhaps a national convention consisting of "the leader" alone will be next on the order of business.

should not be admitted. Our branches and our meetings would be devoted to the advocacy within the party of armed insurrection, until such time as the party will be officially committed to its advocacy outside party channels.

The demagogic plea of "free speech"—to advocate Communist doctrines in our party—may appeal to the liberals and romanticists. It cannot appeal to me. "Free expression" within party channels" of such a doctrinaire program will make of the party nothing more than a theoretical debating society and an impotent political force.

Insofar as a of the "mil-

Resent Bolting Faction's Use Of Party's Mailing List For Secessionist Purposes—Demand Explanation From Hoan.

By George F. Griffiths

Special to The New Leader.

PITTSBURGH.—Acting upon the report and recommendations of Sarah Limbach, State Executive Secretary, the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania, meeting here, voted to launch a campaign for a special session of the Legislature to push a program of labor, social and relief legislation. Plans include two regional conferences to set up an executive body and to plan for a vigorous campaign in behalf of this legislation. Labor, labor fraternal, unemployed and Socialist groups will be invited.

Plans for the 1936 campaign were formulated and the Secretary was authorized to proceed immediately with the organization of Congressional District Campaign Committees.

An Anthracite District Socialist Conference was authorized to meet in February.

Robert Lieberman, member of the Pittsburgh organization and head of the Allegheny County Unemployed Citizens' League, the largest single unemployed unit in the country, was appointed State Organizer. Following the Anthracite Conference an organizer to devote himself exclusively to that district will be placed in the field.

The State Executive Committee was reluctant to believe the press reports that a committee representing the National Executive Committee will attend the state convention of a group which seceded from the party in New York. A communication was sent to Daniel W. Hoan, Chairman of the National Organization Committee, asking for official information. Upon receipt of a reply from Hoan, the committee is to reconvene in special session.

Letters were also sent to Hoan and the National Executive Committee, protesting the abuse of the branch secretaries' mailing list, a protest prompted by the action of the bolting group. This group circulated Pennsylvania branches with an attack upon the New York organization and a request that branches pass a resolution, which was enclosed.

The whole matter is considered by the Executive Committee an intrusion into the affairs of the Pennsylvania State organization altogether out of keeping with the constitution and spirit of the Socialist Party. The communication points out that although the Pennsylvania organization welcomes suggestions from individual comrades beyond its jurisdiction it does so only when presented through the State Committee, as does the National Executive Committee and other organized states and locals and continues.

"The unsolicited advice from this group comes with ill grace considering that their contribution in their own state has not been fruitful in the direction of organization and expansion of party activities, but on the contrary, they have since resorted to outright secession from the party," the committee declared in an official statement.

Action on the invitation to attend the Eastern States Conference, called by Massachusetts, was deferred to a special meeting of the committee, pending further information.

The Executive Secretary's report indicated that the 1935 membership is likely to exceed that of 1934, and that plans are under way to reorganize the branches that fell below the Constitutional minimum.

its desire an aggressive, active Socialist Party they have received my support. It is upon the issue of the advocacy of armed insurrection and dictatorship, within or without the party, and the related illusion of united front with Communists, that I, as a centrist, cannot agree with the "militants." It is my hope and expectation that those who believe in an active, aggressive, effective Socialist Party in New York City will rejoin the party; and that those who desire to advocate force, violence, armed insurrection or dictatorship will not be permitted to rejoin it. Thus can we build and build firmly—with and for the laboring masses of America.

The "Militants" And Armed Insurrection

A Reply to the Socialist Call

By Matthew M. Levy

IT did not take long for Charles B. Garfinkel, the self-appointed "temporary chairman" of the so-called "official" City Central Committee of Local New York—the self-anointed and very temporary leader of the left-wing bolters—to learn and apply the precept of Lenin—"to practice trickery, to employ cunning, and *** to sometimes overlook or conceal the truth."

That precept has been applied by Garfinkel in a special supplement of the Socialist Call in which he purports to "blast" the article in The New Leader of December 7 about the conference in Dr. Fried's home two days before the "militant" caucus split the party. In that conference, Dr. S. J. Fried, George Steinhardt and I participated on behalf of harmony; and Garfinkel, Jack Altman and Max Delson participated on behalf of the "militants."

I shall not go into the question as to whether Garfinkel is a centrist, a militant, a Communist, or one who has been politically dormant for many years—now nobly springing into action to "bring peace" into the party by leading the die-hard secessionists. Name-calling I shall leave to those who find fault with my actions in the party. I shall reply, for the benefit of his colleagues, merely by quoting from a recent letter I received from Norman Thomas:

"However I may differ with you from time to time I never doubt your friendship or your ability and devotion to the party."

A Question of Veracity
The question is one of veracity between Garfinkel, Delson and Altman, on the one hand, and Steinhardt, Dr. and Mrs. Fried and myself, on the other. Knowing all of us intimately, the New York com-

rades may judge for themselves. Did the "militant" leaders ask, as the price of harmony, "the right of members to express any opinion, including the right to advocate force, violence, armed insurrection and dictatorship?"

In one breath, the Call purports to deny it, in another it insists upon that self-same "right to free expression within party channels" of all views "of party affairs, theories, policies, tactics and tendencies." Carrying water on both shoulders, the "militants" say "no" and then say "yes." I assume that the answer is "No" to the Socialists and "Yes" to the Neo-Communists. I suppose that by giving different answers to different comrades the "militant" plan is to augment their caucus organization by appealing to all groups—irrespective of Socialist principle, sincerity and clarity. To get the facts, therefore, from such Janus-faced politicians, it seems to me that the best way is for comrades to ask the Call—and Garfinkel, Altman, Delson, et al—the specific question:

"Do you demand that members be permitted to advocate, within the party, the use of force, violence, armed insurrection or dictatorship, as a means of achieving Socialism?"

and then to require a categorical and unequivocal answer. It may be necessary to pin them down, because they will try to squirm, to avoid a precise, clear, definite commitment, one way or the other.

The Answer Was "Yes"
Not only was the answer, "Yes," orally given by the three left-wingers at the Fried conference, but the documentary evidence printed in the Call itself confirms my statement of the facts in The New Leader.

One of the "militant" demands was that we "permit complete freedom of expression, within the party, of all viewpoints and opinions as to the theories, policies and tactics which the party is to pursue." When that was presented, I stripped the verbiage of all dema-

gogic appeal and asked Garfinkel, Altman and Delson the flat, specific question:

Does that mean that you would require the party to permit advocacy by members at party meetings of the use of force, violence, armed insurrection or dictatorship?"

All three answered in the affirmative, and unequivocally stated that they would not agree upon any peace plan unless that "fundamental" right was guaranteed. It must be remembered that the Fried conference lasted nearly five hours, and that it resulted in no agreement. The Call carefully fails to give the reason the conference broke up without success. If the peace plan did not fall through because we centrists refused to agree with the "militant" demand to support the advocacy of armed insurrection and dictatorship, why was the conference abortive? Let the Call give a frank answer.

True, the issue was sought to be placed by two of the three conferring left-wing leaders not upon the basis that they personally advocated these non-Socialist and un-social tactics, but upon the basis of "free speech" for those who might so advocate in the party. I stated flatly that ours was not—and could not be—a party of Voltaire. The right of free speech does not extend to the privilege of urging political hari-kiri. The right of free speech does not extend to the advocacy of its antithesis, dictatorship and armed insurrection.

An "Inclusive" Party

Their plea was for what has been euphemistically called an "inclusive" party—that is, inclusive, among others, of the armed-insurrectionists. If one who is already a member of the party may advocate violence with impunity, there is no reason why an outsider who does so should be prevented from joining the party. If a single outside insurrectionist is admitted, there is no logical reason why a "revolutionary stream" of preachers of violence and dictatorship

'Militant' Bolt Is Backed by Communists

Bolters Making Little Headway

secessionist Group Weak Everywhere, Will Make No Headway—"Intellectuals" of L.I.D. Backbone Of "Militants".

RETURNING from a short tour of several upstate cities as a representative of the State Committee of the Socialist Party of New York State, James O'Neal declared that the secession "is a little opera coup d'etat" which has in part staged in support of Norman Thomas's personal ambition to be nominated again for president. In a statement O'Neal said:

"The putsch directed against the Socialist Party by Norman Thomas and his insurrectionist friends is a little opera coup d'etat. In upstate New York a big majority of members are opposed to the secession and what few friends it has largely active persons connected with the League for Industrial Democracy which has for years been the personal enterprise of Norman Thomas. The maneuver against the Socialist Party in this state is intended to give the state the insurrectionists and thus make it also a private enterprise of Thomas."

Several years ago Thomas and L. I. D. members in various parts throughout the country to the Socialist Party. These members ranged all the way from liberals to parlor bolsheviks. They were largely of the student academic type who regard themselves as 'superior' to workers and women.

In quite a number of cities half of these new recruits left party to take up 'careers' in business and professional life. Their short stay in the Socialist Party was a play-boy interlude in their lives to relieve their tedium. It was a diversion similar to that of the Babbitts to golf to reduce his nervous flesh. A few remain wherever they have had any success in the membership declined and workingmen and women have remained away from the party.

Experienced members of the upstate have come to the conclusion that Norman Thomas made an alliance with armed secessionists because he knows he has lost the confidence of the majority of the members and he cannot get the New York vote in support of his ambition to be a candidate for president.

It is precisely in those few places where the L. I. D. has any influence that a delegate will be sent to the secession conference to meet in Utica this month. They will be very few. Where the class influence is strong a delegate will be sent.

Aside from the insurrectionist in the party, the conflict has become a class struggle between those who stand for a movement that is primarily for workingmen and intellectuals who regard men and women as instruments of directing their own living and their own affairs. When Norman Thomas denies Communism and armed insurrection are also issues in the party, he is reconciling his position with his record as a member of the National Executive Committee. In Buffalo five members of the party were expelled because of their advocacy of armed secession. Two leaders, speakers, these five, openly declared they were Communists.

When the issue came before the National Executive Committee, Norman Thomas voted to condemn the Committee of New York for directing the reinstatement of these Buffalo Communists to membership. Other actions of his National Executive Committee show that he is willing to have units in the Socialist Party counts on their support for personal ambition as party

man Thomas is the most likely figure that has ever appeared in the Socialist Party. It is not that even many of the secessionists he leads do not trust him. They are willing to use him as a tool but it is certain that they do not trust him when they can use him."

REAL FLAYS N. E. C. PLAN

(Continued from Page Nine) Any of the Socialist Party the organized labor movement. It shows a "united front" of the "militants" and the secessionist Party, an understanding common purposes relates with a resolution by the last congress of

Party in Oregon Declines Bid to Reaffiliate

PORTLAND, Ore.—Socialists meeting in a state convention here last Sunday in response to a request of the National Executive Committee that a convention be called to consider reaffiliation with the Socialist Party of the United States, declined to return to the national organization. The Oregon organization withdrew from the party after the adoption of the Detroit Declaration of Principles.

The main reason for withdrawal was that the Detroit declaration jeopardized the legal standing of the party and its members under a drastic state anti-syndicalist act. Late in November the Oregon Supreme Court affirmed the conviction of Dirk de Jonge of Portland on a charge of criminal syndicalism. De Jonge is a Communist and was sentenced to seven years in prison for merely presiding at a Communist meeting and distributing Communist literature. Other Communists have received prison sentences in recent years.

James D. Graham of Montana, a member of the N.E.C., represented the national organization, and Samuel S. White, a party member in California, was present at the convention. Graham was welcomed by the members and the best spirit prevailed. Oregon Socialists contended that they were the best judges of the party's situation under the law and that the wording of the Detroit declaration made it perilous for them to reaffiliate with the national organization. Graham presented many arguments for reaffiliation and each was fully discussed.

Each speaker expressed regret that Oregon found it necessary to withdraw and hoped that conditions would change to permit their return to the national movement. The split in New York was also discussed and it was generally agreed that this was another reason why the time is not opportune for reaffiliation, and also a bad time for revoking charters.

The sentiment was quite unanimous that we are unalterably opposed to a united front with the Communists. We had our experience with them and know only too well that no good can come out of a united front with those who deny democracy and praise dictatorship. A committee of the Communist Party sent a request to appear before the convention to urge a united front, but they were not permitted to enter the hall.

At the close of the convention, George Buickwood pointed out that the Oregon Socialist organization is the only organized movement that can place a Socialist ticket in the field, and if the N.E.C. tried to form another organization it could not file a Socialist ticket.

Few Socialists in other states understand that the Socialist Party in this state, since the movement was reorganized in 1928, now polls a larger percentage of the total vote than any other state organization, excepting Wisconsin. Graham admitted that this splendid showing was not due to mere accident but has been the result of hard work among the organized workers and farmers. It was because of this that Graham was anxious for the state to be represented in the next national convention.

Graham was given a rising vote of thanks for the admirable way in which he approached the Oregon problem, and the delegates assured him that we would gladly join if and when we can do so without being embarrassed by the unhappy wording of the Detroit declaration.

We are as anxious as ever to work for Socialism, the hope of the world. The Communist International. That resolution orders Communists to give all support to elements like the "militants" and to fight Socialists who do not accept cooperation with the Communist Party. After sixteen years of intrigue, the Communist Party has accomplished its aim by finding allies in the Socialist Party, but these allies are yet to learn that their treachery is futile and that they will find the road easy for them to travel into one of the Communist groups.

Since the above was written Thomas, the "observer," is quoted in the Milwaukee Leader as saying his secessionists will "present to the National Executive Committee a reorganized party" in New York State! The verdict is sealed and ready to deliver even before the "observer" observes.

Daily Worker Becomes Virtual Official Organ of Splitters

FOR many months the Communist press, led by the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party, has cooperated closely and intensively with the secessionist left wing headed by Norman Thomas in fanning the flames of strife and discord in the Socialist Party.

The "militants" have accepted this cooperation gladly and have been using the Communist press as their own. In fact, the Daily Worker has now become their organ. No paper gives so much space to the statements issued by the secessionist group, which now calls itself the "official" Socialist Party in New York, as the Daily Worker. The more vehement and the more slanderous the attacks made by the secessionists on the Old Guard, representing the overwhelming majority of the Socialist Party membership, the more generous the space accorded them by the Daily Worker.

Between the Communist press, the Socialist Call and the propaganda bureau of the secessionists there is a perfect united front. The point has now been reached when the Daily Worker writes only a portion of the slander against the Socialist Party and its leaders in New York. The rest is supplied in the diatribes of the secessionists.

A Perfect United Front The pages of the Daily Worker are filled with these diatribes as evidence of the onward march of the united front and of the successful efforts of the Communists to split the Socialist Party. The campaign has gained momentum since the Thomas-Browder united front demonstration in Madison Square Garden and the secession of the "militants," carried out with the blessing and approval of Norman Thomas.

On December 13, after an interview given to the capitalist and Communist press at his home in New York and featured prominently on its front page by the Daily Worker, the Communist organ declared in an editorial entitled "We Agree With Thomas":

"In the middle of a press conference at his home the other afternoon, Norman Thomas suddenly remarked:

"By the way, the Daily Worker is certainly getting pretty good as a labor paper. It's improved considerably in recent months."

"The Left Socialists unfortunately have no daily of their own—only the lively weekly Socialist Call. For the latest happenings in the labor movement, including the day-to-day developments within their own party, we recommend the Daily Worker to all Socialist Party members."

Mutual Praise As we said, the united front is perfect. Thomas praises the Daily Worker. The Daily Worker praises Thomas and the Socialist Call. The Communist Distribution Agency in New York distributes the Socialist Call, and there is really no need for the secessionists to have a daily paper of their own, for as the Daily Worker says, "the day-to-day" developments of the doings of the secessionists are pictured in generous and quite satisfactory manner, from the point of view of the secessionists, we may add, in that sterling organ of truth and objectivity recommended by Norman Thomas, the Daily Worker.

The Daily Worker pipes the tune and the "militants" under Norman Thomas carry it into effect. We will cite a few examples.

On October 25, 1935, the Daily Worker carried an editorial, "An

Appeal to Socialists," one of many previously and subsequently carried by the Communist organ.

"The recent meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party revealed the growth of militant sentiment in the party and showed that the majority of the N.E.C. was once more taking up the cudgels against the reactionary policies of the New York 'Old Guard,'" said the Daily Worker.

There followed the appeal for unity with the Communists in the fight on the "Old Guard," with the conclusion "shall we let minor obstacles stand in the way?"

Responding to this appeal and not permitting "minor obstacles" to stand in the way, the "militants" redoubled their destructive activities in Local New York after the meeting of the N.E.C., activities which finally led to their secession from the Central Committee. This was greeted with an outburst of joy and approval by the Daily Worker.

"Socialists Map Fight on Old Guard" screamed the Daily Worker in a news story on the front page on December 10. In a story nearly two columns long, the Daily Worker gave a detailed report of the secessionist meeting in Irving Plaza, quoting the secessionist speakers in detail and citing with satisfaction and approval the call for a "state conference" issued by the secessionists with the object of extending the secession movement to other parts of the state.

Garfinkel Quoted With particular satisfaction the Daily Worker quoted the utterance of Charles B. Garfinkel, chairman of the secessionist organization, in which he declared: "I extend my hand to the Communists in comradeship and brotherhood." Why not? Garfinkel used to be a member of a Communist organization and he has never forgotten his old associations or the lessons he learned from the Communists in the art of smashing the Socialist Party.

The Irving Plaza rally of the secessionists, representing a small minority of the Socialist Party's membership, was described in the Daily Worker, in the words of a secessionist speaker, as a "step toward building a revolutionary instrument for the achievement of Socialism in our time."

On December 11, quite in line with the false and misleading press releases of the secessionist group, the Daily Worker carried a front page story headlined, "Socialists Back Left Wing."

"The fabled and widely heralded majority of the Socialist Old Guard was seen disappearing into space yesterday as the left wing forces of the party carried branch after branch," said the story. There followed in detail an account of the secessionist claims of victory, based upon thin air but presented in the Daily Worker, as in the press releases of the secessionists, in a manner designed to convey the impression that the secessionists were sweeping everything before them.

As the loyal membership of the Socialist Party now knows, the secessionists have failed to gain any adherents in branches which they did not control. They were definitely repudiated in two of their own 28 branches. In these branches fully forty per cent of the membership has declined to follow them, while the members of some 48 branches, the most numerous in the Socialist Party, are standing loyally behind the party and have condemned the joint effort of the Communists and

secessionists to wreck the Socialist Party.

Daily Worker Quotes Thomas On December 12, the Daily Worker came through with another big page one story in support of the secessionists. "N.E.C. TO BACK LEFT WING, SAYS THOMAS," screamed the Communist headline. This was the interview given by Thomas which pleased so much the Daily Worker's writer in the editorial quoted above.

"Enthusiastic over the prospects of immediate progress by the party in this city," said the Daily Worker, "Thomas declared that the 'Old Guard' read themselves out of the party when they took steps to 'reorganize' on the lines of excluding all their opponents." By which Thomas meant that he and his small group have decided to read the majority represented by the "Old Guard" out of the party because the majority decided to put a stop to the activities and the existence of the dual militant organization.

The Daily Worker quoted with satisfaction Thomas's statement that he believed in being as "friendly as possible" with the Communists. In the interview in question Thomas graciously declared, however, that he "would not throw out those who feel that change can come through pure parliamentarianism—of which I myself am doubtful."

As the reader will perceive, Thomas does not believe in armed insurrection and he does not advocate it; oh, no—he merely says he doubts the efficacy of peaceful, political activity by the Socialist Party. And, as he would undoubtedly claim, it would be misrepresenting him if we were to say that by his statements he is encouraging advocates of armed insurrection and helping the Communists destroy the Socialist Party.

The Daily Workers' account of the Thomas interview, to which it naturally gave very generous space, concluded, among other things, with the information that "the leftward movement of the Socialist Party membership continued its triumphant march." This was the claim of the secessionists in their releases to the press.

Supports Bolters Pursuing its propaganda in support of the secessionists and anxious to advance their cause, which, after all, is the cause of the Communists as well, the Daily Worker continued to report the alleged successes of the secessionists. "Old Guard Leaves S.P. in the Bronx" screamed the Daily Worker headline on December 13.

"Harlem S.P. Throws Vote to Left Wing" screamed another, on December 14. The stories based entirely on statements issued by the secessionists and printed in full in the Daily Worker.

The truth about the Bronx was that the Old Guard retained control in the Bronx County Committee by a vote of two to one, and the proportion of the membership vote in the Bronx reflects fully the set-up in the County Committee. Nevertheless, according to the Daily Worker and the statements of the secessionists, we are to believe that the Old Guard left the Socialist Party in the Bronx.

What was concealed by the secessionists and their organ, the Daily Worker, was the fact that the secessionists were soundly beaten in the Bronx, that they formed their own dual "County Committee" and then announced that the Old

Buffalo Local Solid for Party

Guard had left the party. In the art of disseminating falsehoods and misleading information, the secessionists and the Daily Worker are running each other a close race.

Eight in Harlem

In Harlem there was a meeting of a party branch attended by eight members. The majority of this mighty army voted for the secessionists. Approximately an equal number did not attend the meeting. This great "success" was hailed by the secessionists as another triumph for the left wing. The Daily Worker gave their statement nearly a column of space. The statement resembled in every way a typical Daily Worker editorial attacking the Socialist Party and the Old Guard. Nowadays the Daily Worker confines its editorials to encouragement of the secessionist left wing, while the attacks on the Old Guard, written by the secessionist propagandists in the form of statements to the press, are printed on the front page as "news." The cooperation is, indeed, perfect.

On December 16, the Daily Worker, again on its front page, announced, "Socialists Assail Deal With Fusion—View Appointment of Solomon by LaGuardia as Political Trade."

The story was based entirely on another statement issued by the secessionists and occupied a column and a half of space. It was a repetition of Thomas's own slanderous charge that the "Old Guard" was engaged in secret "bargaining" with Mayor LaGuardia. A similar story followed in the Daily Worker next day, based likewise upon a statement from the secessionists.

In both statements, the secessionists, like the Daily Worker, concealed the fact that Comrade Charles Solomon's appointment as a City Magistrate by the Mayor was not requested by the Socialist Party. Concealed also was the fact that the appointment had the strong backing of a group of trade unions, including the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Millinery Workers' Union, representing together some 250,000 organized workers. On December 17, the Daily Worker did mention that David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U., and Max Zaritsky, president of the millinery workers, attended the ceremony at City Hall at which Solomon was sworn in.

What the Daily Worker and the secessionists likewise concealed was the fact that Solomon's appointment was no more political than was the appointment of Jacob Panken to the bench. Both were judicial appointments, having nothing to do with politics.

Thomas Praised Panken Appointment

Concealed also was the fact that on the occasion of Panken's appointment, whose service on the bench has reflected great credit upon the Socialist Party, Thomas had sent a letter of congratulation to Panken, as did Clarence Senior, national secretary, Paul Porter, national labor secretary, and a number of other left wingers. This did not prevent Thomas later from charging that the "Old Guard" was "bargaining" with LaGuardia.

And, finally, concealed also by the Daily Worker and the secessionists, was the fact that the only prominent member of the Socialist Party who has deserted the party and has taken a political job with LaGuardia as a member of his cabinet was Paul Blanshard, long a lieutenant of Norman Thomas and his chief aide in Milwaukee in the attempt to drive the late Morris Hillquit from the national chairmanship of the Socialist Party.

We will add, however, one more exhibit. It is from an editorial in the Daily Worker of November 21, 1935. The editorial is entitled "Unity Is Best Weapon Against Socialist Old Guard." The editorial carried the following subtitle: "Socialist Call Urged to Raise High the Banner of United Front as Path to a Strong Unified Front and Victory Over Reactionaries."

We quote from the editorial: "The appeal of the Socialist Call to the members of the Socialist Party is an important document. 'As the organ of the Militant group within the Socialist Party, the Call explains the significance of the decision of the 'Old Guard' in New York to 'reorganize' the local."

"The 'Old Guard' is out to wreck not only the Call but the Socialist Party as a whole. The 'Old Guard' is determined to throttle a genuine Socialist program which would care for the immediate needs of the people. The 'Old Guard' would blackjack the workers into accepting the peculiar 'Old Guard' brand of 'cadaver-Socialism.'"

"The 'Old Guard' has committed many sins under the name of Social Democracy," the Call finds. And it lists some of the recent ones which offend the nostrils the most.

"We urge the Socialist Call to raise high the banner of united

Largest Upstate Local Rejects Bid of Bolters by Overwhelming Majority; Party and Yipsels Growing Fast.

Special to The New Leader

BUFFALO.—The Socialist Party here, the largest upstate local, had the best attended membership meeting in many years, with only seven dissenting votes passed a motion made by Executive Secretary Robert A. Hoffman to the effect that "Local Buffalo is, and will continue to be, a local of the Socialist Party of the State of New York as now constituted." The local defeated an amendment by Rev. Rodney Heckman (who in January led a fight to re-instate the five insurrectionists) by the same division, reading "and will abide by eventual decision of the National Executive Committee in party controversy."

A committee was appointed to draw up a resolution on the local's stand in the party controversy, consisting of Hoffman, James Battistoni, Charles H. Roth and Ernest D. Baumann. The latter was a member of the "militant" caucus at the 1934 state convention who now declares that "We realize that the 'Old Guard' are now, as ever, guarding the integrity and the very existence of the party. At the state convention two years ago I was affiliated with the 'militants.' Their disruptive, inane tactics have since caused me to cast my lot with those desiring to preserve and build Socialism rather than destroy it."

As a result of the known stand of Local Buffalo's Executive Committee—foreshadowing the party decision—fourteen new applications for membership were accepted at the meeting. Four of the dissenters, including Rev. Heckman and Mrs. Heckman, resigned from the party.

The Buffalo Young Peoples Socialist League, meeting on Sunday, unanimously voted to remain loyal to the New York State Committee and Local Buffalo. They took in seventeen new members at the meeting.

working class action in its fight against the reactionary 'Old Guard'.

"We feel confident that by boldly calling for the Socialist-Communist united front at this time, the Socialist Call will rally to itself not only the membership of the party but would contribute toward the drawing together of the masses of non-party workers as well."

Who will deny that the Socialist Call and its secessionist sponsors have failed to respond to the appeal of the Communist Daily Worker? They have responded fully and with energy worthy of a better cause. The Communists are showing their appreciation by supplying the secessionists with generous space and continued encouragement in the columns of the Communist press.

They have also shown their appreciation financially by agreeing that the Socialist Call and the secessionist group keep all the proceeds, amounting to thousands of dollars, from the Thomas-Browder "debate" in Madison Square Garden. As the Socialist Call itself announced, the Communists did not share in the proceeds.

THUS DO THE COMMUNISTS HELP THE SECESSIONISTS FINANCE THE WAR ON THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

YES, THE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE DAILY WORKER AND THE SECESSIONIST GROUP LED BY NORMAN THOMAS IS PERFECT. THEY COOPERATE PERFECTLY IN CONCEALING FACTS AND DISSEMINATING FALSEHOODS AND SLANDER AGAINST THE OLD GUARD.

WE HAVE CITED ONLY FEW EXAMPLES, BUT THESE ARE QUITE ENOUGH.

MAYOR SIMPSON HEADS ANTI-NAZI COUNCIL OF ALL CANADA

Special to The New Leader

TORONTO, Ont.—James Simpson, Socialist mayor of this city, has been unanimously elected head of the Anti-Nazi Consumers' League of Canada at a magnificent anti-Nazi mass conference called by the anti-Nazi elements of Toronto. The purpose of the League is to boycott German goods; and to disseminate publicity for the purpose of giving Canadians real information concerning the nature of the Nazi government.

In the speech of acceptance Mayor Simpson said: "I recognize that it is a great honor to be elected head of the Anti-Nazi Consumers' League of Canada."

To the Members of the Socialist Party

THE secessionist movement led by a group of irresponsible individuals in the Socialist Party, with the support and blessing of Norman Thomas, has definitely failed.

The attempt to stampede the party membership into following the bolt of the pro-Communist left wing minority in the City Central Committee has been shattered against the impregnable wall of party loyalty of the overwhelming majority of the membership. Only a small number have responded to the call of the secessionists.

As we go to press the actual set-up is as follows, subject to minor rectifications when the final count is made:

The secessionists will carry with them, as the voting in the branches now indicates, not more than 30 branches at the very most. The bulk of these branches represent a small number of the party membership, not exceeding 800.

Approximately 45 branches, comprising the great majority of the party membership, are loyal to the party. Manhattan, Kings and the Bronx, where the overwhelming majority of the party membership resides, have already made clear

their unswerving loyalty and devotion to the party. In Queens, too, the secessionists are meeting with substantial opposition.

It is also clear that approximately forty per cent of the membership in the branches that will follow the secessionists will refuse to join in the bolt.

This means that out of a total dues-paying membership of 3,000 in Local New York approximately 2,500 will remain with the party. This is the picture.

We give you these figures in order that you may not be misled by the extravagant and false claims disseminated by the secessionists in the capitalist and Communist press with the object of misleading you and making you feel that the raid engineered by the secessionists upon the party, with the support of the Communist press, is successful.

Because it is a failure. Altman and Thomas find it necessary to give out interviews to the capitalist and Communist press alleging that the majority of New York Socialists are with the bolters. Norman Thomas is going about the country making false statements to the press and at public meetings

designed to convey the impression that the left wingers in New York have captured the city and "expelled" the Old Guard.

What we say about the disposition of the respective forces in New York City is true also upstate. The Utica conference of the secessionists will be a flop. They are desperate. And in their desperation they are resorting to the lowest Tammany methods to mislead and deceive the party membership, the public and the press. They are finished. They are done for. Their game is over. They will continue, to be sure, their work of destruction, but their efforts will be in vain. They have exposed themselves to all honest and loyal Socialists as wreckers of the Socialist movement.

The secessionist group has shot its bolt. The Socialist Party of New York goes on. The exit of the secessionists from the party has cleared the atmosphere. The membership are rolling up their sleeves and working as never before. Work is being done all along the line. New York Socialism is on the march. Our organization is being strengthened and consolidated. We are moving forward to victory!