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of the  
SOCIALIST PARTY  
of the States of  
New York,  
Maryland and  
Pennsylvania.

# NEW LEADER

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

## A PROGRAM OF CONCILIATION

AFTER many months of bitter internal conflict the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, in agreement with a majority of the State Committee of New York State, has worked out a program of conciliation that promises to end it. Every party member and sympathizer should read the document, which appears elsewhere in this issue.

It is no exaggeration to say that the N.E.C. assembled with hundreds of party members obsessed with anxiety and fear. The conflict had reached an acute stage and everybody knew it. The general sentiment was for a policy of conference between the state and the N.E.C., for mutual conciliation, and a program that would carry the essentials of an agreement that would lead to harmony and stabilization. It was obvious that no program would fully satisfy all parties concerned. On the other hand, if the fighting was ended and the maximum agreement reached, then the trend toward unity would be possible.

After much laborious work, such an agreement was finally written and signed. The first stage of the job being completed, anxiety still brooded over the party members as it still had to be considered by the N.E.C. as a whole. The story of this phase of the deliberations is also told in this issue. When the document finally emerged from the N.E.C. practically intact, it brought a sense of profound relief. The uncertainty and anxiety subsided. A decision had been reached. That was important. If no decision had been reached, the uncertainty would continue with consequences that all feared but could not be definitely forecast.

For our part, that is, for the comrades for whom The New Leader generally speaks, we can say that we shall earnestly and in good faith do our utmost to carry out the terms and the spirit of the agreement. We also expect all other party members to do their utmost to minimize differences and to cooperate in carrying it out. This agreement may not settle all the problems but it provides an approach to settling them. Indeed, its terms and spirit promise a settlement of some of the most acute disputes that have arisen, and that is much more than some members had hoped to accomplish.

Fortunately, the "treaty" is also agreed to at an opportune time. In various states there are campaigns to which the members want to give all their time and attention. This can be done while the process of healing wounds goes on. The electoral struggle everywhere should be devoted to building the party organization and reaching the working class. To the extent that we become absorbed in intensive campaign and party activity will there also be a contribution to party stability and the reunion of divided forces.

## 250,000 Colored Workers Represented in Conference

THE 400 delegates from organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor who are meeting Saturday (today) at the Renaissance Casino, 138th St. and 7th Ave., New York City, will be occupied with vital problems of organization and education of both Negro and white workers in the metropolitan area.

The purpose of the conference will be to strengthen the labor movement among the Negro workers, the most exploited section of the working class, and to work for greater unity of action between the white and Negro organized workers, according to Frank R. Crosswain, chairman of the Harlem Labor Committee and organizer for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, who is in charge of promoting the Harlem meeting.

David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and a vice-president of the A. F. of L., sent the following message to the organizers of the conference:

"I greet the idea of your Negro labor conference and the objective which it strives to obtain, the expansion of the trade union movement under a directing and coordinating agency, because of the experience we in the International have had with organizing Negro workers in our industries and the highly satisfactory result we have achieved in this direction. Our International through all the 35 years of its existence has maintained a tradition of open door to all races, languages and nationalities, and we are happy to declare that this platform of genuine equality has been rewarded by a loyalty and a devotion on the part of our Negro brothers and sisters which is not extolled in the fraternity of organized labor in America.

Though comparative newcomers as far as large numbers are concerned in the I.L.G.W.U., our

colored fellow workers have proved themselves to be valiant fighters in the trade union cause and a true asset to our organization. In wishing you success in your undertaking, may I express the hope that other unions will benefit from our experience so splendidly demonstrated in New York City and in other centers which permit no other conclusion than that it is the sacred duty of all labor organizations to offer the widest opportunities and cooperation to the unionization movement among the hundreds of thousands of Negro wage earners. As a powerful lever for solidifying and strengthening the cause of organized labor in America as a whole."

Among the speakers who will address the delegates are: Morris C. Feinstein, secretary of the United Hebrew Trades; Wm. Karlin, labor attorney; A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Pullman Porters; Frank R. Crosswain; Julius Hochman, vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U.; James Bambrick, president of the Building Service Employees' Union; and Mrs. Margaret Ayers, member of the Teachers' Union and vice-president of the Trade Union Committee for Negro Workers.

The conference will begin at 1:30 p. m. Saturday and will be divided into two sessions.

The delegates present are representatives of more than 250,000 workers in Greater New York. Among the organizations backing the conference are Local No. 8, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union; A. F. of L. Taxi Chaffeurs' Union; Amsterdam News Chapter, New York Newspaper Guild; Retail Hat and Furnishings Salesmen's Union No. 721; Local 1888, Carpenters' and Joiners' Union; Locals 280 and 290, Laundry Workers' Union; Union Mechanics' Association; Ladies' Apparel Shipping Clerks' and Helpers' Union; Local 814, Teamsters' and Chauffeurs' Union.

## Mexican Labor Invites A.F. of L. to Convention

By A. F. of L. News Service  
WASHINGTON, D. C.—President William Green, of the American Federation of Labor, has received a letter from Martin Torres, general secretary of the Mexican Regional secretary of Labor, inviting the officials of the A. F. of L. to attend the twelfth annual convention of the Confederation to be held in Mexico City July 22 to 27.

One of the major events of the convention, Secretary Torres said, will be the dedication of the Temple of the Mexican Regional Confederation of Labor, the erection of which "has been made possible through the dues of its members."

## Union Pursuing 'Runaway' Shop To Haverstraw

Organization Locked Out by  
Union-Smashing Boss,  
But Union Will Follow  
Him to Victory.

A DRAMATIC attempt to enforce a court decree against a "runaway" employer seeking to escape the obligations of a collective agreement will be made by the Knit Goods Workers' Union, affiliate of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, on Monday morning, when a large group of union members will leave here for Haverstraw, N. Y., to make a test of the union's rights in the conflict with the Hiram Knit Sportswear Company. The company's plant is located at Garnerville, near Haverstraw.

The union workers will leave New York with instructions to re-

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## Berlin Pogroms Were Started By Goebbels

High Government Official  
Instigated Outrages in  
Savage Speech to Nazi  
Hordes at Tempelhof.

THE outbreak of savagery by Nazi hoodlums in Berlin is the direct result of government provocation, it is revealed in documents from Berlin that have just reached this country and have not yet been published here.

A few days before the Nazi braves paraded down the Kurfurstendamm, Berlin's night-life street, committing unspeakable outrages against Jewish men and women, a high government official, none other than Joseph Paul Goebbels, Hitler's Minister of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment (!), issued an astonishing statement headed, "If I were God," and read it to an audience of 100,000 Nazis at Tempelhof Field. That address led directly to the recent outrages.

In the course of his remarks Goebbels said:

"We would have to have buttons in our heads instead of eyes if we did not see that the Jews are again trying to make themselves prominent in Berlin, and that many intellectuals are trying to help them with the old phrase, 'A Jew is also a man.'"

"Yes, he is a man, but what sort of a man?"

"A flea is also an insect but the question is whether he is an agreeable insect."

A few days later the carefully-

organized raid on all Jews seeking to hold up their heads as human beings was started, the raid that has aroused the protests of the whole civilized world. The Hitler government cannot avoid official responsibility for the outrages.

## Great Anti-Fascist Parade Stirs Paris; Danish Socialists to Arm Against Hitler; Dutch Workers Win Big Electoral Victory

## Party Congress Every Section Workers March Hears Plea of Of the Country In Mighty Mass Premier Shows Gain Through City

Remarkable Position and  
Prestige of Socialist Move-  
ment in Denmark Dis-  
played at Party Confer-  
ence—Stauning Explains

By Louis de Brouckere  
President, Labor and Socialist  
International.

COPENHAGEN.—Our Danish friends held their Party Conference in the pretty town of Aalborg from June 23 to 26. A conference in Denmark is a rare event, as it only takes place every four years. Nor has it quite the same character as in other countries, since it is not public and the Socialist press only publishes partial reports. It seems like a big family reunion, where those present exchange views amongst themselves, and without allowing strangers to the party to intervene ever so slightly or indirectly in the discussion.

The conference is an important gathering. Some three hundred and fifty delegates meet there the members elected to public bodies, those who run the daily newspapers, and a particularly numerous Executive. It is, moreover, a remarkably disciplined assembly, and though the discussions are extremely free it is

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Local Elections in Holland  
Reveal Growing Strength  
of Social Democratic Party  
in Face of Reactionary  
Onslaught.

By J. W. Albarda  
Member, Executive, Labor and  
Socialist International.

AMSTERDAM.—Quadrennial elections for the local councils took place in Holland during June.

Just as in the case of the provincial elections, which took place in April of this year, the elections for the local councils were of great political importance.

The results of the elections to the Provincial States were favorable to the Social Democratic Labor Party. The bourgeois parties represented in the Colijn government, and on which the government relies for its support, had suffered substantial losses. Only the Catholic Party emerged from the electoral struggle almost as intact as the S.D.L.P.

The electoral struggle for the local councils was essentially dominated by these great political problems. Fascism likewise played a part in this election campaign. The National Socialist Movement of the "Führer" Mussert, which secured nine percent of the votes at the provincial elections, did not take part in the local elections. The "Führer" does not want his movement to be represented on the local councils; he proposes to abolish them! It is true that another fascist party, the League for National Renovation, whose leader is the ex-General Snijders, commander-in-chief of the Netherlands armed forces during the war, took part in the local elections. In a number of localities National Socialist votes passed to the candidates of this League.

The result of the elections to the local councils was a resounding success for the Social Democratic Labor Party. Of course, the party's success was not equal in all the communes. There is an enormous number of very small communes in Holland. In the small rural communes it often happens that essentially local and personal factors play a great part during the elections. Alongside numerous favorable results it is thus quite under-

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Mighty Demonstration of  
200,000 in French Capital  
Completely Swamps  
Showing of Reactionary  
Forces on Bastille Day.

COMPLETELY eclipsing the fascist demonstration staged in Paris by the fascists on Bastille Day—July 14—the democratic and Socialist forces of the French capital carried out a counter-demonstration on the same day which revealed unmistakably the power of French democracy and republicanism and a determination to fight to the death any attempt on the part of the fascists to impose their will upon the nation.

According to P. J. Philip, Paris correspondent of the New York Times, the anti-fascist demonstration, which was under the auspices of the "People's Front," comprising the entire left of the country, was an unprecedented display of political power.

"Hour after hour, past the July column where the Bastille once stood, hundreds of thousands of workers of every class—laborers, clerks, schoolmasters, lawyers, railwaymen, engineers and civil servants of all categories—filed in procession, raising clenched fists in salute to the memory of their ancestors who had stormed the Bastille, and given modern France her liberty," Mr. Philip cabled to his paper. "Even those who had come to scoff remained impressed."

"For that procession never seemed to end. It never varied in its march. It carried its banners through cheering crowds, and it shouted its partisan cries and sang the 'International' without for a moment losing its self-imposed discipline. There was not a policeman in sight. The crowd did not need any shepherding."

"Once for a minute a squadron of mounted Republican Guards rode into the big square from which rose one immense boom and immediately the guards retired."

"In the side streets and under cover there was a plentiful force of Mobile Guards, but they were not needed. If they had shown themselves there might have been trouble. As it was, there was none."

"In perfect order that enormous

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## Stalin Permits Comintern To Meet at Last in August

By John Powers

THOSE who have been wondering what had become of the oft-announced and oft-postponed seventh congress of the Communist International will be interested to know that once more it has been postponed—this time until August.

As reported in The New Leader the congress was to have been held May 1. After having been put off to May 26, it disappeared from view. More recently cable dispatches from Moscow declared that "it may never be held," and on Wednesday of this week, the Moscow correspondent of the New York Times reported that it may convene early next month. To which we may add: provided Stalin and the Politbureau of the Russian Communist Party, sole owners of the Communist International, do not find it expedient to order another postponement.

According to the New York Times Moscow correspondent "the Comintern probably will have little if anything to say on the old theme of world revolution and will thus avoid affronting other countries whose good will the Soviet Union is now cultivating against the threat of war," but will occupy itself, instead, with the task of continuing the Communist war on the Socialist parties and trade unions of other countries.

"Peace and alliances with bourgeois governments and war against the international labor movement," will be the policy if not the official slogan of the Comintern. This

is the new Communist program, as expressed in Soviet Russia's military alliance with France and the tactics of its creature, the Communist International.

That this is so was clearly demonstrated by A. Lozovsky, head of the Red Trade Union International (whose membership is now confined almost exclusively to Soviet Russia) and a member of the presidium of the Comintern, in statements quoted by the New York Times correspondent. Saying that "the red trade unions have failed to live up to all their opportunities," Lozovsky placed the Communist hopes upon continuance of the world economic crisis, which, he said, "creates ground for the growth of the revolutionary trade union movement—for the victory of the Comintern"—over international Socialism.

The Times correspondent adds that Lozovsky "advocated the full use of boring from within tactics" and the intensification of Communist efforts to get a firmer hold in the trade unions.

Stalin Soft Pedals

It is possible, of course, that the Comintern, which has held no congress since 1928, may actually be convened by Stalin in August. Delegates to the congress have been cooling their heels in Moscow (at the expense of the Russian people) since the end of April. At that time Stalin found it inconvenient to permit the congress to meet. With the recent arrival of Premier Laval of France in Moscow to ce-

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## N.E.C. Meeting Paves Way For Harmony in the Party

By William M. Feigenbaum

A LONG and eagerly-welcomed step toward harmony in the Socialist Party, a definite approach toward unity of action and the eventual dissolution of factions, the existence of which have paralyzed party work for months, was taken by the National Executive Committee at its New York meeting during the past week-end.

After long and intensive discussions, largely in executive sessions with members of the New York state committee and spokesmen for various points of view within the party, the N.E.C. adopted a program that was approved by nine of the fifteen members of the New York committee who were in attendance, and which is expected to heal the breach in the New York party organization and thus restore party harmony throughout the country.

The major portion of the time of the N.E.C. was taken up with the problem, and when the peace pact, drawn up after much discussion, was presented to the full committee at a public session in the Debs Auditorium in the People's House the excitement was intense. It was known that several members of the N.E.C. opposed the whole program, and the hundreds of party members present were eager to see what the nature of the program was and what the nature of the opposition to it would be.

The final vote was 7 to 4. Powders Haggood, Franz Daniel, Maynard Krueger and Devere Allen voting against it. Comrade Allen, however, explained that if his vote were necessary to put the program across he would have voted for it. Only Daniel, Krueger and Haggood were opposed to the program.

Later in the session, close to midnight Monday, the committee rejected a motion urged by Haggood and Daniel (Krueger being absent) for the reinstatement of the five Buffalo members of the R.P.A. who had been expelled from the party, and adopted instead a motion asking the New York state committee to refer the expulsions back to Local Erie County on the ground that the expulsions had been effected by January while the N.E.C. adopted a resolution making advocacy of armed insurrection incompatible with party membership two months later. Members of the State Com-

## A Victory for the Whole Socialist Party

By ALGERNON LEE  
New York City Chairman,  
Socialist Party.

I AM well satisfied with the outcome of this gathering, and so, I feel sure, are the party members with whom I am most closely associated in the New York City and State movement. We do not feel that it is a matter of victory or defeat for us or for anyone else. I have no doubt that a large majority of our party members will take the same view, and that they will set the tone for the future.

If there are any individuals here and there who wish to keep the party in turmoil, at a time when constructive work is so greatly needed, the general feeling of the rank and file will hold them in check.

It will be a great relief to us of the so-called "Old Guard," and I hope to the younger membership as well, if the sessions of our National, State and City Committees can henceforth devote their time to the propaganda of Socialism and the building of a Socialist Party capable of effective action, side by side with organized labor, for the interests of the working class, for democracy and Socialism.

mittee expressed their satisfaction with the handling of the matter.

## New Jersey Conflict

Another highly disputed matter was the party situation in New Jersey, and after brief statements by Milo C. Jones, Morris Rosenkrantz and George H. Goebel, and with a long statement of the expelled Hudson County organization before them, the N.E.C. appointed a committee of I. Minkoff, Dr. Simon Berlin and Murray Baron to go into the state to endeavor to mediate the differences there.

With a full program before them of matters dealing with important national programs, it was felt by all—the 11 members of the N.E.C. as well as the whole party membership—that the one vital problem was the restoration of party harmony in New York. It was realized that if that could be accomplished the party could go ahead at full steam and that progress would be rapidly accelerated.



# Workers in Europe Display Might in Fight for Freedom

## Stauning Explains New Line of Danish Gov't

(Continued from Page One)

noticeable that the guidance of the debates is entirely, and by unanimous consent, in the hands of the Executive. On the present occasion, as we shall see, there was a fairly controversial question to decide. Yet when the vote was taken, the resolution proposed by the Executive was carried unanimously except for three votes. Which means that a great effort had been made to extract the common element from thoughts which were in some respects dissimilar, and that the effort had succeeded.

### The Chief Problem

What was the problem which occupied the minds of those present? It was the question raised by the new international situation, with the military consequences which it might entail.

The rise of Hitler has created grave difficulties of two kinds for Denmark. On the one hand, National Socialism has endeavored to aggravate considerably the agitation among the German minority in Schleswig. It has even attempted to create a movement on Nazi lines throughout the country.

On the other hand, Denmark suffers with the rest of Europe from the increased danger of war. She had for a long time thought that she could live in peace, in her own corner, far from the troubles of Europe. She realizes more and more each day that this is no longer possible for any country in the world as it is. She not long ago thought of giving a great example by disarming unilaterally. She is now obliged to subordinate her disarmament to a general agreement for simultaneous action.

### Prepare for Defense

Thus the resolution adopted states, in particular:

That the Danish Socialists recognize the duty to defend their frontiers, to the limits of possibility, against every aggression.

That it is necessary to revise, in view of the circumstances, the technical conditions under which this defense must be organized. This provision seems to announce that the military plan defended for so many years by the Socialists, and which the opposition in the Upper House prevented from becoming law, might well be abandoned or revised.

This new policy is warmly defended by Premier Stauning and his friends. It is supported with enthusiasm by the Youth organizations. It only encounters reservations among those of middle age, who have been formed under the influence of a different ideology. Stauning gave the reasons which decided him in a speech of the highest importance, which deserves to be known elsewhere than in Denmark.

Among these reasons are some of a national character: Account must be taken of the fact that the workers are in the Government, that their influence is growing, and that their achievements are increasing in number. It is now wrong to say that "they have nothing to lose but their chains"; our friends are at this very moment carrying on a campaign with the slogan, "Denmark for the People"; there would

be a singular contradiction in refusing to defend this country, which already so largely belongs to the people, and which the people want in its entirety.

Stauning also insists upon the necessity to consider the army and the fleet in future without hostility. They must be treated as organs of the State, at the service of the people, with a right by this token to the people's sympathy and support.

But the international situation appears above all to have exercised a great influence upon the decision of the Socialist Danish Prime Minister. His speech constituted a complete support for the idea of collective security, towards which all the States, great and small, must contribute according to their strength. In this connection he quoted, as an expression of his thought, the last resolution of the Labor and Socialist International. But in agreeing to cooperate in any action necessary against the formers of trouble in Europe, it is clear that Denmark does not mean to serve one group of powers against another group. He further agrees with the International that the system of security should be prevented from degenerating into a system of rival alliances.

### A Great Movement

The Danish resolution constitutes an event of high international importance, and we shall have to come back to it when we are in possession of complete and correct translations of the texts. I shall content myself today with saying how greatly the conference and the demonstrations which accompanied it gave the impression of a strong and solid labor movement. How can I describe to my readers the long and perfectly ordered procession which passed through the town on the Sunday, the open-air meeting in the municipal park, at which the population of the neighboring towns, brought by special trains, mingled with the population of Aalborg, and the enthusiastic procession of the young people marching by in the clear night?

The party lives in close relation with economic and cultural organizations of every kind, powerful trade unions and cooperative societies which are among the first in the world. It recruits its forces on the countryside as well as in the towns, realizing in a remarkable degree the union of peasants and workers. It sometimes experiences difficult hours, but it goes through them with exemplary calmness and determination. It occupies in the country a particularly strong political position, under the leadership of Stauning, whose popularity is truly extraordinary.

Certainly it is necessary here, as elsewhere, to struggle bitterly against adverse circumstances. The conquests of the workers must be defended against a fierce reaction by the employers. Democracy must be defended against many enemies. The most restless at the moment are the large farmers and the landowners, who are very active and are preparing to march in procession to the King to appeal to him against decisions of the people. The King, said Stauning, will doubtless receive these gentlemen. He will receive them with his habitual friendliness. But he will not fail to point out to them that they have addressed themselves to the wrong quarter, and that it is for Parliament to decide. Proud language, which shows that in this little Nordic country the anti-Parliamentary and anti-democratic reaction is not yet ready to triumph!

## 50,000 Are Expected To Attend Big Picnic

### McLevy Main Speaker at Picnic

Mayor Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport will be the main speaker at the great Labor and Socialist picnic, it can be authoritatively stated. Judge Jacob Panken will likewise address the vast throngs.

NOW that peace and harmony have been restored in the ranks of the Socialist Party, the joint picnic to be held at Ulmer Park, July 27, promises to be one of the most successful gatherings that the Socialist and labor movement has witnessed in many years.

As we go to press more than 50,000 tickets have been bought by trade unions, Workmen's Circle and Socialist branches and their respective youth organizations.

The committee in charge has succeeded in arranging all kinds of sports events, concert by leading stars of the Chicago Civic Opera and the best artistic talents from

## Socialist Party Backs Drive To Award Nobel Prize to Carl von Ossietzky



Text of Resolution adopted by the N.E.C. backing the world movement to have the Nobel Peace Prize awarded to Carl von Ossietzky, now in a Hitler concentration camp.

THE Socialist Party of the United States of America, aware of the movement that has been initiated to recommend to the Nobel Prize Committee the name of Carl von Ossietzky for the award of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1935, expresses its complete sympathy with this movement.

In common with radical and liberal opinion throughout the world, the Socialist Party recognizes the value of Carl von Ossietzky's services in behalf of world peace. While not a member of any political party, von Ossietzky in his capacity of editor of the independent radical weekly *Die Weltbühne* consistently criticized the political situation in Germany and the rest of the world from a Socialist point of view.

One of the most outspoken enemies of militarism, he was among the first European journalists to realize and to warn against the increasing menace of fascism. His most notable contributions to the fight against militarism and incipient fascism were his exposures of secret re-armaments. During the last year of the republic Ossietzky was sentenced to 18 months in jail for "betrayal of military secrets."

He was released, however, under the general amnesty of December, 1932, only to be sent to a concentration camp when the Nazis seized power.

The Socialist Party feels that the Nobel Committee this year has the rare opportunity of rewarding a man who by his past courageous activities and by his present martyrdom has contributed as much as any person now living to the cause of world peace.

Furthermore, the Socialist Party recognizes the tremendous value of such an award to an inmate of a German concentration camp as a most effective anti-Nazi demonstration.

In consideration of these facts the Socialist Party declares its readiness to cooperate with non-partisan groups already in existence for the purpose of aiding the campaign in behalf of Carl von Ossietzky, and to take the initiative in localities where no such groups exist.

The Socialist Party will immediately take steps to circulate among its membership petitions addressed to the Nobel Prize Committee in Oslo indicating our support of the candidacy of Carl von Ossietzky.

accepting membership on the committee, writes: "In realizing the necessity for the amendment, I recognize it is a large step in the right direction. Like many others in our nation's millions, I well understand that we must change our economic system to one of production for use and not for profit. To realize this, we must build a Labor party based upon the American labor movement, progressive farmers' groups, etc., to bring the change in our social and economic system by democratic means."

Other labor men who will serve on the committee are James W. Miller, vice-chairman of the Missouri State Legislative Board of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; Abe Garrison, Federation of the Kansas State Federation; John Somerville, member of the executive committee of Local 2096 of the United Textile Workers of America; R. F. Howarth, chairman, Resolutions Committee, Central Labor Council, Everett, Wash.; R. V. Johns of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, and Vincent Calkins, President of the Slovene National Benefit Society.

The eighteen hundred members of Local 147 of the Painters' Union of Chicago gave their unanimous and enthusiastic endorsement of the Workers' Rights Amendment to the Painters' District Council. Local No. 147 is the largest painters' local in the United States.

Other important labor groups that have announced their endorsement of the bill during the past week are the New Britain (Conn.) Central Labor Union, The Chicago Federation of Labor, International Association of Machinists Lodge No. 271 (Birmingham, Ala.), Local 2096 of the United Textile Workers (Lakewood, O.), the Lake County, Ohio, Central Labor Union.

Liberal-Progressive Organizations in Campaign

Labor and progressive organizations throughout the New York Metropolitan area continue to record endorsements of the Hillquit

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## Socialists Win Big Victories In Holland

(Continued from Page One)

standable that there are some which are less favorable. But the total result is undeniably a great success for our party.

**Fascists for Communists**  
In the six largest communes of the country the party increased the number of its local councillors from 80 to 94, and has thus gained 14 seats.

The picture presented by Amsterdam is less favorable than that of other large towns. Nevertheless Amsterdam also shows a gain of one seat.

It is interesting to mention that in certain localities the fascists cast their votes for the Communist candidates. Apparently, in backing the Communists they were aiming at undermining the authority of the local council and thus of democracy itself.

What is remarkable are the great successes gained by our party in a large number of medium-sized communes, provincial capitals and others.

The following table contains the results obtained in all the important communes and a large number of small ones. The communes which have not been taken into account in this table cannot produce any change in the final result:

Parties	1931	1935	Gain	Loss
Socialists	1200	1454	154	—
Christian-Historical	824	784	—	40
Democratic Cath. Party	5	32	27	—
State Catholic Party	1251	1191	—	60
Christian-Demo. Union	9	67	52	—
Anti-Revolutionary Party	1962	1630	—	62
Liberal Party	696	533	—	163
Liberal Democrats	338	272	—	66
Communists	51	89	38	—
Revolutionary Socialists	11	24	13	—
National Renovation (Fascists)	—	28	28	—
Other Parties	987	1067	80	—

### Socialists Strengthened

This election result thus constitutes a heavy defeat for the government parties. Altogether they lose nearly 400 seats. None of these parties escapes loss. The Liberals are hit hardest of all, for they have lost 163 seats. In the local councils of the great towns which they administered in the past their role is practically played out. In the municipal council of Amsterdam there are now only three Liberals. In Rotterdam the Liberal group has been reduced from seven to three, and at The Hague from seven to four. The Liberal Democrats, who have lost 20 percent of their seats in the local councils, also lose all their influence in the great towns. They disappear completely from the council in Rotterdam; in Amsterdam and The Hague there is only one single Liberal Democrat. And this is the party which for years cherished the hope of surpassing the Social Democrats!

The Social Democratic Labor Party is the victorious party. Its position in the communal councils has been strengthened. In the country as a whole it deserves increased political consideration. Two years ago, after the mutiny which took place on the warship "Zeven Provinciën" an attempt was made to destroy it by a Hottentot election.

The bourgeois parties, which agreed among themselves in order to fight the Socialists, imagined that they had arrested the growth of the Social Democratic movement. After two years the Social Democratic Labor Party rises again and shows that it constitutes an unbreakable and even strengthened force. The two elections of 1935, for the provincial states and the Labor Plan.

## Back of the Big Parades In Paris on July 14

(The following correspondence from Paris was received by The New Leader two days before last Sunday's imposing anti-fascist demonstration in the French capital. The article casts an illuminating light on the political situation in France.)

### By Peter Garwy

PARIS.—Almost 150 years have passed since the people of Paris stormed and captured the Bastille, symbol of oppression and absolutism. Four revolutions and streams of blood were required to consolidate the democratic regime in France. The Third Republic survived the MacMahon, Boulanger, Dreyfus and World War crises. And now it suddenly finds itself confronted with a new danger.

The economic crisis has undermined the social foundations upon which the political superstructure of the Third Republic rests. Civil war may be in the offing. If after the events of February 6, 1934, it was possible to speak of the development of fascist sentiment and concentration, it is hardly possible now to deny the existence of a fascist danger in France. The unfounded optimism of the semi-official *Tempe*, which believes that the fascist danger in France is an invention of the left parties is too light to be taken without suspicion. The shift to the left, manifested in the recent municipal elections, was accompanied simultaneously by quiet transition from fascist propaganda and organization to open fascist activity, preparatory to possible civil war.

Reactionary organizations, financed and inspired by the plutocracy of France, perceived the idea, after the riots of February 6, of utilizing the crisis-fed despair of the people, particularly of the middle classes, for their own political purposes.

### Fascist Organizations

Most prominent of all the fascist organizations is now the *Croix de Feu* ("Cross of Fire"), which has gained ascendancy over all the others and has seized leadership of the movement. The other conspiratorial bands are *Action Française*, *Solidarité Française*, *Jeunes Patriotes*, *Camelots du Roi*, etc. In the *Croix de Feu* the fascist movement in France, still devoid of any clear program and point of concentration, found its advance guard. In Count de La Roche, a retired colonel, it found its *führer*. The *führer*, his party and his private army constitute, according to the doctrine of classic fascism, the three basic elements designed to make possible seizure of power in a weakened democracy.

The *Croix de Feu* does not yet constitute a party. There are only the *führer* and his private army. So far as de la Roche is concerned, the central point of the struggle is, therefore, not in propaganda or in the acquisition of a majority by "legal" democratic

local councils, have shown its strength, and all the bourgeois parties have felt it.

The Social Democratic Labor Party, radiating with enthusiasm, and with increased confidence in itself, is at present sure of the collaboration of the wide masses of the people in its struggle against the misery produced by the crisis, and for the maintenance of democracy. It is at present preparing a great campaign in favor of its Labor Plan.

means, insofar as this may prove possible, as was the case with Hitler, but in a policy of conspiracy.

How strong is the *Croix de Feu*? According to de la Roche his organization had a membership of 30,000 before February 6. At present it is supposed to have 320,000 members. By admitting "sympathizers" (non-veterans), it ceases to be a fighting organization and becomes a political party. Not all of the 320,000 members of the *Croix de Feu* can be regarded as material for a civil war army. Only about 120,000, including some 20,000 blind war veterans, may be counted upon to follow the *führer* through thick and thin.

The members of de la Roche's organization are armed, possessing even airplanes. His private army constitutes a danger because it commands support not only among reserve officers but also of some active officers of the army, with "sympathizers" even among members of the general staff. The history of fascism shows that it draws its main strength not from its own military organizations but from support of organs of the state, particularly from the army command.

### The French Hitler

Count de La Roche, who seeks to play the role of Hitler as leader of a plebeian "national revolution," has revealed his plans prematurely, however. His recent mobilization attempts at Alger, Chartres, etc., have alarmed public opinion. The play at soldiers is becoming dangerous. The colonel, who seeks to "save" the French people against their will, appears to have miscalculated. He can venture upon a "putsch" but he cannot unleash a successful "national revolution" and seize power without provoking a violent civil war.

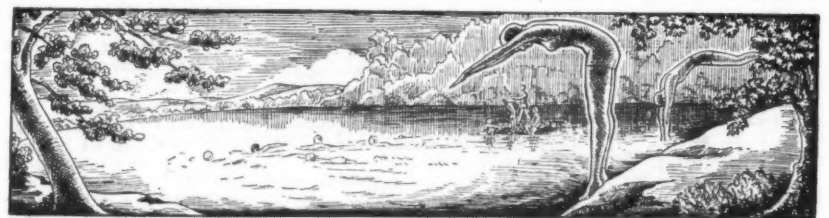
France is neither Italy nor Germany. The French people have a long revolutionary history. They have passed through a political schooling unlike that of any other people. As the Catholic journal *Aube* has pointed out, the French people, unlike the Italians and Germans, have already passed through the experience of dictatorship. The 1,000,000 peasants of France owe everything to the Great French Revolution. As distinct from Germany, France is dominated by a strong petty-bourgeois radicalism. Paris, to be sure, is reactionary, but it is surrounded by a red ring of proletarian quarters and suburbs, while the provinces are quite loyal to the republic.

Moreover, France is a victor country, dominated by no national "complexes." All of which does not mean that fascism in France presents no danger.

We only wish to say that the powers of resistance possessed by French democracy and its prospects of survival are very great.

The recent mobilizations of the *Croix de Feu* has aroused the entire left in France. Far from being thrown into panic, the parties of the left, from the Radical-Socialists to the Communists, have combined to alarm the government. Following close upon the initiative of the Socialists and Communists, a delegation of various left parties, including the Radical-Socialists, who are in the government, called attention of Premier Laval to the "putsch" preparations of the fascists. Laval was compelled to admit the danger of a "putsch," although a few days before he had

(Continued on Page Six)



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# Harmony Pact to End Party Dissentions

## N. E. C. Members Debate Points of Harmony Pact

THE joint informal conference between nine members of the New York State Committee and four members of the N.E.C. devoted many hours to the formulation of what came to be called the "peace treaty" for the settlement of disputes in New York State. After having prepared a draft of an agreement, with Daniel Hapgood and Krueger dissenting, the document was mimeographed and came before the full N.E.C. in executive session, while hundreds of anxious Yipsels and party members waited downstairs and in the streets until the final decisions were to be made in an open session.

The first draft was thoroughly discussed in executive session. Some paragraphs were added to, some phrases were changed or stricken out, all on the basis of mutual concession to reach some sort of a workable agreement. Documents were consulted, including the report of the committee of three sent by the N.E.C. into New York and the constitutions of the national, state and local organizations. Daniel, Krueger and Hapgood offered substitutes for most of the sections.

**Finishing Final Draft**

This second stage of the deliberations differed from the informal conference in this: after the original draft was amended and the signatures of Hoopes, Coolidge, Krzycki and Hoan for the N.E.C. and of nine members of the state committee were given to the amended "treaty," the document became a proposal of the joint committee to the full committee of the N.E.C. The nine members from New York were pledged to support it in the full committee when it is called. If the N.E.C. materially altered the final joint agreement the nine members of the state committee could not be bound by a "treaty" that had been materially changed.

Therefore, the action of the full membership of the N.E.C. would be decisive as to whether there would be peace. Krueger, Daniel and Hapgood again pressed their substitute proposals, each of which would have materially altered the joint "treaty" and made it unacceptable to New York.

When this amended document was considered in open session in the auditorium with hundreds of party members looking on, the climax of the negotiations was reached. Krzycki in the meantime had been compelled to leave by a pressing engagement and before this open session concluded Hoan had to leave for Baltimore, but both had their names signed to the "treaty" and their votes were recorded in favor of each of its sections.

**Discussion Begins**

On Point 1, defining Communism, Hapgood offered the substitute that was offered in the executive session which included a requirement that the members expelled at Buffalo be readmitted to the party. He wanted no retroactive action taken against them and was opposed to the report condemning dictatorship, contending that underground work may in some emergency be necessary. "I certainly don't believe one should be expelled from the party for advocating armed insurrection," he said. Hapgood's definition of a Communist was one who is affiliated with one of the Communist parties. "If I would have anyone in our party," he said, "who belongs to the party and follows the party line, no matter what he believes."

Point 1, he said, "Repudiates much that is in the Declaration of Principles," and he added that he wants no "heresy hunts" in the party.

Coolidge observed that it was a choice between the joint report and no agreement, and he added that Point 1 does not invite a heresy hunt but rather will prevent it by a specific definition of Communism.

Graham thought that Hapgood's substitute was unfair; and Allen contended that we must have a definition to protect the party, as without it the meaning of Communism would be open to dispute. Thomas declared that in voting for Point 1 he wanted to make it clear that in his mind "it does not negate the Declaration."

Point 1 was a basic issue. The

matter of the Buffalo expulsions was postponed to a later session, and the Hapgood substitute, with Buffalo out of it, was supported by Hapgood, Daniel and Krueger. The joint proposal was then adopted by 8 votes to three.

On Point 2, Allen offered a substitute carrying a minor amendment to the proposal of the Joint Committee, while Hapgood declared that while the New York organization demands the right of free speech for itself "we on the left also demand the same right." He urged that Point 2 specifically grant the right to criticize the Detroit Declaration to those who believe it too mild and "right" as well as to those critics who oppose it as too "left." The Allen substitute was defeated, securing the votes of Allen, Hapgood, Krueger and Daniel, after which the point was adopted eight to three.

Daniel read a proposed substitute to Point 3, and asserted that "if the N.E.C. is not interested in enforcing the party's constitution we haven't any Socialist Party." The substitute received four votes, Allen joining Krueger, Daniel and Hapgood in its favor. The vote in favor of the original proposal was 7 to 4, Thomas voting in the negative.

**One Amendment**

Krueger proposed a substitute for Point 4 a paragraph that would admit all Yipsels over 18 who applied for membership in the party as members as of the date of their application. With its defeat by 8 to 3 Thomas moved an amendment, which carried 6 to 3 that a definite date be set for their admission in the party, but it was announced that that point would not be effective until the State Committee formally voted on it. The amended point was carried 6 to 4.

Hapgood had as a substitute for Point 5 a strong condemnation of certain party members accused of violating the spirit of the end desired, but it was voted down, four members in its favor; Allen, Hapgood, Krueger and Daniel. The Point then was carried 6 to 4, Thomas declining to vote on the ground that the Point carries an affirmative finding of fact with which he could not agree.

For Point 6 Allen had a substitute calling for new elections to the New York Central committee to be supervised by a committee of one "militant," one Old Guardist and headed by Harry W. Laidler. The substitute was defeated 6 to 5, and then the Point was carried 6 to 4.

Krueger's amendment to Point 7 was defeated 7 to 4, Allen voting in the minority, and then the Point was carried 8 to 3.

On Point 8 Daniel's substitute carried an attack upon the New Leader, but it was defeated 4 to 7, after which the Point was carried by the same vote, Allen joining Krueger, Daniel and Hapgood.

**Finishing the Job**

The vote on the Plan as a whole was then taken, and Allen joined Krueger, Daniel and Hapgood in the negative, but he explained that if his vote were needed to carry it he would have voted otherwise. Thomas explained his affirmative vote, saying that the plan was far from perfect, but in the interest of the larger good he was voting for it. Krueger asserted that he had "lost faith in what I used to believe in," the majority of this committee.

Daniel then moved that The New Leader be removed from the accredited list of party papers, and Coolidge amended that the accredited list and other classifications be abolished. After an animated debate, Thomas approving the motion and Allen the substitute, the latter carried 7 to 4.

Krueger then moved that New York be instructed to act at once on what has come to be known as the Nemser case, but after some discussion the motion was withdrawn at Thomas' request on the ground that the discussion in the N.E.C. had the effect of calling the party's attention to the situation.

At this point Secretary Senior read the usual United Front request from the Communist Party, but the letter was filed on the basis of the resolution of the Boston meeting of the N.E.C.

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The N. Y. State Committee has done both. It has acknowledged that the Declaration of Principles was duly and legally adopted and that it intends to exercise the right it has to advocate changes therein. To advocate changes implies the right to criticize the existing document and to point out what constitutes in the opinion of the critics its shortcomings; otherwise the right to advocate changes can not be effectively exercised.

The N. E. C. realizes that considerable leeway must be given those who advocate changes. We cannot restrict them in their criticism without establishing a censorship. It would be better to trust to their loyalty to the Socialist Party than to compel any obedience to any censorship that could be devised. We shall urge all comrades in carrying on their campaign to have the Declaration of Principles revised to conduct the discussion on a plane that will be consistent with Socialist ethics. If that is done, the membership at the next national convention will be able to consider more intelligently any revision in the Declaration of Principles that may be offered.

**POINT THREE**

That the local, state and national constitutions shall be rigidly enforced.

On this point the N. Y. State Committee admits that there have been some technical violations resulting out of the unusual circumstances existing; for instance, there was no city convention called in April as required, but for years the custom has been to call such conventions when needed. Furthermore, there was no demand by any branch for such convention; there had been requests for a membership meeting to consider the Draper case which had already been passed upon by the S. E. C. so that Local New York had no jurisdiction; and, furthermore, a membership meeting has only advisory powers. The dissolution of branches was clearly within the power of the City Executive Committee as provided in the local's constitution. Our position is that constitu-

tional procedure should and must be enforced. But we call attention to the fact that much misinformation and difficulty has arisen because of the failure of branches or members aggrieved by the local's action to file charges or to appeal to the State Committee. If this procedure is followed we are confident that all in our power will be done to enforce any and all constitutional procedure.

**POINT FOUR**

That the State Committee rescind the resolution which forbids locals from accepting to membership members of the Y. P. S. L. who are qualified within the national constitution and resolutions.

The N. Y. State Committee shall rescind the motion instructing locals not to accept to membership applicants less than 21 years of age. All applicants shall be accepted or rejected according to the rules and regulations provided by local, State and National Constitutions.

**POINT FIVE**

That every party member, all party committees, and papers published by Socialists shall be forbidden from making or issuing statements attacking the integrity of the comrades, the party itself, or its duly constituted committees. Provision must be made for disciplinary action to enforce this.

Provisions must be made for disciplinary action to enforce this. It has been the practice in the Socialist Party not to discuss internal party affairs in the non-Socialist press. Under ordinary conditions this practice was observed, although there have been cases in which party members departed from it. When normal conditions prevailed in the party these exceptions were not regarded as of sufficient importance to create an issue or division within the ranks of the party. Since the Detroit convention the exceptions have been more numerous. Each side contends that departures from this practice have not been confined to just one side in the present controversy.

If it is shown that any party member or members hereafter directly or indirectly supplies for publication in the capitalist press statements attacking the party or its committees, it shall be regarded and treated as conduct unbecoming a Socialist and deserving of proper and adequate disciplinary action. Discussions or statements in the Socialist press shall not be restricted in criticism of party policies. We do say that such statements should be tempered in language so as not to bring other party members, its committees or the party itself, into disrepute or which will result in questioning their integrity or motives. We hold that the same standards shall apply in the use of letters, circulars or pamphlets. We shall use our utmost influence to enforce this rule and will take all necessary disciplinary action to enforce it.

**POINT SIX**

That the local and state committees of New York shall promptly dispose of all questions of membership, organization, etc., in dispute in a democratic and constitutional manner.

There is no convincing evidence of intentional delay in the disposition of all questions of membership, etc., and it is agreed that in the future every effort will be made to improve the machinery and procedure for prompt and effective disposition of such matters in a democratic and constitutional manner.

**POINT SEVEN**

That the Y.P.S.L. of New York be promptly reinstated upon the basis that it shall conform to the decisions of the local, but it shall not be required to support any Socialist paper that engages in factional warfare.

The N. Y. State Committee has already instructed Local New York to reinstate the Y.P.S.L. and to dissolve the Young Socialist Alliance as soon as the Young People's Socialist League agrees to conform to the decisions of the local and to rescind its formal statement against The New Leader, provided that no disciplinary action shall be taken by the Y.P.S.L. against members of the Y.S.A., and that all members and circles be reinstated with all rights and privileges.

Local New York has formally declared its readiness to carry out this instruction immediately upon compliance with conditions named and has explicitly declared that it does not demand that the Y.P.S.L. actively support The New Leader. Without reproach for any past occurrences, the N. E. C. declares that it is improper and beyond the function of the Y.P.S.L., or any sub-division of the party or auxiliary organization, publicly to attack or repudiate any recognized party paper. It welcomes the assurance now received, however, that neither the State Executive Committee, the State Committee or Local New York will insist upon the Y.P.S.L. formally rescinding its past resolution against The New Leader and will drop all charges and will institute no disciplinary action on account of matters arising out of the dispute between the party and the Y.P.S.L.

**POINT EIGHT**

If the New Leader will restore its former constitution, cease to be a factional organ, and so organize the Association and Board of Directors, as to be representative of the entire party membership in New York, we urge that the Socialist Call be discontinued.

We feel that the problems suggested in Point Eight will disappear upon solution of factional differences.

If these proposals are accepted and executed in good faith the N. E. C. will issue a statement to dissolve all factions.

Members of the State Committee and State Executive Committee:

U. Solomon  
Charles W. Noonan  
Julius Gerber  
William M. Feigenbaum  
James Oneal  
Sarah Volovick  
Harry Kreitzer  
Carl O. Parsons  
Herman Kobbé

Sub-committee of the National Executive Committee:

Darlington Hoopes  
Albert Sprague Coolidge  
Leo Krzycki  
Daniel W. Hoan.

**How the Party's Peace Pact Was Drafted in Committee**

AT the Saturday afternoon session in the Auditorium, which was packed by party members vitally interested in the decisions of the N.E.C., a number of spokesmen of various views were heard.

Members struggled for good positions near the table where the N.E.C. sat. A long row sat on the edge of the stage and back of the row were others standing. Soon others occupying seats began to rise to obtain a view of the proceedings and obscured the view of others in the rear. Chairman Hoopes warned the audience that demonstrations, expressions of disapproval, cheers, applause or laughter would not be tolerated and if it occurred the committee would meet in executive session. The result was good order throughout the hearing.

Sarah Limbach, state secretary of Pennsylvania, and Sidney Stark of Pittsburgh, represented that state. Speaking for the state committee, Comrade Limbach declared that Pennsylvania Socialists were alarmed over the situation but expected that wisdom and forethought would solve the crisis. "Put out a large number of members and this will spread to other states, bringing a split and ruin," she said. Members in her state were beginning to slow up in activities, in part due to the depression but also due to pessimism, the direct outcome of the controversy. It was up to the N. E. C. to save the party and if it does not the party faces complete disintegration. Whatever happens, she declared, the N. E. C. will be responsible.

"We know that the problem is not a simple one," she went on, "but we plead with you to avoid a break, for if it comes there is little hope to rebuild." She added that she was not a neutral in the struggle and had definite opinions. "Pennsylvania will not stand for any break-up of the party. We may not get unity on principle but we do expect to accomplish organic unity and this is extremely essential."

**"Centrists" Make Plea**

Matthew Levy, speaking for the "centrists" who signed his statement, declared that the situation is critical and that a split was inevitable "unless the N. E. C. heeds the demands for a way out of the factional warfare." He urged that formalities of jurisdiction, legality and procedure be ignored and that the N. E. C. and the State Committee meet in conference. He would not detail grievances but he complained that at the Boston meeting of the N. E. C. the "centrists" were disappointed that their suggestions went unheeded and "left the situation worse than it was before."

The New York state committee "has left the door open in its reply to the nine points" for a conference and nothing is in the way of holding it. "The N. E. C. has gone out of its way to issue an appeal to unattached radicals. Why can't the N. E. C. also go out of its way to confer with a Socialist Party state organization?" He hoped that when the history of the Socialist movement is written it will not be said that lack of leadership had wrecked the party. "Unless the party is united it is doomed." In that event even the "militants" will disintegrate into splinters. Revocation of the state charter would be the beginning, with r'endments, splits and expulsions following. The great majority of the members want to avoid this and he hoped that a conference would be held.

**Wants Charter Revoked**

Max Delson, speaking for the "militants," said that the N. E. C. at Buffalo laid down nine points and he expected acceptance of them. The state committee had filed charges against the state committee and the N. E. C. had tried to patch up while that committee and The New Leader had taken the questions outside of New York State. He added that the state committee had repudiated the Detroit Declaration and there was no hope of a compromise, that it had lost control of the national organization and have resorted to anti-Socialist tactics.

He went on to say that James Oneal had said if a split does not occur now it would come in 1936. "These elements no longer abide by Socialist principles," he continued, and unless the state charter is revoked they will carry the campaign into other states. Delay will only leave the party a shambles. "Save the name of the Socialist Party and revoke the charter," he concluded.

Henry Fruchter, city secretary, declared that the divisions are small and that the younger elements do not have the knowledge and experience to take over a party organization. We should treat the young "militants" with sympathy, but to revoke the New York charter, as they urge, would be "the crime of crimes." The movement must rest primarily upon mature human beings, and there can be substantial unity if the N. E. C. files away the controversy

sial documents for a year; but continue with these endless inquiries and there will be the danger of a split. The N. E. C. should sit down with the state committee and talk things over, he concluded.

At an evening session attended only by members of the committee it was decided to ask whatever members of the New York state committee were in the city to meet with the N. E. C. in executive session Sunday morning to see if an agreement could be worked out. The Saturday session, however, had to be cut short because of the mass meeting at Irving Plaza Hall.

**The Conference Committee**

Sunday morning early found all eleven members of the N. E. C. in conference with nine members of the State Committee: Julius Gerber, Harry Krizter, Carl O. Parsons, William M. Feigenbaum, James Oneal, U. Solomon, Sarah Volovick, Herman Kobbé and Chas. W. Noonan. Then ensued a discussion remarkable for its candor and its directness. Guided by Daniel W. Hoan, the New York State committeemen and the members of the N. E. C. thrashed out all the points of difference that had resulted in party paralysis, the New Yorkers explaining the charges that had been brought against the New York organization by the "militants," arguing and seeking a way out of the wilderness.

U. Solomon took the lead among the state committeemen in clarifying disputed points, and vouching for the eagerness of the New York organization to find a basis of agreement.

After close to six hours of uninterrupted discussion a committee of Hoan, Darlington, Hoopes, National Chairman Krzycki and Albert Sprague Coolidge was chosen to draw up a statement that would serve as a peace pact. Upon being asked by Maynard Krueger what guarantee there would be that the plan would be accepted by New York, the nine committeemen, constituting a majority of the state committee and the state executive committee, bound themselves to vote for the pact, thus assuring its adoption.

**Pleas and Counter-Pleas**

The sub-committee met with the state committeemen during the afternoon, working on a draft that was later modified in the form of the peace pact. Meanwhile the remaining members of the N. E. C. met before a large crowd in the auditorium downstairs, and heard an earnest plea by Joseph Barsak, official representative of the Massachusetts State Executive Committee, for peace, and offering his services to bring it about. Barsak spoke briefly but effectively; he pointed out that failure to find a basis of peace now would undoubtedly spell the end of the Socialist Party. He was followed by John Newton Thurber, county secretary of Cuyahoga County, Ohio (Cleveland), who demanded the revocation of New York's charter and who backed up his plea with a bitter attack upon The New Leader. He added that the time had come for "an operation" "even if it requires the expulsion of a large section of the party."

Keith Kirkpatrick, for the District of Columbia organization, read a resolution along the same lines, and he was followed by Aaron Levenstein for the Y.P.S.L. defending the record of that organization. A resolution from the Illinois organization demanding the revocation of the New York charter was read.

Meanwhile the committee of four was at work upstairs with the problem of working out a satisfactory document. Other members of the N. E. C., notably Norman Thomas, attended from time to time, and late in the evening the first draft was ready.

While it was being mimeographed, Hoan announced to the full committee downstairs that a tentative agreement had been reached, but that it would not be made public until the following day.

Sunday night conferences and caucuses are reported to have been held, with the result that on Monday morning an alternative draft was ready for presentation by Powers Hapgood, Franz Daniel and Maynard Krueger. At an executive session the three latter expressed their opinions, after which the sub-committee again called in the New York state committeemen, and the pact was finally whipped into shape, substantially as it was later adopted.

It was late Monday afternoon when a steaming crowd jammed the Debs Auditorium again to hear the report and the debate that finally resulted in the adoption of the pact. (The debate on the pact is reported elsewhere.)

At a night session a number of routine matters were disposed of, as reported in another column. The N.E.C., hot and worn out but happy at having done a fine job, finally adjourned close to midnight after three hard days of important and fruitful work.

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**POINT THREE**

That the local, state and national constitutions shall be rigidly enforced.

On this point the N. Y. State Committee admits that there have been some technical violations resulting out of the unusual circumstances existing; for instance, there was no city convention called in April as required, but for years the custom has been to call such conventions when needed. Furthermore, there was no demand by any branch for such convention; there had been requests for a membership meeting to consider the Draper case which had already been passed upon by the S. E. C. so that Local New York had no jurisdiction; and, furthermore, a membership meeting has only advisory powers. The dissolution of branches was clearly within the power of the City Executive Committee as provided in the local's constitution. Our position is that constitu-

tional procedure should and must be enforced. But we call attention to the fact that much misinformation and difficulty has arisen because of the failure of branches or members aggrieved by the local's action to file charges or to appeal to the State Committee. If this procedure is followed we are confident that all in our power will be done to enforce any and all constitutional procedure.

**POINT FOUR**

That the State Committee rescind the resolution which forbids locals from accepting to membership members of the Y. P. S. L. who are qualified within the national constitution and resolutions.

The N. Y. State Committee shall rescind the motion instructing locals not to accept to membership applicants less than 21 years of age. All applicants shall be accepted or rejected according to the rules and regulations provided by local, State and National Constitutions.

**POINT FIVE**

That every party member, all party committees, and papers published by Socialists shall be forbidden from making or issuing statements attacking the integrity of the comrades, the party itself, or its duly constituted committees. Provision must be made for disciplinary action to enforce this.

Provisions must be made for disciplinary action to enforce this. It has been the practice in the Socialist Party not to discuss internal party affairs in the non-Socialist press. Under ordinary conditions this practice was observed, although there have been cases in which party members departed from it. When normal conditions prevailed in the party these exceptions were not regarded as of sufficient importance to create an issue or division within the ranks of the party. Since the Detroit convention the exceptions have been more numerous. Each side contends that departures from this practice have not been confined to just one side in the present controversy.

If it is shown that any party member or members hereafter directly or indirectly supplies for publication in the capitalist press statements attacking the party or its committees, it shall be regarded and treated as conduct unbecoming a Socialist and deserving of proper and adequate disciplinary action. Discussions or statements in the Socialist press shall not be restricted in criticism of party policies. We do say that such statements should be tempered in language so as not to bring other party members, its committees or the party itself, into disrepute or which will result in questioning their integrity or motives. We hold that the same standards shall apply in the use of letters, circulars or pamphlets. We shall use our utmost influence to enforce this rule and will take all necessary disciplinary action to enforce it.

**POINT SIX**

That the local and state committees of New York shall promptly dispose of all questions of membership, organization, etc., in dispute in a democratic and constitutional manner.

There is no convincing evidence of intentional delay in the disposition of all questions of membership, etc., and it is agreed that in the future every effort will be made to improve the machinery and procedure for prompt and effective disposition of such matters in a democratic and constitutional manner.

**POINT SEVEN**

That the Y.P.S.L. of New York be promptly reinstated upon the basis that it shall conform to the decisions of the local, but it shall not be required to support any Socialist paper that engages in factional warfare.

The N. Y. State Committee has already instructed Local New York to reinstate the Y.P.S.L. and to dissolve the Young Socialist Alliance as soon as the Young People's Socialist League agrees to conform to the decisions of the local and to rescind its formal statement against The New Leader, provided that no disciplinary action shall be taken by the Y.P.S.L. against members of the Y.S.A., and that all members and circles be reinstated with all rights and privileges.

Local New York has formally declared its readiness to carry out this instruction immediately upon compliance with conditions named and has explicitly declared that it does not demand that the Y.P.S.L. actively support The New Leader. Without reproach for any past occurrences, the N. E. C. declares that it is improper and beyond the function of the Y.P.S.L., or any sub-division of the party or auxiliary organization, publicly to attack or repudiate any recognized party paper. It welcomes the assurance now received, however, that neither the State Executive Committee, the State Committee or Local New York will insist upon the Y.P.S.L. formally rescinding its past resolution against The New Leader and will drop all charges and will institute no disciplinary action on account of matters arising out of the dispute between the party and the Y.P.S.L.

**POINT EIGHT**

If the New Leader will restore its former constitution, cease to be a factional organ, and so organize the Association and Board of Directors, as to be representative of the entire party membership in New York, we urge that the Socialist Call be discontinued.

We feel that the problems suggested in Point Eight will disappear upon solution of factional differences.

If these proposals are accepted and executed in good faith the N. E. C. will issue a statement to dissolve all factions.

Members of the State Committee and State Executive Committee:

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Charles W. Noonan  
Julius Gerber  
William M. Feigenbaum  
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Harry Kreitzer  
Carl O. Parsons  
Herman Kobbé

Sub-committee of the National Executive Committee:

Darlington Hoopes  
Albert Sprague Coolidge  
Leo Krzycki  
Daniel W. Hoan.

**How the Party's Peace Pact Was Drafted in Committee**

AT the Saturday afternoon session in the Auditorium, which was packed by party members vitally interested in the decisions of the N.E.C., a number of spokesmen of various views were heard.

Members struggled for good positions near the table where the N.E.C. sat. A long row sat on the edge of the stage and back of the row were others standing. Soon others occupying seats began to rise to obtain a view of the proceedings and obscured the view of others in the rear. Chairman Hoopes warned the audience that demonstrations, expressions of disapproval, cheers, applause or laughter would not be tolerated and if it occurred the committee would meet in executive session. The result was good order throughout the hearing.

Sarah Limbach, state secretary of Pennsylvania, and Sidney Stark of Pittsburgh, represented that state. Speaking for the state committee, Comrade Limbach declared that Pennsylvania Socialists were alarmed over the situation but expected that wisdom and forethought would solve the crisis. "Put out a large number of members and this will spread to other states, bringing a split and ruin," she said. Members in her state were beginning to slow up in activities, in part due to the depression but also due to pessimism, the direct outcome of the controversy. It was up to the N. E. C. to save the party and if it does not the party faces complete disintegration. Whatever happens, she declared, the N. E. C. will be responsible.

"We know that the problem is not a simple one," she went on, "but we plead with you to avoid a break, for if it comes there is little hope to rebuild." She added that she was not a neutral in the struggle and had definite opinions. "Pennsylvania will not stand for any break-up of the party. We may not get unity on principle but we do expect to accomplish organic unity and this is extremely essential."

**"Centrists" Make Plea**

Matthew Levy, speaking for the "centrists" who signed his statement, declared that the situation is critical and that a split was inevitable "unless the N. E. C. heeds the demands for a way out of the factional warfare." He urged that formalities of jurisdiction, legality and procedure be ignored and that the N. E. C. and the State Committee meet in conference. He would not detail grievances but he complained that at the Boston meeting of the N. E. C. the "centrists" were disappointed that their suggestions went unheeded and "left the situation worse than it was before."

The New York state committee "has left the door open in its reply to the nine points" for a conference and nothing is in the way of holding it. "The N. E. C. has gone out of its way to issue an appeal to unattached radicals. Why can't the N. E. C. also go out of its way to confer with a Socialist Party state organization?" He hoped that when the history of the Socialist movement is written it will not be said that lack of leadership had wrecked the party. "Unless the party is united it is doomed." In that event even the "militants" will disintegrate into splinters. Revocation of the state charter would be the beginning, with r'endments, splits and expulsions following. The great majority of the members want to avoid this and he hoped that a conference would be held.

**Wants Charter Revoked**

Max Delson, speaking for the "militants," said that the N. E. C. at Buffalo laid down nine points and he expected acceptance of them. The state committee had filed charges against the state committee and the N. E. C. had tried to patch up while that committee and The New Leader had taken the questions outside of New York State. He added that the state committee had repudiated the Detroit Declaration and there was no hope of a compromise, that it had lost control of the national organization and have resorted to anti-Socialist tactics.

He went on to say that James Oneal had said if a split does not occur now it would come in 1936. "These elements no longer abide by Socialist principles," he continued, and unless the state charter is revoked they will carry the campaign into other states. Delay will only leave the party a shambles. "Save the name of the Socialist Party and revoke the charter," he concluded.

Henry Fruchter, city secretary, declared that the divisions are small and that the younger elements do not have the knowledge and experience to take over a party organization. We should treat the young "militants" with sympathy, but to revoke the New York charter, as they urge, would be "the crime of crimes." The movement must rest primarily upon mature human beings, and there can be substantial unity if the N. E. C. files away the controversy

sial documents for a year; but continue with these endless inquiries and there will be the danger of a split. The N. E. C. should sit down with the state committee and talk things over, he concluded.

At an evening session attended only by members of the committee it was decided to ask whatever members of the New York state committee were in the city to meet with the N. E. C. in executive session Sunday morning to see if an agreement could be worked out. The Saturday session, however, had to be cut short because of the mass meeting at Irving Plaza Hall.

**The Conference Committee**

Sunday morning early found all eleven members of the N. E. C. in conference with nine members of the State Committee: Julius Gerber, Harry Krizter, Carl O. Parsons, William M. Feigenbaum, James Oneal, U. Solomon, Sarah Volovick, Herman Kobbé and Chas. W. Noonan. Then ensued a discussion remarkable for its candor and its directness. Guided by Daniel W. Hoan, the New York State committeemen and the members of the N. E. C. thrashed out all the points of difference that had resulted in party paralysis, the New Yorkers explaining the charges that had been brought against the New York organization by the "militants," arguing and seeking a way out of the wilderness.

U. Solomon took the lead among the state committeemen in clarifying disputed points, and vouching for the eagerness of the New York organization to find a basis of agreement.

After close to six hours of uninterrupted discussion a committee of Hoan, Darlington, Hoopes, National Chairman Krzycki and Albert Sprague Coolidge was chosen to draw up a statement that would serve as a peace pact. Upon being asked by Maynard Krueger what guarantee there would be that the plan would be accepted by New York, the nine committeemen, constituting a majority of the state committee and the state executive committee, bound themselves to vote for the pact, thus assuring its adoption.

**Pleas and Counter-Pleas**

The sub-committee met with the state committeemen during the afternoon, working on a draft that was later modified in the form of the peace pact. Meanwhile the remaining members of the N. E. C. met before a large crowd in the auditorium downstairs, and heard an earnest plea by Joseph Barsak, official representative of the Massachusetts State Executive Committee, for peace, and offering his services to bring it about. Barsak spoke briefly but effectively; he pointed out that failure to find a basis of peace now would undoubtedly spell the end of the Socialist Party. He was followed by John Newton Thurber, county secretary of Cuyahoga County, Ohio (Cleveland), who demanded the revocation of New York's charter and who backed up his plea with a bitter attack upon The New Leader. He added that the time had come for "an operation" "even if it requires the expulsion of a large section of the party."

Keith Kirkpatrick, for the District of Columbia organization, read a resolution along the same lines, and he was followed by Aaron Levenstein for the Y.P.S.L. defending the record of that organization. A resolution from the Illinois organization demanding the revocation of the New York charter was read.

Meanwhile the committee of four was at work upstairs with the problem of working out a satisfactory document. Other members of the N. E. C., notably Norman Thomas, attended from time to time, and late in the evening the first draft was ready.

While it was being mimeographed, Hoan announced to the full committee downstairs that a tentative agreement had been reached, but that it would not be made public until the following day.

Sunday night conferences and caucuses are reported to have been held, with the result that on Monday morning an alternative draft was ready for presentation by Powers Hapgood, Franz Daniel and Maynard Krueger. At an executive session the three latter expressed their opinions, after which the sub-committee again called in the New York state committeemen, and the pact was finally whipped into shape, substantially as it was later adopted.

It was late Monday afternoon when a steaming crowd jammed the Debs Auditorium again to hear the report and the debate that finally resulted in the adoption of the pact. (The debate on the pact is reported elsewhere.)

At a night session a number of routine matters were disposed of, as reported in another column. The N.E.C., hot and worn out but happy at having done a fine job, finally adjourned close to midnight after three hard days of important and fruitful work.

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# The Onward March of Socialism in Sweden

Thrilling Story of Swedish Workers' Advance to Power—Growth Of Movement Traced From Its Beginnings to the Present Day

By Hans Rheinlaender

SWEDEN embraces a territory of 173,157 square miles, being almost as large as Germany. Its population, however, is only about one-tenth as large, or 6,141,671. Because of this fact German Hitlerites regard Sweden as a fine place for settlement of the surplus of "Aryans" who cannot be supported by German agriculture and husbandry. To be sure, more than half of Sweden's area is covered by mountains and forests. This explains the fact of the comparatively small population and the extent of the country's forestry and lumber industry. Agriculture and husbandry are pursued very profitably in the South.

Favored by cheap water power,



Hjalmar Branting

the development of Swedish industry is relatively high. Mining and the manufacture of finished iron and steel products occupy a prominent position in the North. The manufacture of paper, facilitated by rich and ample forests, occupies first place. For the same reason—and not because of the role played recently by Ivar Krueger, the Aryan—the match industry is outstanding in the country's economic life. In the South there is a considerable textile industry. To these must be added fishing and shipbuilding.

## Beginnings of the Movement

Until the late forties of the last century Swedish labor occupied a very modest position. Unlike the highly industrially developed countries Sweden had little unemployment and few slum districts. There was work for everybody in those days, even though wages were very low. The depression that followed upon the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 affected Sweden as it did the whole of Europe. Dominated entirely by capitalists, the Swedish government placed considerable credits at the disposal of the employers while permitting reductions of 15 to 20 per cent in wages. The workers deeply resented this attitude on the part of the state. The government's policy opened their eyes and revealed in sharp manner the conflict between capital and labor, without, as yet, cultivating in the workers a definite sense of class-consciousness. More and more, however, they began to perceive the need of organization. Their protests grew in force and frequency, and ultimately found repression in political demands.

Sweden had never witnessed anything like that before. There were no labor organizations or labor agitators as yet to "incite" the workers, and not a single newspaper to speak for their interests. Nevertheless the fermentation among the workers was regarded as "dangerous" by the ruling classes and their government. Had not the revolutions in England, France and Germany begun in the same way? There were strikes here and there, and the workers began to demand democracy and the right of franchise.

Something strong and energetic had to be done. On one occasion, when the workers of Stockholm assembled in large masses they were surrounded by armed troops. The workers refused to move, however; the soldiers failed to shoot, the six gunboats nearby did not go into action, and the incident resolved itself into a 22-hour contest of endurance under the open sky. Rain, cold and hunger finally compelled the workers to yield. They dispersed. Their resistance was broken, but their class-consciousness became clearer and deeper.

## The First Labor Union

The first labor union in Sweden was formed by printers. The historical data goes back to 1846. For years the movement did not grow beyond small local organizations, economic and political. Only in 1880 did the movement begin to develop more rapidly. Its real growth did not come until the arrival of Hjalmar Branting, of whom it may be truly said that his life story embraces a great portion of the history of the Swedish Social Democracy.

Born in 1860, the son of a liberal professor, Branting entered the University of Upsala at the age of 17, where he studied mathematics and astronomy. Having inherited the oppositionist spirit of his father, he soon began to deliver lectures on religious freedom before working-class audiences. Much

to the regret of his teachers he gave up his university studies and joined the staff of the Stockholm Tagblad as parliamentary correspondent. Later he became a free lance journalist, and subsequently was made editor of the radical Tiden (The Times). While holding that position he developed into an outspoken Social Democrat. After the founding, in 1885, of the Social Demokraten by August Palm, the tailor, who contributed so greatly to the development of the Swedish labor movement, Branting became its editor.

Together with Palm and other Social Democrats he toiled with remarkable energy and success, as we shall show by figures, for the development of the party. The government looked upon these efforts with great displeasure. Prosecutions were instituted. In 1888, Palm was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, Branting to three months, and another, Danielson, to 18 months. Editors of Socialist papers which had meanwhile been established in the provinces received jail terms totalling 66 months. Heavy fines were imposed on many others. At a congress of the liberal press in 1888 it was revealed that the editors of all four Socialist papers then in existence were in jail.

## A Remarkable Record

In 1889-89 came a series of lockouts, which roused the workers to a fever heat of excitement. The workers replied with many strikes. These struggles, marked by new evidences of employer brutality, demonstrated to the workers the need of larger and more effective organization. In 1888, Sweden had only 2,535 organized workers. A year later the labor organizations had grown considerably in membership. Ten years later the trade unions numbered 59,429 members. In 1930, Sweden had 37 central labor organizations, with a membership of 553,500. This development had been interrupted previously by defeats in a series of big strikes, in which hundreds of thousands of workers, organized



A cooperative flour mill, owned and operated by the Socialists and trade unionists in Stockholm.

and unorganized, participated. From 186,200 members in 1907 the membership of the trade unions had declined to 108,000 in 1909. Not until 1917 were these losses restored. Fruitless factional struggles unleashed by Socialist youth organizations and syndicalists contributed little to the progress of the Swedish labor movement. It was a repetition of experience in other countries, and applied equally to the Social Democracy and the trade unions.

The Swedish Social Democracy was formed in 1889, at a congress in Stockholm attended by fifty delegates. In that year the party had a membership of 3,200. In 1895 the membership had risen to 10,250; in 1905 to 67,000; in 1908 to 112,700. Then followed a severe setback, due to the bitter labor conflicts mentioned above; the membership declined to 57,721. The decline was attributed only in part to the confusion within the party, a more important factor being the economic defeats and losses suffered by the workers in the wave of strikes and lockouts. There was no question of desertion of the ideals of the Social Democracy by the workers. In 1908, with a membership of 54,000, the party received 112,700 votes; in 1911, with a membership of 57,721, the vote was 172,196.

## Socialism Triumphant

In 1930 the party membership had risen to 277,000, after it had received 874,000 votes in the parliamentary election of 1928.

These figures appear to be fantastic in the light of the country's small population, but they are nevertheless true.

According to the latest official figures, the party organization has a membership of nearly 280,000. In the election of 1932 it received 1,039,000 votes, or 41.7 per cent of the entire vote cast. The two Communist groups in the field received, respectively, 132,000 and 80,000 votes, or 5.3 per cent and 3 per cent.

How injurious the role of the Communists has been—a circumstance to be noted in other countries as well—may be seen from the fact that the 41.7 per cent of Socialist votes, plus 5.3 per cent, plus 3 per cent of Communist votes

constitute exactly 50 per cent. Had there been unity in the ranks of labor, the total vote cast would have been larger and labor would have received an absolute majority. Of this there can be no doubt. Moreover, it is not necessary to emphasize that a solid labor representation of 50 per cent in parliament would in itself be a factor of tremendous importance. As in other countries, the Communists in Sweden are the handmaidens of reaction.

We have made mention of the difficulties created at one time by opposition elements in the Socialist youth and syndicalist organizations in Sweden. The Swedish Social Democracy had suffered much from these elements, under the leadership of Zeth Höglund, Fredrik Ström, Ivar Vernerström, and others. In 1917, during the war, these left wing elements rendered impotent the efforts of the German Social Democracy, supported by Hjalmar Branting, Stauning of Denmark, to bring about a peace conference in Stockholm. The Swedish workers were fortunate in having for many years a man as wise and well-balanced as Branting to lead them. In his northern homeland he played a part similar to that of Victor Adler in Austria.

## Firm Foundations

Our Swedish comrades entered the government for the first time in 1917. The conservatives were confronted by a majority of liberals and Socialists. The government, headed by Eden, a liberal, was composed of six liberals and four Socialists. Branting, who for many years had been the sole Socialist in parliament, was one of the four Socialist members of the Eden government. This provoked a new attack from Höglund against the party's "policy of compromise." In 1923, however, Vernerström quit the left wing opposition and returned to the party. Two years later Höglund did likewise.

Our Swedish party is now in the government for the fourth time. Heading the government is our



Comrade Per Albin Hansson, assisted by colleagues who belonged to the immediate circle of Hjalmar Branting, who died ten years ago. Included among them are Gustav Moeller, Arthur Engberg, Rickard J. Sandler, Ernst Wigforss and Osten Undén.

The Swedish Social Democracy rests upon firm foundations. Their own experience and the experience of other countries has led our Swedish comrades to a sober conception of political and economic realities. Many of the party leaders are men of great learning, as was Branting, the greatest leader produced by the party. All of them are deeply interested in art and science, and every one of them knows intimately the working people, their needs and their demands. They all keep in close touch with affairs at home and abroad. Every possibility is utilized and no opportunity is permitted to pass to do the right thing. Irresponsible experiments are emphatically rejected.

The party has thirty daily newspapers and they see to it that no opportunity is lost to serve the workers. A theoretical scientific organ, Tiden, helps supply the higher educational needs of the workers. There is also a women's periodical, and "Freedom," organ of the Socialist youth organization, now fortunately freed of the old destructive left wing tendencies. The party maintains also a great press service, which serves all its papers.

The Social Democratic parties of Scandinavia maintain close contact with each other. From time to time the Socialist premiers of the three Scandinavian countries meet to discuss the situation and possibilities for cooperative action on any given problems. The same holds true of the three Socialist ministers of public welfare.

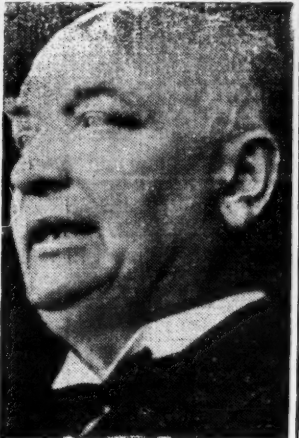
To be sure, these small countries cannot exert a decisive influence upon world politics, but they do offer an example of Socialist statesmanship, idealism and social achievement which may well serve as a model to larger countries.

We may feel confident that our Scandinavian comrades will continue to do their duty in holding aloft the torch of international Socialism.

## Sweden's Social Democratic Team

By Bjørne Bratoy

THE key to the undeniable and undoubted success of the Swedish Social Democratic Government lies in the generous and brilliant teamwork which marks Social Democratic activities from the Government down to the smallest branch of the dynamic Youth Movement.



Per Albin Hansson

Six out of twelve members of the Government are generally conceded to be equally qualified for the Premiership. They are also generally conceded to be more qualified than any individual who could be put forward by other parties. But the jealousies and the fighting for position which have been known in other countries, have proved wholly foreign to Swedish Social Democracy. The only difficulty experienced in constituting the present Government in September, 1932, was the hesitancy of one, now extremely popular, member about accepting a post.

In this galaxy of all the political talents, the Prime Minister, Per Albin Hansson, stands out as the leading personality not only of his party, but of Swedish political life.

Hansson began life as an office boy at an age when Swedish youngsters are still at school nowadays. At a time when his great predecessor, Hjalmar Branting, was already a recognized national figure, Per Albin Hansson was fighting to awaken Swedish youth to the call of Socialism. He was Minister of National Defence in Branting's last Government, but when Branting died and his successor, that other grand old man of Swedish Social Democracy, F. V. Thorsson, also died, it was Rickard J. Sandler and not Per Albin Hansson, who assumed the Premiership during the last months of the Government in 1926.

## No Respect for Precedence

But "Per Albin" as he is affectionately called in all sections of the Swedish people, was the man whom the party called upon to lead the movement in the six years in the wilderness which followed. And no superstitious respect for precedence prevented anyone, least of all Rickard Sandler himself, from, in 1932, conceding the Premiership to Per Albin. Rickard Sandler has himself told how Per Albin in his Socialist youth days, speaking at a meeting in the old University town of Upsala where Sandler was a student, brought the Socialist light to the young man who is now Swedish Foreign Secretary.

The real comrade-at-arms of Per Albin since those days is, however, the present Home Secretary (Minister of Social Affairs), Gustav Möller. He is, perhaps, the most aggressive intellect of the whole governmental team, as feared in debate as Philip Snowden once was, but more intimately linked with the Labor Movement than the latter, and well grounded in Socialism. He is an excellent linguist and at home in Socialist circles all over Europe. By virtue of his leadership in a period of social and economic reconstruction, he has been singled out for the abuse to which the reactionaries of Sweden are now reduced.

His name is coupled with that of the Minister of Finance, Ernst Wigforss, whose unorthodox methods have been so largely successful in reducing the unemployment figure by more than one-half. The opposition hesitates to attack by name the recognized national leader, Per Albin himself, and finds consolation in vicious attacks on the "Möller-Wigforss-system."

## Aiding the Farmers

But the opposition is wrong if it imagines by these means to develop any kind of splitting tactics. In the solid governmental front it has to reckon with a Minister of Agriculture, Per Edv. Sköld, whose quiet command of the field entrusted to him and whose success in linking up the activities of the Government with the interests of the farming population, make him a sterling asset to the Government.

Linked with the Government in a consultative capacity is also a formidable personality of international standing, Osten Undén, whose office is next door to that of the Prime Minister, and whose influence is adequately indicated by that juxtaposition.

Circumstances have relegated the popular Minister of Education, Arthur Engberg, the metal worker at the head of the Ministry of

# The Socialist Youth Movement in Sweden

One Hundred Thousand Young Men and Women in "League of Social Democratic Youth" Back Party

SWEDEN possesses not only a great Socialist Party but also a remarkable Socialist youth movement.

The Swedish "League of Social Democratic Youth" was organized in 1917 with less than 1,000 members. Today its membership exceeds 100,000. No other party in Sweden can boast such a powerful youth movement. The "League of Social Democratic Youth" has more members than the youth organizations of all other parties combined.

Several months ago the league held its seventh congress in Stockholm. On the evening of the opening of the congress there was a parade, with banners and torch-lights, of 10,000 young men and women through the crowded streets of the city. There were lumber workers from the Northland, miners from Bergslagen, factory workers, clerks, farm laborers, and employees from all trades and professions.

The Swedish capital had never before witnessed such a mighty congregation of youth. The opening session took place in the big Concert House. Seated on the platform together with the president were members of the cabinet, headed by the Socialist premier, Per Albin Hansson, who is also national chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Party and who delivered the keynote address. He warmly praised the work of the league and spoke with enthusiasm of the earnest manner in which the Socialist youth of Sweden was preparing for its work in the future.

## Educational Classes

The organization report submitted at the meeting showed that in the past three years the number of educational groups conducted by the league had increased threefold, to 1,855. These groups conduct classes in economics, history, literature, foreign languages, etc. The league also wages an intensive educational campaign among unorganized young men and women, and takes a very active part in the electoral campaigns of the Social Democratic Party.

In view of the frequently repeated fallacy that the Socialist movement nowadays can no longer attract the youth, who are supposed to be so greatly impressed with what the Communist movement has to offer, it is interesting to compare the 100,000 membership of youth organizations in other Swedish parties.

The youth organizations of the two Swedish Communist parties (Stalinists and anti-Stalinists) have a membership of 28,000, while the Syndicalist youth league has 3,000 members. The youth league of the Peasant Party counts 50,000 members. This organization competes strongly with the "League of Social Democratic Youth" in the villages.

The "League of Social Democratic Youth" is organized in 2,000 locals, where the members are undergoing an intensive, all-round preparation for the day when as mature men and women they will play the leading part in the life of the movement and in the government of the nation.

## Solidarity of Youth

It is interesting to note that the league made rather slow progress in the first five years of its activity (1917-1922). That was the period when Communist illusions

Commerce, Fritjof Ekman, the railwayman at the head of the Ministry of Transport, Henning Leo, and the Minister of National Defence, Ivar Vernerström, into positions of lesser prominence in the political dogfight, but a storm is brewing for the prominent judge who is Minister of Justice, Karl Selhyter, because of his energetic work in the line of voluntary family limitation.

Nevertheless, the Government is a minority Government and risks defeat in the same way as any other minority Government. But there is no fear in Sweden of an ensuing defeatism comparable to the one which is noticeable in certain other countries with experience of Socialist minority Governments. The six years in opposition were spent in educating Swedish Labor according to the policy, "honesty is the best policy." While not over-reaching itself, Swedish Social Democracy is pushing ahead with all the energy that circumstances warrant, and that the political intelligence of the electorate will stand for.

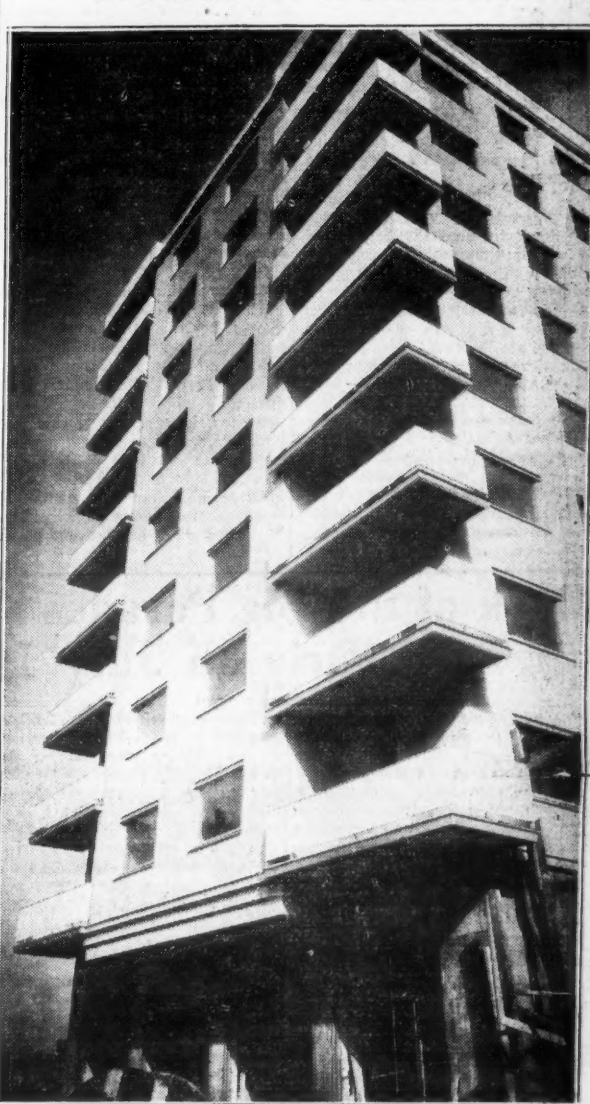
The defeatism is, in fact, on the other side. The more fundamental reason for this lies not so much in the brilliant work of the Government itself as in the reserve forces which Swedish Social Democracy has built up in a Youth Movement without a parallel in any country, and certainly not in Sweden.

The battles of Social Democratic Sweden are being won, not on the playing-fields, but in the study-groups of 100,000 young Socialists.

were rampant among the workers, and it required considerable courage to sail against the tide. If the few thousand members of the Social Democratic youth league had not at that time persevered in their struggle for the capture of the minds and souls of the young working men and working women of Sweden and had not worked with marvelous devotion for the triumph of their Social Democracy principles, the Social Democracy of Sweden would not today be as powerful as it is. The most active members of the Swedish Social Democracy today have graduated from the ranks of the "League of Social Democratic Youth." To the active members of Socialist youth of Sweden, grounded in true Socialist principle, animated by the ideals of democratic Socialism and the high ethical principles of Socialist conduct, belongs the credit for the fact that the Swedish labor movement is today a mighty united force, instead of being divided into innumerable little extremist sects at war with each other, wasting their time in factional rows.

Today the Swedish "League of Social Democratic Youth" has as many members and twice as many local branches as were counted by the Social Democratic Party in 1917. The league is growing faster than the party, which shows that the ideals of democratic Socialism today inspire more than ever the young generation in Sweden.

## IN SOCIALIST STOCKHOLM



Cooperative Apartment house, one of many such, in Socialist-governed Stockholm, capital of Sweden.

## "LITTLE SWEDEN POINTS THE WAY"

(From a recent editorial in "Labor," organ of the Railway Brotherhoods.)

"SWEDEN celebrated the end of her depression as Parliament opened its sessions today," says an Associated Press dispatch. How the little Scandinavian country has solved problems that still baffle larger and richer nations is of more than ordinary interest.

Preparedness is the answer. Sweden has devoted more time and attention to problems of public welfare than almost any other country. As far back as 1914 its Socialist government appointed a committee to investigate unemployment and map out a program to deal with it. The United States in 1921 appointed a similar committee, but its recommendations were promptly forgotten.

Instead of doles, the Swedish committee called upon the government to create jobs through public works, and when the depression came it was ready with its projects. Able-bodied men were placed upon payrolls and became producers as well as consumers. The labor unions, with reserve funds for the aid of their members, to which the government contributes, have been an important factor. It was to them that the government largely looked for the successful carrying out of its plans.

In 1933, one-seventh of the country's population was on some form of relief. Today there are less than 80,000 unemployed men and women—about 1 per cent of the population.

Last year less than half of the relief appropriation was spent, and this year the government asks less than \$15,000,000 for all kinds of assistance.

Even more extraordinary is the Associated Press report that the government, while caring for its jobless, balanced its budget without levying new taxes or floating loans. The national debt this year will be reduced \$10,000,000.

## Jewelry Workers to Strike

Between 1,500 and 2,000 members of Local 1 of the International Jewelry Workers' Union walked out of shops in New York City Thursday morning. The strike came as the climax to negotiations with the bosses, who are insisting upon the open shop.

The union had been in conference with the bosses for fifteen days before the break came, according to Samuel E. Beardsley, secretary-treasurer of the International Jewelry Workers' Union. The union was negotiating for a renewal of the old agreement which has been in force two years. The bosses insisted on writing an open-shop clause into the agreement which,

while not providing for a closed shop, provided for an arbitration board for the review of all discharges of workers.

Under this agreement the union has satisfactorily settled issues and problems affecting its members. The employers refuse to discuss any other conditions unless the union agrees to the open shop which would mean the destruction of the union itself. The bourgeois attitude of the employers will react against them as it becomes generally known for their course would mean ultimate demoralization of the industry.

The union agreement is being presented to bosses throughout the country by the local unions. In Newark the employers refuse to enter a conference and in New York City the workers are determined not to yield.



## Stalin Permits Comintern To Meet at Last in August

(Continued from Page One)

ment the Franco-Russian military alliance, the delegates to the congress were told to continue having a good time with Stalin was evolving a formula that would please Laval. Part of the final formula agreed upon was that the Communists in France must stop their anti-war agitation and must pretend to be good democrats. Stalin then had some things to say in private to the Comintern delegates, the substance of which was to soft pedal all talk of world revolution and to do nothing that might disturb the equanimity of Moscow's new military allies. However, to retain some semblance of "revolutionary" character the delegates will be permitted to denounce fascism, and will go back home with a new mandate for continuance of efforts to destroy the organizations of the working class that do not subscribe to Stalin's conceptions of what constitutes a revolutionary policy. Such working class organizations comprise, with very few exceptions, the entire international Socialist and labor movement. The policy dictated by Stalin to his rubber-stamp Comintern is in reality the policy of Trotsky, laid down under Lenin and Trotsky, of making war upon the organized international working class. The only new feature of the situation is that simultaneously with continuing this war, Moscow is making special efforts to please governments who may help Stalin retain his dictatorship in the event of war in exchange for Russia's military support. Such is the logic of the new policy of the Comintern, directed solely and entirely with the one aim in view: the preservation of the Bolshevik dictatorship.

### A Reactionary Policy

To make peace with the international Socialist and labor movement would lead logically to the necessity of making peace with the Socialists in Russia, which would, in turn, imply the necessity of abandoning the dictatorship of a Communist clique, the democ-

cratization of the Soviet regime, restoration of civil liberties, etc. And this the Communists will not do. They would rather fortify themselves with the help of bourgeois governments in order not to be compelled to make peace with the Russian people. This is precisely what the Czarist government sought to do. The Franco-Russian military alliance of the days before the war was intended by the Czarist regime as a protection against internal "dangers." As history subsequently proved it was not altogether a perfect protection. Stalin, too, concludes a military alliance with France, and at the same time orders that systematic war upon international Socialism, labor and democracy be continued.

To Moscow it is more important to preserve the Communist dictatorship than to promote the true interests of the international labor movement. The Communist dictatorship in Russia can survive only if the democratic forces in Russia can be kept down and the democratic forces outside of Russia destroyed. Nor does the Communist cry against fascism alter this fact in any way.

The new policy of the Comintern is no less reactionary than was its old policy. Both were based upon the destruction of the labor movement in all countries. Fortunately, the workers everywhere have come to understand this with increasing clarity and today they know that there is no more insidious enemy of the working class and true freedom than the Communist dictatorship founded by Lenin and Trotsky and now dominated by Stalin.

The statements of Lozovsky, quoted by the New York Times correspondent, help emphasize this point and the hypocrisy of all "united front" talk by the Communists.

## Back of the Big Parades In Paris on July 14

(Continued from Page Two)

removed the emergency bill designed to cope with the situation from the calendar of the Chamber. Later he was compelled to make a declaration on the situation before the deputies. It was, to be sure, a declaration of loyalty to the republic, but too general in content. The country thereupon demanded not words but action. As the first step, the demand was for the dissolution of all fascist fighting organizations.

### Big Anti-Fascist Front

Although fortified now with an emergency law, the government hesitates to take decisive action of the kind that would break the backbone of fascism. Does it believe that it has the army firmly in hand? Or is it capitulating to the plutocracy, to the "two hundred families who rule France"? Determined to build a firm resistance to fascism, the parties of the left are continuing the mobilization of their defense organizations.

Daladier, former premier and leader of the left wing of the Radical-Socialists, has collected the signatures of 303 deputies, the number required by the constitution to call an extraordinary session of parliament. The center of gravity of anti-fascist activities of the left has now shifted, however, to the organization of the greatest possible front of all democratic forces, a development which has begun to supersede the united front of Socialists and Communists.

## For the Hillquit Amendment

(Continued from Page Two)

Workers' Rights Amendment. Among those announcing their support this week is the Economic Conference of the Federal Council of Churches, through an approving editorial in its monthly, The New World.

Likewise the conference which formed the American - Common wealth Political Federation in Chicago has unanimously endorsed the amendment.

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—The Workers' Rights Amendment to the Federal Constitution was unanimously endorsed by the executive council of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union meeting here last week.

The resolution adopted by the union reads as follows: "Whereas, recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States have seriously endangered the future of all legislation on behalf of farm and city and also legislation looking toward greater control over transportation, industry and busi-

ness by the government, and "Whereas, the executive council of the American Federation of Labor has gone on record in favor of a constitutional amendment which would legalize such legislation, and

"Whereas, Representative Vito Marcantonio of New York has introduced in Congress a proposed amendment known as the Workers' Rights Amendment (HJ res. 327) which will legalize such legislation, therefore be it

"Resolved, that we, the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union go on record in favor of this resolution, and be it

"Resolved, that we urge all members to actively support this amendment and bring it to the attention of farmers and workers everywhere."

A sweeping drive for the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment is being launched by the New York City Young People's Socialist League.

The entire city is being covered by stickers reading, "STOP Supreme Court Dictatorship! PASS the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment," and a pamphlet explaining the amendment is about to be issued, at two cents a copy. Local conferences with other youth organizations are being held for the purpose of mobilizing the broadest possible support for the amendment.

## MEYER LONDON MEMORIAL DEDICATED



PAWLING, N. Y.—A new auditorium was dedicated as a memorial to Meyer London at the Workmen's Circle Camp, Hopewell Junction, near here, last Sunday, in the presence of a large audience in which were representatives of W. C. branches, the Socialist and labor movements, and the Young Circle League from Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut.

Addresses were delivered by Charles Solomon and Joseph Baskin, general secretary of the Workmen's Circle.

Solomon, discussing the career of London in the Socialist and labor movements, as well as in Congress, characterized him "as a great American in the finest conception of the word." The speaker emphasized the close relationship throughout London's life in this

country between him and the organized labor movement. London, he said, had the respect and confidence of the leaders of American organized labor, notwithstanding ideological differences.

"London always knew" said Solomon "that the American workers would come to socialism primarily as the result of their own experiences, their defeats as well as their victories. He often scolded them, as a loving mother her child, but he never damned the workers."

Solomon told the story of London's fight against the preparedness agitation which led up to America's entry into the World War and of the almost single-handed struggle to keep this country out of the war.

"This required a degree of cour-

age and heroism difficult to appreciate" said Solomon. To the many young people present, members of the Young Circle League and others, Solomon held up the life of London as an example.

Baskin told the story of the close association of London with the Workmen's Circle as legal adviser and general counsel. He said that the idealism, devotion and courage of London throughout his lifetime of service in the labor and Socialist movements had made his memory imperishable.

Mrs. Anna London, the widow, and brothers and sisters of the deceased, attended the dedication ceremonies, Mrs. London speaking briefly. Max Haskell, an official of the circle, presided. There was a program of instrumental and vocal music.

## PROPERTY By Kirby Page

Providing Employment, Ample Incomes, and Effective Incentives Are Not Difficult in a Socialized World



IN three ways unemployment would be reduced. First, as above indicated, by greater equalization of purchasing power and consequent stimulus in the form of effective demand. Second, by utilizing national credit and socialized industries for the creation of new industries and the extension of existing ones. For an indefinite period numerous human wants will remain unsatisfied and so long as this situation prevails, unemployment is the result of mal-utilization of national resources. Social ownership and operation of the basic industries, and especially socialized banking and credit, would greatly facilitate the task of shifting the masses of unemployed into productive channels. Third, if necessary, by shortening working hours and dividing available work among all the people. If national resources and national credit were properly utilized, work could be provided for everybody, and drastic limitation of output would be unnecessary and ineffectual. But as a last resort, work as well as income should be divided among all the people.

There are numerous devices available for the equalization of purchasing power. By entirely eliminating dividends to private owners from the industries socialized, and by regulating drastically legal rates of dividends in other industries, a larger share of the produce of industry would be available for employees in the form of higher wages and salaries, although the maximum salary should not exceed \$20,000 or \$10,000 or \$5,000. A precedent in non-socialized industries has been set by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in its insistence that railroads receiving governmental loans must not pay their officers salaries in excess of \$60,000. Public efforts to stimulate the organization of labor in powerful national unions would result in a higher proportion of national income going to employees in the form of wages and salaries. Various forms of taxation are also available as means of equalizing income: income tax, excess profits tax, luxury tax, land tax, inheritance tax.

### 2. Higher Efficiency Through National Planning and Correlating

Efficient distribution of income is not enough by itself. A far more efficient utilization of the national equipment is imperatively required. It is for this reason that taxation alone is not an adequate instrument of equalization. Taxation must be used as an instrument of social policy, but if carried too far under the profit system, it may become an instrument of destruction rather than of construction. Under individualism, profit is the test of production, and if profit diminishes production is curtailed. Should the likelihood of profit drop to the disappearing point, production would slow down sharply or cease altogether. When the margin between total operative cost and total income is very slender, excessive taxation may turn the scale

toward shutdown or bankruptcy. It is necessary, therefore, to emphasize the limitations, as well as the potentialities of taxation as an instrument of social policy.

The prevailing anarchy in production could quickly be replaced by scientific utilization of the national equipment if the basic industries were transferred from private to public ownership and if all other industries were subjected to drastic public regulation. And this procedure offers the only possible escape from the industrial chaos of the competitive struggle, on the one hand, and from the calamitous exploitation of the people by semi-monopolistic private industry, on the other. If adequate incentives could be assured, public ownership and scientific operation of banking, sources of electric energy, basic natural resources, chief means of transportation and communication, and steel, would increase productivity enormously by national planning and correlating.

### Alternate Suggestions

Who would operate socialized industries? This question should be divided: who would determine the basic policies of these industries? and who would conduct the actual processes of production and distribution? The present system would be changed drastically in the former respect, but much less fundamentally in the latter regard. Instead of having vital policies determined by private boards of directors bent upon profit for owners and investors, basic decisions should be made by boards of directors composed of representatives of the groups who know most about production and who have the heaviest stake in a given industry. Therefore, socialized industries should be governed by boards of directors composed of representatives of engineers, workers, and consumers. The national board of directors of the coal industry, for example, might be elected through a national professional society of engineers, a national union of miners, and a national cooperative society of consumers of coal. An alternate proposal is that the personnel be selected by the chief executive of the nation from properly qualified engineers, miners and representatives of consumers. Above the various boards of directors of socialized industries there would be a national board of directors, or national planning commission. This supreme body could be constituted by election through boards of socialized industries, or appointed by the President of the United States. It is important to remember that in the eventuality here being considered, the President would be an ardent advocate of socialization and would be the servant of a political party committed to socialization.

The actual processes of production and distribution would be carried on by substantially the same groups that are now assuming this responsibility, that is, by men and women employed for this purpose. Except in rare instances, the present-owners of basic industries do not operate these enterprises. They

employ managers and workers. This is precisely what would happen under a system of socialized industries. Socialized boards of directors would employ engineers, technical managers, superintendents, foremen, skilled workers, and unskilled workers to carry on the processes of production and distribution. If the railroads of the nation were socialized, for example, a vast proportion of the present personnel would be retained and the industry would continue to be operated by substantially the same men and women as at present. If adequate motivations could be assured, a far higher degree of efficiency could be maintained in socialized industries operated for private gain.

(To be continued)

## WHAT THE UNION DID FOR HER

By Rose E. Guttenplan

Ladies' Neckwear Union, Local 142, I. L. G. W., Artificial Flower and Feather Section

READ the article by a Flower Girl, which appeared in the June 15th issue of The New Leader. Permit me, inasmuch as I too am a flower worker, to take this opportunity to say that the picture painted by Clara Scheched is indeed a true one.

I know of no other industry that in these modern times has the working conditions that exist in ours. The workers are abused, oppressed, and driven just like so many slaves. The homework evil is a great one in this industry, in many cases paying as little as four cents per hour to men, women and children. These victims of circumstance work into the early hours of the morning in order to earn enough for the bare necessities of life.

It is true that several attempts were made to organize these workers, but for various reasons up to April of this year, they had met with little success.

I am happy to state that today we have an organization. Less than 48 hours after the strike was called, my employer signed an agreement, and I was a worker in a union shop.

Conditions have improved hundredfold. We are treated like human beings. We no longer take unnecessary abuse. We are spoken to civilly instead of being cursed and sworn at accompanied with loud and obscene language.

We have shorter hours and, of course, better wages. We have our rights and we are not afraid to voice our opinions—afraid that we'll be told, "if you don't like it, get the hell out," etc. Yes, today we have an organization. We are part of the powerful International.

A great many of us take the opportunity to learn about trade unionism, and the functions of a labor union. We are making good use of our educational department, which is working under the management of Fannie Cohn and Mark

## The Workers Abroad

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

By John Powers

### The Comintern, Bastille Day in France and the Fight on Fascism

THE optimism expressed by Peter Garwy in his article in this issue concerning the prospects of French democracy in its war on fascism found confirmation in the Bastille Day celebrations of last Sunday. The demonstrations revealed the might of the "people's front," combining all the forces of the left in France, in its determination to build an impregnable barrier to fascism. What is particularly encouraging is the union of the workers and middle classes, representing together an overwhelming majority of the French people, in a common program of action.

The key to the preservation of democracy in France lies in the continuance of this alliance. That a very substantial portion of the French middle class, represented by former Premier Daladier, leader of the left wing of the Radical Socialists, is clearly aware of this fact, was indicated in Daladier's statement at the great anti-fascist rally in Paris, June 28, when he declared that "the middle classes and the workers are natural allies."

Daladier pictured the fascists as representing organizations financed by the money aristocracy and declared that it was the purpose of the "people's front" to break the fascist conspiracy.

"The time for action has arrived!" Daladier declared, and 10,000 voices roared approval.

Leon Blum, Socialist leader, speaking at the same meeting, declared that the political differences between the Socialists and Radical-Socialists do not exclude the possibility and need of their marching together. He proposed a minimum program for the "people's front" providing for the unification of all left forces in the battle on fascism.

### The Position of the Communists

The surprise of the meeting was the address of Thorez, leader of the Communists. He said: "The electoral victories of the Communists in Germany did not prevent Hitler from coming to power. This occurred because the republican parties were not united with the people. We are not repudiating Socialism when we unite with other left parties to defend the liberties without which the workers cannot exist."

The minimum program proposed by Thorez for the "people's front" included defense of political liberties and of the rights of trade unions, and preservation of secular education and culture.

The appeal issued in the name of the "people's front" for the demonstrations of July 14 declared that all participating parties had vowed to defend democracy with all their power. Forgetting for the purposes of this occasion all their premonitions about class war, revolution and dictatorship, the Communists joined in signing the appeal of all the democratic parties to defend "the interests of the French people, of peace and liberty."

Giving its approval to "the people's front," L'Humanité official Communist organ, likewise hailed the adherence of the Radical-Socialists in the anti-fascist campaign.

Strange, indeed, are the utterances and tactics of the French Communists.

"By our united efforts we workers, revolutionists and democrats can save our common cause, the interests of the French people, peace and liberty," writes L'Humanité.

### The Communist Dualism

The explanation is very simple. Like all Communist parties, the Communist Party of France is a marionette of the Soviet Government, and the vital interests of Soviet Russia now demand the preservation of order and the maintenance of a democratic regime in France if Russia is not to remain alone in the event of a war with Hitler Germany. A victory for fascism and reaction in France would not only isolate Soviet Russia in Europe but would entail the grave danger of a bargain between German and French reaction at the expense of Soviet Russia. Hence Moscow's orders to the French Communists to quit "temporarily" their old policy and tactics and become part of "the people's front." At the same time, however, in other countries, and through the Communist International, Moscow and its minions abroad continue their work of seeking to disorganize and destroy the Socialist and labor movements, the true bulwark of democracy and anti-fascism in the world.

A new example of this vicious contradiction in Communist policy may be found in the Moscow "Communist International" organ of the Comintern, for May 20, wherein is featured an article by Harry Pollitt, leader of the British Communist Party, reaffirming the policies and ideology of the Communists.

"We believe," writes Pollitt, "that the program and policy of the Communist International, to which our party has the honor to belong, are the only program and policy to which a revolutionary working class can subscribe. We are convinced that revolutionary workers have no other choice, that no middle policy is possible as between the Second and Third Internationals, and that all attempts to find any middle ground can easily end not in a forward movement to revolution, but in a move backwards, to reformism."

After assailing the program of the Labor Party and of the British Socialist League, Pollitt reaffirms the policy of the British Communist Party and its aim of bringing about a Soviet dictatorship in England. There can be no compromise between the Socialists and Communists, he emphasizes, and it is up to the British workers to choose between the two.

"There can be no party occupying a position midway between the Labor Party and the Communist Party," Pollitt declares. "There can be no middle ground between the Second (Socialist) and Third (Communist) Internationals."

### Some Frank Confessions

In France, for reasons already stated, the Communists, acting on Stalin's orders, find it expedient for the moment to preach a united front with the Socialists and even with the liberal bourgeois parties. In England and everywhere else they continue their old tactics.

Quoting A. Lozovsky, head of the Red Trade Union International, and member of the Comintern's presidium, the Moscow correspondent of the New York Times cables under date of July 16 that the off-postponed seventh congress of the Comintern has been fixed for early in August. The correspondent says:

"He (Lozovsky) advocated the full use of boring from within tactics," saying:

"Great efforts must be made to get a firmer hold in reformist and fascist unions, for only in that way can the working class in the majority of countries be won over."

Thus, from Harry Pollitt, writing in the official organ of the Comintern, we have the quite irrefutable assertion that there can be no compromise between Socialism and Communism; and from a member of the presidium of the Comintern we have the frank confession as to the unaltered purposes of the Communists and the motives that actuate their united front maneuvers.

All of which helps us to understand what Peter Garwy in his correspondence to this publication means when he says that the Communists are poor allies in the fight on fascism and reaction.

The alliance that will destroy fascism will not be the alliance of Socialists and Communists, but the union of all genuinely democratic forces for the defense of freedom and democracy, with the Socialists and trade unions in the lead. It is a source of hope and satisfaction that this is precisely the alliance that has developed in France to eclipse the unnatural united front of Socialists and Communists. Socialism and democracy have nothing to gain from a united front with elements whose policy and tactics are based upon a hypocritical dualism calculated to promote the destruction of the Socialist and labor movement.

Starr. Our leaders are ready and competent to show us the way.

Most of us hope for one more thing, the cooperation of other locals. The dressmakers and the millinery workers can do a great deal if they would refuse to work with non-union made flowers and feathers. I am sure that our jo-

cal would be willing to submit a list of union houses to any firm or shop chairman of both these industries.

I am confident that with the united strength of these workers we will have working conditions as good as those of other organized trades.



## YPSL's Gather In Pittsburgh for Big Convention

PITTSBURGH.—Young Socialists from all parts of the country are converging on Pittsburgh this week to attend the Eighth National Convention of the Young People's Socialist League in this city July 19-21. The New York delegation is chartering one or two buses for the occasion, the Chicago delegates will come in three or four special cars, while additional groups will come from Philadelphia, Cleveland and elsewhere. One carful will consist of Will Goldberg, young member of the League's National Executive Committee, and his wife who are making the trip here from Los Angeles, California, in a baby Austin.

The convention will open Friday night with a mass meeting to be addressed by Clarence Senior, national secretary of the Socialist Party; Arthur G. McDowell, national chairman of the Young People's Socialist League, and Winston Dancis, national secretary of the league.

Regular business sessions will begin on Saturday when all convention committees will be elected, and the delegates will hear the reports of the league's officers. The committees will report to the convention on Sunday, with an interruption at the beginning of the afternoon session for the election of new officers and a new national executive committee. There will be a convention social Saturday night, and the sessions will close with a banquet Sunday evening. Special organization conferences will be held on Friday preceding the regular convention sessions.

According to Winston Dancis, national secretary, and the league's other officers the convention will mark two banner years of Socialist activity. In the Socialist movement itself, the youth have lent color to meetings and demonstrations and have furnished a large quota of "Jimmy Higgins" for every task. Among trade unions the term "Ypsel" has become a byword; in the schools the young Socialists have everywhere organized for the Student League for Industrial Democracy; they have been in the forefront of Socialist cultural work.

A long list of publications testifies to the excellence of the educational work being carried on by the Socialist youth movement. The Challenge, official young Socialist organ, is approaching a paid circulation of 10,000, representing a 500% increase during the past two years. Five and ten cent discussion outlines have been issued dealing with Socialism, Socialist Economics, Socialist History, Trade Union History, The Labor Injunction, Money, The Communist Manifesto and the Life of Karl Marx. The league has also issued several printed leaflets and an excellent little pamphlet called "Not in Your Textbooks." It has its own theoretical organ which is known as the Young Socialist Review.

Week-end seminars have been held in Philadelphia, Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee and Newark, New Jersey, during June and July, according to national secretary Dancis, part of a "Know Your Socialism" drive.

The league is now launching a special campaign for the passage of the Hillquit Workers' Rights Amendment.

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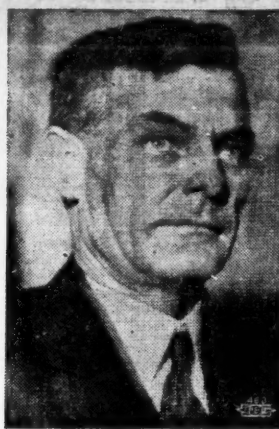
FRIDAY NIGHT: The Pinegrove Players present "Good-bye Again"  
SATURDAY NIGHT: Concert with Dora Bowshover, Folk's Quintet Mandolin and Balalaika Orchestra  
SUNDAY AFTERNOON: International Dinner; this week a Russian  
SUNDAY NIGHT: Scenes from the Theatre Guild production "Porgy" with Jack Canter, Frank Wilson, Robert McClister

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## CHOSEN TO CONDUCT CONNECTICUT PARTY AFFAIRS



Arnold E. Freese  
State Secretary-Treasurer



Jasper McLevy  
State Committee



Celia D. Rostow  
Women's State Correspondent



Devere Allen  
State Committeeman

Special to The New Leader  
NORWALK, Conn. — Arnold E. Freese of this city was re-elected State Secretary-Treasurer of the Socialist Party for the fourth successive term in the recent party referendum, according to results just compiled in the state office. With him the following state officers were elected to conduct the affairs of the party for the forthcoming year:

State Organizer: Martin F. Plunkett, Wallingford; State Literature Agent: Hester Freese,

Norwalk; Women's Correspondent: Celia D. Rostow, who is New Haven Town Chairman, and State Auditors: Peter Brewster, Bridgeport Public Works Director; John J. Kennedy, New Haven and Everett Perry, member of the Bridgeport Park Board.

The State Committeemen-at-Large are Mayor Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport, Devere Allen of Wilton, and Carl M. Rhodin of Meriden. The district committeemen follow: 1st, Harry Rosen, Hartford; 2nd, Kenneth Thurlow,

East Lyme; 3rd, Walter E. Davis of Hamden; 4th, George Murgatroyd, President of the Bridgeport Health Board; 5th, Philip Brainard, Waterbury.

Freese was elected over Victor Harris of Hartford. Other candidates who failed of election were Alfred Loyd and Benjamin Gebersky, both of New Haven, State Organizer; Annie Krugman of Hartford, Literature Agent; Dorothy Allen of Easton and Beatrice Holden of Torrington, Women's Correspondent; Isaac Alpert, New

Haven; David Young Wilton; Gustav Berquist, Hamden, and B. Cooperman, New Haven, State Auditors; and Assemblyman, Jack Bergen of Bridgeport, Abraham Perstein of Hartford, Dorothy Allen, Martin Kelly of New Britain; William Rauscher of Stratford, and Thomas Walters of Milford, Committeemen-at-Large; and in the 4th District: Bertram Burden, Fairfield; Samuel Young, Wilton; George Thorley, Stratford, and William Weiss, Danbury; 5th District: Paul Grossenbacher, New Milford.

## New York Socialists On the Active Front

By Henry Fruchter

IT is with a deep sense of satisfaction and renewed hope that I am outlining this week the various activities which are scheduled for the Socialist Party of New York for the near future. After the meeting of the N.E.C. and the spirit of tolerance and mutual good-will which permeated its deliberations we can now rededicate ourselves to the building of a greater Socialist Party.

**United Socialist Drive**  
In the matter of the United Socialist Drive, I sincerely hope that every party branch will institute an intensive campaign of fund-raising. After an intimate talk with National Secretary Clarence Senior, I am convinced that New York should do its utmost to meet its quota with the least delay. The constant demands made upon our national office for organizers, literature, aid to labor strikes all over the country, etc., etc.—these impose a financial burden which must be met by Socialists everywhere. In New York, too, the need for funds is very great. The United Drive must be a success and it is up to our branch officers and membership to "put it over."

**Literature**  
We are just going to press with new booklets, one by Dr. Harry W. Laidler and the other by August Claessens, the former addressing an appeal to the "White Collar Workers" and the latter writing on the "N.R.A. and After." We are printing 50,000 copies of each booklet which will sell at one cent a copy. Branches can secure quantities of this literature by communicating with the Local Office.

**Noon-Day Meetings**  
Beginning Tuesday, July 23, and continuing every Tuesday and Thursday we are going to conduct open air noon-day meetings at Wall and Nassau Streets and at Borough Hall, Brooklyn. We expect all party members who work in the vicinity of these places or who are otherwise able to be there

to assist us in the conduct of these meetings. With proper management and cooperation of a large committee we can reach a very large audience.

The program of evening meetings in the various districts is being daily extended and branch officers are urged to communicate with the central office so that all necessary assistance can be rendered. Above all, literature must be had at every open-air meeting and a proper regard must be had for a good committee in attendance, an intelligent chairman and one or two good speakers.

The "O and P" Committee meetings are continuing throughout the summer and are especially important at this time because of the numerous activities into which we are entering. I earnestly hope that every branch organizer will attend these meetings which are held every Monday evening, 6 to 7 p. m., in Room 508 of the People's House.

**Petitions**  
Petitions are being prepared for distribution to the branches and within a very short time letters will go out giving final instructions for the obtaining of signatures. Now that nominations have been completed, committees should be organized for the task of securing signatures with the greatest speed and efficiency.

**Picnic**  
The Ulmer Park Picnic on Saturday, July 27, will go over with a bang. With artists, prominent speakers, athletic contests, with refreshments, dancing, music and song—the thousands of workers who will attend will have a grand time. Socialists certainly should make no other engagements for that day. The fun will begin at noon Saturday and will extend until the early hours of Sunday morning. We have two orchestra bands, loud speakers, an excellent concert; Jasper McLevy is coming from Bridgeport; Judge Jacob Panken, William Karlin and others will be among the speakers.

What we need immediately is the voluntary service of a very large committee, both on the day of the picnic and for several days in advance. I want to urge all those who have aided us in the past immediately to communicate with me so that proper assignment can be made. This year we expect to have a bazaar feature at the picnic and large quantities of merchandise will be disposed of at bargain prices. We therefore need a specially large and competent committee to work with us.

## N. E. C. MEETING

(Continued from Page One)

came the big auditorium was jammed to suffocation. But the committee was in executive session upstairs in the Rand School studio, working out an agenda. The atmosphere was tense when the committeemen filed in and took their seats at the tables covered with red bunting to begin their work.

Darlington Hoopes, chairman of the session, announced the program that had been agreed upon: The Nine Points, adopted by the N. E. C. at the Buffalo meeting, would be read, after which the reply of the New York state committee—printed in The New Leader May 11th—was read. There was to follow the reading of the resolution constituting the Committee on Inquiry and Mediation, the summary of the report of that committee, the motion summoning the New York state committee to appear before the N. E. C., and the state committee's reply declining to appear officially.

After the documents had been read the floor was thrown open to discussion, described in another column.

## HOOPES TOUR

Special to The New Leader

PITTSBURGH.—It has been necessary to rearrange the schedule of Comrade Darlington Hoopes, who will tour Pennsylvania for one week, beginning August 2nd. The new tentative schedule is as follows: Friday, August 2nd: Altoona; Saturday, August 3rd: DuBois; Sunday, August 4th: Erie; Monday, August 5th: New Castle or Jeanette; Tuesday, August 6th: Pittsburgh; Wednesday, August 7th: Williamsport; Thursday, August 8th: Scranton; Friday, August 9th: Pittston; Saturday, August 10th: Ashland or Tamaqua.

Branches that have been assigned dates are urged to mail in their acceptance immediately.

## Women's Committee Outing to Indian Point

The Women's Committee of the Socialist Party will hold a boat ride up the Hudson River to Indian Point on Tuesday, July 23. The boat, "Peter Stuyvesant," will leave the pier of the Hudson River Day Line at 42nd Street at 10 a. m.

Roundtrip tickets may be purchased in Room 408, 7 East 15th St., for the price of \$1 for adults and 50 cents for children. Those participating in the outing are urged to bring in lunches and bathing suits in order to assure them a pleasant time.

## Socialist Summer School at Goldfield, Colo.

DENVER, Colo.—The Western States Summer School which was to have held a part of its sessions in Pine, Colo., will be held in Goldfield instead, according to Mrs. Marjorie McCormick, secretary of the Socialist Party of Colorado. The school will open Friday evening, July 19th, at the party's headquarters in Denver, and will continue to meet here through Sunday, July 21st.

The Denver sessions will close with a mass meeting to be held in the Civic Center Sunday evening.

## LA STAMPA LIBERA SUES HEARST FOR OUTRAGEOUS LIBEL

The publishers of La Stampa Libera, Italian labor and Socialist daily, is suing the Hearst newspaper, the New York Evening Journal, for \$300,000 for libel. La Stampa Libera is represented by Matthew H. Levy, well-known Socialist and labor attorney.

The complaint arises as the result of an article appearing on the front page of the Hearst paper November 22nd, 1934, headed "Anarchist link in \$2,000,000 Counterfeit Plot." In substance, the article attempts to tie up with the paper a gang of counterfeiters, caught in a building which, it is claimed, formerly housed the La Stampa Libera. Not only did Hearst allege that La Stampa Libera allegedly engaged in doing counterfeit work, but it is also accused of being connected with the anarchist movement, a felony under the laws of this State, and of being intimately acquainted with bombs, terrorism, and infernal machines. Furthermore, the Hearst editor falsely wrote that one of the apprehended counterfeiters is a former editor of the La Stampa Libera.

In the formal complaint La Stampa Libera set forth that the libel is merely another item in Hearst's nationwide campaign against radicals, liberals and progressives. The Hearst disciples seized on the alleged coincidence that the counterfeiters were caught in a printing plant claimed to have been formerly used by La Stampa Libera as a fortuitous opportunity for them gratuitously to connect the Labor daily with the counterfeit gang, although the matter published in the Journal was known to be false.

## Chicago Unions Favor Independent Labor Party

Special to The New Leader

CHICAGO.—Members and spokesmen of 47 unions of the Chicago Federation of Labor met in Lathers' Union Hall, Sunday, July 14, to discuss the question of a labor party. The sentiment was unanimously in favor of the formation of a labor party, at least for Chicago, based on the unions of the American Federation of Labor.

A continuation committee of 15 was appointed to draft a call to all Chicago labor unions for a Chicago trade union conference on a labor party. Two active Socialist trade unionists, George Meade of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, and Morris Seskind, President of the Jewish Federation of Trade Unions, are members of the committee.

This preliminary and informal conference, of which David McVey of the Lathers' Union acted as chairman, coincided with the public statement in the Federation News, official organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor, by President Fitzpatrick explaining his own and the State Federation of Labor president's resignation from state commissions with the statement that labor cannot get any kind of a square deal while the old party politicians are in power, and that he refused to be a cat's paw to make it appear that it was possible for union men to secure fair treatment from the old party administrations in Illinois.

## Union Pursuing 'Runaway' Shop to Haverstraw

(Continued from Page One)

port for work at the plant. Disregarding the recent manifestation of force by non-union workers employed at the plant, in cooperation with armed mobs of local citizens, the union employees will demand that the Hirsch firm abide by the court decision.

Notice has been sent to Mayor Arthur Brownell of Garfieldville that the union expected him to accord its members proper protection. Similar notice was served on the sheriff of Rockland County. The union expects also that Governor Lehman will heed its call for protection. But regardless of what happens the union members will assert their rights under the collective agreement and the court decree.

The decree in question was handed down by State Supreme Court Justice Aron Steuer on the complaint of the Knit Goods Workers' Union that Samuel Hirsch, president of the Hirsch Company, had violated his agreement with the union by removing his plant from Brooklyn to Garfieldville to escape paying union wages and maintaining union work standards. To circumvent the decision the Hirsch firm discharged the local Garfieldville and Haverstraw workers, who were incited to the belief that the union men from New York were coming to take their jobs. As a matter of fact this was not the intention of the union. All that the union was interested in was to enforce union conditions in the plant.

The armed demonstration staged in and around Haverstraw was called off when it was learned that the New York workers were not coming — not yet. On Monday morning, however, a full complement of union members will go to the plant to make the test.

Hirsch has now rehired the 142 local employees on the plea that the union had not furnished him with help, and the trip to Haverstraw on Monday is designed to prove the speciousness of this plea and to assert the union's determination not to surrender any of the rights embodied in the union agreement, which has the legal force of a contract.

## Bathrobe Workers on Fighting Front

A MEETING of bathrobe makers called to approve the demands submitted by the Executive Board of Local 91, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union for the coming general strike in the industry, was held in the Rand School Thursday, July 18.

The demands to be submitted to the employers are: A uniform 30-hour working week; a general increase of 10 per cent in wages; time and a half pay for overtime; a minimum of \$16 for all operators, pressers, finishers, and tailors working on garments priced up to \$18 a dozen; a \$19 minimum for the same crafts working on garments priced between \$18 and \$36 a dozen; and a \$21 minimum for those working on garments priced above \$21. The floor girls in the respective categories are to get minima of \$13, \$14 and \$15.

Harry Greenberg, Manager of the Bathrobe Makers' Union, is confident that the bathrobe makers will be successful in their attempt to realize their demands. In this strike the cutters will fight in the front line trenches alongside their fellow workers.

The area of the strike will extend beyond the metropolitan area to include outlying points such as South Norwalk, Bridgeport, Fall River and New Jersey.

This strike, according to Greenberg, may very well mark a turning point in the history of the workers of this industry, who for the past few years have been vic-

timized by their employers because of the disorganization prevalent in their ranks. Beginning with this strike the men in this industry who once received really decent wages as skilled mechanics and are working at starvation levels, will be able to rehabilitate their living and working standards.

## Outdoor Pittsburgh Forum

PITTSBURGH.—The North Side Branch announces that the Outdoor Labor Problems Forums will continue to the last week in August. These Forums are held every Wednesday evening at the West Park Band Stand, Sherman Avenue and West Ohio Street, North Side Pittsburgh. Prominent Socialist and Labor speakers have been secured. Karl Paul, organizer of the Socialist Party of Allegheny County, was the speaker on Wednesday, July 17th.

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NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 1106, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St., Phone, ALgonquin 4-7822. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:30 in the office. Ed Gottman, Secretary-Treasurer.

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WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 22 of I.L.G.W.U., 3rd Broadway, New York City. Telephone ALgonquin 4-1381. S. Shure, Manager.



# NEW LEADER

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JAMES ONEAL, Editor

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## LEPROUS NAZI GANGSTERS

THE attacks by Hitler's storm troop gangsters on Jews in Berlin came as a shock to civilized human beings. Why this sudden outburst of barbaric sadism occurred is not clear. The infamous Goebbels had recently made a provocative statement regarding the Jews and this may have contributed something to the attacks. On the other hand, there are those high in the councils of the Nazis who want no more of these outbursts. Not because of a change of heart regarding the Jewish people but because of the reaction of foreign opinion.

It is likely that what often follows the rise of a dictatorship has happened in Germany. When hooligans are organized and free rein is given to their blood lust, their appetite remains keen after the dictatorship has won power. For several years Hitler's hooligans indulged this appetite and even dictators do not find it easy to restrain it. Even dictators may become the prisoners of the mobs whom they infuriate and train to do their dirty work.

The Nazi vermin who struck down helpless men and women in cafes and in the streets, who struck without provocation, advertise Nazi Germany for what it is, a government of gangsters and cowards, a leper in the family of nations. Those who enjoy hurting human beings because of race of color are beyond the civilized pale.

## THE "RECOVERY" MAP

LIKE a lake which has broken through a dike and which is followed by the water being reduced to a level where it stagnates, so our industrial system has sunk and remains at a low level. A map of business activity by states presented by the United States News shows the month of June to be the blackest since October, 1934. Industrial states like New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey show a lower level.

Midway between this industrial region and the lower South are the states of Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee. All but Kentucky in October, 1934, had a black record and all, including Kentucky, now show a blacker record. The states of the lower South, except Mississippi and Florida, reveal a similar trend. States bordering the west bank of the Mississippi River are not so hard hit, although Nebraska, Kansas and Texas show a blacker record.

Capitalism is still stagnating on a low level and with over ten million workers still unemployed, this map is an effective answer to all the fine forecasts of President Roosevelt for more than two years.

## CHISELERS AT WORK

WITHIN a few weeks after the NRA was set aside by the U. S. Supreme Court, the American Federation of Labor completed a survey in many industries that revealed reductions in wages and increased hours of labor. Surviving agencies of the old NRA have been conducting a similar investigation and the first returns show the same facts, including an increase in the number of child workers. There is little doubt that further reports will confirm the first returns.

An interesting fact brought to light by the investigation is that the wage reductions and increase in labor hours are mainly effected in small firms and the service trades. Functioning on a lower margin of economies than the big corporations, especially during a depression, the lesser capitalists naturally seek relief by attacking labor standards. In general, the big corporations are reported to be exercising more restraint and yet to expect them not to yield to the temptation to filch more values from the workers in the coming months is simply moonshine. The chiseler is neither large nor small; he is a buyer of labor power and he will make his purchase yield all that is possible.

## A DANGEROUS PROPOSAL

JUST as under the NRA the organized working class had to fight every day against interpretations, rulings and red tape for a place in the sun, so today they must watch for jokers in the bills that concern them at Washington. The Social Security Bill, while accepted as a beginning, is not by any means satisfactory, and a Senate amendment is now being considered that is reactionary and dangerous.

This proposal would permit big corporations of the "welfare" type—the "welfare" being generally tied to a company union—to administer their own pension systems. These would be separated from Federal legislation.

Considering that if Congress enacts social security legislation, this amendment would really vest these big corporations with special legislative powers in the same field. This would also be government recognition of industrial feudalism within these corporations. This favorable treatment would make it still harder for the unions to organize in the industries of mass production.

No more daring capitalist proposal has appeared in years. It must be fought to the bitter end.

## There Are Still Ten Millions of Them!



## ALFRED DREYFUS

By William M. Feigenbaum

WITH the passing of Alfred Dreyfus an era in European history comes to a close. Indeed, except for the fact that the aged and ailing Colonel survived physically into the day of fascism and official governmental anti-Semitism that era had completely passed many years ago.

To men and women over 50 the death of Dreyfus brings back memories of a crazy, turbulent episode of their youth, almost with the force of a powerful nostalgia. But there was more to the Dreyfus case than a mere outburst of national insanity among a great people. Never a sympathetic figure—a militarist and a wealthy bourgeois—Dreyfus became in the very fact of his martyrdom a symbol of the struggle of a great people against evil forces. Arrayed against him were bureaucracy, a vicious militarism, clericalism, a virulent anti-Semitism, monarchism—in fact, all the forces seeking the destruction of democratic self-government—as well as insolvent finance capitalism.

The Republic tottered under the impact of the drive on Dreyfus. The structure of peace and of international good will, the very survival of organized civilization were endangered by the episode that might very easily have brought about a war of colossal proportions.

That France survived, that the people were able to throw off the poisons that threatened the life of the nation is due to many causes, not the least of which was the magnificent defense of Dreyfus by the organized Socialist movement.

Emile Zola contributed to the recovery of the sanity of France. So did Anatole France. So did a number of public-spirited generals and civilians, such as Senator Schuerer-Kestner, General Picquart; Dreyfus's own brother; so did Georges Clemenceau, who espoused the Dreyfusard cause for the selfish reason that he was seeking a political comeback after his eclipse following the Panama scandals in

which he had been involved.

But most of all it was organized French Socialism, led by the courageous Jaures, that brought France back to sanity. And it was the Dreyfus case that brought unity to French Socialism, then divided into five parties.

Some of the Socialists were unwilling to fight for Dreyfus, who, after all, emitted the cry, "Vive l'Armee!" at five-minute intervals as that very army was disgracing him and seeking his destruction; who was, after all, a rich man, scion of a family engaged in manufacturing and the exploitation of labor. Why, they asked, should we defend a man who is merely fighting for the right to remain in an army that is in itself a menace to everything we stand for? Why fight for a man whose brother referred to the Socialists as *chiens*—dogs?

But Jaures reasoned that those who were fighting Dreyfus were the main enemies of the working class, and that in defending Dreyfus and defeating his foes a powerful blow would be struck for the masses. And Jaures prevailed, and the fight was waged, and the Socialists created the sentiment out of which came the defeat and discomfiture of the militarists, royalists, clericals and anti-Semites.

And out of that battle came a united Socialist Party led so gallantly and bravely by Jaures until the day of his tragic and ever-to-be lamented death. The same forces of reaction, militarism, anti-Semitism and finance-capitalism as made France so sorry a figure forty years ago are raging in a far more virulent form today. And what the organized workers and the decent opinion of mankind did forty years ago they can AND WILL do again.

In the evening of his life Dreyfus remembered what he had suffered, and he put his name to a petition for the liberation of Sacco and Vanzetti. It was a noble gesture. It brought back memories of the battles of 1894-1906.

## Behind the Scenes in Washington



By Benjamin Meiman  
Our Washington Correspondent

WOULD love to call this the House-cleaning week, but am afraid it will take more than one week to clean house in Washington before Congressmen are rarin' to go home! But all Congress can do now is to delve into an intensive clean-up program of the "must" bills.

By the way, word has been passed down the journalistic line that the President discourages the use of the term "must legislation." He suggests that "desirable legislation" is a much happier and more accurate way of saying it. It's possible that the "must" idea was officially scrapped in consequence of recent evidence that Congress resents administration dictatorship in the legislative field. There are indications that the past few days have witnessed something like a restored entente between the executive and legislative ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, except for the desire to go home. That really threatens to cause a stampede or a bolt.

Uncle Sam Agrees to Trade With Russia

AT last we are showing a little common sense in our business relations with the Soviet Union. The State Department announced, in effect, that it is now going to deal with Russia just as with any other country—to try to expand our trade. Under the new Russian-American agreement, Russia promises to buy more American goods in the next twelve months—30 million dollars' worth, or more than double her current purchases, is the informal estimate—and the United States agrees to grant Russia the same tariff concessions it has made to other countries, or may make during the next year. Our tariff concessions to Cuba are excepted.

The agreement does not mention Soviet-American claims or credits. It is a straight business deal and

rests on its own bottom.

For almost 18 years Uncle Sam was not on speaking terms with Russia. After resumption of diplomatic relations in November, 1933, there were high hopes for large exports to Russia, but those hopes went glimmering when trading was coupled with paying old debts made by Czarist Russia, by the Kerensky Government (which was partly used by Kolchak in his counter-revolutionary adventures), and by private American capital confiscated during the revolution. Russia had counter-claims for damage caused by invasion of American military forces. The bargaining and haggling went on and on until last January, when Secretary of State Hull made the blunt announcement that all efforts to come to an understanding with Russia failed.

While we haggled, Britain, France, Germany, Italy and others to whom Russia owes a great deal more than she owes us, were walking off with the lucrative Russian trade.

At last we began to face facts—and a trade agreement resulted which, it is hoped, will be profitable for both countries.

Criticized and denounced as a "Santa Claus pact" and calling Mr. Hull a "prize diplomatic dupe," Senator Pat McCarran of Nevada said:

"This pact, with a nation that floods our country with Communist propaganda and tears up its promises to settle its legitimate debts with us, is the crowning blow of Secretary Hull's ruinous and fantastic mania for free trade."

"Before American business is completely destroyed, before he has given away our very country in these ridiculous sucker-deals, the powers which Congress foolishly gave him must be cancelled."

Senator McCarran charged that the 50 per cent reduction on manganese, contained in the Russian agreement, means death to the American manganese industry in the West, which is just getting on its feet.

William Phillips, Assistant Secretary of State, cool and collected, answered this outburst of Senator McCarran. He said the law authorizing reciprocal trade agreements was not involved in the Soviet pact, although the agreement was closely related to the authority given the President under that law.

All that was done, Phillips said, was to agree to give the Soviet the benefit of the same rates applied to other nations which did sign trade pacts. In return, the Soviet promised to buy \$30,000,000 worth of U. S. goods in the next twelve months.

This may not satisfy the spokesmen of the manganese manufacturers, but it ought to satisfy reasoning Americans.

## To Create Wagner Labor Act Machinery

THE Wagner Labor Act machinery is expected to be set in operation this week or next with appointment of a three-man "labor court" to administer it.

President Roosevelt, following conferences already held with Secretary of Labor Perkins and expected meetings in the next few days with Senator Wagner, A. F. of L. officials and others, may be able to send the nominations to the Senate soon.

Unofficial reports indicate that both Harry A. Millis and Edwin S. Smith of the old board may be appointed, although Millis has returned to his University of Chicago post and his attitude is not known definitely.

Nearly a dozen possibilities are being considered for the three \$10,000-a-year jobs. It is now definite that Leo Wolman of Columbia University, lately chairman of the Automobile Labor Board, will not be named. Some A. F. of L. leaders who challenged his procedure in the auto industry had expressed fears he might be appointed.

President Green of the A. F. of L. has notified all affiliated unions that the Wagner Act, designed to safeguard labor organizing and collective bargaining, is now "the

## The Chicago Conference And Its Call for a New Party

By Algernon Lee

(Continued from last week)  
POLITICAL parties are of two kinds . . . but no, I must correct that: there is another kind, of which a word must be said before we go on.

There are parties which, having risen to power and achieved their aims, wholly or in large measure, outlive their original reason for existence and yet continue to exist, simply because no younger party has yet grown strong enough to overthrow them. Such, in this country, are the Democratic and Republican parties today, and such they have been for at least thirty years. The issues over which they used to fight with genuine moral fervor have long been dead issues. What they really fight over now is office and the perquisites of office, and their nominal campaign issues are at best mere questions of expediency, not of basic principle. Both of them accept the existing social-economic system. Whichever carries an election proceeds to administer public affairs substantially as the other would have administered them if it had won, serving principally the interests of the propertied classes, actively defending them against any serious attack, patching up differences among them as best it can, and making such real or apparent concessions to the unpropertied classes as their expressions of discontent may enforce.



Algernon Lee

It was not such soulless survivals from the past that I had in mind when I wrote my opening sentence. I was thinking of what are or aspire to be parties of the future. As to these, I say that they are of two kinds.

### Two Party Types

The first of these two types is simply a combination of persons who, as individuals, regardless of social status, hold identical opinions, or opinions which are nearly enough alike to make it possible for them to accept a common formula without violating their individual consciences. The second type is a mass of persons who, because of their position in the social system, because of their class position, tend to feel together and act together in a certain way and who, in the process of acting together, think out a common program, with or without a theoretical statement of principles.

The effective party of the future, the party which actually changes the social system to suit changed conditions and new needs, is always a party of the second type. But the rise of such a party is usually if not always preceded by the existence of one or more parties of the first type, holding ideals that cannot yet be realized, foreseeing and desiring and advocating changes which cannot yet be made. The historic function of such a party is to get the problem of the future stated, to force it upon the attention of increasing numbers of the people, to incite as many as possible to think about it and at least provisionally take sides, and so to prepare public opinion for the time when the problem can and must be solved.

In rare cases there may be a direct development of the one kind of party into the other, without any break in its organizational history—the first may be the embryonic or infantile form of a body of which the second is the adult form. Oftener the party of the

law of the land" and that workers "have the right to invoke its provisions and to seek its protection." Green said the A. F. of L. would defend the act, insist that it be respected, and "supply the best legal talent available" to protect it in court.

Staff members of the old National Labor Relations Board, carried over under the new act, continued their preliminary organization plans, but explained that until the new board is constituted no spade-work in actual submission of cases can be done. This was made clear in connection with reports that several pending labor disputes are being cited to the board for immediate action once the members are named.

Until the regional agents of the board are authorized to go ahead, no official action can be taken to prepare cases and collect evidence for submission to the board.

Furthermore, it is expected here that the board will proceed very carefully at first in an effort to get an "air-tight" legal case or series of cases involving key and border-line industries, before anything is started that will wind up in the big marble building on Capitol Hill where the Supreme Court will hand down the last word.

### Public Works May Pay Union Wages

REGULATIONS governing Public Works Administration projects were revised last Monday

first type is a precursor rather than an embryo. The party of ideas does what such a party is capable of doing, up to the moment when the party of action can arise, and then it gets out of the way—or, if it does not, it becomes a nuisance and has to be put out of the way.

### The Party of Ideas

The Abolitionist party, for example, under its various names, performed a very useful task from about 1830 till the middle 1850's. It wished and expected to abolish chattel slavery. It did not and could not achieve that aim. But it did and could put the slavery question on the order of business and materially hasten its solution. Had it continued a separate existence after the Republican party came into being, it would very likely have prevented the triumph of that party in 1860 and postponed for years the very change it had so long been aiming at.

The Independent Labor Party in Great Britain is a case in point on the other side. Without its preparatory work, the British Labor party might not have been formed so soon, and pretty surely would not have matured so rapidly as it did. The other body became a component part of the younger and larger one, and for twelve or fifteen years exercised a wholesome and helpful influence within it. Largely as a result of that influence, the Labor party developed both in theoretical clearness and in organizational form to a point where it no longer needed the I.L.P. But the I.L.P., though it dwindled to a coterie, would not disband and merge itself into the Labor party. The result has been to write a farcical but also a dismal appendix to the history of its thirty glorious years.

The party of the first type, the party of ideas—the political sect, if I may use that term without offence—is not to be undervalued. It is necessary at least until the party of the second type comes into existence, and may be useful for a little while thereafter. But when shall the party of action come into existence? The answer is: It will come when it can, and not before. Meanwhile, the party of ideas has the duty as well as the right to go on.

(To be continued)

## LODI, N. J., NAMES LABOR TICKET FOR ELECTION

Special to The New Leader

LODI, N. J.—At a conference of the Lodi Labor Party a representation of Labor Unions in this vicinity decided to place candidates in the coming general election.

Frank J. Benti, vice-president of the Dyers' Federation and President of Local 1932 of Passaic, was selected as candidate for Mayor. Vincent Hyke, vice chairman of Local 1983 of Lodi was named for councilman in the First Ward, and Frank Plecia, chairman of the Executive Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, Local 145, of Passaic and vicinity, was named for councilman for the Second Ward.

Frank J. Benti, Charles Vigorito, George Balanza and Simon Saller spoke on the need of a labor party in Lodi as well as a state and national labor party. They said the workers must start an anti-sales tax organization. They spoke on the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill and Social Security Bill.

so that union wages may be paid and spending considerably speeded up.

State PWA directors "may disapprove any rate to be paid, other than a rate predetermined under law or ordinance, if it is less than the prevailing rate," Administrator Ickes announced.

The wage provisions are a part of a general revision of regulations designed to expedite the PWA projects, and speed up the re-employment of persons now on relief rolls, Ickes said. President Roosevelt joined in the action to speed up work.

Roosevelt said "local bodies willing to put up their share of the 55 per cent of the total cost of projects must, of course, be given first consideration" when the government distributes the fund by making political subdivisions an outright gift of 45 per cent of the development's cost.

The orders placed primary responsibility for wage rate fixing with local recipients of the PWA grant or the borrower from PWA funds. Approval, however, of the PWA director would be necessary before the rates are incorporated into contracts.

The provision for payment of prevailing wages was regarded by union leaders as an important victory. They fought while the work relief bills was in Congress for incorporation of a mandatory union wage scale rate.