

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

NEW LEADER

Vol. XVIII—No. 50

In Two Sections—Sec. 1

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1935

PRICE FIVE CENTS

In This Issue
After the Breathing Spell
by Irving B. Altman
•
The British Elections
by Herbert Morrison, M.P.
•
Remove the Olympics!
by Gerhart Seger
•
The People's House
by William E. Bohn

Labor Plays Brutal Tampa Mob Outrages

Shoemaker Dies as Result of a Savage Beating by Anti-Labor Mobsters—Others in Critical Condition in Hospital.

Whole City Aroused

Local Press Joins Central Labor Body in Protest Against the Murderous Assault on Socialists and Trade Unionists.

Special to The New Leader
TAMPA, Fla.—Joseph Shoemaker, one of the three victims of mob fury, brutally beaten here November 30, died Monday as a result of gangrene set in after the beating. Before he died he regained consciousness long enough to tell his story of the outrage. What he said was not disclosed, but it is believed he gave information which would positively identify the hoodlums who were responsible for his death and the savage beating of two Socialists.

Shoemaker, a former Vermont Socialist, chairman of the Tampa Modern Democrats, was kidnapped along with Eugene Paulnot and Samuel D. Rogers, Socialist Party officials, on the night of November 30-December 1, taken into the woods in Tampa suburbs, and beaten and tarred and feathered. The three were kidnapped in the shadow of the city hall as they left the courthouse where along with three others, they had been questioned about their alleged "Communist activities." Those arrested with them were State Secretary Charles E. Jensen of the Socialist Party; Walter Roush, member of the State Executive Committee, and one McKaskill, city fireman. They were arrested in the home of Mrs. Harold, a union official. None of the six was held after questioning.

Shoemaker had been carrying on a letter campaign in the Tampa Tribune for a system of production for use and not for profit. In one of the letters he asked, "Are the Communists right? If they are, America ought to be ashamed of itself." This, it is believed, is why he and the other five were arrested.

Nationwide Protest Growing

Nationwide protest is growing against the murderous outrage. Protests are coming in daily from Socialist and labor organizations, including the Hillsborough County Central Trades and Labor assembly and many national trade union organizations. The Tampa Morning Tribune and many of its readers are in the forefront of the protest.

Comrade Rodgers asserts he recognized one of the men who seized him as "a city policeman," but Tampa police, upon "investigation" said that no policeman was implicated in the outrage. Chief of police Pittsworth said that a commission as a special officer, the same as several hundred other men in Tampa.

The physician who attended Shoemaker in the Centro Espanol Hospital, said, "He is horribly mutilated. I wouldn't beat a hog the way that man was whipped. He is still only half-conscious. He was beaten until he is paralyzed on one side, probably from blows on the head. He cannot say anything to you; he does not know what happened. He can't use one arm, and I doubt if three square feet would cover the total area of bloodshot bruises on his body, not counting the parts injured by tar."

"This man was in such terrible condition when he was brought to the hospital that we were not able to do anything for him. We were not able to get him warm for a long time; he was just about dead from what he had gone through and from exposure, and so ill. It was Monday before we were able to treat him."

Organized Labor Demands Punishment of Thugs

The Tribune believes that Shoemaker was the most brutally beaten because he knew more about the criminals than anyone else.

A woman citizen of Tampa writing to the Tribune says that "the significance of this riot is that we

(Continued on Page Two)

Green Threatens Move Of A. F. of L. Meeting From Scene of Outrage

WASHINGTON, D. C.—William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, has issued the following statement regarding the brutal treatment accorded a number of Labor men at Tampa:

"I have asked the President of the Florida State Federation of Labor to investigate the brutal treatment accorded a number of Labor men at Tampa, Florida, and report to me the result of such investigation. Preliminary reports show that three workers who had been active in promoting the interests of Labor at Tampa were kidnapped, flogged, and subjected to shocking, brutal treatment. One died as a result of this attack."

"The American Federation of Labor will insist and demand that a full investigation be made by the proper authorities and that those found guilty of the perpetration of the outrage be properly punished."

"Unless said thorough and complete investigation is made and those found guilty of the alleged acts of violence and brutality are punished in accordance with law, it is altogether probable that the American Federation of Labor may find it necessary to change the holding of the convention of the American Federation of Labor in November, 1936, to some other city where working men and women are properly protected, and the exercise of the rights conferred upon them by the laws of the land is fully recognized."

Employers Bolt N. R. A. Meeting

By Benjamin Meiman

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Big business gave literal demonstration of its "ganging up" on President Roosevelt and declaration of war against any proposal favoring Government interference with absolute dictatorship of plutocracy, last Monday, at the opening of President Roosevelt's long-heralded Industrial Conference.

Attended by about 2,500 delegates, the first session broke up in demonstration of the big manufacturers of open defiance to the Government and absolute refusal of cooperation in industry. The large majority of big employers declined to come to the conference called by Major George L. Berry, President Roosevelt's Coordinator for Industrial Cooperation, and those who did come showed at the very first session that they came

(Continued on Page Five)

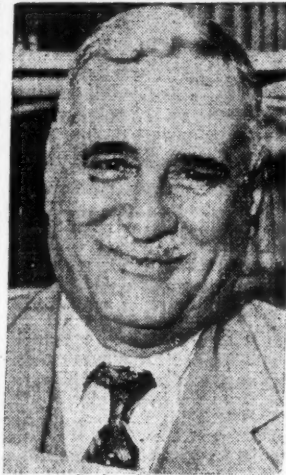
Ben Blumenberg Dies at 55, After Long Illness

IT is with the deepest sorrow that the death of Ben Blumenberg, lifelong Socialist and trade unionist, and for several years a member of The New Leader staff, must be reported. Comrade Blumenberg died of cancer in the New York Hospital December 7th after a long and devastating illness.

Two years ago Comrade Blumenberg had spent several weeks in the hospital, but he was discharged because nothing could be done for him. Despite the fatal nature of his illness he continued his work on The New Leader, and since last summer as manager of the book store of the Rand School, until he was too weak to go on. He was again taken to the hospital eight days before his passing.

Ben Blumenberg, who was 55, was the highest and noblest type of trade union Socialist, a workingman whose whole life was given to his cause. Quiet, lovable, modest, unassuming, temperamental, unable to push himself forward, those who knew him intimately realized that he embodied those qualities of mind and heart that make the true Socialist.

Benjamin Blumenberg was born in New York April 1, 1880, the



Carlos Mendieta

Mendieta Is Out; Labor War Goes On

Cuban Masses Still Enslaved by American Business Interests Despite Ouster of Machado—No Peace in Sight.

WITH the resignation of President Mendieta the Cuban revolution goes on. More than two years after the infamous Machado was ousted from the presidential seat he had so long befouled not one of the really vital problems of the Cuban people is solved.

Machado was a tyrant, a murderer and the assassin of the liberties of the people, operating in the interest of the big interests, mainly American bankers and sugar planters.

His regime was so disgraceful that after long hesitation the American government virtually forced him out. There had been too many murders, too many mysterious disappearances, too much fascism next door to our shores.

Evils Unremedied

But the real evils of the past years have not disappeared. One president has succeeded another, and still the problems of the Cuban

(Continued on Page Four)

LaGuardia to Speak at Fascist Rally

Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia, Justices Ferdinand Pecora, Salvatore A. Cotillo and John J. Freschi, and Congressman William I. Sirovich, all of whom have taken oaths to uphold the United States government and the democracy on which it is based, have all agreed to speak at a fascist rally to be held in Madison Square Garden Saturday evening, the purpose of which is to support the "civilizing" land-grab expedition of Mussolini's marauding thugs in Ethiopia.

Thus the leading representatives of executive, judicial and legislative branches of government in New York have flouted the opinion of the civilized world, violated the country's neutrality and their own oaths and placed themselves in support of a dictatorship directly opposed to the democracy they have sworn to defend.

(See article by Adrien Gambet on Page 8.)

Unions Victors In Court Fight To Hold Docks

THE teamsters and longshoremen's unions won a complete victory when the New York Court of appeals threw out the appeal of the New York Lumber Trade Association against the Appellate Court's vacation of an injunction against the unions.

The plaintiffs are approximately 28 shippers and receivers of freight by intercoastal and foreign shipping lines, whose places of business are in the vicinity of the Port of New York, while the defendants are approximately 55 steamship lines and more than 30 labor unions chartered by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, and the International Longshoremen's Association. These unions banded to

(Continued on Page Seven)



David Dubinsky

Dressmakers Set For Big Strike

More Than 100,000 Workers Prepared for Huge Walkout Unless Demands Are Granted—Dubinsky Hits Insincerity of Manufacturers.

UNLESS employers accede to the demands advanced by the union, a strike will be called in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union on Feb. 1 that will bring over 10,000 workers out of the shops.

The demands of the union, formulated at the Cleveland meeting of the general executive board, include provisions in the new contract for settlement of prices, price-fixing and limitations on contractors.

Although the demands advanced by the union were immediately met with denunciation and misrepresentation on the part of the employers, David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U., immediately made the spread of such slander impossible by the issuance of a statement in which the aims of the union and the necessities for its demands are clearly set forth.

"Our union has never sought," says Dubinsky, "nor is it now (Continued on Page Seven)

Needle Trades Back The Industrial Bloc

Silk Workers Convention Backs Labor Party and Industrial Union Bloc

PROGRESSIVE and industrial unionism was the tone of the annual convention of the American Federation of Silk Workers Saturday and Sunday at the Woodstock Hotel, New York City. The convention was addressed by Thomas F. McMahon, international president of the parent organization, the United Textile Workers, who pledged the financial and moral support of the international in the federation's campaigns for the coming year.

Emil Rieve, president of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, and Francis J. Gorman also spoke. Gorman warned the delegates to beware of dishonest political factions who come into the ranks of organized labor or the sole purpose of using honest workers in their destructive scheming and conniving. He also urged the silk workers to begin carrying on propaganda in their districts for a labor party movement.

The delegates represented over

(Continued on Page Seven)

Neckwear Union Repels Attack

By Joseph Tuvim

Manager, Local 142, I.L.G.W.U.

After long and stormy negotiations with the employers, the Neckwear Workers' Union has concluded a new agreement, preserving all the advantages of the old one and including new provisions on homework, contractors work, a minimum wage for snap machine operators of 45 cents per hour, and other items which, in the old agreement, needed clarifying.

When the conference began the union committee, consisting of Emanuel Flex, William Newman, Anna Wenger, Murray Hoffer, Ernest Rathkopf, Theresa De Paolo, Max K. Polikoff and Joseph Tuvim, was faced with demands from the employers for an increase in hours, a decrease in wages, makeup time for holidays, and no overtime to be paid until a normal week's work has been done.

The union committee promptly rejected these demands and reported back to the membership at a meeting that packed Webster Hall and gave the committee full powers.

When meetings with the employers were resumed the bosses offered to drop their demands if the union would renew the old agreement. This proposal was turned down and finally the employers yielded to the demands we have listed above.

The New Leader's 'Scoop' Reprinted All Over Country

A RECENT item in The New Leader "appealing from Mussolini drunk with power to Mussolini sober" was given wide circulation in a large number of the papers of the Scripps-Howard chain, reaching millions of readers in many parts of the United States.

The item, entitled, "Benito vs. Benito," was a quotation from Benito Mussolini, then editor of *Avanti*, great Italian Socialist daily, protesting against the imperialist adventure of the Italian government in Tripoli in 1911 and 1912, in terms that would cause the instant arrest and possible execution of any Italian using the same arguments against Mussolini today.

Mussolini wrote at that time, in reply to the argument that Italian greatness needed expansion and war: "The Nationalist, conservative and clerical Italy of today wants to make the sword her law and the army the school of the nation. We foresaw this moral degeneration and therefore are not surprised by it. But those who believe that this dominance of militarism is a sign of strength are mistaken. Strong peoples have no need to suffer such rubbish as the

Italian press indulges in with such foolish delight. Strong peoples have themselves in check. Nationalist and militarist Italy shows that she has herself not in check. A little war of conquest is celebrated as a Roman triumph."

The Memphis (Tenn.) News-Scimitar, one of the most influential of the Scripps papers, reprinted the item as an editorial, prefacing it with these words: "The New Leader, Socialist journal published in New York, appeals from Mussolini sober in the fresh morning of his life. The New Leader quotes an editorial written by Mussolini January 1, 1912, when he was the young editor of the Socialist daily *Avanti*. Attacking Italy's war in Libya, North Africa [Tripoli], Mussolini said 23 years ago; and then the quotation is given in full."

Following the publication of the editorial in the Press-Scimitar, the editorial appeared in precisely the same form in the editorial columns of the following Scripps papers, with a total circulation of several millions: Knoxville (Tenn.) News-Sentinel, Washington (D. C.) News, Cleveland (Ohio) Press, Pittsburgh (Pa.) Press, Columbus (Ohio) Citizen, Evansville (Ind.) Times, Fort Worth (Texas) Press.

Amalgamated, International and Millinery Workers Reaffirm Their Support of Lewis Committee—Pledge Loyalty to AF of L.

Executive Board Acts

Unions Emphasize Movement Is Not a Splitting Effort—Stress Need of a Wider and Effective Organization.

THREE important unions, numbering in their ranks hundreds of thousands of members of the American Federation of Labor, declared within a few days of each other their adherence to the campaign for industrial unionism, while at the same time asserting that their campaign cannot be interpreted as a move against the A. F. of L.

While the Executive Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, meeting in Cleveland, was backing the stand of Pres. David Dubinsky in working with the Industrial Union bloc headed by John L. Lewis, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' executive board, meeting in Washington likewise voted to support the bloc, while Max Zaritsky, president of the cap and millinery workers, wrote President Green of the A. F. of L. that the fight for industrial unionism is not aimed against the A. F. of L.

I.L.G.W.U. Statement

The I.L.G.W.U. statement reads in part:

"The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has always favored the industrial union form of organization, particularly for the unorganized workers in the mass production industries, as the more effective, practical and modern method of organization. We have, therefore, welcomed the formation of the Committee on Industrial Organization within the American Federation of Labor."

"It is our conviction that the American Federation of Labor will ultimately have to adopt this method of organization for the mass production industries. The millions of workers in American industry who are unorganized should not be left outside the fold of the organized labor movement."

"If we neglect to organize them into the bona fide American Labor movement, there is imminent danger that these masses of workers will either be forced into company unions or will be lured by other subversive or dual movements. This duty to bring these millions of workers in the basic mass production industries into the ranks of the organized labor movement becomes all the more imperative at this hour when the selfish predatory forces of industry and high finance and all other elements of reaction have resumed their attacks upon all social and labor legislation and are intent upon wiping out every economic gain and advantage secured by the workers in the last few years. Every new industry added to our movement will become a new bulwark of defense against our common enemies whose goal is the ultimate destruction of the labor movement."

Joint Action Necessary

"Favoring as we do a change in the method of organization in the mass production industries, and realizing that greater and more effective results could be achieved only by joint action, we have joined the Committee on Industrial Organization and our Union will give the Committee every support, as long as it adheres to the purposes originally outlined by it."

"Our International Union, which more than any other union has fought dual unionism and opposition movements within its own midst, would strenuously oppose any movement which has for its purpose to act as an opposition to the American Federation of Labor or to promote any dualism. We are convinced, nevertheless, that it is the inherent right of our union, as well as any other union affiliated with the A. F. of L., to advocate individually or jointly a change in organizing methods or in the form of organization and to promote our advocacy in a democratic, fraternal manner, and at the same time preserve the unity of forces in the American labor movement."

Membership Rallies To Defense of Party

(Continued from Page One)

was conducted in a few minutes, while six hundred comrades signed pledge cards, pledging themselves to all necessary work in party re-building.

"Militant" Insults Meeting

A small group of secessionists attended the meeting, led by Sig Goldstein, who, as a delegate to the Central Committee, had bolted the December 4th meeting. However, despite the fact that by his bolt he had forfeited membership in the party he had sought to wreck, he was permitted the floor. He abused the privilege thus granted him by a typical "militant" harangue full of abuse, mis-statements and vilification.

Dr. Simon Berlin presided at the meeting and introduced Algonquin Lee, City Chairman, to tell the story of the events that led to the bolt of the secessionist-splitter the previous Wednesday (details of which were printed here last week), and he made a stirring appeal for loyalty to Socialism and to the party, and for solidarity in the face of the latest attempt by the enemies of Socialism to destroy it.

I. Minkoff of the City Executive added the story of the last-minute attempt of a group of centrists to heal the breach in the party without an open break (reported here last week), concluding with the arrogant demand presented by Charles B. Garfinkel, Jack Altman and Max Nelson for the "militant" caucus that the price of peace must be permission to members of the Socialist Party to advocate violence, armed insurrection and dictatorship. Comrade Minkoff placed responsibility for the tragic state of the party squarely at the doors of the insurrectionist-secessionists and challenged them to talk their insurrectionist doctrine openly at their meeting at Irving Plaza. He added that if they publicly declared for the doctrines they demanded the right to propagate as their price for unity, they would not win a single delegate to any labor convention.

Levitt Speaks for California

Before August Claessens made his inspiring speech that led to the fine collection, J. Levitt of Los Angeles, member of the California state executive committee, joined the condemning cmfwp shrd etao in condemning the bolt.

Claessens reviewed the party situ-

ation, and said that for over a year party speakers had hesitated to appeal for new members, fearing to alienate recruits when they found the turmoil the "militants" had created in the party. Now, he said, it will be a pleasure and a joy to begin to bring new members into the party. Now, he said, we will begin to grow.

James O'Neal added a bit of party history, telling about the efforts of insurrectionists in the past to disrupt the Socialist movement, while Matthew M. Levy, in moving the adoption of the resolution, told of the wreckage of party machinery in the Bronx when the "militants" were permitted to put their much-talked-of energy, zeal, enthusiasm, devotion and ingenuity to work. The Bronx County Committee, which had voted to secede from the party by a vote of 6 to 3, he explained, had no functions and its vote committed only the six young men who voted. Comrade Levy told of the collapse of all party activities and institutions in the Bronx, as well as in Queens, from the moment "militants" took hold of them.

Social Democracy Only Answer to Communism

Charles Solomon, who was enthusiastically cheered, told the comrades about the recent Thomas Browder debate, and explained that so long as Thomas took a Social Democratic line he was extraordinarily effective against the Communists, and he crucified the Communist position. Only the despised "old guard" position is an answer to the Communists, and when Thomas was really effective he took that position. And it is only by taking the line of the despised "old guard," the Social Democratic line, that Socialism can be made an effective force in America.

At this point Sig Goldstein secured the floor, and after his harangue sneered that it was significant that the stage of the auditorium was hung in black—that was the comradely contribution toward Socialist unity of this spokesman of the "militants" who had been delegated to present their point of view to the meeting.

Julius Umansky began his presentation of his resolution with an emphatic statement that he is a Socialist, a member of the Socialist Party, and that to him there is no other Socialist Party than that whose officers are in the People's House. Then he made his earnest and moving plea for unity, and read the following:

The statement read by Comrade Umansky follows:

"We, the undersigned, declare at this time that we strongly believe that the unity of the Socialist Party is very important for the

furtherance of our cause, and that even at this critical hour we hope that unity can be achieved. We wish to point out again the dangers involved in a split of the weak forces of the Socialist movement.

"We believe that efforts for conciliation and unity by the Socialist Party N.E.C., The Forward, and the State Committee—in conjunction with the N.E.C.—should be pushed and supported. We invite the cooperation of all party members toward this end.

(Signed) Jessie Wallace Hughan, Julius Umansky, E. P. Gottlieb, Seymour Goodman, Winston Dancs, Abraham Kaufman, William T. Hade, Frances M. Witherspoon, Tracy D. Mygatt, Harry Lopatin, Etta Meyer, Fred Kaplan, Eleanor Schachner, Ernest Doerfler, Pauline Michel Papke, Marion Gottlieb, Joseph Simonelli, Evelyn W. Hughan, Pearl Goodman, Samuel H. Friedman, George Turitz, Alexander Fichandler, David Corey, Idele Free.

Lee took the floor after Umansky and declared that "of course we will meet with the harmony committee appointed by the Forward (referred to in another column) and any other group of sincere comrades who want to effect the

General Youth Meeting

The Party Youth Committee calls upon all loyal young Socialists to attend a Y.P.S.L. general membership meeting to be held in the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, Room 508, Sunday, December 15th, at 7 P. M., to elect a new Executive Committee and in general further to organize the Greater New York Federation of the Y.P.S.L. so that it may fulfill its proper functions.

Party Youth Committee.

unity of our party. But we will not negotiate with bolters. Comrade Umansky is right when he said there are many people over at Irving Plaza who belong here. Most of them will come back, but we will have no dealings with those who bolt the Socialist Party."

There were short and effective speeches by Joe Mandelson, Eleanor Schachner and Jacob Panken, and finally Charles Solomon, in another effective appeal, moved the adoption of Comrade Umansky's resolution, and it was carried with a roar of "ayes."

Labor Protests Tampa Outrages

(Continued from Page One)

In America are in more danger from such fascists than from the Communists."

Organized labor of the Tampa district raised its voice in protest Wednesday, December 4, in a resolution calling for an investigation of mob violence. The text of the resolution follows:

"Whereas the Central Trades and Labor assembly, representing organized labor of Hillsborough county and Tampa, Florida, firmly believes in free speech, free press and free assembly as guaranteed to every citizen under the Constitution; and

"Whereas, on last Saturday evening, Nov. 30, three citizens of this county were kidnapped in the shadows of the city hall and taken to an isolated spot where they were brutally flogged, tarred and feathered; therefore

"Be it resolved, that the Central Trades and Labor assembly of Tampa go on record as condemning and protesting against mob violence and the horrible treatment of these three citizens, and that we call upon the city and county officials to see that the guilty persons who were involved in this crime be apprehended and dealt with to the full extent of the law.

"Be it further resolved that a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to Governor Sholtz; Hon. C. Jay Hardee, county solicitor; Hon. Rex Farrior, state attorney; Hon. R. E. L. Chancey, mayor; and Hon. J. R. McLeod, sheriff; and that copies be furnished to the press of Tampa."

The Tribune has been carrying on an editorial campaign against "this disgraceful incident." A leading editorial occupying almost a full column said in part, "Regardless of whatever offense these three citizens may have given the self-appointed administrators of summary punishment, the act was altogether unwarranted and outrageous. They were charged with no violation of the law. They had not been tried or convicted for any crime against the community, the state or the nation. They were just as much entitled to protection against the forcible invasion of their rights as any citizen of Tampa. . . . As a self-respecting city, Tampa cannot afford to permit such an outrage without a positive demonstration of the attitude which all good citizens must take—the strongest possible disclaimer of any sympathy or approval of such conduct, and demand that the perpetrators be identified and punished."

"Among those who have thus left the organization are many diverse elements. A small minority belong more with the Communist Party than the Socialist Party. They advocate two things with which we cannot agree. They are for violence and insurrection in the process of organizing the working class, and this is contrary to the adopted tactics of the international Socialist movement.

"They also advocate a united front with the Communists. We are also for a united front, not with the Communists but with the organized workers and progressive elements of America; and one excludes the other. However, it is our duty to call the attention of

Niagara Falls Pledges Loyalty

Special to The New Leader

NIAGARA FALLS.—Local Niagara Falls of the Socialist Party, meeting Tuesday, voted unanimously for loyalty to the New York State Committee and against dual group of secessionists. Edward W. Gray, organizer, said: "Most of our members are trade unionists and are against dual unions and dual parties and communistic tactics. We resent efforts to create dissension and factions upstate where harmony now exists."

New York's Resolution Against the Bolters

Whereas, some delegates of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party walked out of the meeting and seceded from the party, having since organized themselves into an open opposition organization to the Socialist Party, and

Whereas, this action by these secessionists is the culmination of a definite plan having in view this final step to split the party, and

Whereas, the secessionists have organized dual institutions with the aim of wrecking the existing party institutions, have established a weekly paper with the intention of destroying The New Leader, the organ of the party, and have by organized efforts frustrated the work of the party and prevented it from carrying on its activities, and

Whereas, in spite of great provocation by these secessionist City Central Committee and its duly constituted sub-committees have striven to maintain the unity of the party and to restore harmony within its ranks, now, therefore,

Be It Resolved, by this meeting of members of Local New York, representatives an overwhelming majority of the membership of the party assembled at the People's House Auditorium, that we condemn the action of the secessionists whose aim is to split the Socialist Party and serve the purpose of its enemies, the Communists and others, and be it further

Resolved that we pledge our loyalty and support to the Central Committee and Executive Committee and their various agencies in the work of promoting and advancing the principles of Social Democracy.

WHO ARE THE SECESSIONISTS?

The following statement has been issued by the State Committee of the Socialist Party of New York telling who the secessionists are and who supports them:

"1. The secession group in New York City, while members of the City Central Committee of the party, have committed themselves to the advocacy of insurrection and violence by refusing to expel from the party members who were convicted of advocating these principles. The State Committee directed all locals in the State to discipline members of the party who advocated Communism, armed insurrection and violence. This the secessionists refused to do.

"2. At a recent conference when an attempt was made to straighten out the difficulties in the party these secessionists DEMANDED AS ONE OF THE FIRST CONDITIONS FOR UNITY THAT THEY BE PERMITTED TO ADVOCATE ARMED INSURRECTION.

Forward Names Committee To Seek Party Peace

At a special meeting of the Forward Association, held Thursday evening Dec. 5, the situation in the party was thoroughly discussed for many hours and the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"The Forward Association is convinced that the great majority of the membership of the Socialist Party in Local New York is against a split in the party and will not tolerate the acts of that group of comrades who left the meeting of the Central Committee and created their own organization.

"Among those who have thus left the organization are many diverse elements. A small minority belong more with the Communist Party than the Socialist Party. They advocate two things with which we cannot agree. They are for violence and insurrection in the process of organizing the working class, and this is contrary to the adopted tactics of the international Socialist movement.

"They also advocate a united front with the Communists. We are also for a united front, not with the Communists but with the organized workers and progressive elements of America; and one excludes the other. However, it is our duty to call the attention of

the members of the Socialist Party of New York to the fact that the Socialist movement is based on the principle of democracy and that it welcomes every honest difference of opinion and every honest intellectual conflict within the framework of the Socialist program and Socialist discipline.

"Especially under the present conditions a split in the Socialist ranks would be a blow to the working class movement, and every move must be undertaken to enlighten the membership. However, any questions of program and tactics could be thrashed out successfully only within the party, not outside.

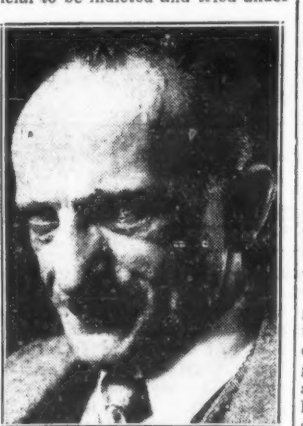
"The Forward, which has played such an important role in the Socialist movement of America, feels now more than ever that it must not and cannot permit a split in our movement and therefore the Forward Association hereby decides to elect a committee of three; and this committee is hereby instructed to do all in its power to bring peace and harmony into the Socialist Party."

After the unanimous adoption of this motion, the meeting proceeded to elect a committee consisting of B. Charney Vladeck, Adolph Held and Joseph Weinberg.

Ben Blumenberg Dies

(Continued from Page One)

Illinois. Between 1912 and 1917 he was organizer and state secretary of the Michigan organization, at a time when it was brought up to its highest point of strength, efficiency and militancy. As candidate for governor he polled 21,398 votes as long ago as 1912, and in 1917 he was the first Socialist official to be indicted and tried under



the notorious war-time Espionage Law. He was acquitted.

Shortly after the close of the war there was a great spurt of organization among the automobile workers in Detroit, and Comrade Blumenberg became secretary and later general organizer of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers of America, and for a while he edited its publication.

Coming to New York as proprietor of a book store, he became active in New York Socialist affairs, and early became a regular contributor to The New Leader. Later he gave up his book store and devoted himself solely to New Leader work, and his all too infrequent contribution were relished for their quiet, dry humor. In addition to his Socialist work, he was an expert, one of the best in

New York, on rare books and glass.

Ben Blumenberg was a real workingman, and his Socialism was part of his very being. No one can say how deeply wounded he was by the attacks upon Socialist unity and harmony by the party-splitter and how those wounds weakened him in his last months.

A few close friends gathered at Engel's funeral parlor in East 83rd St. Monday evening to bid Ben Blumenberg a last farewell. The services were simple and intimate. Algonquin Lee, Adrien Gambet and Herman Kobbé spoke briefly. Lee said in part:

"Ben Blumenberg was unassuming, uncompaining, undemanding, kind, honorable, steadfast. I never knew a better embodiment of the type of Socialist workingman whom Hamford long ago described under the name of 'Jimmie Higgins.' No work for the cause was too common or obscure for him to do. Yet his talents as a labor organizer, a party executive, and as a writer would have won him high honors, if he had not always shunned personal publicity. He was a comrade among comrades. He never aspired to be a leader, and he was no man's follower. He knew his way. By tireless thought and study he had acquired an exceptionally good knowledge of Socialist theory, history and economics, and also of the world's best literature and art.

"Blumenberg endured much privation and hardship and got very little public recognition. Yet I think he lived a happy life. He knew that the work he was doing would some day bring results. That he might not live to see that day did not trouble him. He had the gentle and genial humor of a man who thinks keenly and feels deeply. He was quietly conscious of the love of the few who knew him well, and that enriched his life. His example may remind us to show appreciation of such comrades while they are still alive."

FORCE AND VIOLENCE, IN THE PARTY.

"3. They have fostered and promoted the 'united front' between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party and have worked in harmony with the Communist Party for the promotion of such 'united fronts.'

Secessionists Tools of Communist International

"4. In their promotion of the 'united front' with the Communists they are carrying out the decision of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International at Moscow which ordered its sections in the United States and elsewhere to work with and support the 'left wing' in the Socialist Party against the social democratic elements in the party."

"Any member of the party in the City of New York, or anywhere in the State supporting this secession group becomes an ally of it and supporter of the advocates of armed insurrection, force and violence, dictatorship, and an advocate of the 'united front' with the Communists. The Socialists of New York City and the State will not allow these members to turn the party into a Communist organization."

United Front of Secessionists Displayed in Communist Organ

How close the cooperation between the secession "militants" in New York with the Communist Party has become is evident from an editorial in the Daily Worker of December 7. Referring to the Socialists in Florida who are victims of police injustice, the Daily Worker in part said:

"We join with the International Labor Defense [Communist innuendo club] in calling for the most vigorous support of all measures undertaken by the Labor and Socialist Defense Committee, the sending of protests from every trade union, and funds to help in the defense campaign, to be sent to the Labor and Socialist Defense Committee, 21 East 17th Street, in care of the Socialist Call."

What a contrast with February, 1934, when Communist Party agents turned the Socialist, trade union and Workmen's Circle memorial meeting for the victims of Austrian fascism into a riot!

The Department of Social Philosophy of Cooper Union

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

FRIDAY, DEC. 13th—Thesis VI: EVERETT DEAN MARTIN "The Theory of the Class Struggle is a Myth"

SUNDAY, DEC. 15th—Professor MORTIMER J. ADLER University of Chicago "Has Public Education Enhanced the Values of Civilization?"

TUESDAY, DEC. 17th—Professor MORTIMER J. ADLER "The Relation of Freedom to the Progress of Culture." Admission, 50 cents, for the three lectures \$1.00.

The Nation's Economic Forum

Irving B. Altman, Editor John Bauer, Associate



Frank Bohn — Richard T. Ely — Paul Studenski — Wm. English Walling Contributing Editors

Who Answers the Questions?

Recovery or Crash? War or Peace? Currency Crisis or Stability?

America must know how and when and why. We are not prophets—we can't predict rain and drought. But we can continue to present detailed reports of conditions leading to these all-important events. Each issue presents a "balanced diet" of articles—timely, readable, authentic—that interpret basic political and economic trends.

Special Introductory Offer Six Months—110 Articles and Features—One Dollar

The People's Money

280 Broadway New York, N. Y.

La FOLLETTE'S THE PROGRESSIVE

A unique publication free from big business influence. It is sold advertising. Facts supported by other papers owned in every town. Inside story of new Third Party. How the La Follette would break the domination and solve our economic problems. Many more sensational features! (25 issues) TWO BIG SPECIAL OFFERS: 1 YEAR... \$1 (10 issues) 20c



Make This a Real Socialist Christmas!

THE NEW LEADER PRESENTS ITS READERS WITH 2 EXCITING COMBINATION OFFERS

1.-Free! "IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE"

By SINCLAIR LEWIS, Nobel Prize winner.

A furious novel on fascism in America, in which "Red" Lewis tears apart the troubles of our chaotic world. Selling everywhere for \$2.50

Sent to you FREE OF CHARGE for every five, new, yearly subscriptions secured at \$1.00 for one year

KEEP THE BOOK—SEND THE NEW LEADER TO FIVE FRIENDS IN 1936

2.-Special XMAS GIFT COMBINATION:

"LOOKING BACKWARD" and THE NEW LEADER

By EDWARD BELLAMY,

America's Foremost Socialist Newspaper

with an introduction by Heywood Brown.

BOTH FOR ONLY \$1.50 Keep the book—Send the paper to a friend

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

Maurer Scores Secessionists; Hits 'Tammany' Tactics

Left Wing Bolt Collapses; Membership Loyal to Party

Lee Condemns Thomas Claims As Untruths

By Algernon Lee

IN a speech delivered last Sunday evening, not before party comrades, but at a public meeting, and also in the current issue of the bolters' weekly organ in New York, Norman Thomas completely identifies himself with their attempt not only to split the party in this city and state, but to complete the process of nation-wide splitting which he and his friends began in Indiana nearly a year ago. Some of his misstatements of fact call for comment.

Thomas told a Milwaukee audience that on Wednesday of last week "half of the New York City central committee walked out." The fact is that 39 delegates walked out, and 71 voted unanimously to condemn their action and call on the branches to elect new delegates to fill the vacancies created by their secession. Thomas is the first man in the world to allege that 39 is half of 110.

Curious Mathematics of Thomas

Thomas said: "A majority of the New York party branches are with the new official party." The fact is that the 39 bolters represented 28 branches, out of a total of 77 in the city. When Thomas made this statement last Sunday, none of the branches had taken action on the matter. As The New Leader closes its paper on Thursday, about half of the branches have done so. One of the 28 branches whose delegates seceded has repudiated their action. Not a single one of the other 49 has gone over to their side. Again, Thomas has contributed to mathematical science by discovering that 27 is a majority of 77. (Details of the voting in the New York branches are given in another column.)

Thomas said that Charles Garfinkel, chairman of the bolters' committee, "has always been known as a centrist." Here is the record: Garfinkel was elected to the state assembly on the Socialist ticket in 1917; two years later he deserted the Socialist Party and went over to the Worker's Party, now known as the Communist Party; a couple of years later he deserted the Communists; he then remained outside both parties until November, 1930, when he rejoined the Socialist Party. Three secessions and eight years of non-affiliation, it appears, qualify a man to be called a "centrist."

The One-Man N.E.C.

Thomas repeatedly described the seceding group as "a new official party." Neither the New York State committee nor the national executive committee has recognized it nor withdrawn recognition from the regularly constituted New York local. It is solely by virtue of his position as "Our Leader," conferred upon him by the tuncful Yipsels, that he assumes to give "official" standing to the 39 bolters.

Thomas told the public that the central committee had "placed dictatorial power in the hands of the city executive,"

Right Is Might, Declares Maurer, In Blast at Bolters

With the discerning eye of an old party veteran and the heart of one who has always been known to fight on the side of truth and has never permitted venomous factionalism to divert him from the straight path of Socialist comradeship, James H. Maurer of Pennsylvania has taken his stand with the Old Guard in New York, fighting for the preservation of the Socialist Party, against the efforts of the secessionist group led by Norman Thomas who seek to destroy it.

In letters addressed this week to Algernon Lee and James O'Neal, printed in an adjoining column, Norman Thomas' running mate in the last two presidential elections denounced the secessionists as betrayers of the Socialist cause and branded Norman Thomas and his group of party wreckers as Tammanyites resorting to tactics unbecoming Socialists.

Why did Maurer speak out from his sick bed? Why did Maurer, racked for many months by severe illness, take up his pen to write his message of solidarity and encouragement to the Old Guard in New York? He did so because his Socialist conscience and respect for truth moved him to action. He did so because he knows that the Old Guard is fighting the battle of Socialism against disrupters and secessionists who get their support, every day, in the pages of the Communist press.

Maurer acted because he wants to help the Old Guard save the party for Socialism, to rid it of the cancer of Communism, pseudo-Communism and cheap hero worship which constitute the ideology and policies of the secessionists.

"Right is might and must win," wrote Maurer to Lee after expressing his contempt for the enemies of the Socialist Party now engaged in a brazenly open attempt to destroy the party.

And in words that cannot be misunderstood or misinterpreted, not even with all of the talent for misrepresentation being displayed by Thomas and his clique, he places the responsibility for the present tragic situation in the party where it belongs: on the shoulders of Norman Thomas.

Yes, right is might and will win.

The Old Guard fights not in the spirit of Norman Thomas—the spirit of falsehood, of personal megalomania, of surrender to ignorance and demagoguery, but in the spirit of James H. Maurer, the spirit of truth, of party loyalty, of Socialist enlightenment, of decency. With these weapons in its hands the Old Guard will win, for, in truth, right is might and will win.

Jim Maurer would not have written his letters to Lee and O'Neal if he believed for a single moment that the charges that Norman Thomas levels at the Old Guard are true.

Jim Maurer knows that Thomas utters a falsehood when he says that the "Old Guard has slandered the party and sabotaged its national work."

Jim Maurer knows that the Old Guard has devoted all its energies to building the party and that its members have given their lives for the party.

Jim Maurer knows that the Old Guard has been most patient in the face of provocation from the pro-Communist-left wing majority of the national executive committee, controlled by Norman Thomas.

Jim Maurer knows that the Thomas national executive committee has done everything in its power to sabotage the Old Guard and to make it impossible for it to function and to cooperate.

Jim Maurer knows that the Old Guard has not engaged in red-baiting, as Norman Thomas charges, but has fought an honest fight on principle for Socialism and against Communism in the party.

Jim Maurer knows that Thomas bears false witness when he charges that the Old Guard has pursued a labor policy "subservient to reactionary leadership and which too often has ignored or condoned racketeering." Jim Maurer knows that as president for sixteen years of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor he always received the fullest support of the Old Guard in his own brilliant and successful battles for a progressive policy in the labor movement, for a clean labor movement, for a more intelligent and aggressive labor movement.

JIM MAURER KNOWS THAT ALL THE OTHER CHARGES MADE BY NORMAN THOMAS AGAINST THE OLD GUARD ARE FALSE FROM BEGINNING TO END AND THAT THE CAMPAIGN BEING WAGED BY NORMAN THOMAS AND HIS SECESSIONISTS, ECHOING IN DETAIL THE SLIMY STUFF HURLED DAILY BY THE COMMUNISTS AGAINST THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS IN THE PARTY, IS A CAMPAIGN OF TREASON AGAINST THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN AMERICA.

JIM MAURER KNOWS THAT EVERY WORD WE HAVE WRITTEN HERE IS TRUE. AND WE DEFY NORMAN THOMAS TO SAY THAT JIM MAURER BEARS FALSE WITNESS.

with orders to throw out all militant elements." This is a double falsehood. No such orders were given, and it was explicitly provided that any action taken by the executive would be valid only if approved by the central committee, composed of more than 110 delegates directly elected by the branches.

Space does not permit exposure of the other false statements in Thomas' speech. Five are enough.

It is now known that the bolt was planned in detail at least three days before the meeting of the central committee at which, according to Thomas, that body gave pro-vocation to the minority.

Text of James H. Maurer's Letters to Lee and O'Neal

The text of James H. Maurer's letter to Algernon Lee denouncing the left wing secessionists as betrayers of the cause and bidding the Old Guard to fight on.

In his letter Comrade Maurer makes reference to Comrade Lee's reply to Norman Thomas' factional attack on the Old Guard, a subject which was discussed at length in last week's New Leader.

Comrade Maurer's letter to Comrade Lee reads:

"1335 N. 11th Street
Reading, Pa.
December 8th, 1935.

"I am still far from well, but well enough to read. I have just finished reading the Thomas letter and your reply in the magazine section of The New Leader. Your reply is so good that it has set afire the smoldering spark of contempt within me for betrayers of the cause, which my sickness tended to smother. I feel ready to fight again, and would jump into the mixup if my weakened body permitted. So you who still have the strength of body must fight on. Right is might, and must win. Give best wishes to all my comrades of the Old Guard.

"Fraternally yours,

"(Signed) JAMES H. MAURER."

Following is the text of the letter written by James H. Maurer to James O'Neal characterizing the fight led by Norman Thomas against Morris Hillquit at Milwaukee as "Tammany tactics" and holding Thomas responsible for the party split:

"1355 N. 11th Street
Reading, Pa.
December 9th, 1935.

"James O'Neal,
7 East 15th Street,
New York City.

"Dear Comrade O'Neal:

"I believe you should have a record of my conversation with Norman Thomas in reference to the fight made on Hillquit at the Milwaukee Convention.

"I went to Thomas in the presence of another comrade in behalf of the Pennsylvania delegation and urged him to stop the fight on Comrade Hillquit because this could only lead to the disruption of the party. His answer was "no" and he added, "We have the votes and we are going through with it. Hillquit must go." When I told him that Tammany spoke in such a way and not a Socialist, I got no reply.

"I do hope the party will weather the storm as it has weathered many others.

"Fraternally yours,

"JAMES H. MAURER."

THESE LETTERS SPEAK VOLUMES.

Branches Rally To Support of The Old Guard

Voting to Date Reveals the Falsity of Bolters' Claims of Support Among Rank and File.

WITH the same enthusiastic loyalty that characterized the meeting of the members of the Socialist Party Sunday night reported in another column of this issue, the branches of Local New York have been rallying to the support of their organization in the face of the splitting tactics of the insurrectionist-secessionists.

Since 39 delegates, representing 28 party branches—most of them the smaller and less influential subdivisions of the city organization—bolted the Central Committee in an attempt to split the party many branch meetings have been held and in not one single instance have the secessionists made any headway.

The bolt took place because the splitters found they could not budge a single branch from the position the Central Committee took a month ago authorizing the Executive Committee to reorganize the local in order to liquidate the dual party organization. For weeks a flying squadron of their best speakers went from branch to branch seeking votes of the membership to repudiate the delegates who had voted for the dissolution of the factional caucus.

"Militant" Bolt and Results of Their Failure

They failed to carry on single branch. Then, desperate because the membership had so emphatically repudiated them they resorted to the last step; they bolted,

hoping that by that action they would demoralize the party and bring about the split the Communist plants in their ranks had been so long working for.

The bolters represented branches with less than one-fifth of the membership of the local, and, as the party office predicted last week, those branches did not carry more than a portion of their membership with them in their split.

During the past week a large number of branches met, and in every case "militants" attended seeking to stampede the membership out of the party.

THEY FAILED IN EVERY SINGLE CASE!

Bolt Loses Ground

Of the branches represented by a bolting delegate that met during the week one, the 7th A.D., Bronx, repudiated the bolters and loyally remained in the party by a vote in the proportion of five to one.

In the branches—mostly very small—that have been for some time affiliated with the "militant" caucus a large number, from 25 to close to 50 per cent in every case, repudiated the bolters and promptly reorganized the branches in their territory with loyal Socialists.

The bolt has been a complete flop, despite the lurid stories the "militants" have had printed in their official organ, the Daily Worker, and that they inspire in the capitalist dailies.

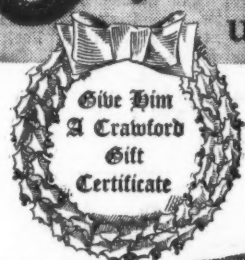
The Socialists of New York are loyal to their party, and they will continue to remain loyal.

State Committee Meets December 28th-29th

The full state committee of the Socialist Party will hold a special meeting in New York City December 28th and 29th. The serious situation in the party in the State is the reason for calling the meeting at that time.

In connection with the meeting there will be a general meeting of all New York City party members to express their loyalty and devotion to the party.

"I used to pay \$40 and \$50 for my Overcoats" until I saw Crawford's at \$18.75!"



EMPLOYERS FIND Crawford Certificates a sensible solution to their gift problem.

GOTHAM—Styled with an air of dash and trim dressiness that symbolizes the man about town. Available with self collar or velvet collar.

Merchandise Needed for Rand School Rummage

The Women's Committee of the Rand School is making an urgent plea that comrades come to their assistance with merchandise—new and old—which can be sold at its Thrift and Rummage Sale, which is now going on at 681 8th Ave.

In a dainty glass bottle, harmonizing with sparkling glass—blending with the gleam of fine linen and chaste silver.

Don't say Beer—say Ruppert's

JACOB RUPPERT BEER

"THE TALK OF THE TOWN"

THE FINEST CLOTHES WE EVER MADE... \$18.75 OVERCOATS • SUITS TUXEDOS • FULL DRESS

CRAWFORD

CUSTOM Quality CLOTHES

NEW YORK'S LARGEST CLOTHING CHAIN

NEW YORK: 20 Cortlandt St. bet. Broadway & Church St. 826 Broadway 841 Broadway 100 7th Ave. 1282 Broadway 462 7th Ave. 208 W. 42nd St. 963 8th Ave. 100 Delancey St. 152 E. 86th St. 115 W. 125th St. 1391 St. Nicholas Ave. bet. Broadway & Church St.

NEWARK: 467 Fulton St. 92 Flatbush Ave. 1701 Pitkin Ave. 1512 Pitkin Ave. 1622 Pitkin Ave. 26 Manhattan Ave. 168-05 Jamaica Ave. At the End of the "L" Jamaica, L.I.

BROOKLYN: 10 E. Fordham Rd. 340 E. Fordham Rd. 378 E. Fordham Rd. 526 Willis Ave. 217 Central Ave. 595 Washington St.

BOSTON: 1225 Market St. 38 S. 69th St.

PHILADELPHIA: 1225 Market St. 38 S. 69th St.

ALL STORES OPEN EVENINGS

THE FOLLOWING CRAWFORD STORES ARE OPEN ON SUNDAY

841 Broadway 1700 Pitkin Ave. 826 Broadway 1622 Pitkin Ave. 26 Manhattan Ave. 1512 Pitkin Ave. 100 Delancey St.

IT'S CRAWFORD'S FOR OVERCOATS!

By William E. Bohn

The Peoples House, Home Of Socialist Activities

The Fine Building on Fifteenth Street Houses the Rand School, The New Leader, the Socialist Party and Many Trade Unions

YOU can come to seven East Fifteenth Street, New York, at most any hour up to midnight and find working people going in or out or talking in groups in the entrance hall or on the steps. If I run from my office, behind the Library, down to the Book Store, I am in great danger of not returning within an hour, for probably I shall be greeted somewhere on the way by a comrade from California or Texas or Ohio. Perhaps it will be a man or woman from England or Sweden. The other day the friendly new acquaintance was from Iceland. Every week or two Comrade Clarence V. Howell brings his Reconciliation Tours group, and the building is inundated by eager questioners who want to know all about Socialism. Everyone comes, and everyone is welcome.

It is all natural enough. This building is the home of institutions, and all of them reach out over the continent and beyond the seas. The Rand Book Store is very much of an interstate affair. Camp Tamiment has its office here, but the Camp is in Pennsylvania, and

make the history of the movement. The present spokesmen of the party, men like James O'neal, James H. Maurer, Louis Waldman, Al Lee, appear here frequently. Such scholars as Bertrand Russell, John Dewey, Charles A. Beard and Judah Magnes have come from time to time to contribute of their learning to the working class movement. William Green, Sidney Hillman, David Dubinsky and many other labor leaders have from time to time addressed gatherings here, often at crucial moments in the labor history of the city.

From foreign lands there have come many speakers with their greetings from the Socialist parties and labor unions of their home lands. Jean Longuet, Gaetano Salvemini, Susan Lawrence, Francis Soukup, Toni Sender, Julius Deutsch and Gerhart Seger are only a few among them.

Camp and Library

But Debs Auditorium is not just a shrine. Every day there are union meetings held there. Sometimes they are educational or inspirational meetings; sometimes they are held at crucial moments to make decisions about strikes or other important matters. Sometimes the hall is used for such prosaic purposes as the holding of

school for the coming year. Finding teachers and arranging schedules for a thousand students is no light task, but it is a very rewarding one. Soon these rooms will be crowded with eager young people. They will come from Socialist Party branches, from Yipsel circles, from labor unions, from Workmen's Circles and from Young Circle Leagues. They will be studying the Bulletin and trying to straighten out their personal schedules in such a way that they can take twice as many classes as one student can carry. At present the main job of the staff is to prepare for this influx.

On the fourth floor we see the legend "New Leader" on the door, and we know that we have reached a new center of activity. Here is the editorial room, with James O'neal looking a bit absent-minded. Perhaps he is thinking out the chapter-headings of a new book. But William Morris Feigenbaum is right there with the glad hand, and if you are in a hurry you had better not stop at all, for that man knows so much Socialist history and is so up-to-date on what is happening all over the world and he spills it all in such an engaging manner that you will never get away at all. The next door leads

Henry Fruchter, or into committees trying to get the ear of these two busy comrades. For here is the city office of the Socialist Party. The City Central Committee meets in one of the larger rooms of the building, but the City Executive meets right here. And here there are innumerable conferences of other committees and groups. The secretaries have no end of routine business. There are application cards, mailings to go out, election petitions to be prepared—always more work than can be managed in a long day, always groups of volunteer comrades helping with the mass production.

In a separate room sits August Claessens, Chairman of the Labor Committee of the party. Usually there is one committee from some local union inside while another awaits its turn outside. To this little room come individuals and committee from every kind of trade union organization you ever heard of. Here they thrash out their problems, get advice, get help. From here speakers go out to strike meetings and organization rallies. For the Socialist Party is, after all, only a part of the labor movement.

Other Activities

In Comrade Fruchter's office is the desk about which centers the Red Falcon activity of New York. Up to the recent convention this was the national headquarters of the Falcon movement. The first national convention of the Falcons elected Milwaukee comrades to the offices of chairman and treasurer, and voted to move the headquarters to Chicago. But this will continue to be the nerve center, not merely for New York City, but for all the eastern states.

The top part of the building is given over to the class rooms of the Rand School, and though they are in an old building they are fine, bright, well equipped class rooms. Since last year they have had one advantage which few other schools can boast: they are connected by wire with the studios of our Socialist radio station, WEVD. From time to time lectures being delivered to the classes are broadcast to individuals and groups all over the eastern part of the country. The alliance between the Rand School and WEVD opens a new chapter in radical adult education.

At the start of a new year's activities, comrades, workers, friends from everywhere are invited to visit the New York home of their movement. Here a welcome always awaits you, and here you can always get the inspiration of contact with vital, forward-looking work.

I.L.G.W.U. SPORTS

What promises to be the highlight of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Basketball League's schedule takes place Saturday evening, December 14, at Stuyvesant High School, 15th St. and First Ave., when Local 10, Cutters, collide with Local 102, Cloak and Dress Drivers.

In the girls' game Local 91's hitherto undefeated club meets Local 142, last year New York champions. Dancing follows both contests.

The Soccer League goes into its second week Saturday afternoon at Starlight Park with a double-header. In the opener Local 143, Mt. Vernon, clashes with Local 1, and Local 10's undefeated eleven clash with Local 60, who held them to a 1-1 tie several weeks ago.

Work of Women Socialists Goes On Despite Party Rifts

By Gertrude Weil Klein

THE rift in the party comes at a time when the Women's Committee is at the peak of its winter activities and has several important undertakings hot on the fire. It isn't easy to carry on, and because it isn't easy to carry on, the presence, the interest, the activity of every woman member counts as never before. The women constitute fifty per cent of the membership of the party. Those who will remain with us—and in the Women's Committee proper this will be practically one hundred per cent—must not let us down at this time.

This week-end the Women's Conference on the High Cost of Living takes place at the Hotel Pennsylvania. A great deal of hard work has gone into the conference. It is a splendid means for us to reach out into new fields.

Women's Theatre Party
The theatre party, towards which the Women's Committee is looking, not only as a stimulating evening in the theatre but also as a means of paying the bills of the conference, takes place next Thursday. "Mother," the play based on the Gorky novel, which was originally scheduled, is closing, and "Let Freedom Ring" will be offered in

stead. This, on the whole, is a good change, for while "Mother" was an interesting production from the point of view of techniques used, and viewed as a propaganda piece rather than as a play, "Let Freedom Ring" has a wider and more general appeal.

Incidentally, "Let Freedom Ring" was considered by the Theatre Union long before it went to Broadway, but it was five hours long and the author, Albert Bein, flatly refused to cut it. The story Bein told at the time was that his play was too revolutionary for the Theatre Union due to the influence of the two Socialist members on the Theatre Union Board. This was nonsense, of course. On its way up town, the play was subsequently shortened.

"Let Freedom Ring"
"Let Freedom Ring" is based on Grace Lumpkin's book, "To Make My Bread." It is the story of the textile strike (Communist led) in Gastonia, North Carolina. Whatever you may think about Miss Lumpkin's politics, her novel is, without question, one of the best, the most gripping in the cycle of proletarian literature. A Southerner herself, she knows the hill people and she knows the industrial towns that have sprung up in the South.

Whether she knows the labor movement, I cannot say. I deplore, as must anyone who is honestly anxious to serve the labor movement, whatever urge it was that led her to take a few vicious stabs at the United Textile Workers. It has never been the policy of this writer, or this publication and the people it represents, to impugn the

By Gerhart Seger

Remove the Olympic Games From Nazi Germany!

Avery Brundage May Not Know It, But He Is in Effect a Nazi Propagandist—The Games Are Now in Politics

Comrade Seger, former member of the Reichstag and victim of Nazi concentration camps, is now a resident of this country. His close acquaintance with the subject from both ends makes this timely article especially authoritative.

THE long expected decision of the Amateur Athletic Union upon American participation in the Olympic Games to be held in Berlin has been made: by a small and quite doubtful majority the pro-Nazi wing headed by Mr.



Gerhart Seger

Avery Brundage was victorious in the fight over the boycott question.

Do the headlines of this article to some readers seem exaggerated? Oh no, they are not! Two questions were discussed at the convention of the A.A.U., but the importance of both questions has obviously not been fully recognized.

Sports in general and the Olympics in particular require the right of equality on which the Olympic Code is based and which in Nazi Germany is regarded and pronounced as "liberalistic humbug." It further requires, even more urgently the spirit of fairness which, too, is entirely absent in the present Nazi-Germany. Not only the Jewish, Catholic and Protestant persecution is proof of that but the sport organizations altogether in Nazi-Germany are now thoroughly organized on the same unfair basis as the totalitarian state of dictatorship itself.

Nazis Violate Olympic Code
The rules of the Olympic Games are completely wiped out from every German sport organization; all sportsmen coming from the outside world to Nazi-Germany compete on an entirely different basis; the games between Nazi-sport organizations and sportsmen from abroad are as differently based as would be a fight between a welter-weight and a heavy-weight. To have Olympics between politically organized sport of a state of dictatorship, where not one single Olympic rule is carried out or even theoretically recognized, and sports organizations from the outside world is simply ridiculous.

Besides the question of fairness and Olympic rules there is the political question. Mr. Brundage pretends to believe that there is no political question at all; he wants the American public to believe in the sincerity of his demand that the Olympic Games should be kept out of politics. Very well: this should be, and is, the very reason for which they must be kept out of Berlin! Of course it is not the task of American sport organizations like the A.A.U., to decide whether the dictatorship in Nazi-Germany is a good one or not. But the point is: if the Olympic Games should be kept out of politics there is a guarantee of that in Berlin? No! On the contrary.

There is the utmost certainty that in no other place in the whole world the Olympic Games would be so mixed up with pol-

itics as in Berlin. The Nazi government itself has already officially announced—this is only one example—that there will be a political exposition during the Olympic Games in order to teach the guests from abroad the value of the principles of Nazi barbarism; the International Penal Congress, held in Berlin last summer, had the experience of being forced to swallow an unimaginable lot of Nazi propaganda.

Brundage a Fascist Propagandist

Therefore, nobody but Mr. Brundage is putting the Olympic Games into the field of politics! He insists on giving the German Nazi government this unique opportunity to spread Nazi propaganda on an international scale, thus abusing the Olympic Games.

One simple consideration shows how definitely Mr. Brundage and his followers are political, that is pro-Nazi minded. Suppose Germany instead of becoming Nazi had turned Communist—can anyone in the United States imagine General Sherrill and Mr. Brundage going around saying: Never mind what kind of dictatorship Germany is, we have got to go to Berlin whether it is a bolshevik city or not? This assumption shows the real fact behind the so-called non-partisan standpoint of Mr. Brundage: in case he had to deal not with a fascist but with a Communist dictatorship he would have been only too careful not to send his team into the atmosphere of bolshevik propaganda. He does not hesitate to send his team into the atmosphere of Nazi propaganda, and at the same time he is presumptuous—or naive?—enough to ask the public to regard his attitude as an impartial one!

Finally: since the Olympic Games, wherever they take place, bring a huge amount of foreign money into the host country, this question becomes a political one, too. Nazi-Germany does not only want to have the Olympic Games for her prestige but also because it is a gift from heaven in her tense financial situation. Hitler needs money in foreign currency very badly, particularly for the

import of war raw materials. Therefore: every dollar collected in the United States to finance the American Olympic team for Berlin is spent to support the rearmament of Nazi-Germany!

Every American who gives any contribution to Mr. Brundage's enterprise is practically financing the next war, possibly against the United States. This should be pointed out while the fight, as Judge Mahoney announced, goes on: financing the American Olympic team means financing Hitler's



Avery M. Brundage

war! Who in all the United States is careless or irresponsible enough to support the next world-war by supporting the people who carry this money into the war-treasury of Nazi-Germany?

We hope that the statement of Mr. Brundage: "Olympic Fund Situation Desperate" will remain the same, we hope that his campaign to get financial support for Mr. Hitler from American people will not be successful.

The slogan ought to be: transfer the Olympic Games to Prague, that city has the huge Sokol stadium seating 250,000 people, room for 15,000 competitors, and it is the capital of a free country ruled by the principles of Democracy—and the Olympic Code!



A typical scene in Hitlerland. Signs are posted by government agents declaring that Jews are not wanted.

Mendieta Goes

(Continued from Page One)

people have not been met.

Cuba is politically independent, but industrially and financially it is a fief of American interests. Machado did the bidding of the bankers and planters; indeed, he did it too well for the comfort of Americans. He strangled all labor organization, murdered labor leaders, closed schools and the university, and smilingly delivered his country and his people over to exploitation. The once-flourishing labor movement was destroyed, its leaders murdered and their bodies thrown into the shark-infested waters of the harbor, or into dark alleys. The Centro Obrero in Havana was closed down. Even the readers employed by the cigar makers to read to them while they

worked—a common practice among Spanish-speaking tobacco workers—were forced out for fear that they would read radical literature to the workers.

Wages were miserable. Working conditions were ghastly. The vast majority of the Cuban people lived in unspeakable poverty, which contrasted sharply with the delirious luxury of the wealthy.

None of the social and industrial problems of Cuba have been solved; they have not even been faced. Liberty has not yet been restored. Politics is a game of tug-of-war between contesting interests and politicians. The masses look upon politics with contempt. Under the surface things are boiling. What will happen next no one knows. Carlos Mendieta is out; he was unable to maintain his seat on the lid of a volcano.

A CLASS IN THE RAND SCHOOL



its patrons come from everywhere. The New Leader goes out to all the world. The city and state offices of the Socialist Party belong to all comrades. Rand School graduates are scattered everywhere, and the correspondence classes reach all over this country and Canada. Workmen's Circle branches hold their meetings here, and countless trade union gatherings occur every week. The People's House is a home, a meeting place.

Sometimes the whole building is referred to as the Rand School. A comrade will say "We will meet at the Rand School," meaning some room in the People's House. And it is true that the school occupies about half the space on the six floors. As you enter the lobby from the street you are surrounded by it. To the left is the main office, presided over by the efficient but genial registrar, Reba Pushkoff. Right now she is busy preparing for the opening of the first semester of the year 1935-36. The records of last year's students must be completed and filed away, and everything must be prepared to take care of the hundreds of students who will register in September and October.

Book Store and Auditorium
To the right of the lobby is the Rand Book Store, looking very bright and business-like under its new manager Ben Blumenburg and his assistant, Charles Saltzman. They are busy these days rearranging their stock and selling piles of old books at bargain rates to make room for new ones. Right now, by the way, is a good time for locals and individual comrades to stock up on standard books and pamphlets. Such publications may never be sold so cheap again.

The Rand Book Store has had a long and honorable history. Some years ago a widely traveled English comrade called it "the best radical book store in the world." For many years it has served the entire Socialist movement of America. Ben Blumenburg is planning now, not merely to equal the work done during the flush pre-depression days, but to go way beyond it. Both in publishing and in book-selling he is laying the foundation for an altogether new period of expansion.

The visitor will naturally next proceed to the Debs Auditorium—with its lovely murals by Willi Pogany and the especially winning portrait of Eugene V. Debs over the door. It is not a large hall; in fact, it seats only about five hundred people. But in the history of the working class of New York it has played an important part. Eugene V. Debs, Morris Hillquit, Victor Berger, Meyer London, often gave from the stage of this hall addresses which helped to

trade union elections. Always the place is humming with the activity of some section of the working class.

At the top of the first flight of stairs is the office of Camp Tamiment, where Bertha H. Mailly and Ben Josephson carry on the manifold activities which have made this camp famous, not merely as an outstandingly successful adult recreational center, but as one of the most substantial institutions of the radical movement. Right now they are at camp, and Dorothy Bader, their secretary, reports that they are having the most successful season since they opened business back in 1922. Every day streamlined busses draw up to the door and then pull away crammed with folks going away for a week or two at the beautiful resort on the lake up the Pocono Mountains. So the hard workers who toil away at desks and files and typewriters throughout the summer get daily suggestions of vacation life.

Then comes the Meyer London Library of the Rand School with its books, its Research Department, its pamphlet room—all presided over by the librarian, Minnie Selden, who is guaranteed to find for you anything you want to read or know. As you enter you will note a portrait bust of Morris Hillquit at one end and, near the other, a truly magnificent portrait of Eugene V. Debs by H. R. West. Rand School students, who crowd this place every evening during the school year, look up from their books to see him on a platform, as he was in life, speaking with his arms outspread to include all the world; and behind him they can dimly descry crowds, humanity, the masses of the people for whom Debs lived and died. Nearby they can see, carefully preserved behind glass, the books that Debs used, the diaries and note-books in which he recorded what he thought and preserved, the materials which went into his books and addresses.

Teachers and Students

It is called the Meyer London Library because in its present expanded form it is actually a monument to the great Socialist leader who once represented in such a distinguished way the working class of New York in the House of Representatives. Meyer London's friends and the organizations to which he gave his life raised a fund to endow this library and thus make it a living and growing memorial. The new pamphlet room, containing carefully classified material covering the labor movement of the world, is the first visible product of this new endowment.

Beyond the Library is the office of Algonquin Lee, the President of the Rand School. Right now he is busy with the program of the



G. Weil Klein

We must take full advantage of it.

Another View of Industrial Unionism

By George Q. Lynch
Gen. Pres., Pattern Makers'
League of North America,
Affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Union President Finds Form of Labor Organization No Panacea for Weaknesses of the Labor Movement -- Remedies, Says Lynch, Lie Within the Unions -- A.F. of L. Organization Scheme Has Room for All Forms of Unionism the Workers Want

A GROUP of eight men assembled in Washington and launched a movement for Industrial Unionism. They were its chief advocates at the present American Federation of Labor convention.

A permanent office was established with John L. Lewis, Chairman; Charles P. Howard, Secretary, and John Brophy, "Director to supervise the work of administration."

This group of eight includes representatives of one industrial, three semi-industrial and four craft organizations.

Progressives and liberals should have more than a passing interest in the aims and possibilities of this move to "improve" the appeal of American unionism. In judging its merits, three factors should be weighed and appraised: 1) Leadership; 2) Program; 3) Record of achievement. Fortunately we are in a position to do this because both the leadership and other related factors are in the record.

U.M.W. Ambitions

John L. Lewis is president of the only fully industrial union in America. Under his guidance the metal miners have ambitions to establish the comprehensive jurisdiction of the coal miners to include "all those employed in and around the mines." The others are no less ambitious as the same definition has been required for automobiles, rubber, cement, radio, etc.

Thomas F. McMahon is president of the United Textile Workers of America, nearly but not quite an industrial union. However, if his jurisdiction is expanded under the Lewis formula he will take in three other unions represented at the conclave. The use of textiles by the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the hatters easily classifies them as being "around the mills."

Because of their deep interest in industrial unionism, we are sure the needle trades will offer no opposition to this logical application of jurisdictional rights, as defined and applied by Mr. Lewis. The fact that wages may be lowered in the process is not important. Objecting to industrial unionism because it tends to lower skilled rates and establish a sort of industrial serfdom, is to brand oneself a reactionary.

Also, because of the same deep interest, we expect the Typographical and Pressmen's Unions soon to unite and adopt an Industrial Union Label which may be demanded with consistency by other industrial unions as well as members of craft organizations.

Industrial Unionism at Atlantic City

At the Atlantic City convention, leadership for industrial unionism devolved, by the process of natural selection, upon the heads of John L. Lewis and Charles P. Howard, both members of the Resolutions Committee.

They, with four other members of the committee, submitted a minority report setting forth their views on industrial unionism. In doing so they indulged in strategy. They withheld their report from the other members of the committee but submitted it to the public press. Convention delegates and members of the committee came second under the new strategy. Mr. Howard likened it to the strategy of the Supreme Court. I failed to grasp the analogy. Even if it were there I wouldn't like it.

Then Mr. Lewis proceeded to make a speech. He defended the minority report. He attacked the Executive Council for its sins of omission and commission. He stressed particularly those of omission. In support he submitted, but did not read, his bill of complaints. It consisted of a "Survey Sum-

mary" listing 101 charges of inefficiency in carrying out the mandates of the 1934 convention. Since then I have had the opportunity to read them. The record shows distortions, glaring inaccuracies, half-truths and some that can be nothing but deliberate misrepresentation. Not very promising leadership for an "improved" labor movement. As these lines are written, word comes that Mr. Lewis has resigned from the Council. Perhaps he does not agree with the strategy of the Council in pointing out his inaccuracies in the proceedings of the convention. Staying with the record has a tendency to cramp Mr. Lewis' style.

But consideration of leadership must go deeper. What we may expect regarding a more progressive outlook along political, social and economic lines is the important thing.

For many years progressives have concluded that government ownership and operation of mines is the only solution for that much-distressed industry. Mr. Lewis has never supported this belief. His contribution to the solution of mine problems, up to the enactment of the Guffey Bill, was his advocacy of the closed shop agreement, the check-off and a definition of jurisdiction. These all tend to increase and hold per capita taxpayers. In themselves they offer no program for advancement. We are still left with the question: "Why are we organized?" An answer to that question always constitutes the meat in the cocoon. There is nothing to indicate that this industrial leadership has anything to distinguish it from the present leadership of craft organizations. As a matter of fact, Mr. Lewis' demands for improved conditions have been extremely conservative.

Program

The announced program of the movement, according to Secretary Howard's latest letter, is to build a union that the mass production workers "will accept so that they may have the benefits of collective bargaining and concerted action." It is contended that craft organization stands in the way of fulfillment of this program. Let us glance at the facts.

Out of a half million workers in the automobile industry not more than 15% are craftsmen. At first, federal unions were formed and then an industrial charter was granted to them by the American Federation of Labor, covering the remaining 85%. Here, according to their own definition, is the kind of a union they want and with a veritable army to be organized. After two years of intensified efforts less than 5% have accepted it. We are asked to believe that the 15% is standing in the way of 85%. The rubber industry offers the same picture. Why do these workers fail to flock in great numbers into these industrial unions as promised and predicted by Mr. Lewis? I will touch upon an explanation later.

Their plan for the elimination of jurisdictional disputes seems subject to amendment from time to time, depending largely upon the interpreter.

In the second paragraph of Howard's letter he says: "It is only logical to conclude that any form of organization which will result in division of the workers into classes and destroy their opportunity to act as a unit will meet with the same degree of failure in the future as it has suffered in the past." In the next paragraph he states: "When conditions justify, different classes may group themselves into separate units—but administration must be centralized." Surely this is giving them what they want. There is nothing unique about the second choice. It is no more than a reproduction of American Federation of Labor Councils with "class" autonomy removed.

We are left to wonder only as to why they "may" divide themselves into "classes" if the division is to mean nothing to the high command.

Vertical Unions in Mining and Textiles

Two industries in this country have been left to industrial organizations for many years, mines and textiles. Both have been surrounded with high protective tariffs. Both have produced many multi-millionaire owners. Since my earliest days in the labor movement I have automatically associated American poverty with miners and textile workers. Even when Herbert Hoover was promising a "chicken in every pot," he did not have the temerity to include these workers. He admitted their distress but exempted them from his promise. Let he who can recall offhand a donation solicited for strike assistance, based upon a description of privation and horror, that did not come from miners or textile workers.

Even as late as the 1935 convention Mr. Lewis painted a picture of starvation among his striking members in Alabama. With a membership of 400,000 he stated that some few thousands were on strike and "starving." A sad commentary on the beneficence of a \$12,000 president and the remaining 370,000

members. I doubt that the members of a so-called reactionary craft organization would allow such a condition to exist.

This is not intended to depreciate the struggle of these organized workers. Our task now is to measure the effectiveness of industrial unionism as promised by those who advocate it. I am here defending



George P. Lynch

the position that form of organization is important only if change means progress and accomplishment. I am employing only the

same frank methods used by Mr. Lewis and others in their criticism of the Council of the A. F. of L.

The records show that very little progress has been made by the industrial set-up in the mine and textile unions. Moreover, if the miners have been successful in eliminating jurisdictional disputes, they have had other disputes as substitutes.

Industrial Unions No Panacea

Before the enactment of NIRA there were serious reasons to question their ability to survive. While they did not split on matters of jurisdiction, they did split seriously for other reasons, and there was no lack of intensity in the quarrels. The records in Illinois will confirm this. We must recognize that a lack of solidarity bears with equal weight without regard to cause.

Industrial unionism will no more eliminate internal disputes than will craft organization. Industrial unionism has not led the way to higher standards. Industrial unionism has not produced a more progressive leadership. Industrial unionism has not promoted a stronger recognition of class interest and cooperation than has craft unionism.

It is also important to progressives that in the matter of labor political action no unanimity of opinion is apt to be forthcoming.

Italian Socialists Protest NEC Sanctions Resolution

DECLARING its dissent with the resolution adopted by the National Executive Committee on war and fascism, the Italian Socialist Federation has adopted a resolution urging that body to recall its resolution and adopt a statement in harmony with the position of the Labor and Socialist International and the Trade Union International. The Italian Socialists, many of whom, as their statement points out, are refugees from the dictatorship of Mussolini, favor support of sanctions against Italy by the League of Nations and also declare that there is a tendency for the fascist governments in Europe to draw together in an alliance against the rest of Europe.

The full text of the Italian Socialist Federation resolution reads as follows: The Executive Committee of the Italian Socialist Federation affiliated with the Socialist Party, meeting in Chicago, on November 22, 1935, has expressed its regrets that your body has adopted a resolution on war and fascism that is in conflict with the position of millions of the working class in Europe that are affiliated with the Socialist and Labor International and the International Federation of Trade Unions. As Italian Socialists who include many refugees from the brutal regime of Benito Mussolini we disagree with your resolution which would place our fighters against fascism on the side of the bourgeois pacifists who do not take the working class point of view.

Italian Socialists in this country as well as the leaders of the two internationals fully recognize that the problems brought to the fore by Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia are by no means simple, but we hold that they cannot be properly faced by a pacifist resolution against war and fascism. We are as much opposed to war as the pacifists are but as a movement of the proletariat we also recognize that events not of our own choosing may compel the proletariat to make decisions and to take action to avert the repetition of what has happened to the proletariat in Germany and Italy.

The Socialist proletariat of the world has, independent of the governments of Europe, made their decision through our two internationals and for the American Socialist Party to break this international solidarity of the proletariat by adopting a pacifist resolution is a disappointment to the Italian fighters of fascism in this country. With our comrades in other countries we hold that there is a fate worse than war and that is the spread of fascism throughout the world.

A Fascist Alliance

It must be known to you that the fascist dictatorships in Europe which have followed independent policies are now developing sympathetic relations with each other. German fascism and Italian fascism, once antagonistic, maintain harmonious relations despite the Austrian problem. Since the announcement of Mussolini's aims in Ethiopia the tendency has been for a drawing together of the fascist governments with the possibility of a European fascist alliance confronting the democratic nations.

Despite this growth towards a European coalition of fascist dictatorships against the proletariat in the free nations, your body has adopted a pacifist resolution that would condemn the American working class to a policy of isolation and of resignation to the threat of an all-European fascism with all the horrors that this means for the European proletariat.

Facing this dangerous trend in Europe the European proletariat has courageously taken its stand. In doing so, it has followed the course which Marx, Engels, and other great founders of our movement have taken when a choice was presented between the progressive nations where the proletari-

tariat enjoyed some freedom and the autocratic powers which denied freedom of organization to the proletariat.

Your resolution would deny the need of resistance by the American proletariat to an invasion by an all-fascist Europe. To assert a pacifist tactic in such a struggle in Europe or the United States would really make the proletariat the ally of fascism in the struggle. The democratic gains of the proletariat in the free nations cannot be preserved by pacifism. In many countries they were won by fighting, sometimes in alliance with progressive sections of the bourgeoisie, and if they are to be maintained the proletariat may have to

fight against fascist barbarism.

The Executive Committee of the Italian Socialist Federation of the Socialist Party hopes that the National Executive Committee will recall its resolution on war and fascism and adopt a new resolution

Big Business Adopts Communist Tactics

At the beginning of the NRA such demonstrations were staged by Communist groups seeking recognition as labor units. Now the same tactics were adopted by representatives of rich and powerful manufacturers and big business.

No wonder Major Berry said in a radio address after the meeting: "The tactics pursued were those normally taken by obstructionists to progress whom some people commonly characterize as Communists. The difference was that Communists usually have a program. These interests are without one and their effort was pathetic."

The riotous demonstration came as Berry attempted to adjourn the opening session. It had been announced that the meeting would be only for the purpose of outlining the program of the conference. Berry was the only speaker. As he concluded his remarks, he announced that the meeting was adjourned.

John W. O'Leary, head of the Machinery and Allied Products Institute and a former president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, jumped to his feet, well back in the hall, and demanded recognition.

"The meeting is adjourned," Berry replied.

A half dozen persons were on their feet demanding recognition. The crowd broke into cheers, hisses and boos. Nearly everybody was standing. Four or five men were standing on their seats shouting to be heard. The crowd began milling about and gathering around the would-be speakers. Above the noise were the shouts of Berry announcing the meeting was adjourned.

Confusion Rampant

A. P. Haake, of Chicago, representing the National Furniture Manufacturers' Association, standing on a seat, persisted in his demand that O'Leary be heard.

"Get yourself a hall. You are out of order!" Berry shouted. "We are American citizens and anything is in order," Haake replied. "You presented one point of

view. We want to present the other." "You were sent here to dynamite this meeting," Berry yelled above the noise of the shouting applause and booing. "You are doing a very nice job, but you don't quite get away with it."

"That is an unqualified lie," Haake retorted. Berry stepped to the edge of the stage. "I'll take you on for that," he shouted. "You'll eat it, eat it, eat it!"

The shouting and milling about continued, but some of the delegates were leaving the hall and the noise finally subsided.

Later O'Leary made public the speech he had intended to make. "The one thing American business needs above all else is to be let alone to recover by its own natural processes the vigor and vitality of which it has been deprived by the artificial interferences of the recent past." [See article by Irving B. Altman on page 9 on the program of Big Business.—Ed.]

In his address to the conference, Coordinator Berry stated that in spite of improved conditions there are still eleven million unemployed in our country. By a very conservative estimate this would mean that there are at least twenty-two million persons dependent on somebody else to take care of them. Major Berry also called attention to the very perturbing social phenomenon that production is making much larger strides than employment; that while industrial production rose 20 per cent, employment rose only 2 per cent. The deduction of the coordinator's talk was clear: That no industrialist who looks beyond his immediate profits can fail to be alarmed by the prospect of achieving prosperity for himself in the midst of poverty due to chronic unemployment.

Re-employment Vital Need Any man with ordinary intelligence knows that such conditions in course of time breed disorders. At best the existence of great numbers of destitute unemployed places an obligation upon the more fortunate members of the community that cannot be shunned. Onerous taxes that handicap industry, and mounting public indebtedness that imposes burdens upon all productive agencies, are

which would place the Socialist Party of the United States in accord with the views of the proletariat of the world as expressed through their two internationals. Fraternally yours, A. Gamboni, Sec'y.

Employers Bolt N. R. A. Meeting

view. We want to present the other." "You were sent here to dynamite this meeting," Berry yelled above the noise of the shouting applause and booing. "You are doing a very nice job, but you don't quite get away with it."

"That is an unqualified lie," Haake retorted. Berry stepped to the edge of the stage. "I'll take you on for that," he shouted. "You'll eat it, eat it, eat it!"

The shouting and milling about continued, but some of the delegates were leaving the hall and the noise finally subsided.

Later O'Leary made public the speech he had intended to make. "The one thing American business needs above all else is to be let alone to recover by its own natural processes the vigor and vitality of which it has been deprived by the artificial interferences of the recent past." [See article by Irving B. Altman on page 9 on the program of Big Business.—Ed.]

In his address to the conference, Coordinator Berry stated that in spite of improved conditions there are still eleven million unemployed in our country. By a very conservative estimate this would mean that there are at least twenty-two million persons dependent on somebody else to take care of them. Major Berry also called attention to the very perturbing social phenomenon that production is making much larger strides than employment; that while industrial production rose 20 per cent, employment rose only 2 per cent. The deduction of the coordinator's talk was clear: That no industrialist who looks beyond his immediate profits can fail to be alarmed by the prospect of achieving prosperity for himself in the midst of poverty due to chronic unemployment.

Re-employment Vital Need Any man with ordinary intelligence knows that such conditions in course of time breed disorders. At best the existence of great numbers of destitute unemployed places an obligation upon the more fortunate members of the community that cannot be shunned. Onerous taxes that handicap industry, and mounting public indebtedness that imposes burdens upon all productive agencies, are

which would place the Socialist Party of the United States in accord with the views of the proletariat of the world as expressed through their two internationals. Fraternally yours, A. Gamboni, Sec'y.

Levitin and Dr. Hughan Debate on Sanctions

A debate on sanctions as a means of preventing war from spreading will be held by the Bensonhurst Branch of the Socialist Party next Tuesday. The debate will be held at 6616 Bay Parkway, Brooklyn. Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughan will uphold the position that sanctions are not the way to prevent war, while the negative will be taken by Ben Levitin.



The Board of Directors of Union Health Center in Session in New York Skyscraper Home—Left to Right: Pauline Newman, Isidor Sorokin, Harry Wander, Fred F. Umhey, Jos. Breslaw, Dr. Geo. M. Price, N. M. Minkoff, Sam. Shore.

Excellent "Crime and Punishment" at the Cinema de Paris

Jumbo: And Billy Rose to the Occasion!

MUMBO-JUMBO, KING OF THE RING

Billy Rose's "Jumbo" with Jimmy Durante, Paul Whiteman, and many more humans and beasts. Libretto by Ben Hecht and Charles MacArthur. Music and lyrics by Rich. Rodgers and Lorenz Hart. Staged by John Murray Anderson. Designed by Albert Johnson. Ballets (equestrian, acrobatic and aerial) by Allan K. Foster. Dreamed, fathered and brought forth by Billy Rose. At the Hippodrome.

A Rose by any name may smell as sweet; but if it's bigger and better, it's Billy Rose. He proves this again with "Jumbo," where circus and musical comedy collide, callopie, collapse and recombine into a dizzy and dazzling exhibition of talent and virtuosity. All the arsenal of adjectives old P. T. Barnum used to fire upon an eager public here actually applies. The "Stupendous," "Colossal" of Jimmy

Durante never had a sounder basis in fantastic fact. The "story" of the evening scarcely required the two brains that concocted it; but it suffices amply to furnish forth the clowns and the comedians, the actors and the acrobats, the freaks and the fair ones, that revel in the ring after Paul Whiteman on a white horse has opened the swift ceremonies.

The circus comes to vivid and vigorous life, with a number of genuine old-timers repeating their memorized stunts—a 75-year-old equestrienne does tricks on a prancing steed; with many new figures in newer dare-devil tests of skill and courage; with chorus girls aloft in rings or circling, as they go through their novel routine, on swift pacing horses. And songs. And Jimmy Durante. And, during intermission downstairs, an animals' gallery of caricatures and menagerie portraits. A mumbo-jumbo-magico musical circus. And thanks to Billy Rose.

New Dance League Sponsors Third Solo Recital

The New Dance League solo recital has aroused considerable interest in dance circles as the climax of the League's tremendous growth in 1935.

So significant is the rise of a dance audience which has overflowed the Center Theatre and made every New Dance League recital a sell-out, that the League has made a special point of sponsoring in its third all-solo recital the flower of its vast number of performers.

Featured on the program are: Jane Dudley—Middle Class Portraits; Blanche Evan—"The Meek, No the Militant, Will Inherit the Earth"; Merle Hirsch—Georgia Prisoner Valse Sentimentale; Ide and Limon—Greeting Nostalgic Fragments; Sophie Maslow—Into the Streets; Lily Mehlman—Fatherland; Anna Sokolow—Impressions of a Dance Hall Street Speaker.

BOOTED AND SPURRED

"HOW BEAUTIFUL WITH SHOES." By Wilbur Daniel Steele and Anthony Brown. At the Booth.

Psychopathology dashes along Tobacco Road, where this short story of Mr. Steele's grows grimly picturesque onstage. Local color in good gobs, as a California wedding scene, and in memory of her father the Justice refuses to perform the ceremony until the bride's shoes come. In the meantime comes an English teacher gone mad (alas, the frequent woful cause!), who confuses fire and blood and beauty, and the breast of earth with the softer breasts of virgins. The sweet bride Mare (short for Amarantha), whom Ruby, the county catch and lady-killer, has been saving (a green apple, but wormless!) to be his wife, by her name and golden tresses and soft ways reminds the maniac first of cavalier lyrics, then of the Virgin Mother Mary. Yet somehow his destruction gives the backroads girl glimpse of a sensitive spirit and a beauty none of her hill folk know, driving her from her fine catch, the earthy, soiled Ruby to a dream—union with the star-touched, "lunatic" teacher.

A spark more of vitality would have made this a deeply moving and searching, as it is a sincere and suggestive, study. Even now there are color and quick action and suspense and awakened thought and good acting to make us behold and agree: "How Beautiful With Shoes!"

NEW BROOM SWEEPSTAKES

"WHATEVER GOES UP." By Milton Lazarus. At the Biltmore. Not if it's lighter than air, like the dreams of the movies. And if a new broom sweeps clean, one

PHILADELPHIA

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

THEATRE PARTIES

Party Branches and sympathetic organizations are requested when planning theatre parties to do so through the Theatre Department of THE NEW LEADER. Phone Algonquin 4-4622 or write to Bernard Feinman, Manager, New Leader Theatre Department, 7 East 15th Street, New York.

In "Ghosts"



Nazimova, the celebrated stage and screen star, who appears these nights at the Empire Theatre in the world-famous "Ghosts," by Ibsen.

"Thanks a Million" at Palace, Other RKO Theatres

Starting today, the Palace and other theatres of the RKO chain in Greater New York, excepting the Albee in Brooklyn, will play "Thanks a Million" for a full week. The picture, which features Dick Powell, Fred Allen, Ann Dvorak, Paul Whiteman and Rubinoff, has just completed a four-week run at the Center, Radio City. "Personal Maid's Secret," with Margaret Lindsay and Anita Louise, will be the accompanying feature at all RKO houses.

A Scene From "Winterset"



Burgess Meredith and Richard Bennett as they appear in a scene from Maxwell Anderson's beautiful play at the Martin Beck Theatre.

who makes a clean sweep is a nouveau riche. Thus Terrance J. Sweeney, United cigar store clerk on little West Dyckman Street, accepting a ticket in lieu of a bad debt, finds that some horse has sent him \$150,000. So his wife moves him to the Waldorf.

Certain of the less literate of our daily purveyors of capitalistic substitutes for news, feature a page they call comics. The characters and the antics of the persons in this play are on the level of these comic strips ("strips," I suppose, because all intelligence and good taste are stripped from them). In other words, the play provides belly-laughs for those in their A-B-C's of humor; though Ernest Truex, in his droll fashion, fights hard for the humanities.

Caricature has its place in our art, on our stages; "Whatever Goes Up" spreads it broadly. And if we

are told that the performances, in real life, of poor boys who became sweepstakes winners, might make these stage doings pale and paltry, it only shows how life strives to imitate art. Only it gets such unfortunate examples! So Mr. Sweeney goes on with his cigar-salesman philosophy, and his daughter marries the bell-hop after all.

MUSIC

PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY
KLEMPERER, Conductor
AT CARNEGIE HALL
This Afternoon at 3:00
MAHLER: Symphony No. 2 in C minor
Soloist—SUSANNE FISHER, Soprano
ENID SZANTHO, Contralto
SCHOLA CANTORUM CHORUS
Thurs. Eve., 8:15; Fri. Aft., 2:30
Sat. Eve., 8:15; Sun. Aft., 3:00
Soloist: EUGENE LIST, Pianist
ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

NEW DANCE LEAGUE presents SOLO DANCE RECITAL

JANE DUDLEY — BLANCHE EVAN — MERLE HIRSH — IDE and LIMON — SOHIE MAZLOW LILY MEHLMAN — ANNA SOKOLOV
Sunday, December 22nd, at 8:45 P. M.
ADELPHI THEATRE, 54th St., E. of B'way. 35c-50c-53c-\$1.10-\$1.65.
Tickets for sale at: New Dance League, 35 W. 45th St.

GUTHRIE McLINTIC presents MAXWELL ANDERSON'S

WINTERSET

"Holds Audience Breathless."—Burns Mantle, News
MARTIN BECK THEATRE, 45 St. W. of 8th Ave. Eves. 8:10. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

Luther Greene presents

NAZIMOVA GHOSTS

(First Time in New York as Mrs. Alving)
with MCKAY MORRIS—HARRY ELLERBE—ONA MUNSON
Staged by Mure. Nazimova—Setting by Stewart Cheney
EMPIRE THEATRE, 46th St. and B'way. Evenings 55c to \$2.75
Wednesday Mat. 35c to \$1.65 Saturday Mat. 55c to \$2.20

The Outstanding Laugh Hit of the Season!

"It's fun is large and obnoxious!"—Percy Hammond, Herald Tribune
"Comical enough to provide a rough-and-ready evening!"—Rob. Garland, W.-T.

SQUARING THE CIRCLE

48th St. THEATRE, East of Broadway, BR. 9-0178. Eves. 50c to \$2.50
Mat. Wed. and Sat. 50c to \$2. Seats on sale 8 wks. in advance

DOSTOEVSKI DESERVES

"Crime and Punishment." From the story by Dostoevski. At the Cinema de Paris.

One of the greatest of the world's novels finds fitting expression in the film now showing at lower Fifth Avenue's Cinema de Paris. For perhaps the first time outside of the book itself, there is caught the grim power and weird force that drives Raskolnikov first to the murder and then to his confession. With keen capture of the psychology and excellent acting, the film moves through powerful yet sensitive photography to the prisoners' road to Siberia. Something of the power of the famous "Joan of Arc" is caught in these portraits, of just one or two faces sharply revealing their inner struggle, gripping, tense. The film, as a whole, is a truly translated film version, holding the spirit of a great book.

Surrounding "Crime and Punishment" are effective shorts: a beautiful survey of "Mont St. Michel" and a curious creepy sur-realist cartoon to a song, "The Old Chateau." A program decidedly to be seen.

Theatre Union Takes Over "Let Freedom Ring"

Enthusiastic praise for saving one of the finest working-class plays ever staged from an untimely closing has come to the Theatre Union, which is taking over "Let Freedom Ring," by Albert Bein (formerly playing at the Broadhurst), and will present it at the Civic Repertory Theatre, beginning Tuesday evening, Dec. 17th, at the usual Theatre Union prices. The original acting company will appear in the Theatre Union's production.

"Mother," the current Theatre Union production, is closing on Sunday evening, Dec. 15th, and this week is the last chance to see this stirring play with music.

Important Drama Recital Sunday at Carnegie Hall

Charles Weidman and his group announce a new dance called "Stock Exchange" from the projected suite "Atavisms," which will be performed for the first time anywhere at the group recital with Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey, Tamiris, and the dance unit at Carnegie Hall on Dec. 15th. The music is by Lehman Engel. Jose Limon and Bill Matons are in the supporting group.

Margaret Rawlings



Has the feminine lead in "Parnell," which is developing into one of the season's hits with headquarters at the Barrymore Theatre.

Fifty Cent Seats for Nazimova in "Ghosts"

In order to make the production of Ibsen's "Ghosts," in which Nazimova opens Thursday at the Empire Theatre, available to all classes of theatre-goers, 125 fifty cent seats will be on sale for all performances. On Wednesday matinees the house has been sealed at 50 cents to \$1.50. Orchestra seats for evening performances will be \$2.50, with no advance in prices for the premiere.

Carola Goya in Recital

Carola Goya's first New York recital of Spanish dances of the season is set for Sunday evening, Dec. 29, at the 44th Street Theatre. Miss Goya will be assisted by Beatrice Burford, harpist, and Norman Secon, pianist. There will be several new and revised numbers on the program and a complete assortment of new costumes will be worn. Miss Goya's second New York recital this winter is scheduled for Saturday evening, Feb. 1.

To Manage Stage for "Tapestry in Gray"

Frank Coletti, who has been stage manager for many big Ziegfeld musicals as well as numerous dramatic shows, has been appointed stage manager for "Tapestry in Gray," where he will be responsible for a cast of fifty, and also numerous scenic and lighting changes. He will have five assistants.

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

Beginning Tuesday Eve. Dec. 17, 8:40

The THEATRE UNION announces the continuance of the year's most important play—a drama of rare power and beauty, illumined with sincerity and humor—ALBERT BEIN'S

"LET FREEDOM RING"

WITH ORIGINAL BROADWAY CAST

NOTE: Tickets purchased for "MOTHER" after December 15th will be honored to "Let Freedom Ring" or can be exchanged

CIVIC REPERTORY THEATRE

14th STREET and 6th AVENUE. WA 3-7450. Evenings, 8:30. Matinees Wed. and Sat. 2:30—"MOTHER" closes with Sun. Mat. and Eve., Dec. 15

The Group Theatre Presents

Paradise Lost

By Clifford Odets
LONGACRE Theatre, W. 48th St.
Eves. 8:40. Mat. Wednesday & Saturday, 2:40

SAM H. HARRIS presents

JANE COWL

in a new comedy

"FIRST LADY"

By KATHARINE DAYTON and GEORGE S. KAUFMAN
MUSIC BOX THEATRE 45th St., WEST OF BROADWAY
Mats. Thurs. and Sat.

BLIND ALLEY

with ROY HARGRAVE and GEORGE COULOURIS
"Completely fascinating."—Anderson, Journal.
MOROSCO THEATRE WEST 45th STREET, L.A. 4-2520.
Eves. 8:40. Mat. Wed. & Sat. 2:40

WINTER GARDEN - BEATRICE LILLIE

in "AT HOME ABROAD" with HERB WILLIAMS and ELEANOR POWELL
A Musical Holiday by DIETZ and SCHWARTZ
A Vincente Minnelli Production

LAST TIMES

Engagement Closes Wed. Eve. Dec. 18
OF NEW YORK'S FUNNIEST PLAY
2nd SENSATIONAL YEAR Brock Pemberton presents
PERSONAL APPEARANCE
with GLADYS GEORGE
by Lawrence Riley — Staged by Antoinette Devy
HENRY MILLER'S Theatre, W. 43rd St.—Eves. 8:40. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

'Dead End'--Powerful Play Proves Hit at Belasco

LIVE ACTION

"DEAD END." By Sidney Kingsley. At the Belasco.

What slums make of boys, and the grim prospects of their future, is the vivid background of the new play by the author of "Men in White." An ideal spot for a social setting by Norman Bel Geddes: he dock-end of one of those mid-town East Side streets, flanked with broken-down tenements but ending, at the waterfront, with the entrance-way to the swankiest of new and expensive apartments.

The kids that live in these tenements are most realistically shown (and excellently acted), in all their dirt and profanity and bullying or whining treachery and cruelty—cruelty to any "outsider": the little boys up the block, the 2. Ave. gang, the wealthy lad from the swanky apartment, the Jew-boy just moved in. Deftly, without pressing propaganda, Mr. Kingsley shows how decent impulses, kindness and honesty, are beaten out by the forces of the filthy environment: "Hell's kitchen" is no misnomer for these slum-broths of vice and crime.

The other side of the picture is also there, in the adults: the scornful wealthy who turn up their noses at the lousy slums; and the grown products of the slum, the "successful" kept woman, the

diseased prostitute, the gun-toting gangster whose return and death make the movement of the plot. There is a poignant moment when this killer meets his mother, and all the agony of her life-long suffering cries out upon his bloody return for her love and sacrifice.

Except for a minute or two, when the author talks his message, instead of letting it alone, to ooze out of all these distorted lives, "Dead End" [the name refers to familiar sign on streets that lead nowhere] shows with grim power the "dead end" toward which our social system leads so many children, seeking happiness and self-expression, helpless in the grip of unnecessary poverty and consequent slum filth and cruelty. This dock where the boys swim and learn life's bitter ways is a document of human wrong and human misery, a vivid dramatic challenge to human righteousness.

DANCE RECITALS

ON ONE PROGRAM America's Greatest Dancers and Their Groups

GOOD SEATS STILL AVAILABLE

MARTHA GRAHAM

DORIS HUMPHREY

TAMIRIS

CHARLES WEIDMAN

DANCE UNIT

of the New Dance League

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 15

8:45 P.M.

Tickets: 55c to \$2.50

CARNEGIE HALL

57th Street and 7th Avenue

Auspices, International Labor Defense

MUSIC HALL
SHOW PLACE IN THE MARCH
Ginger Rogers
in "IN PERSON"
with GEORGE BRENT
RKO Radio Picture
On the Great Stage—
"JOY BELLS," a gay
revue in seven brilliant
scenes, produced by Busc
sell Market with Music
Hall cast and augmented
ensembles. Symphony
Orch. dir. Erno Rapce

We're sorry, Mayor LaGuardia—we'd LIKE TO COOPERATE with your Anti-Noise Campaign, but those hysterical Capitol Audiences insist on roaring!

2nd RIOT WEEK!
MARK BROTHERS
"A NIGHT at the OPERA"
An M.-G.-M. Picture
"Loudest and funniest picture of the season."—Times
"More laughs than in any other picture."—Telegram
"Saki Marx picture ever made."—News

CAPITOL
Major Edward Bowes, Mgr. Dir.
c to 1 P. M. — Doors open 9:45 A. M.

ONLY 13 MORE DAYS 'til Charles Dickens' "A TALE OF TWO CITIES"

EDMUND LOWE
in E. Phillips Oppenheim's
The Great Impersonation
with
Valerie Hobson and Wera Engels
Universal Film
IN PERSON—"Ole" Olson and "Chic" Johnson in their hilarious Comedy Revue "Everything Goes" with Ruth Fisher, Biddulous Revue, Caron Sisters, Vic Hyde, Gae Foster Girls, Henry Howe, Jimmy Andrews, Harry Webb, and Rossy Rhythmic Orchestra.

TWO BIG FEATURES
"Thanks a Million"
Starring
DICK POWELL
with
ANN DVORAK
— Also —
"Personal Maid's Secret"
with
MARGARET LINDSAY
ANITA LOUISE
PALACE THEATRE
B'way & 47th St.

"BROADWAY HOSTESS"
with WINI SHAW — PHIL REGAN — LYLE TALBOT
A Warner Bros. Hit
with Genevieve Tobin
and Allen Jenkins
STRAND—25c
B'way & 47th St. to 1 p.m. Weekd.

FABIAN'S "Crime and Punishment"
Columbia Picture with
EDWARD ARNOLD PETER LORE
MARIAN MAESH
"SWEET SURRENDER"
with FRANK PARKER — TAMARA ABE LYMAN AND HIS CALIFORNIANS
25c to 6 P.M.

2 FIRST-RUN HITS IN BROOKLYN
ALICE FAYE in "MUSIC IS MAGIC"
BARTON MACLANE in "MAN OF IRON"
BROOKLYN STRAND Fulton St. & Rockwell Pl.
25c After-
noons 40c Even-
ings 25c Midnite
Show Sat. 15c Children
at all times

New Leader Anniversary Dance to Be Held January 30th

THE 13th anniversary of the founding of The New Leader will be celebrated by an anniversary dance and jollification in the People's House, 7 East 15th Street, on Jan. 30. The Debs Branch of the Workmen's Circle—Branch of that organization—has planned the dance and its members are determined to make it a great success. Every member of Branch 650 is a loyal Socialist Party member, and their contribution to the party is this dance.

Details of the program will be given from time to time. Readers in and around New York should keep the date open.

Women's Conference on Cost Of Living Opens Saturday

By George Field

LEADING representatives of government agencies, civic spokesmen and other authorities will address delegates from over 60 women's clubs, civic organizations, consumer leagues and trade unions during a two-day conference called by the Women's Conference Against the High Cost of Living, starting Saturday afternoon at the Hotel Pennsylvania. All members of the Socialist Party and other organizations of consumers and workers are urged to attend these sessions, and to make an impressive demonstration against the rise in the cost of living.

At the opening session there will be present more than one hundred and fifty delegates and several hundred others who will wish to hear the speakers, among whom will be William Fellows Morgan, Jr., Dwight L. Hoopingarner, Algernon Lee, Langdon W. Post, Leland Olds, Dorothy Kenyon, Catherine Bauer, Charles Solomon, B. C. Vladeck, and Maurice P. Davidson. After every session there will be short addresses from the floor by spokesmen of organizations represented.

Mrs. Esther Friedman, chairman of the conference, said, "Attempts have been made to exploit the rise in the cost of living for narrow partisan purposes. The facts have been garbled and were little understood by the women of the country. This conference will be the first to offer an intelligent, analytical and constructive discussion of the problems of the consumer burdened by high living costs."

Conference Objectives

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

In addition to the 39 organizations which planned the conference, the following will be represented by delegates: Community Councils of New York, City Affairs Committee, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, League for Industrial Democracy, League for Political Education, League of Women Shoppers, Ladies' Neckwear Union, Women's Trade Union League, Pioneer Women's Organization, Rand School Women's Committee, Women's Committee of the New York Ethical Culture Society, Socialist Party, United Parents' Association, New York Division of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, League of Mothers' Clubs, and others.

Gerhart Seger Meetings in New York

Returning from a successful speaking tour across the country, Gerhart Seger, former Socialist member of the German Reichstag, will address nine meetings in New York City and vicinity. Comrade Seger is a brilliant speaker and writer, and a delightful personality. He speaks an eloquent English and as a keen observer he fills his talks with pertinent illustrations. His schedule follows:

Saturday, Dec. 14: Fraternity Hall, 250 Central Ave., Jersey City.
Monday, Dec. 16: 4th-14th A. D. Kings County, 241 South 4th St., Brooklyn.
Thursday, Dec. 19: Hollywood Gardens, 896 Prospect Ave., Bronx. Auspices 4th A. D. Branch.
Thursday, Jan. 2: People's House, 7 East 15th St., New York. Special gathering of young Socialists.
Friday, Jan. 3: Brighton Beach Forum, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave., Brooklyn.
Monday, Jan. 6: Amalgamated Cooperative Houses Auditorium, Mosholu Parkway, Bronx. Socialist Party Branch.
Tuesday, Jan. 7: Socialist Party, 6th A. D., 95 Ave. B, Manhattan.
Wednesday, Jan. 8: Savoy Mansion, 65th St. and 20th Ave., Brooklyn. Bensonhurst Branch.
Thursday, Jan. 9: Dover, N. J. James O'neal, William M. Feigenbaum, George Goebel and August Claessens will be present at one or more of these meetings and will make the appeal for The New Leader and for membership in the Socialist Party.

"Entire Party" in Detroit Does Not Favor N. Y. Secessionists

Last week the "militant" Communist alliance in Local New York of the Socialist Party received a phone call from Norman Thomas, leader of the alliance, from Detroit saying that the "entire party in Detroit would stand behind the newly organized central committee." Thomas should have said "part of what is left of the party in Detroit" will support the New York secessionists.

There is a substantial section of the party in Detroit opposed to the insurrectionists, but Detroit, controlled by the Thomas element, has lost some 400 members in the last several months. This is due to a brilliant plan of abolishing all Detroit branches and creating one central branch. The result was this big loss of members.

It is the old story of decline and disintegration wherever the "militants" are dominant. There is a good group of Socialists in Detroit who will not go with the "militant" Communist combination.

Convention of Silk Workers Backs Labor Party

(Continued from Page One) 35,000 workers in the silk centers in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Paterson, Virginia, Maryland, West Virginia, North and South Carolina and Georgia.

The U.T.W. was commended for its participation in the industrial union fight in the A. F. of L. convention, and the convention went on record to support the fight at the next U.T.W. convention in 1936. Plans were also made to cooperate with John L. Lewis in his battle for industrial unionism.

Distrust of Communists Apparent

Throughout the convention there were constant references to the Communists, who have tried to capture the silk union, and it was apparent to all present that the silk workers have learned to distrust this element. Even in Paterson, where a year ago through political machinations they succeeded in capturing the union, they were able to elect only seven of the thirty delegates to the convention; this despite various tricks like failing to notify the members of election of delegates. Their attempt to elect members to the national executive committee met with the same success, despite threats, deals, and other political chicanery to put their candidates, Valgo from Paterson and Mildred from New York, into office. Their resolution to join the Communist League Against War and Fascism was miserably defeated.

The strike in Paterson was endorsed and a collection was made. Here, again, the Communists were taken to task for calling a strike without a referendum vote. A resolution was adopted permitting members of the International to step into any local situation.

The Communist delegates fought for a two-shift system when the whole industry, including the manufacturers, are asking for a one-shift system.

Convention Condemns Olympics

A resolution was adopted condemning American participation in the 1936 Olympic Games and demanding that the United States withdraw. It was also voted to carry on energetic propaganda for a labor party.

The convention went on record for government control of the textile industry along the lines of the Guffey Bill.

The officers of the organization were re-elected without opposition: Russell Wood (Easton, Pa.), president; Harry Walton (East Stroudsburg, Pa.), 1st vice-president; Alec Williams (Paterson, N. J.), 2nd vice-president; Edward Mitschum (New London, Conn.), 3rd vice-president, and Frank Schweitzer (Paterson, N. J.), treasurer and executive secretary. There was a contest for national executive board members, but the Communists were left in the cold.

RESTAURANTS

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

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

Fifth Avenue Bar
Wines—Beers—Liquors
77 FIFTH AVENUE
bet. 15th & 16th St. New York
Tel.: STuyvesant 9-5184
Special Luncheon 35¢

Tompkins Square 6-9402-3

TIP TOE INN
62 EAST 14th STREET
(Between Broadway & 4th Avenue)
SHULEM, Mgr. NEW YORK CITY

Unions Victors In Court Fight

(Continued from Page One)

gether in the Transportation Trades Council.

The Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce, the Merchants' Association of the City of New York, and various other Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade, sponsored the suit.

Michael J. Cashal, Vice-President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, commenting upon the decision said: "It constitutes a complete justification of the actions of the teamsters and longshore unions in peacefully cooperating."

"It completely explodes the vicious and untrue propaganda which the various Chambers of Commerce have been issuing, particularly in the last few weeks, with reference to the unions."

Chambers of Commerce in Open Shop Drive

"At least in this field we have, for the time being, stopped the Chambers of Commerce in their drive to make New York City an 'open shop' town."

"The issue in the case was a simple one. The vast majority of the shippers and receivers of freight in the vicinity of the Port of New York, are fair to union labor, pay union wages and work their men under reasonable conditions."

"The plaintiffs, constituting but a very small percentage of firms so engaged, have had an advantage over their competitors by using non-union drivers, who work for low wages, longer hours and under less favorable conditions than men who are members of teamsters unions."

"These few concerns, backed by their open shop aspirations, wanted to perpetuate through a writ of injunction, this unfair advantage which they had over the vast bulk of their competitors, and thus bring about eventual destruction of union wages and conditions."

"The unions' only purpose was to preserve and maintain union wages and conditions."

Edward C. Maguire, counsel for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, the International Longshoremen's Association, and other labor defendants in the case said: "The decision is most gratifying. The contentions we made in behalf of the labor unions have been upheld. Again, the courts have sustained the principle that peaceful cooperation of labor unions to maintain union conditions is proper."

"The myth that in some unfathomable way, employees of public utilities are limited in their rights to strike, has been dispipated."

Dressmakers Set for Big Strike

(Continued from Page One)

seeking to plunge the dress industry into a war for the mere fun of striking. We shall leave nothing undone at the forthcoming conference peacefully to effect a contract with our employers. If it should come to a strike, it will be for enforcement of wages guaranteed in our collective agreements."

While it is hoped and believed that the controversy will be settled without the necessity of recourse to a strike, the union is confident that, should the employers prove obstinate, the strike would end with victory for the union demands. Alluding to past

PROFESSIONALS

Dr. BARNETT L. BECKER
Optometrist and Optician
213 EAST BROADWAY
DRYdock 4-5525

2497 TIEBOUT AVENUE
Near Fordham Rd.—RAYmond 9-4971

924 PROSPECT AVENUE
Kilpatrick 5-9529

ORGANIZATIONS

Get estimates on your printing jobs from
THE CHELSEA PRESS
Union Printers
8 WEST 19th STREET
CHelsea 5-9564-6965

Patronize our Comrade
Fred Spitz, Inc.
Florist
74 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY
Telephone DRydock 4-4854, 4-8888
Not connected with any other store in New York or Brooklyn

HALLS and LYCEUMS

LABOR LYCEUM
649 WILLOUGHBY AVE., BROOKLYN
Large and small hall suitable for all occasions and meetings at reasonable rentals.
STAGG 3-3843

Labor Temple 244-347 EAST 84th ST.
NEW YORK
Workmen's Educational Association
Free Library open from 1 to 10 p.m.
Halls for Meetings, Entertainments and Balls Tel. REgent 4-10538

BEAUTY SALON

MME. ROSE, Inc.
Exclusive Beauty Salons
ELECTROLYSIS \$1.00 per Treatment
PERMANENT WAVING—ALL METHODS
Largest and most exclusive in Bensonhurst
Expert always at your service
6704 BAY PWAY 2249 65th STREET
Bensonhurst 6-10944, 9425 Bklynview 4-3448

Christmas for West Virginia Miners' Children

Pioneer Youth appeals to workers to dig into their closets for toys, books, dolls, games and serviceable clothing for the miners' children in West Virginia.

The organization no longer gives away presents indiscriminately at mass Christmas parties. The club children now fix up and repair the toys. A few days before Christmas they run a toy sale for the townspeople. Nothing costs over 25 cents, and many things are even cheaper. Miners and their wives can pick out presents their children want. It's more self-respecting and the clubs make a little money.

Send things quickly to the Christmas Party Committee, Pioneer Youth, East Bank, Kanawha County, West Virginia.

PARTY NEWS

Women's Committee Activity
Monday, Dec. 16, at 1:30 p. m., Rand School—The Labor Movement, by Joseph Schlossberg.

Monday, Dec. 16, at 3 p. m., Rand School—Public Speaking and Parliamentary Practice. Instructor, Rebecca Jarvis.

Tuesday, Dec. 17, at 1:30 p. m., Amalgamated Houses, Bronx—The Concentration of Wealth.

Tuesday, Dec. 17, at 1:30 p. m., Rand School—The History of Labor in America, by William E. Duffy.

Wednesday, Dec. 18, at 2:30 p. m., 1140 Eastern Parkway—The Concentration of Wealth.

Thursday, Dec. 18, at 2:30 p. m., 1113 Brighton Beach Ave.—The Concentration of Wealth, Instructor: Esther Friedman.

BRONX COUNTY
Bronx County Organization will hold its annual concert and ball Saturday, March 21, in the Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves. Hhe chairman of the ball committee is Harry Kavesh; treasurer, Dr. S. Maggin; secretary, S. Bobrowsky; chairman, Journal Committee, Irving M. Knobloch; chairman of entertainment committee, M. Etkin.

Lower 6 A. D. Branch will meet Thursday, Dec. 19, at 1638 E. 172nd St.

Amalgamated Cooperative, Bronx, Branch meeting Monday, Dec. 16, in the Assembly Hall. Order of business will include arrangements for our Social and Card Party on Saturday, Dec. 21. Arrangements will also be made for the Gerhart Seger meeting Jan. 16.

Special Attention! The Party Branch in the Amalgamated Cooperative Houses has arranged a Social and Card Party for Saturday, Dec. 21, at the Sholem Alechem Cafeteria, 3451 Giles Pl., with Comrades August and Anna Claessens as guests.

MANHATTAN

An important meeting of all Socialists on Home Relief, WPA jobs, Home Relief Administration jobs, and anyone connected with the relief administration, will be held on Saturday, Dec. 14, at 2 p. m. sharp, at the Rebel Arts, 44 E. 21st St. Spread the word among comrades. It is very important.

Sam Gottlieb, an active member of the Bensonhurst Branch, formerly of the Sixth A. D. Man., is leaving for a trip to South America with Mrs. Gottlieb. They will sail Friday, Dec. 20. A committee of the branch was elected to wish them Bon Voyage on behalf of the branch.

Bensonhurst Branch will celebrate the incoming year with a banquet and entertainment at their club-rooms, Tuesday night, Dec. 31, at 6618 Bay Parkway. At this occasion we will celebrate the fifth birthday of Comrade Emil Bromberg who has been one of the most active members in the party.

breaches of faith by employers Dubinsky added: "It will be a strike to dispense for all time in the dress industry with that aggravating type of generosity on the part of employers who agree to everything at the conference table but fail to keep their word during the lifetime of the agreements in their factories."

NOTED EDUCATORS AND ARTISTS AT AIR UNIVERSITY OPENING

The fourth inaugural program of the University of the Air promises to be the most brilliant celebration arranged by Station WEVD since it first introduced this educational series three years ago.

The complete program announced by Morris S. Nevik, Director of Programs, for Friday, December 13th, at 8:30, broadcast direct from the stage of the new City College auditorium, 23rd St. and Lexington Ave., follows:

Panel discussion: "The Race Between Education and Anarchy." Speakers: Hendrik Willem van Loon, Prof. John Dewey, Dean Nod H. Dearborn of New York University, Dr. Frank Kingdon, President of Dana College, Dean Tristram Walker Metcalfe of Long Island University, Mark Eisner,

Chairman of the New York Board of Education, Paul U. Kellogg, Editor of Survey Graphic, Oswald Garrison Villard, Contributing Editor of the Nation, H. V. Kaltenborn, radio commentator, and Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild of New York University.

Jan Pearce, tenor, the Siberian Singers, the Philharmonic String-Clar Ensemble, Grace Castagnetta, concert pianist, and Yoichi Hiroaka, xylophone soloist playing a Mozart quintet specially arranged for the xylophone, with the Philharmonic String-Clar Ensemble.

Michael Strange, actress-poet, will read her poetry.

The curriculum of the fourth year of the WEVD University of the Air will be announced during the broadcast.

RED FALCONS REMAIN LOYAL TO PARTY

New York City Council of Red Falcons of America voted to support local New York in its fight against the secessionists. Meeting in the Rand School, the Council passed the following resolution:

Whereas a number of delegates have withdrawn from the City Central Committee of Local New York and formed a dual organization, and,

Whereas the charter of Local New York has not been revoked, Therefore be it resolved that the New York City Council hereby reaffirms its loyalty to all subdivisions of the Socialist Party.

OLEAN OPENS NEW PARTY HALL

By Paul G. Redstone
Special to The New Leader

OLEAN, N. Y.—Local Olean opened its new headquarters in the Moose Building, Friday evening, Dec. 6, with a bang-up card party and entertainment that crowded the hall. The outstanding success of the house-warming was largely due to the fine efforts of Com. John H. Croyle, Sr., and the committee which assisted him in planning the affair.

After the card party, in which favors were given to the successful players, there was a fine musical program rendered by a ladies' chorus, at the conclusion of which refreshments were served and the merriment continued until a late hour.

Local Olean County looks forward to its future activities in the new home with the conviction that steadily increasing success can be expected. It extends an invitation to all out-of-town comrades who may be in Olean to visit the new headquarters where they will be gladly received.

and Socialist principles! They have no sympathy with splitters. They shall remain where all true Socialists shall remain, with the Socialist Party of Local New York."

Local Olean County looks forward to its future activities in the new home with the conviction that steadily increasing success can be expected. It extends an invitation to all out-of-town comrades who may be in Olean to visit the new headquarters where they will be gladly received.

and Socialist principles! They have no sympathy with splitters. They shall remain where all true Socialists shall remain, with the Socialist Party of Local New York."

Local Olean County looks forward to its future activities in the new home with the conviction that steadily increasing success can be expected. It extends an invitation to all out-of-town comrades who may be in Olean to visit the new headquarters where they will be gladly received.

and Socialist principles! They have no sympathy with splitters. They shall remain where all true Socialists shall remain, with the Socialist Party of Local New York."

Local Olean County looks forward to its future activities in the new home with the conviction that steadily increasing success can be expected. It extends an invitation to all out-of-town comrades who may be in Olean to visit the new headquarters where they will be gladly received.

and Socialist principles! They have no sympathy with splitters. They shall remain where all true Socialists shall remain, with the Socialist Party of Local New York."

Local Olean County looks forward to its future activities in the new home with the conviction that steadily increasing success can be expected. It extends an invitation to all out-of-town comrades who may be in Olean to visit the new headquarters where they will be gladly received.

and Socialist principles! They have no sympathy with splitters. They shall remain where all true Socialists shall remain, with the Socialist Party of Local New York."

Local Olean County looks forward to its future activities in the new home with the conviction that steadily increasing success can be expected. It extends an invitation to all out-of-town comrades who may be in Olean to visit the new headquarters where they will be gladly received.

and Socialist principles! They have no sympathy with splitters. They shall remain where all true Socialists shall remain, with the Socialist Party of Local New York."

Local Olean County looks forward to its future activities in the new home with the conviction that steadily increasing success can be expected. It extends an invitation to all out-of-town comrades who may be in Olean to visit the new headquarters where they will be gladly received.

and Socialist principles! They have no sympathy with splitters. They shall remain where all true Socialists shall remain, with the Socialist Party of Local New York."

Local Olean County looks forward to its future activities in the new home with the conviction that steadily increasing success can be expected. It extends an invitation to all out-of-town comrades who may be in Olean to visit the new headquarters where they will be gladly received.

and Socialist principles! They have no sympathy with splitters. They shall remain where all true Socialists shall remain, with the Socialist Party of Local New York."

Local Olean County looks forward to its future activities in the new home with the conviction that steadily increasing success can be expected. It extends an invitation to all out-of-town comrades who may be in Olean to visit the new headquarters where they will be gladly received.

and Socialist principles! They have no sympathy with splitters. They shall remain where all true Socialists shall remain, with the Socialist Party of Local New York."

Local Olean County looks forward to its future activities in the new home with the conviction that steadily increasing success can be expected. It extends an invitation to all out-of-town comrades who may be in Olean to visit the new headquarters where they will be gladly received.

and Socialist principles! They have no sympathy with splitters. They shall remain where all true Socialists shall remain, with the Socialist Party of Local New York."

Local Olean County looks forward to its future activities in the new home with the conviction that steadily increasing success can be expected. It extends an invitation to all out-of-town comrades who may be in Olean to visit the new headquarters where they will be gladly received.

and Socialist principles! They have no sympathy with splitters. They shall remain where all true Socialists shall remain, with the Socialist Party of Local New York."

Local Olean County looks forward to its future activities in the new home with the conviction that steadily increasing success can be expected. It extends an invitation to all out-of-town comrades who may be in Olean to visit the new headquarters where they will be gladly received.

and Socialist principles! They have no sympathy with splitters. They shall remain where all true Socialists shall remain, with the Socialist Party of Local New York."

Local Olean County looks forward to its future activities in the new home with the conviction that steadily increasing success can be expected. It extends an invitation to all out-of-town comrades who may be in Olean to visit the new headquarters where they will be gladly received.

and Socialist principles! They have no sympathy with splitters. They shall remain where all true Socialists shall remain, with the Socialist Party of Local New York."

Local Olean County looks forward to its future activities in the new home with the conviction that steadily increasing success can be expected. It extends an invitation to all out-of-town comrades who may be in Olean to visit the new headquarters where they will be gladly received.

and Socialist principles! They have no sympathy with splitters. They shall remain where all true Socialists shall remain, with the Socialist Party of Local New York."

Local Olean County looks forward to its future activities in the new home with the conviction that steadily increasing success can be expected. It extends an invitation to all out-of-town comrades who may be in Olean to visit the new headquarters where they will be gladly received.

and Socialist principles! They have no sympathy with splitters. They shall remain where all true Socialists shall remain, with the Socialist Party of Local New York."

Local Olean County looks forward to its future activities in the new home with the conviction that steadily increasing success can be expected. It extends an invitation to all out-of-town comrades who may be in Olean to visit the new headquarters where they will be gladly received.

and Socialist principles! They have no sympathy with splitters. They shall remain where all true Socialists shall remain, with the Socialist Party of Local New York."

NOTED EDUCATORS AND ARTISTS AT AIR UNIVERSITY OPENING

The fourth inaugural program of the University of the Air promises to be the most brilliant celebration arranged by Station WEVD since it first introduced this educational series three years ago.

The complete program announced by Morris S. Nevik, Director of Programs, for Friday, December 13th, at 8:30, broadcast direct from the stage of the new City College auditorium, 23rd St. and Lexington Ave., follows:

Panel discussion: "The Race Between Education and Anarchy." Speakers: Hendrik Willem van Loon, Prof. John Dewey, Dean Nod H. Dearborn of New York University, Dr. Frank Kingdon, President of Dana College, Dean Tristram Walker Metcalfe of Long Island University, Mark Eisner,

Chairman of the New York Board of Education, Paul U. Kellogg, Editor of Survey Graphic, Oswald Garrison Villard, Contributing Editor of the Nation, H. V. Kaltenborn, radio commentator, and Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild of New York University.

Jan Pearce, tenor, the Siberian Singers, the Philharmonic String-Clar Ensemble, Grace Castagnetta, concert pianist, and Yoichi Hiroaka, xylophone soloist playing a Mozart quintet specially arranged for the xylophone, with the Philharmonic String-Clar Ensemble.

Michael Strange, actress-poet, will read her poetry.

The curriculum of the fourth year of the WEVD University of the Air will be announced during the broadcast.

and Socialist principles! They have no sympathy with splitters. They shall remain where all true Socialists shall remain, with the Socialist Party of Local New York."

Local Olean County looks forward to its future activities in the new home with the conviction that steadily increasing success can be expected. It extends an invitation to all out-of-town comrades who may be in Olean to visit the new headquarters where they will be gladly received.

and Socialist principles! They have no sympathy with splitters. They shall remain where all true Socialists shall remain, with the Socialist Party of Local New York."

Local Olean County looks forward to its future activities in the new home with the conviction that steadily increasing success can be expected. It extends an invitation to all out-of-town comrades who may be in Olean to visit the new headquarters where they will be gladly received.

and Socialist principles! They have no sympathy with splitters. They shall remain where all true Socialists shall remain, with the Socialist Party of Local New York."

Local Olean County looks forward to its future activities in the new home with the conviction that steadily increasing success can be expected. It extends an invitation to all out-of-town comrades who may be in Olean to visit the new headquarters where they will be gladly received.

and Socialist principles! They have no sympathy with splitters. They shall remain where all true Socialists shall remain, with the Socialist Party of Local New York."

Local Olean County looks forward to its future activities in the new home with the conviction that steadily increasing success can be expected. It extends an invitation to all out-of-town comrades who may be in Olean to visit the new headquarters where they will be gladly received.

and Socialist principles! They have no sympathy with splitters. They shall remain where all true Socialists shall remain, with the Socialist Party of Local New York."

Local Olean County looks forward to its future activities in the new home with the conviction that steadily increasing success can be expected. It extends an invitation to all out-of-town comrades who may be in Olean to visit the new headquarters where they will be gladly received.

and Socialist principles! They have no sympathy with splitters. They shall remain where all true Socialists shall remain, with the Socialist Party of Local New York."

Local Olean County looks forward to its future activities in the new home with the conviction that steadily increasing success can be expected. It

NEW LEADER

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

JAMES ONEAL, Editor

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

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of the States of New York—Maryland—Pennsylvania and Endorsed by Massachusetts and California

Vol. XVIII No. 50

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1935

SAVAGERY IN TAMPA

THE outrage committed against six workers in Tampa, three of them prominent Socialists, is arousing blazing indignation not only in the country at large but in Tampa itself. The murder of one Socialist and the brutal beating of two others, together with the lawless arrest of three other comrades was fittingly denounced by the central labor body of that city. When the organized workers raise their voices in protest against this sort of brutality and compel the newspapers to join them in their protest against the action of the "best" elements in their city we are getting somewhere. For the battle for freedom must start with the organized workers.

The murder of Shoemaker will not be forgotten.

THE OLYMPICS

IT is good that the movement to withdraw the Olympic Games from Berlin is gathering headway despite last week's setback. It is particularly important that the movement has won the outspoken support of men and women who cannot be suspected of taking that position for personal or racial reasons. When college and university presidents, governors and senators, writers and leaders of amateur sports join radicals and the labor movement in condemnation of the Nazi regime, that condemnation will be felt where it will do the most good—in Berlin.

It is no secret that the Nazi regime is counting heavily upon the Olympics. Hundreds of thousands of people usually attend the games, and spend money lavishly, and the cash that it is hoped will come to Germany will be useful to bolster up a tottering economic structure. Further, the Olympics will be used for ambitious Nazi propaganda; one thing the Nazis can do well is to put on a good show, and they expect to send home masses of people who will remark upon the marching and band-playing and flag-waving, and who are expected to spread the fiction that all is well in the "new" Germany.

If the games are taken away from Germany and placed in—for example—Czechoslovakia, a terrible blow will be struck at Germany's pride, as well as to Nazi finances. It will be impossible to explain to the duped people why the nations of the world shrank from coming on a friendly mission to Germany. It will be impossible to stop the rising tide of discontent that will follow such a move, a tide that might easily be decisive in the overthrow of the accursed regime.

Nazi Germany does not deserve the Olympics, as she does not deserve to be considered among the civilized nations of the world.

While international competitive sports are by no means the most important thing before the world today, it is highly important that Socialists, together with organized labor and all other decent people, throw their weight back of the movement to move the Olympics from Berlin. Germany must be reclaimed for the German people, and that will be long step in that direction.

NOBEL PRIZES FOR WAR

AT this distance it seems a little funny—if somewhat gruesome—to see the gallant Italian children leap to the defense of the fatherland by turning in their velocipedes and kiddie-kars to be converted into scrap iron. It is even funnier to read about the conversion of wedding rings and Pirandello's Nobel Prize medal to war purposes.

It is always funny when other people go to war. There was, for example, the narrowly-averted war between Peru and Colombia a few years ago over a trading post in the Amazonian jungles named Leticia; the Colombians also turned in their wedding rings, and the Colombian Congress actually voted funds to erect a chaste marble tomb to the Unknown Soldier who was to die in a war that hadn't started yet. Unfortunately for the hero who was going to die so nobly (possibly of snake-bite) to be enshrined forever in the hearts of his grateful countrymen, the war just didn't come off. At this writing we have not yet learned what happened to the appropriation for the tomb.

There was a time when Chile had a row with Peru, and street car strikers in Lima and Callao were denounced by the Chamber of Commerce as "pro-Chilean agitators."

These incidents can be duplicated almost indefinitely, and each will be a little funnier than the one before. That is, for everybody except the patriots involved. Now, if we were Nicaraguans and we were engaged in hatching out a war with Costa Rica, we would not find it funny if we were told that all Costa Ricans were children of the devil, that Costa Ricans cut off babies' hands and women's breasts, and that they had no culture.

And we, in our enlightened nation, can recall when sauerkraut became liberty cabbage, and Hamburg Avenue became Wilson Avenue, and 'Gene Debs was sent to jail.

Wars are made by minorities in the interest of minorities. But majorities must fight the wars. And so the minorities find ways of making the majorities do what they want. They do it because they control. And they control, in the long run, because the majority permits them to . . .

Resurrection



The "new" spirit in Hitleria that the visitors to the Berlin Olympics will support with their money—but will not be allowed to see. (See Gerhart Seger's article on Page 4 of this issue.)

Riding at Anchor

By Mr. Modestus

THERE is a banquet spread—
In widening lines the tables reach—
Toward a common center where the choicest viands move—
Beauty and plenty are always there where the elect are sitting—
But on the far-stretched outer rim the stream of food is thinner—
On to the moving tables those moving there lift the supplies—
Up from the ground they heave and thrust and pass the goods—
From the raw stuff they take slight toll for their own sustenance—
Fashioning and finishing each part as it moves inward—
Over the shifting, turning tables moves the current—
Passing from hand to hand and from one process to another—
Until the choicest, sweetest, tenderest, most beautiful morsels—
Reach the idle hands of those who lounge about the center boards.

BARREN spots and idle hands appear also on the outer ranges—
Where nothing's worthy of the central banquet starts—
Unless there is a choice morsel to be left and passed along—
There is no active stream of movement of the goods or hands—
In these spots hungry looks and starving bodies may be seen—
And struggling fists and feet and turmoil of calling voices—
For only when they labor can they eat or wear a garment—
Only the busy ones have chance to take a toll from things they handle—
And if they faint—or fall—or fail to keep their place—
Under the moving tables and the trampling feet they disappear—
Their scanty bodies furnish juice to lubricate the snarl—
Their fading voices lost amid the jar and grinding of the swarm.

SOMETIMES the inner boards are piled too high—
The incoming tides of selected viands rear up in waves—
The moving tables clog, and jolt, and jar, and stop—
The ready, busy hands prevented from their toil—
Checking the current of inflowing goods—
Poising the plenty—holding back the flow—
Stopping all the line of those who must labor if they live—
Sequestering food which they can eat only if it moves along—
Amid the piling bounty of the current which they shoved ahead—
Their hands go empty—mouths are hungry—children reach for crusts—
Women shrink and go naked—while men curse their own impotence—
Amid the turning tables and the upreared wealth of products of their hands.

THIS is the "Profit System!"
Levers controlling all the streams of power which turn the wheels—
Wires carrying energy to move the steam in all the channels—
Decision and choice governing all movements of the banquet—
These are up yonder at the central board.
No gain in orderly supply by replacing those who sit up there—
Nothing better can come from turning the mob around—
There is no "plan" to be engineered or enlarged—
This is the Table of Dives—grown monstrous and immense—
Only, that morsels are now thrown up into Community Chests—
By those who sit at the fortunate places in the center—
From which tidbits are scattered among the throng—
To the hungriest ones of those still able to stand.

HIGH over the throng swell the organ-tones of the chant—
"Have Faith in the Natural Powers of Business!"—
"Have Faith in the Confidence of Finance!"—
"Have Faith in the Profit System!"—
But the bass-tones of that music are the murmuring call for bread.

The New Leader Book Corner

Labor Relations Under NRA

By James Oneal

LABOR RELATIONS BOARDS.
By Lewis Lorwin and Arthur Wubnick. Washington, D.C. The Brookings Institution, \$3.

SEVENTY years ago Frederick Engels published a book in which he considered the ponderous writings of Dr. E. Dühring, an academic upstart who announced his conversion to Socialism and proceeded to recast the Socialist theory and program in Germany. Immature party members were impressed by the erudition of this gentleman and Engels in his reply gave the Socialist movement one of its great classics in Socialist literature. Dühring represented a kind of thinker of whom Engels wrote:

"For him a thing either exists or it does not exist; a thing cannot at the same time be itself and something else. Positive and negative absolutely exclude one another; cause and effect stand in a rigid antithesis one to the other." We have seen this kind of

thinking in the Socialist Party regarding the NRA. The "revolutionary" considered it merely in terms of "either this or that." One "militant" statement declared that it was the "framework of fascism," as though a fascist movement had to first have a governing "framework" before it could be successful. Norman Thomas in The New Leader for August 19, 1933, wrote that the enactment of the N.I.R.A. "is a tribute to the capacity of the American people under effective leadership to act vigorously without too much regard for precedent on the basis of their hopes rather than their fears. Still more it is a tribute to the vigorous and astute leadership of the President and his administration."

Muddled Thinking

These are examples of the kind of thinking which Engels showed is outside the range of Socialist philosophy and as an example of how absurd this thinking is we recommend a study of the book

before us. It is an exhaustive study of the labor boards set up under the NRA, their functioning, powers, decisions and results. It is documented with hundreds of citations from authoritative records and its interpretations are as objective as it is humanly possible to make them. We may add that one who desires to write a history of the labor movement which would include the period which this study covers will find the book indispensable.

The NRA labor boards were neither good nor bad. They are a mixture of both. Incidentally, the writer recently talked with a Socialist and labor man who served on a compliance board who declared that of 290 complaints made by unions to the board, the decision in every case but one was given to the workers and hundreds of thousands of dollars of withheld wages were paid to these workers. There are decisions recorded in this volume equally favorable to labor organizations, including orders to disestablish company unions and disqualifying them from participation in collective bargaining, reversing breaches of collective bargaining and rejecting a policy of individual contracts between a corpora-

tion and a worker.

"Can Such Things Be?"

By Adrien Gambet

Lawless Judges

IF fitting attention is not paid to Supreme Court Justices Salvatore Cotillo, Ferdinand Pecora and General Sessions Justice John Freschi of New York in Comrades Louis P. Goldberg's and Eleanor Levenson's "Lawless Judges," just being published by the Rand School, the omission should be rectified in the second edition. For these three bulwarks of Americanism have recently been indulging in capers which are a most effective answer to those who are today so busy demanding "loyalty" oaths of all and sundry.

Every judge, on mounting the bench, takes such an oath, but it remained for the three gentlemen I have named to show how lightly it can be taken. Generoso Pope, publisher of New York's fascist *Il Progresso Italo-Americano* and Tammany's errand-boy to the Italian-speaking voters, recently gathered together a meeting of local fascists under the leadership of Mussolini's consul-general Vicchiotti and attended by these three judges. The meeting promptly arranged a fascist rally in Madison Square Garden for this evening.

The Blessings of Fascist "Civilization"

The purpose of the rally is set forth with charming frankness in the columns of *Il Progresso*. It is to demonstrate that "each and every Italo-American is ready to give all within his power to help Italy fight the brutal International Coalition led by England with the utmost resistance and give a chance to the Italian soldiers who are now in Africa to write another epic page of glory in the history of civilization." The rally is also to be a "warning to those who want to deny Italy her holy and sacred right to live. It must also serve to show that the five million Italian-Americans who live in the United States are ready to sacrifice themselves on the altar of their great Motherland and will respond as the Consul-General has said with a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye."

I shall pass without comment the obvious proof of the glory of fascist civilization contained in the "tooth for a tooth" statement. I am sorry though that this paper, facetiously termed as 'progressive,' does not tell what Italian army commission our judges are to receive as recruiting officers. The fact that thousands of citizens would strenuously object to paying the recruiting officers of a foreign government is a comparatively unimportant point. Something more important is the fact that three men who have taken a solemn oath to uphold the American government and the democracy which is its basis, are busy lending their support and the prestige of their judicial positions to propaganda for a government which is in every respect the antithesis of democracy and for a war which has been condemned by all the civilized nations of the world.

Steel and Auto

The steel and automobile boards were the worst from the standpoint of labor's interests but there have been powerful unions in these mass-production industries there is reason for believing that the record of these boards would have been better for the workers. The record of the two national boards was better until they were hamstrung by interpretations by General Johnson and Donald Richberg and by executive orders of President Roosevelt. These two administrators and the President blew hot and cold, wavered and retreated, as the class struggle between workers and employers developed over the interpretation and enforcement of the codes.

Back of the enactment of the NEA was the acute crisis of capitalism when Roosevelt became President. Big capitalists and bankers were in disrepute and in his Inaugural Roosevelt subjected them to a stinging rebuke. Many trade unions had been fearfully weakened and with the banks closed it appeared that the industrial system was ruined. The ruling classes, humble and submissive in the face of their stark failure, welcomed any program that promised to drag their wretched regime out of the mire.

Section Section-A

To accomplish this it was necessary to establish wage minimums to avoid slow starvation of many workers and create purchasing power to remove surplus goods from glutted markets. Section 7A awakened the trade unions and millions of unorganized workers, the more alert of the unions taking up the job organization and presenting their demands in the making of codes. With trade union organization under way, the ruling magnates of industry began to take the offensive against labor organization. As they regained courage they became insolent and defiant while the trade

The cheapest shyster chasing balances, keeping gangsters or jail or getting an injunction against a labor union could stop no lower.

What Price Justice Now?

But even this is not the worst phase of the matter. These men have sworn to uphold democracy—they are engaged in supporting dictatorship. What kind of justice can be expected of them in the courts where these two principles are constantly in conflict? Which system will they there uphold? When a case involving the right of the workers comes before them, will it be decided from the viewpoint of a Mussolini or from the viewpoint of a Hillquit?

No answer is necessary. It is obvious that by their violation of their oaths and by their support of a dictatorship which is in direct conflict with the philosophy of democracy, Justices Cotillo, Pecora and Freschi have forfeited their right to preside in any American court of law. They should be removed and they should be removed promptly.

When they urge American citizens to fight for a foreign power they have forfeited their right to be considered American citizens and by their meddling in this fashion they have even violated the neutrality of the President. Justice in New York has always been the football of politics and too large a part of those who are elevated to the bench should probably never have been admitted to bar.

In a state where its occupants have never hesitated to drag the bench into the gutter to use as a stump, Cotillo, Pecora and Freschi have subjected it to a degradation which the voters should not tolerate. You pay their salaries—what are you going to do about it?

The High Cost of Dying

A NEW YORK newspaper has just revealed that the city sales tax is applicable to undertakers' bills. This is probably a thoughtful consideration, and a subtle one, on the part of our kindly Mayor who loves his people. Life in New York has been hard the last few years and some have found it so unattractive as to remove themselves from it. Others, out of work and waiting for relief, had trained themselves to eat less and less each day. But just when they had got to the point where they could live on nothing at all, they perished. The Little Flower of the City Hall, with his hand on the city pulse, was aware of all this. So the city sales tax was slapped on the undertaker's commodities. Now you can't afford to die unless you are rich enough so you won't want to. Wonderful Fiorella, always thinking of his people!

Schwartz on WEVD For The New Leader

Alexander Schwartz, well-known lecturer and educator, will be the speaker on The New Leader hour of Station WEVD next Tuesday evening, Dec. 17, at 10 P. M. Schwartz's subject will be "The Bread You Eat."

unions fought to retain their gains and to win more.

Tossed between the claims of the working class and those of the employing class, the NRA became snarled in a maze of conflicting administrative orders, decisions, interpretations, procedures and court actions until the U. S. Supreme Court declared the act unconstitutional.

The whole period of the NRA verifies Loria's theory in his "Economic Foundations of Society" that there are times when the governing agents of capitalism must restrain the greed of various sections of the ruling class and even help the workers to more comfortable standards in order to save the regime from disintegration and chaos. In such periods labor is benefited. The average big capitalist knows little of the basic economic laws of society, however, much he may indulge in the lingo of economics, and for this reason he has to be restrained for his own good and the good of his class. In such instances the workers are helped.

This was the case of the whole NRA period. The governing agents are, as a rule, far from being competent for such a job but they see the whole woods, not one or two trees, and for this reason understand the necessity of curbing the blind greed of rash exploiters. Too often lacking basic knowledge of capitalist economics, the governing politicians administering a crisis act like the NRA, become bold and timid by turns as one class and then the other, make their claims for recognition and support. The net result is muddling through to achievements both good and bad, welcome and unwelcome, yet confronting the pseudo-thinking of an absolute "yes" or an absolute "nay."

In publishing this volume the Institution has performed a real service to the understanding of a contemporary period of economic and political history.

THE NEW LEADER MAGAZINE SECTION

Vol. XVIII—No. 50

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1935

Page Nine

Section Two

After the Breathing Spell—What?

By Irving B. Altman
Editor, The People's Money

THE growing solidarity in the ranks of capitalistic organization is evidenced by the almost unanimous opposition of business interests and of the press to the present Administration. From more than one viewpoint this must be regarded as an amazing spectacle. All economic statistics establish the fact that business has benefited considerably from past and present Administration policies.

The average man is still "the forgotten man." All financial measures have been directed toward salvaging the broken-down economic structure. The figures show that the individuals in the upper income brackets have been the principal beneficiaries of the huge government outlays; these large sums have also reached the somewhat depleted coffers of the big business organizations so that they are now overflowing. But the sieve through which some of the money is supposed to trickle down to the masses seems to be clogged; the masses are still suffering privation, destitution and hunger. Unemployment continues; relief must be accorded to millions of families on the dole.

Now comes the National Association of Manufacturers with a powerful indictment against the Roosevelt Administration for failing to bring about prompt and full recovery. Here is what the N.A.M. has to say about Roosevelt and his policies:

The N.A.M. Complains

"Almost ten million remain unemployed in America and twenty millions continue on relief. This situation exists despite an enormous potential demand for certain essential goods and services. Direct relief, although necessary, is no cure for this unemployment and the public works relief program is a demonstrated failure. The only solution for unemployment is re-employment through the revival of private enterprise...."

"Government efforts to promote recovery have, in fact, retarded recovery and brought government spending far above income. The national government debt, which must be paid by the present and the future generations, has increased to over thirty billion dollars and is still growing at an alarming rate...."

This statement lets the cat out of the bag. Up to the present time the poor have been supporting the poor. But in adopting a series of measures labeled the "New Deal Program" the Roosevelt Administration has institutionalized poverty. This it has found necessary to do as the alternative to utter collapse of the capitalist economy. To do this the government has piled upon enormous debt which under present economic organization operates on the basis of

The National Association of Manufacturers Wants to Go Back to Rugged Individualism with an Outworn Program for a Decrepit System—Disaster if System Is Adopted

private profit can only be met in two ways:

1. Taxation.
2. Inflation.

No Inflation Here

The government will not adopt a deliberate policy of currency inflation, such as was done in France and Germany shortly after the war to rid themselves of the overburdening internal debts. The creditor classes in the United States are too powerful to allow this to happen here. However, these same elements would not interfere with a "credit inflation" similar to that of 1925-29. This would give the commodity and securities speculators a chance to lift prices, thereby creating artificially a higher price level. This in turn produces a greater dollar income for the nation, making it possible to increase the federal tax revenues. This according to the conservative economists is good, sound economics.

The National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce, bankers and business

men in general resent the fact that the government having rescued their institutions continues to spend large sums on relief and on "works projects," some of which enter into competition with private enterprise. Furthermore they strenuously oppose regulation, particularly such measures as the Public Utility Act to eliminate the glaring abuses in the utility field. In the eyes of the capitalists, Roosevelt has overstepped the bounds of propriety one expects from a president elected to preserve property rights.

The N.A.M. sees in the 30 billion dollar debt the menace of higher taxes. They are insisting that these taxes stifle business initiative and enterprise and that the burden should be shifted to those in the lower income brackets. Their slogan is "Soak the Poor!"

"Under the American system," the Association goes on to say, "government has no valid sanction to use its taxing power to penalize thrift and success; to impose unnecessary burdens upon the people

by unwarranted expansion of governmental activities; to destroy the rights of citizens in the ownership of private property by engaging in competition with them."

Here is the program offered by the N.A.M. for economic recovery and permanent prosperity:

1. Expenditures [should be] confined solely to the proper and necessary functions and purposes of government. This is necessary to prevent destructive taxation, or what is worse, uncontrolled credit or currency inflation.
2. A currency maintained upon a dollar of fixed gold content.
3. Limitation of the use of government's supervisory powers over banking and credit solely to the purpose of maintaining the safety of bank deposits and a sound credit structure, thus furthering our national welfare.

If we would throw intellectual integrity to the winds—or accept the Communist position of direct action—I would say, let's give three cheers for the N.A.M. program; in fact let's urge its adop-

tion. I defy anyone to produce a better program for the destruction of capitalism than the one offered by this powerful business organization. (Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad.)

Balancing the Budget

First of all, the program obviously calls for "balancing" the budget. This means throwing all parsons off relief. Next it would abandon the federally sponsored "works" measures, thus swelling the army of the unemployed by three or four millions. If the government carried out this program to its ultimate conclusion it would withdraw all financial support from the banks, the insurance companies, the mortgage companies, the railroads, etc., and most of all the government would stop "rigging" the government bond market, thus at once making 90% of our banks insolvent. Given this situation we can fully appreciate the strength and value of bank-deposit insurance. Obviously insurance cannot protect depositors against losses; at best it can only help spread the losses.

The proposal calling for the return to some gold basis for our currency truly reveals the muddle-headedness of our "best thinkers." The gold standard has never been a satisfactory monetary system—in fact it has never worked here or elsewhere. The truth of the matter is that no country has ever had a true gold standard in which all the debt mediums, currency and bank money could be converted into gold. The gold standard is a "thieves' standard" demanded by reason of the fact that all capitalist nations distrust each other.

A Thieves' Standard

The test of the soundness and workability of any monetary system depends on how it functions under abnormal conditions. Imagine having a fire department which always broke down during a fire! The gold standard has always broken down when put to the test. The fact is that the gold standard is more of a "racket" than a monetary system. For a gold standard creates an artificial scarcity of money and makes it possible for the bankers to get their rake-off.

Plank three constitutes a restatement of the laissez-faire position demanding a free market, lack of price control, freedom of monopolistic corporate practices, little or no regulation by public authorities, and most of all speculation! Any attempt to modify or alter the habitual practices of the economic order meets with the vigorous opposition of its beneficiaries and others influenced by prevailing conceptions of law, politics, industry, and other forms of social organization.

And finally, as we finish reading the statement of the N.A.M. we come to this gem:

"This American system has not failed. It has not collapsed. It did not break down in depression because of weaknesses or evils in the system."

Yes, dear reader, the terrible nightmare of the past six years has just been the result of allowing your imagination to run away with you!

Thomas More and Nicolai Lenin; Two Kinds of Communism

By KARL KAUTSKY

JULY 8, 1935, marked the four hundredth anniversary of the death of the great utopian Socialist, Thomas More, who died a martyr to Catholicism. His king, Henry VIII, caused him to be beheaded because he would not recognize him as head of the Church in place of the Pope. For this reason More was elevated to sainthood on May 19 of this year, after having been pronounced blessed in 1886.

Immediately after his death he began to receive much attention from Catholic historians and became the subject of many biographies, beginning with 1557 to our own day. Nearly all these biographies have been written by theologians. So far as I know, there is only one biography of More written by a Socialist; the one of which I am the author: "Thomas More and His Utopia," which appeared in 1887 (sixth printing 1926). And yet More's significance as a Socialist is much greater than as a Catholic martyr. This could not become apparent, however, until the development of modern Socialist thought, i.e., not before the 19th Century. His significance as a martyr, on the other hand, was recognized immediately after his death, and it will continue to be emphasized as long as the Catholic Church retains any large degree of influence.

Moreover, men of action have always attracted greater and wider

attention than men of theory, heroes of the pen. For a long time More, as the author of "Utopia," aroused less interest than did his courageous repudiation of the British tyrant's usurpation.

A Notable Career

Born in 1478, More made his influence and activity felt at the time of the English Reformation, the mainsprings of which came not from the people but from a king aspiring to absolute power. Because More enjoyed high standing as a jurist among the merchants of London, the king sought to win him to his side. Henry VIII impressed him into his service and elevated him to the post of Lord Chancellor (1529). It was at this time that the king came into conflict with the Pope with the determination to supersede him as head of the Church in England. More's opposition to the king's ambition cost him his life.

His defense of the Catholic Church was political rather than theological. He fought against the despotism of princes which was asserting itself at that time in England. He fought against its efforts to gain domination over the hierarchy of the Church and its possessions and to make them serve its purposes. More desired to limit the power of the king, but found no class in the England of his time to support his cause.

For this reason he sought refuge in a doctrinaire illusion, which he shared with many humanists. The princes were to be governed by the Pope who, in turn, was to be subject to the authority of the

Council, guided by the principles of humanism. This doctrine was certainly inconsistent with the absolutism to which Henry VIII aspired, nor was it in harmony with the absolutism which the Popes had set as their objective and to which they had attained in Catholic countries at the very period of the Reformation. They succeeded in making themselves superior to the Church parliament or assembly. In the eyes of his king More was a traitor, and so far as the Pope was concerned he was fundamentally a heretic. From the immediate, practical point of view, however, More's position favored the Pope against the king.

To Strengthen Despotism

The English Reformation was a movement aiming at the strengthening of despotism. This was not its only feature, however, which repelled More. In place of the international Church it sought to establish a limited national church. As a humanist More stood in close contact with the greatest thinkers of the Christian world, and his own thinking was essentially internationalist.

Added to this was the fact that Henry VIII had confiscated the property of the Church not for purposes of the general welfare but to distribute it among his own servile and characterless courtiers. Moreover, Henry VIII was impelled to his Reformation by his many marriages, to which the Pope did not show himself as tolerant as the king demanded. On this point I wrote in my book on More:

(Continued on Page Ten)

St. Thomas More and Nicolai Lenin

(Continued from Page 9)

"Nowhere did the Church conflict appear so openly, so shamelessly the expression of the lust, megalomania and greed of absolutism as in England. Dogma and ritual remained unaltered, the only change being the substitution of the king for the Pope. It was obvious that More could not reconcile himself to this kind of Reformation."

By this we do not mean to say that More was a fanatical champion of all Catholic dogma. On the contrary, his point of view was that of an independent, courageous thinker. We have already pointed out that he regarded the Council as superior to the Pope. In 1532 he had already declared that the Council should be invested with the power of admonishing and punishing the Pope and of removing him from office in the event of failure to mend his conduct.

More's satire did not halt at Bishops and Popes, at the confessional or absolutism.

Particularly noteworthy in this connection is what the "Utopia" has to say on marriage and religion. More approved not only of divorce but also of the remarriage of the divorced.

Marriage and Divorce

"Their priests married the women of the land most distinguished for their qualities; the women themselves were not excluded from the priesthood, although they were seldom elected to it."

In More's ideal state the priests were elected by the people through secret ballot. There was complete religious liberty, and nothing was taught in the schools objectionable to the beliefs of anyone.

How well it would be if the ideals of this saint now so highly esteemed by the Catholic Church were to be applied in all those countries where the Church wields a decisive influence!

The canonization ritual requires a test of the eligibility of the candidate for sainthood, during which an "advocatus diaboli," the devil's advocate, is given an opportunity to offer any objections he may deem valid against canonization. In More's case there was plenty of evidence the "devil's advocate" might have cited, including More's beliefs on marriage and divorce, as expressed in the "Utopia." What could any one have said to parry the indictment? Obviously, the only defense could have been that the "Utopia" was a work of mere "fantasy," "an intoxicated hour's fantastic play of ideas," as Professor Alfred Stern put it. ("The Socialists of the Period of the Reformation," 1883.)

Nothing could be more erroneous than this assumption. More's "Utopia" was the product of careful study and profound understanding of the economic conditions of his time, the era of primitive capital accumulation. In the introduction of his "Utopia" More describes and criticizes very aptly the characteristics of this period in England. It was the period that marked the rapid development of the wool industry in England and in the Netherlands, accompanied by a rise in wool prices. Many powerful landowners saw fit, therefore, to drive the peasants from their estates in order to utilize the ground for sheep cultivation. With biting sarcasm More says on this point in his "Utopia":

More as a Realist

"The English sheep, who had been soft and contented, became transformed into such greedy, rapacious beasts that they devoured even human beings and depopulated whole fields, households and communities."

This development gave rise to

a rapid increase in the number of beggars and criminals, a rise in the cost of living and the aggravation of general living conditions for the toiling population. Vain were the efforts to cope with the situation by means of barbarian justice. On this point, too, More satirizes:

"What do you do but first cultivate thieves in order that you might later hang them?"

On the basis of his economic knowledge he comes to the conclusion that communal ownership of property is the only solution of social evils. Against the argument that he would render private property practically impossible, he gives a description of a Communist community which made his "Utopia" so famous.

Although More supports himself upon Plato to justify his Communism, Plato's Communism was of quite different type. Plato demanded Communism only for the military nobility, which was to rule his ideal state. Private property was to remain in force for the working people, peasants and artisans. The military nobility itself was to produce nothing.

The organization of More's state is quite different. All members of the community are obliged to work and all enjoy the benefits of communal property ownership, particularly of the means of production. All work, according to plan, for the common interest. The working day is limited to six hours. This is quite sufficient, for no one is idle. The women work as well as the men. There are no rich or aristocratic idlers, and no beggars. There are no useless enterprises, no waste of labor through planlessness.

"For this reason the short work day is not only quite sufficient, but more than adequate to produce a

superfluity of goods necessary to the requirements and enjoyment of life."

The economically educated More came to this conviction at a time when the machine did not as yet play any part in industry. Today he would demand a much shorter work day to give employment to everybody.

More's "Utopia" is not an idle phantasy. It is the product of deep and original economic thought on the needs and capacities of his time. The "Utopia" represents the first conception of a Communist state grounded upon economic principles rather than in purely ethical and political conceptions. More regarded it not as a romantic farce but as a serious enterprise. Erasmus of Rotterdam, More's confidential friend, wrote about it:

"More wrote the 'Utopia' to show why the states are in such sorry plight, but he had England particularly in mind, having studied and learned it very thoroughly."

No Fantasy

Other contemporaries likewise took "Utopia" very seriously. The French humanist Brûdau (1467-1540) wrote:

"We are greatly indebted to Thomas More for his 'Utopia,' wherein he gives the world a model of a happy life. Our epoch and our descendants will regard this presentation as a school of excellent thought and useful guidance from which the states will draw their institutions and to which they will appropriately adapt their needs."

But who is it who in the "Utopia" puts its teaching into practice? None other than a sovereign prince. More himself tells us so. He makes possible the erection of a Communist state

through the instrumentality of a prince, named "Utopus," who conquers the country and organizes it in accordance with his own Communist plan.

Theoretically this appeared possible in More's time. The absolutism of princes, which had supplanted the feudal monarchy, and then in its inception, was a revolutionary element in relation to its predecessor. It was still without experience and traditions. One was at liberty to attribute to it much that was good and much that was bad, depending upon one's sources of information. What other road was there open at that time for the attainment of Communism? There was no party, no class to speak for Socialism. The character of the state depended upon the princes. Were any one of them to embrace Communist views he could make possible a Communist state. The chances of his embracing such ideas were very small, to be sure. More himself was skeptical about it. But there appeared to be no other road possible.

In his book on More I wrote: "There was but one element of phantasy in the 'Utopia': not its objective but the means whereby it was to be attained."

The fantastic element in More's "Utopia" was the immaturity of the proletariat of that period. I made this point almost a half century ago (1887), when the period of the immaturity of the proletariat appeared to have been long outgrown for Western Europe. Two decades had passed since Marx had declared upon the founding of the First International that the emancipation of the working class could be accomplished only by the workers themselves, while twenty years before that he had given expression to the same idea

in the Communist Manifesto. And today? The Socialist today possesses a rich literature, the product of the development of scientific Socialism over a period of a century. And yet there are no few Socialists who halt at the realistic element in the Social movement of our day what I emphasized as the obvious fantastic in the "Utopia." There is only one slight difference. I believed that only a sovereign prince could put Communism into effect. He had no great faith in this, to be sure, but he saw no other power capable of realizing it.

No one today believes that a prince would ever introduce Communism, but not a few believe that a dictator could do so—a dictator vested by fortuitous circumstances with power derived from victory in civil war: or through promises to bring about an era of peace, unlimited freedom and general abundance and happiness, to be achieved through dictatorship. And those who believe in dictatorship today have no such doubts as More had concerning his dictator-prince, but are quite confident of the efficacy of their doctrine. A cursory glance at the Soviet Union gives the absolute confidence that the fantastic element in More's "Utopia" constitutes its surest foundation. Lenin is supposed to have achieved what the Catholic saint conceived only as a dream. To be sure, More's Communism was essentially democratic. It was to be founded on complete liberty.

The Modern Utopians

Were dictatorship to prove the road to such Communism, we would have reason to repudiate Marx on this point and to return to the More-Lenin conception; we would have to abandon Marx, who taught that the emancipation of the workers could be accomplished only by the workers themselves, and to return to the view, propounded by More 400 years ago and by the Leninists today, that the emancipation of the workers can be accomplished only by the enlightened Communist despotism of a prince or dictator.

Any such regression in Socialist thought would imply a retreat from the position already achieved in its struggle upward by an educated, organized, disciplined, creative proletariat to a condition of an ignorant, unorganized, miserable and discouraged Lumpen-proletariat, vegetating in silence and hopelessness, and looking for salvation not to itself but to some miracle or Messiah.

Is this really to be the upshot of the long process of social development and the progress of Socialist thought? Between us and More lies the colossal fact of the international labor movement of recent decades. No genius could have foreseen it, but it requires a peculiar intellectual makeup to be blind to it today.

We cannot accept More as our guide to Communism. But he remains unquestionably a great seer who succeeded in discovering the Socialist ideal. His work remains one of the greatest achievements of human thought.

And More impresses us not only as a thinker but also as a noble character. Particularly today, in this period of "coordination" of millions of human individuals, their subjugation under slogans unleashed by stupid and unscrupulous ignoramuses, slogans pictured as the high point of the social ideal of the 20th Century, let us recall with gratitude the fearless enemy of bloody tyranny.

In this sense do we, "materialist" exponents of international Socialism, join in the canonization of Thomas More.

A Letter from Debs to Kautsky

THE following characteristic letter from the late and unforgettable Eugene V. Debs to Karl Kautsky is an interesting contribution to Socialist history, particularly valuable to a younger Socialist element today that is not acquainted with the past history of Socialism.



Karl Kautsky

On November 5th, 1925, the whole Socialist world world celebrated the 70th birthday of Comrade Debs, and among the messages received by the revered hero of the proletarian struggle was a warm congratulatory letter from Karl Kautsky and Luise Kautsky, his wife. Comrade Debs replied to the Kautsky's as follows:

December 4th, 1925.

"Mr. Karl Kautsky, 'Wien, Austria."

"My dear Comrade Kautsky:

"It was well worth while to have a birthday just to receive so fine and cheering and complimentary a message as the one from you and dear Mrs. Kautsky which I now hold in my hands and which fills my heart and dims my eyes. Each kind, comradely word you have written touches me, and coming from no other source could such a generous expression of greeting and congratulations give me greater satisfaction."

"It was from you, dear comrade, that I learned some of my earliest and most precious lessons in Socialism, and I have always felt myself in debt; gratefully and with a deep sense of appreciation, to your gifted pen for having opened my eyes to the light which guided me into the Socialist movement. I was in jail, one of the innumerable victims of capitalism, sitting in darkness as it were, when your pamphlets first came into my hands and your influence first made itself felt in my life, and I have since wondered often how anyone, however feeble and benighted mentally, could read your crystal-clear Marxian expositions and interpretations without becoming and remaining a Socialist."

"It is a great joy therefore and an honor I esteem beyond words, in which my beloved wife Katherine shares gladly, to receive from Karl and Luise

Kautsky such a flattering testimonial of regard on the occasion of the anniversary of my natal day. I only regret that I am as sadly deficient in my German as you are proficient in your English or I should with pride and pleasure return the compliment of making this acknowledgement in your native tongue."

"It happens that these lines in regard to your flattering recognition of my birthday are written on the one hundred and fifth anniversary of the birth of my revered father who in life, to his latest breath, with my brave and beautiful mother, stood staunch and sane in the service of the Socialist movement."

"I note with special interest what you say about the movement in America and feel confident that you are right in what you say of the situation and the outlook, and that in time your words will prove to have been, as they have so often in the past, prophetic."

"And now thanking you both with a full heart and wishing you length of years and increasing fulfillment of your highest hopes and aspirations, in which Katherine and my brother Theodore and his wife and all of our household join heartily, I am always

"Faithfully your friend and comrade,
"EUGENE V. DEBS."

In his letter Eugene Debs refers to his imprisonment in Woodstock Jail in Illinois in 1895, following the historic Pullman strike which he had led. "I went to prison a trade unionist," he declared later, "and came out a Socialist."

In Woodstock Debs was visited by Keir Hardie, then on a trip to this country—following his refusal of an invitation to dine at the White House with President Cleveland because he would not meet the man who sent troops to crush a strike; and there also Victor L. Berger visited him, bringing him books by Kautsky, a study of which made Debs a Socialist.



Eugene V. Debs

Dutch Socialists Plan New Social Order

Workers Are Making History in Great Campaign for Rebuilding Netherlands on Socialist Basis—Another Important Contribution to the Growing Movement of Combatting Capitalist Disorganization by Practical Socialist Action—A Challenge to American Socialists.

THE "Plan Congress" of the Dutch Labor Movement at Utrecht, Oct. 24-26, was on big lines. The Congress was held in the large Tivoli Hall with more than 1,500 delegates. The building was festively decorated both inside and out. In the street leading from the station to the building in which the Congress was held a propaganda tower covered with bunting was erected. From the belfry echoed the Socialist songs of the dead poet, Dirk Troelstra.

The Congress aroused the greatest interest among the public. The city council of Utrecht welcomed the Congress and took part in it. Seventy men of science and public men, and even employers' organizations and government authorities, had accepted invitations to the Congress.

The Congress had been organized jointly by the Dutch Socialist Democratic Party and the Dutch Trade Union Centre. The Labor and Socialist International was represented by Van Roosbroeck, the International Federation of Trade Unions by Comrade Stolz, its Assistant Secretary.

A Working Congress

A new method of working was employed. On the first day of discussion commissions met, each of which had to work on a separate section of the resolution as a whole. A draft of the resolution was sent to the organizations to part some time earlier, a request for amendments. Amendments were the subject of discussion on the first day of the six "Plan Committees." The resolution as a whole, as amended these discussions, was submitted to the Congress and committed on by six rapporteurs. These were these vital decisions were these vital decisions were these vital decisions.

The Congress held its first session on Saturday, October 26th, under the chairmanship of President Kupers of the Dutch Trade Union Centre, who in his opening speech emphasized the supreme aim of the Plan consisted in the provision of security of existence for broad masses of the Dutch people, security of existence for those who still have a means of livelihood and a new existence for the 400,000 unemployed. As a result of the putting into operation of the Plan 200,000 unemployed would have work and subsistence within three years. It is not a question of abjuring the policy of deflation but of so ordering economic life that first we emerge from chaos, and second we are protected against fresh disorders.

Comrade Van Roosbroeck spoke on behalf of the L.S.I. and Comrade Stolz on behalf of the I.F.T.U., and of the trade union delegations from Belgium, Switzerland and Sweden.

An Engineer Reports

Comrade H. Vos, engineer and director of the Research Bureau, worked out the Plan, defining its main lines. He began by drawing attention to the extent of unemployment. Whereas employment is decreasing in countries it has increased by 10, or over 10%, in Holland the past year; it is relatively twice as great as in Belgium four times as great as in Denmark and Sweden, with 400,000 unemployed to a population of 2.5 million. These figures are convincing proof that a decisive change in the policy pursued is vital. This change in policy must consist in a conscious national policy and this is only possible if society is given, in a

The movement for economic planning along social and Socialist lines as the only practical means of coping with the problems presented by capitalism and the depression is sweeping the advanced industrial countries where Socialism and labor exercise a powerful and growing influence.

The organized workers everywhere realize that mere "revolutionary" slogans and emotionalism are poor instruments for the building of a new social order. In England, Belgium, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland and elsewhere, Socialists and the trade unions have been applying themselves diligently to the task of evolving practical plans for immediate social and economic reconstruction as against the former method of relying upon general slogans and programs. These plans are capturing the minds and imaginations of growing millions.

Among the latest recruits in the movement for

large measure, the right of disposal where the means of production are concerned. The Plan endeavors to find an economic basis for the regulation of the mutual relationships of all groups, and strives for a just valuation of the services of all. This applies for the intellectuals as a group also. The Plan has national limits but all the measures it contains have been so well weighed that they encourage the international division of labor and the organization of economic life upon an international basis. Both free trade and protection are rejected as systems and replaced by a planned exchange.

The second rapporteur, W. Drees, on Crisis Policy and Industrialization, explained that a crisis policy, pursued in accordance with our views could not as though by magic banish all the effects of the crisis. But a purposeful crisis policy is capable of reversing the present direction of economic life and successfully combating unemployment. The policy of deflation claims to be a crisis policy also. Its success, however, is negative, as it does not improve the position with regard to foreign trade and increasingly disorganizes the home market. The supporters of a more modest standard of living for the people overlook the fact that they are supporting thereby an increase in unemployment. Unemployment must be combatted by the provision of work but also by an increase in the general consuming power. Effective demand must be increased by the mobilization for productive purposes of capital that is lying unused.

The Merchant Marine

In addition to public works mention must be made of the renewal of the merchant fleet at the more rapid rate of 100,000 tons per annum, instead of 23,000 tons as during the past four years of the crisis; the renewal of the mechanical equipment of industry which is becoming dangerously out of date. Expenditure upon the public works of the local authorities has decreased from a yearly average of 50 million guilders to from 11 to 14 million. The school-leaving age must be raised for 30,000 young people. The reduction of working hours to 40 per week, with the maintenance of wages at their present level, would provide work for 37,000 people.

These first measures would have to be followed by a second series: The expansion of industry to render imports unnecessary on the one hand, and to satisfy new needs on the other. For this an industrial bank is necessary and 500 million guilders are necessary for the putting into effect of the plan. Its operation would relieve the

budget to the extent of 44 million per annum so that the sum necessary for three years is thus reduced to 470 million. This represents about half the sum raised during the war years for mobilization purposes. The plan is in no way a risky extravagance. The extravagance exists today in that capital and labor power are allowed to lie unused.

Another engineer, Dr. Th. v. O. Waerden, gave a lecture on the Control of the Trade Cycle and Rationalization. According to Dr. Waerden, unemployment is due to 1) defective adaptation as between the various branches of production; 2) the unequal development of the machinery of production; 3) too rapid or too slow rationalization; and 4) the hindering of international trade. Thus unemployment must be combatted by means of planning, control of expansion and rationalization, and a correct commercial policy. In order to prevent, or at least to diminish, the effects of crisis, it is essential that one should be able to control the expansion of the machinery of production and distribution. For the control of credit and the direction of the stream of capital, the plan envisages the socialization of the bank of issue, in whose hands would be placed the supervision of the whole of private banking.

A Board of Research

A board for research into economic cycles and an economic council are envisaged for the exercise of planning powers in the remaining economic sphere. Subordinate to it the economic council would have, in addition to the board for research into economic cycles, an audit department, in order that it may direct the urge to expansion and rationalization along proper paths.

Comrade W. v. d. Sluis gave the report on Agriculture. In a country in which, during 1933, 100,000 brood sows were destroyed, in which, in 1934, 1,700 wagonloads of vegetables found their way to the rubbish heap, and in 1934-1935 over 150,000 cows were slaughtered while with calf, while thousands of families were in dire need, the first cry of the farmer who grasps the situation at all is, "Increase purchasing power!" Herein lies the urgent interest of agriculture in the putting into effect of the Plan. But in agriculture, too, the planning of production is necessary.

The Plan of Action envisages a Marketing Research Board to ascertain the needs of the home market and possibilities of marketing abroad and help agriculture consciously to regulate its production. In addition, the government

economic planning is the labor and Socialist movement of the Netherlands. A detailed program for that country was evolved at a recent "Plan Congress" in Utrecht. The program has become the instrument with which the Dutch workers will fight for power.

We give below an account of the proceedings at the Utrecht congress and the details of the plan of action adopted.

The plan is a challenge to American Socialists. Can we, in this country, mobilize the intellectual, scientific and labor forces to produce a similar plan corresponding to the realities and needs of the United States? And having produced the plan, can we utilize it successfully in the development of a great mass movement of Socialism?

Upon the answer to these questions depends the future of our movement in America.

must set up a selling organization to purchase guaranteed products for which possibilities of sale exist, at worthwhile prices, and pass them on to the consumer. Third, the system of subsidies to agriculture must be reformed from top to bottom in order to prevent them from filling the pockets of the middlemen as they have done in the past. In addition, the Plan makes provision for an Act relating to leasehold property and an Act relating to mortgages which would block up many sources of distress. Nor are the 400,000 agricultural workers now in bad case forgotten. They, too, are to share in the blessings of social legislation.

Transport and Distribution

The Plan deals in detail with Transport and with the Distribution of Goods. Van Brambeek gave the report on this section. As far as transport is concerned, the psychological difficulties have already been overcome as even the Liberals are in favor of planning in this sphere. Transport is to be regarded as a unity. The expansion of the transport system can be controlled by a system of concessions. The task of the transport board which is to be set up, however, is, for the time being, that of restoring the transport system to sensible proportions and adapting it to actual needs. The question of the distribution of goods is a more difficult one but here, too, the psychological obstacles are beginning to disappear, as the organizations of the middle-classes are already demanding measures for the restraint of the planless expansion of the machinery of distribution, which makes competition more severe. In addition to the transport administrative bodies and the transport board, the Plan provides for a distributive council for each branch of industry. In this connection a special place is to be conceded to the cooperative societies.

Kupers, the President of the Dutch Trade Union Centre, reported on "The Place Occupied by the Building Trade under the Plan." Private initiative in the building trade means anarchy. During the years 1908, 1909 and 1920 less than 1,000 houses were built in Amsterdam per annum. During 1925 8,402 houses were built; in 1933 the number was 2,610. In Rotterdam the number of houses built increased from 822 during 1917 to 7,102 during 1927, and then fell to 1,367 during 1932. The same picture is to be found in every part of the country. But the lack of system, too, is horrifying. Of the new houses

middle-class families and too few for working-class families. The credit system and the speculation in property and land further contribute to disorganize building. From 45,000 to 55,000 houses are needed every year. In order to carry on building at this rate the control of building by the local authorities, either singly or in groups, is essential.

Housing Reform Needed

The building of houses must be brought into a certain harmony with the building of factories, schools, hospitals, etc. In addition, a great deal of renovation needs to be done. The Plan makes provision for the setting up of municipal and regional administrative bodies for building and for a national administrative body for this consisting of employers, trade unions and public authorities. In addition, the whole question of rents is to be made subject to the supervision of special bodies.

Kupers also gave the report on the textile industry. The unemployment in this industry is the result of the diminution of purchasing power in the home market, the loss of large export markets and progressive rationalization. The textile industry must be placed under central direction, and the Plan provides for the setting up of a council for the industry in which employers, trade unions and authorities are to co-operate. The textile industry is capable of capturing a good part of the home market. The increase in purchasing power resulting from the application of the other measures in the Plan, and which will probably amount to 150 million, would create new marketing possibilities for the textile industry in the country to the tune of 20 million.

The Political Phase

Lastly, Comrade J. W. Albarda, Leader of the Social Democratic Party in the Second Chamber, reported on the place occupied by the Plan in the political life of Holland. He began by emphasizing the fact that the plan was not a mere imitation of the Belgian Plan but was, nevertheless, the expression of a need which was becoming apparent in all countries for concrete and constructive economic programs. In every country it is being increasingly realized that the tremendous forces aroused by capitalist methods of production must be brought under the authority of society.

We need scarcely appeal to our own movement to fight for the Plan. But we appeal to the workers outside our movement, for whose benefit also the Plan has been called into being. We appeal, too, to other social classes. There are, in the life of a nation, moments when the differences between the classes recede into the background and all forces are pressed into the service of a common cause. Such a cause is the Plan.

In the political struggle the Plan will be one of our chief weapons. It will set the minds of all political parties moving. In some places it will cause splits, in others it will bring about a rapprochement; new political groupings will arise about the Plan. The well prepared propaganda of the Party and of the trade union movement will make sure of this.

"We offer our plan to a free people. May it accept and realize it in complete freedom. We desire to put the Plan into effect by democratic methods. The gain in material welfare, at which the Plan aims, must not be bought at the cost of a loss of spiritual and political freedom, which is the

(Continued on Page Twelve)

After the Battle in England

By Herbert Morrison, M.P.
Leader of the London Co. Council

The following article is a sober and inspiring summary of the results of the parliamentary election in England last month. Written by one of the outstanding leaders of the British Labor Party, who may be called upon in the near future to head a Labor government, the article presents clearly the approach of the British Labor Party to the great task before it, that of organizing the British masses behind a Socialist program.

What Comrade Morrison has to say on this point touches intimately the problems confronting Socialists in America in their task of building a great Socialist movement in this country.

THROUGHOUT the General Election campaign I refused to give the newspapers forecasts of the results. There is no point in it. One's best course is to get on with the job, work hard, and leave the counting to the return-officers.

In any case, this has been one of the most unpredictable elections I have experienced. My meetings were big in all parts of the country. They were keen. But in most cases there was an undercurrent of quietness about them. And quietness may mean anything.

Do not misunderstand. I am not complaining about quietness. There is much to be said for it; it may mean thoughtfulness, and thoughtfulness is good.

Noisy enthusiasm at meetings may be a good sign, but I am never sure about it. I remember that Coventry meeting on Sunday week. Packed. Wild enthusiasm. The same in 1931.

But I had been asked to appeal not only for canvassers, but for literature distributors! In those circumstances the enthusiasm almost frightened me! I told the enthusiasts (regular customers at meetings, I gathered) that they ought not to be seen at another Labor meeting, but should report for service at a Labor committee room. Philip Baker did well at the poll, but not well enough. His defeat is a big loss to us. A good canvass and a good pull-out on polling day would have won victory.

You may win despite no canvassing in a strong area, but not because of no canvassing.

No point in hiding it: Most of us hoped to win more seats—not a majority—but a bigger Labor opposition than will be the case. That was particularly so when we had succeeded in maintaining the essential unity of the Party and found that our people were in good fighting form.

We ought to have done better. Look at the "certainties" we have failed to win! There are too many of them for my liking.

I never put the Labor wins higher than 200 to 240 seats, and I kept that to myself. For a number of reasons, I could not see a majority. Among them these:

1. That we should have to gain about 260 seats for a mere majority; that takes doing unless the pendulum is simply swinging with you—and it wasn't: it was only moving.

2. There were a large number of minority Labor victories in 1929; this time the number of Liberal candidates was smaller, their vote would be weaker, and in the other areas much of what remains of the Liberal vote would abstain or go Tory.

3. It is the fault of nobody in particular, but since 1931 we have

A Critical Commentary on the Recent Parliamentary Election—Victory Within Grasp of the Labor Party—Some Lessons for Socialists in America—Constructive Element in Socialist Propaganda and Action Most Essential.

not yet evolved a clear leadership; those who are "coming up" are not yet sufficiently well-known throughout the country; and the British electorate likes to know the kind of people who are going to govern it, and to trust them. Time will solve this.

4. Our so-called "Left" had left some bloomers on record in "brave" speeches and writings. This country is not going to vote in a hurry for a first class financial crisis.

5. We have not won sufficient Labor voters from the middle classes.

6. Was our appeal wide enough and constructively concrete enough?

I have put a query against this as something to think about, and

General Election, 1929:	
Non-Labor	14,258,868
Labor	8,389,512
Non-Labor maj. 5,869,351	
General Election, 1931:	
Non-Labor	15,006,743
Labor	6,649,630
Non-Labor maj. 8,357,113	
General Election, 1935:	
Non-Labor	13,336,176
Labor	8,314,469
Non-Labor maj. 5,020,707	

Observe! The majority of all-comers against Labor is 3,336,406 less in 1935 than in 1931.

Better still, the majority against Labor is 848,644 less in 1935 than in 1929—our peak year.

See how the non-Labor vote fell as compared with 1931 and 1929.

The Labor vote jumped well above 1931 and nearly to 1929.

[The 1929 vote includes the I.L.P., which is calculated separately in 1935. Adding the 139,517 I.L.P. votes to the Labor total we find a total of 8,458,986, as compared to 8,389,512 in 1929, hitherto Labor peak year, a gain of 69,474.—Ed.]

But have no illusions. The 1929 vote is not enough. We must not get excited with joy about getting back to where we were six years ago; we should have been well ahead of that; a Labor Government with real power needs six or seven million more Labor votes than 1929 gave us.

That altogether apart from the quality of the votes. I want them to be as near as may be practical-minded Socialist votes, rather than mere votes of discontent.

Yes, all of us, whether in or out of Parliament, have got a big job in front of us. But don't let that depress you: in some ways Keir Hardie had a bigger job in front of him—and he stuck it.

Big jobs are inspiring jobs. The more difficulties, the more interesting they are!

It took us 20 years to get a

majority on the London County Council. But when it came it was real. That meant patience, will-power, thought and idealism on the part of London Labor. And twenty years ago the London problem looked much worse than the national one does today.

So keep smiling!

And we must cheerfully pay the price of making political history and a new political orientation.

In 1935, Labor seats in relation to Labor votes compare badly with 1929. Why? Largely because the Liberal Party is dying. Very few of the Labor M.P.'s of the new Parliament will be minority members [that is, elected only by plurality votes in three-cornered

contests]. In 1929 there was an army of them.

Those minority seats were not real Labor seats. Those constituencies were not yet really won for Labor and Socialism. At this elec-

tion the Liberal party was dying, and Toryism gained more from the Liberals' sickness than we did.

But now, for all practical purposes, there are only two parties—Tory and Labor. The country knows it. What we have to do in the next three to five years is to convince the country that we can run the show.

If we succeed, we shall win. If we don't we shan't. And that's all there is to it.

In last Sunday's "Observer," J. L. Garvin saw the red light. After crowing over us, he wrote this:

"There has been a much larger change in the character of the voting than is represented by the Parliamentary effect. When the results throughout Great Britain are carefully scrutinized, it will be seen how urgently required indeed were the final warnings on the Ministerial side against over-confidence, apathy, and abstention from the poll in the belief that there was no real fight in the matter this time, and that the National Government was about to enjoy a tame walk-over."

"Nothing of the kind. A very slight shift in the voting would have reduced the huge Ministerial ranks to half the towering predominance they again."

Nearly all the abnormal parties of 1931 are, of course, reduced. That was inevitable; it is wholesome. But also, more Ministerial seats than are held by very slender margins, which any considerable change in feeling towards the Cabinet in the future would wipe out."

Sound, Mr. Garvin, absolute sound.

LABOR IS ON THE VERGE OF VICTORY. IT IS UP TO US TO WIN THE VICTORY. IT IS WITHIN OUR GRASP. WE SHALL NEED BRAINS, JUDGMENT, WILL-POWER AND PATIENCE. WE CAN EASILY LOSE THE VICTORY IF WE ARE CARELESS IN OUR TASK AND IF WE FAIL TO MAKE SOCIALISM THE CONSTRUCTIVE DOCTRINE THAT WE APPEAL TO THINKING PEOPLE.

EVERY ONE OF US HAS RESPONSIBILITY. LET US LIVE UP TO IT!

It took us 20 years to get a

A Peril of Peace

(Continued from Page Eleven)

greatest heritage of the Dutch people."

Following this the Congress carried unanimously a long resolution in the form of a Manifesto addressed to the people of Holland.

On the second day of the Congress Coen van der Lende gave a survey of the propaganda work carried on in the immediate future.

The Chairman of the Party, Vorrink, dedicated two "Plans," that of the Party Executive and that of the Executive of the National Trade Union Centre.

In his speech he made a passionate avowal of his faith in democracy.

"Democracy is no longer means to an end. It is the end of our blood and the most sincere confession of our faith in civilization, in the value of the personality of each one of us. We are heirs of the great spiritual heritage of the past, and we are conscious of the task of democratic Socialism, of the fostering soil of Western Europe has also been a part of the Plan has been adopted."

The Plan has been adopted. The mightiest propaganda campaign that our movement has ever undertaken begins."

LABOR IS ON THE VERGE OF VICTORY. IT IS UP TO US TO WIN THE VICTORY. IT IS WITHIN OUR GRASP. WE SHALL NEED BRAINS, JUDGMENT, WILL-POWER AND PATIENCE. WE CAN EASILY LOSE THE VICTORY IF WE ARE CARELESS IN OUR TASK AND IF WE FAIL TO MAKE SOCIALISM THE CONSTRUCTIVE DOCTRINE THAT WE APPEAL TO THINKING PEOPLE.

EVERY ONE OF US HAS RESPONSIBILITY. LET US LIVE UP TO IT!

It took us 20 years to get a

A Peril of Peace

(Continued from Page Eleven)

greatest heritage of the Dutch people."

Following this the Congress carried unanimously a long resolution in the form of a Manifesto addressed to the people of Holland.

On the second day of the Congress Coen van der Lende gave a survey of the propaganda work carried on in the immediate future.

The Chairman of the Party, Vorrink, dedicated two "Plans," that of the Party Executive and that of the Executive of the National Trade Union Centre.

In his speech he made a passionate avowal of his faith in democracy.

"Democracy is no longer means to an end. It is the end of our blood and the most sincere confession of our faith in civilization, in the value of the personality of each one of us. We are heirs of the great spiritual heritage of the past, and we are conscious of the task of democratic Socialism, of the fostering soil of Western Europe has also been a part of the Plan has been adopted."

The Plan has been adopted. The mightiest propaganda campaign that our movement has ever undertaken begins."



Herbert Morrison, M.P.

I may return to it in a future article. But I am sure that all of us have a lot to learn about the psychology of the electorate nationally.

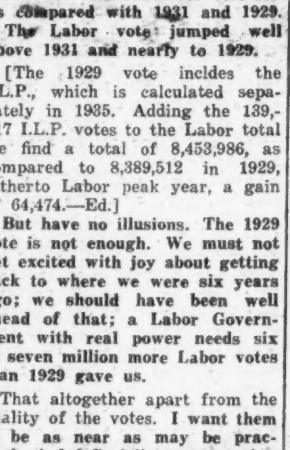
However!—We shall have a good fighting Parliamentary Labor Party to discharge the functions of the official Opposition. To a great extent it has the fortunes of the Party at the next election in its hands. It has to convince the country that Labor is ready and able to govern. Not only must every Labor M.P. play his part—he must be encouraged and helped to do so. The good men who are not well-known must be made well-known.

From the ranks of the Parliamentary Party will be missed men and women we hoped to have with us. My condolences to the defeated. Some we shall get in at by-elections. The sole test of by-election candidates should be competence, energy and public spirit—not money.

In the national voting figures there is a good deal of encouragement, although we must not use them to create illusions. There is much hope in them—provided we are willing to learn the lessons I have indicated, and have the courage to act on what we learn. We must not believe merely what we want to believe.

There is only one sound way to look at the figures. Put the votes of all our opponents together—from the Tories to the Communists—and then compare them with the Labor Party vote.

Well, here are the totals for 1929, 1931, and 1935—



Emanuel Shinwell, M.P.
Victor in the recent election at Seaham Harbor, when he defeated J. Ramsay MacDonald by 38,000 to 17,000.

contests]. In 1929 there was an army of them.

Those minority seats were not real Labor seats. Those constituencies were not yet really won for Labor and Socialism. At this elec-

tion the Liberal party was dying, and Toryism gained more from the Liberals' sickness than we did.

But now, for all practical purposes, there are only two parties—Tory and Labor. The country knows it. What we have to do in the next three to five years is to convince the country that we can run the show.

If we succeed, we shall win. If we don't we shan't. And that's all there is to it.

In last Sunday's "Observer," J. L. Garvin saw the red light. After crowing over us, he wrote this:

"There has been a much larger change in the character of the voting than is represented by the Parliamentary effect. When the results throughout Great Britain are carefully scrutinized, it will be seen how urgently required indeed were the final warnings on the Ministerial side against over-confidence, apathy, and abstention from the poll in the belief that there was no real fight in the matter this time, and that the National Government was about to enjoy a tame walk-over."

"Nothing of the kind. A very slight shift in the voting would have reduced the huge Ministerial ranks to half the towering predominance they again."

Nearly all the abnormal parties of 1931 are, of course, reduced. That was inevitable; it is wholesome. But also, more Ministerial seats than are held by very slender margins, which any considerable change in feeling towards the Cabinet in the future would wipe out."

Sound, Mr. Garvin, absolute sound.

LABOR IS ON THE VERGE OF VICTORY. IT IS UP TO US TO WIN THE VICTORY. IT IS WITHIN OUR GRASP. WE SHALL NEED BRAINS, JUDGMENT, WILL-POWER AND PATIENCE. WE CAN EASILY LOSE THE VICTORY IF WE ARE CARELESS IN OUR TASK AND IF WE FAIL TO MAKE SOCIALISM THE CONSTRUCTIVE DOCTRINE THAT WE APPEAL TO THINKING PEOPLE.

EVERY ONE OF US HAS RESPONSIBILITY. LET US LIVE UP TO IT!

It took us 20 years to get a

A Peril of Peace

(Continued from Page Eleven)

greatest heritage of the Dutch people."

Following this the Congress carried unanimously a long resolution in the form of a Manifesto addressed to the people of Holland.

On the second day of the Congress Coen van der Lende gave a survey of the propaganda work carried on in the immediate future.

The Chairman of the Party, Vorrink, dedicated two "Plans," that of the Party Executive and that of the Executive of the National Trade Union Centre.

In his speech he made a passionate avowal of his faith in democracy.

"Democracy is no longer means to an end. It is the end of our blood and the most sincere confession of our faith in civilization, in the value of the personality of each one of us. We are heirs of the great spiritual heritage of the past, and we are conscious of the task of democratic Socialism, of the fostering soil of Western Europe has also been a part of the Plan has been adopted."

The Plan has been adopted. The mightiest propaganda campaign that our movement has ever undertaken begins."



A girl overcome by gas in a candy factory, victim of an industrial system that cares more for profit than human welfare.

DUTCH SOCIALISTS PLAN

(Continued from Page Eleven)

greatest heritage of the Dutch people."

Following this the Congress carried unanimously a long resolution in the form of a Manifesto addressed to the people of Holland.

On the second day of the Congress Coen van der Lende gave a survey of the propaganda work carried on in the immediate future.

The Chairman of the Party, Vorrink, dedicated two "Plans," that of the Party Executive and that of the Executive of the National Trade Union Centre.

In his speech he made a passionate avowal of his faith in democracy.

"Democracy is no longer means to an end. It is the end of our blood and the most sincere confession of our faith in civilization, in the value of the personality of each one of us. We are heirs of the great spiritual heritage of the past, and we are conscious of the task of democratic Socialism, of the fostering soil of Western Europe has also been a part of the Plan has been adopted."

The Plan has been adopted. The mightiest propaganda campaign that our movement has ever undertaken begins."

LABOR IS ON THE VERGE OF VICTORY. IT IS UP TO US TO WIN THE VICTORY. IT IS WITHIN OUR GRASP. WE SHALL NEED BRAINS, JUDGMENT, WILL-POWER AND PATIENCE. WE CAN EASILY LOSE THE VICTORY IF WE ARE CARELESS IN OUR TASK AND IF WE FAIL TO MAKE SOCIALISM THE CONSTRUCTIVE DOCTRINE THAT WE APPEAL TO THINKING PEOPLE.

EVERY ONE OF US HAS RESPONSIBILITY. LET US LIVE UP TO IT!

It took us 20 years to get a

A Peril of Peace

(Continued from Page Eleven)

greatest heritage of the Dutch people."

Following this the Congress carried unanimously a long resolution in the form of a Manifesto addressed to the people of Holland.

On the second day of the Congress Coen van der Lende gave a survey of the propaganda work carried on in the immediate future.

The Chairman of the Party, Vorrink, dedicated two "Plans," that of the Party Executive and that of the Executive of the National Trade Union Centre.

In his speech he made a passionate avowal of his faith in democracy.

"Democracy is no longer means to an end. It is the end of our blood and the most sincere confession of our faith in civilization, in the value of the personality of each one of us. We are heirs of the great spiritual heritage of the past, and we are conscious of the task of democratic Socialism, of the fostering soil of Western Europe has also been a part of the Plan has been adopted."

The Plan has been adopted. The mightiest propaganda campaign that our movement has ever undertaken begins."