

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

# NEW LEADER

Vol. XVIII—No. 52

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1935

PRICE FIVE CENTS

## In This Issue

Politics and the Novel  
by John Chamberlain  
•  
The Broadway Stage  
by Sam Jaffe  
•  
Sidelights on Swedish  
Socialism  
•  
Behind the Bridgeport  
Victories  
by Lena Morrow Lewis

## Six Tampa Cops Held By Court in High Bail In Shoemaker Killing

All Sections of Population  
in Arms Against Savage  
Brutality That Led to the  
Torture and Death of a  
Socialist.

### Protest Whitewash

Threat to Take A. F. of L.  
Convention from Murder  
City Has Sobering Effect  
on Babbitt Officials—In-  
dictments Forced.

**Special to The New Leader**  
TAMPA, Fla.—Six city officers  
have been indicted for the mur-  
der of Joseph Shoemaker and ad-  
ditional charges of kidnapping were  
made against them. Each of the  
accused has been released on  
bond of \$7,500 on the murder  
charge and each posted additional  
bonds of \$2,000 on two kidnapping  
warrants.

A shakeup in the police depart-  
ment of Tampa has also followed  
as a result of the flogging and  
murder of Shoemaker. Mayor  
Chancy has taken over the de-  
partment and Chief Tittsworth has  
been given an "indefinite leave of  
absence."

The Grand Jury will also make  
a thorough investigation of the  
Shoemaker murder and the lawless  
conditions that have made Tampa  
notorious throughout the nation.

**Special to The New Leader**  
TAMPA, Fla.—The tide of  
protest against the conditions  
that led to the kidnapping of six  
workers, the flogging of three  
and the murder of Joseph Shoemaker,  
old-time Socialist, is rising  
throughout the state, and is  
likely to cause a first-class po-  
litical upset. What form that up-  
set will take, of course, cannot  
now be predicted.

It is understood on all hands  
that the outrages were the direct  
result of the work of Socialists in  
exposing and opposing crooked and  
corrupt politics in Tampa. Shoemaker,  
for many years a prominent  
Socialist of Vermont and member  
of the State Executive Committee  
there, came to Tampa a little more  
than a year ago and organized  
what he called the Modern Demo-  
crats. Election laws being what  
they are here, it is impossible for  
the Socialist Party to get on the  
ballot, and Shoemaker's idea—dis-  
approved by most Socialists—was  
to capture the Democratic nomi-  
nations for candidates committed  
to the principle of production for  
use and not for profit. In the re-  
cent election, following a letter-  
writing campaign to the local  
papers in which he expounded  
these ideas, the Modern Democrats  
polled 10 per cent of the total vote.  
That is what was back of the ou-  
trages, in the opinion of most  
Tampans.

**A Labor Martyr**  
The Modern Democrats, now a  
powerful political force in this city,  
have made public the following  
statement, headed:  
**THEY KILLED HIM FOR THIS  
IN TAMPA!**

"A martyr to the cause of so-  
cial and economic justice, he died  
in the cause of liberty."  
"He believed in the right of  
every one to life, liberty, and the  
pursuit of happiness."  
"He believed that the rights of  
man are more sacred than the  
rights of property."  
"He believed in the Constitu-  
tion of the United States, in the  
freedom of speech, in freedom of  
the press, and in the freedom of  
peaceful assembly."

"AND THEY KILLED HIM  
FOR THIS IN TAMPA!"  
"He believed that social con-  
ditions in Tampa could be im-  
proved, and he tried to do some-  
thing about it."  
"He believed in human brother-  
hood, and strove to make it a  
reality."

"He did not believe in the de-  
struction of food while little  
children were starving."  
"He appealed to intelligence  
rather than to brute force."

"YET THEY KILLED HIM  
FOR THIS IN TAMPA!"  
The local newspapers are up in  
arms and daily carry editorials and  
articles denouncing the outrages.  
The threat of President Green of  
the American Federation of Labor  
(Continued on Page Three)

## Socialists Fight Federal Probers Wage Cuts In Reading To Report

Old Party Commissioners  
Slash Salaries Over So-  
cialist Protest—Stump to  
Be Inaugurated Jan. 6th

**Special to The New Leader**  
READING, Pa.—The wage-  
scale of low-paid public ser-  
vants was attacked by old party  
members of the Reading School  
Board and vigorously defended  
by Mrs. Hazelette Hoopes, Geo.  
W. Snyder and Alvin F. Stone,  
the three Socialist directors on  
the Board of nine members, in  
the first skirmish of that body  
since its reorganization.

The battle of the Socialists for  
human standards for city workers  
was the last they waged while in  
a minority in the city.

On Saturday, January 4th, J.  
Henry Stump will be sworn in for  
his second term as Mayor, to-  
gether with a whole Socialist city  
administration, and a number of  
county officials and the city will  
be as completely controlled by the  
Socialists as in Bridgeport. Thou-  
sands of Socialists from all over  
the country will be in Reading for  
the joyous occasion.

Despite the Socialist battle for  
the workers, they were outvoted  
and went down fighting against  
salary reductions for assistants in  
the city treasurer's office in a  
schedule approved by the votes of  
six old party directors.

In opposing reductions in the  
salary schedules, the Socialist di-  
rectors backed up the demand of  
Socialist treasurer-elect William  
C. Hoover for "more than a mere  
living wage," for which Hoover  
came out several days previous in  
a conference with city, school and  
county officials.

The issue was raised as a result  
of the law, enacted by the recent  
session of the state legislature,  
which makes the city treasurer the  
collector of taxes for the schools  
(Continued on Page Seven)

## Labor in Phila. Starts Drive for New Leader

**Special to The New Leader.**  
PHILADELPHIA.—Abraham  
Cahan, editor-in-chief of the  
Jewish Daily Forward, and  
James O'Neal, editor of The New  
Leader, addressed a Trade Union  
Conference called by the United  
Hebrew Trades Monday eve-  
ning, Dec. 23, at the Labor Edu-  
cational Center.

Among the organizations repre-  
sented were the Bakers' Union,  
Cloakmakers' Union (I.L.G.W.U.),  
News carriers' Union, Bakery Drivers'  
Union, Matzo Bakers' Union,  
Labor Educational Center Board of  
Directors, the District Committee  
of the Workmen's Circle, Action  
Committee of the Jewish Socialist  
Verband Branches, the Fruit  
Clerks' Union, the Grocery and  
Delicatessen, Cafeteria Workers'  
Union, Bookkeepers' Union, and  
many individuals from unions which  
had not met in the short time that  
(Continued on Page Three)

## Mass Meeting of Loyal Socialist Party Members Sunday, December 29

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

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

## FREED!



Karl Seitz, beloved Socialist  
Mayor of Vienna, set free together  
with Major Eifler and many other  
Socialist leaders who had been  
jailed following the Dollfuss  
putsch against the people of that  
city in February, 1934. The ris-  
ing tide of Socialist organization  
and agitation against the clerico-  
fascist regime compelled the  
Schuschnigg government, as a ges-  
ture of "mercy," to liberate the  
leaders of the mighty Social De-  
mocracy. But the movement goes  
on, whether legal or illegal, and  
the day will soon come when the  
Red Flag will fly over the City  
Hall of Red Vienna!

## Mayor Simpson In Reelection Battle

**By Victor Riesel**  
EIGHTING the real estate in-  
terests of Toronto and the  
Manufacturers' Association of  
Canada, Mayor "Jimmy" Simp-  
son, veteran Socialist and trade  
unionist, is winding up his cam-  
paign for re-election this week.  
The election is held Jan. 1st.  
Mayor Simpson has completed  
a year as chief executive of  
Toronto, during which time he  
has fought this city's large in-  
dustrialists, the Citizens' League  
and the numerous trade associa-  
tions, all of which have urged  
drastic reduction of wages in  
public jobs.  
(Continued on Page Three)

## Cry of Protest from Russian Exiles Reaches World Socialist Movement

RELEASE of political prison-  
ers in Soviet Russia is de-  
manded in a declaration issued  
by the Socialist and Labor In-  
ternational, accompanied by em-  
phatic protest against the  
"vengeful justice of the Bol-  
sheviks" and their policy of  
"coldly calculated extermination  
of dissenting opinion."

The protest of the Labor and  
Socialist International followed re-  
ceipt of information from Russia  
of a new wave of terror unleashed  
by the Stalin dictatorship against  
Socialists and dissident Commu-  
nists. The situation is summarized  
in the declaration of the L. S. I. as  
follows:

"For a time it looked as though  
the terror mania of the OGPU  
against the Russian Socialists had  
abated somewhat. At least the  
news which came from Russia  
gave evidence in many cases of a  
certain moderation of the 'sen-  
tences' pronounced on our com-  
rades for the fearful 'crime' of not  
being of the same opinion as Stalin.

"A few months ago, however, a  
sudden change for the worse again  
took place. Hundreds of Socialists  
who for years have been in prisons  
and places of banishment and for  
that reason alone could not have  
committed any new crimes, have  
been arrested in the most differ-

ent towns and districts of the  
Soviet Union for unknown reasons.  
Many of them have been taken to  
Moscow. What people wanted of  
them and the reason for all this is  
not clear even today. What did,  
however, very soon become clear  
was that fresh sentences of im-  
prisonment or of banishment were  
pronounced on the arrested, and,  
in this connection, many comrades  
who during the past 5 or 6 years  
had had relatively mild sentences  
of banishment are now to be put  
into prison (penitentiaries, "Polit-  
isolator"), in concentration camps,  
or sent to far distant places of  
exile.

"A large number of the com-  
rades offered resistance by the  
only means at their disposal, the  
hunger strike. And thus began a  
very epidemic of hunger strikes  
which put everything in the past  
in the shade. Hunger strikes last-  
ing 20, 22 or even 27 and 30 days  
were no rarity. Some of these acts  
of despair ended with death.  
Others were successful to this ex-  
tent, that the sentences were  
rendered somewhat less severe. But  
in many cases the authorities  
simply deceived the prisoners by  
withdrawing the concessions later  
on and so forcing the comrades to  
hunger-strike again."

**Hunger Strikers**  
The L.S.I. declaration gives what  
it terms "a few typical cases."  
Some of these cases have already  
been mentioned in The New Leader  
and many others could be cited,  
but we will confine ourselves here  
to citing the examples given by the  
Labor and Socialist International:

1. The Social-Revolutionary,  
Nicolai Muchin, who had been in  
exile for 9 years on end, was ar-  
rested in the spring of 1935 in  
Kazan where he was finishing his  
third three-year period of exile,  
and the fourth verdict pronounced  
on him was imprisonment. There-  
upon he declared a hunger strike  
and fasted for 20 days until he  
was promised that instead of im-  
prisonment he was to be banished  
again. A few days later, however,  
he learned that he was to be

## Socialists Flay Otis Opinion Against the Labor Relations Act

### 'Liberty' League Unmasked by Gorman

Al Smith Goes Barnstorm-  
ing for Tories in Fight on  
Progressive Legislation—  
Big Business Jubilant.

THE so-called "Liberty League,"  
a collection of big money  
bags protected by corporation  
lawyers is the subject of  
caustic criticism by Francis J.  
Gorman, Vice-President of the  
United Textile Workers, when  
these prosperous lawyers consti-  
tuted themselves a Supreme  
Court and declared the National  
Labor Relations Act "unconstitu-  
tional," thus giving a lead to  
Federal Judge Otis in Kansas  
City, Mo.

Their initial success in laying  
the groundwork for the Missouri  
decision has been followed by the  
announcement that Al Smith, ren-  
egade "man of the people," now  
a shining light of the Liberty  
League, will shortly go on a speak-  
ing tour to seek to destroy all  
forward-looking legislation.

The solemn pronouncement of  
the legal watchdogs of big capital  
and the answer by Gorman rep-  
resent the class cleavage in economic  
opinion that is becoming ever more  
obvious. Gorman in part said:

"Our investigation thus far shows  
that 43 of the 58 lawyers rate as  
big corporation lawyers. The best  
legal opinion we can get also tells  
us that the Liberty League lawyers  
have violated the Bar Association  
code of ethics, for which they  
should be expelled from member-  
ship in that very tight union of  
lawyers."

(Continued on Page Seven)

### Pickets Freed In Solomon's Court

Magistrate Bases Decisions  
Dismissing Charges on  
the Law and Statutes—  
Deep Humanity Shown.

SITTING in the Bay Ridge  
Court, Magistrate Charles  
Solomon, hearing an important  
labor case growing out of the  
strike against May's Department  
Store on Fulton St., Brooklyn,  
emphatically demonstrated the  
value of having a Socialist and  
Labor attorney on the bench in-  
stead of the usual run of con-  
servative lawyer. His interpre-  
tation of the rights of strikers  
and pickets was disconcerting to  
the employers, but in every case  
it was based upon the law and  
the statutes, as he took care to  
indicate in carefully considered  
opinions, which he dictated to  
the Court stenographer to make  
part of the records.

When the cases of 38 pickets  
arrested Dec. 8 for "disorderly  
conduct," came before the Magis-  
trate, Attorney Abraham Kartz-  
man, appearing for the employers,  
admitted after questioning from  
the bench that a dictaphone had  
been placed in strike headquarters  
and he asserted the "hue and cry  
of the strikers during the last  
week was 'We can do most any  
thing because Judge Solomon is  
coming next week.'"

Solomon declared, in freeing one  
of the pickets, that:  
Annoyance to an employer does  
not constitute "disorderly conduct."  
A picket has legal right to walk  
up and down at a rapid pace.  
A picket has a legal right to in-  
(Continued on Page Three)

(Continued on Page Three)

(Continued on Page Three)

## McLevy Choosing Commissioners For 1936

By Abraham Knepler

BRIDGEPORT.—Appoint-  
ments and reappointments  
to municipal boards and com-  
missions will be announced by  
Mayor Jasper McLevy on New  
Year's Day, and the officials will  
be sworn into office January 2.  
Practically all present Socialist  
members of Mayor McLevy's  
official family are expected to  
be reappointed, except in cases  
where commissioners may de-  
cline.

Charter provisions call for the  
appointment of commissioners on  
a bipartisan basis to nearly all  
boards, the appointees to repre-  
sent the two major political parties  
represented in the Board of Alder-  
men. Since the board is now com-  
posed entirely of Socialists, Mayor  
McLevy will have a far greater  
choice of selection of non-Socialist  
members than in the past two  
years, when it was necessary to  
(Continued on Page Three)

## IMPORTANT SERIES BY KARL KAUTSKY IN NEW LEADER BEGINS NEXT WEEK!

WHY there can be no united front between Socialists  
and Communists is the subject of several articles by  
Karl Kautsky which The New Leader will publish, be-  
ginning next week.

Those who have read these articles in the original  
German declare that this famous international Socialist  
and Marxist has made one of his greatest contributions  
to an interpretation of Socialist principles and current  
issues facing the Socialist movement of the world.

You cannot afford to miss these articles. Watch for  
the first one next week!

State Chairman Waldman  
Shows Bias of Judge Otis  
on the Wagner Law—Su-  
preme Court to Decide  
Finally.

### Amendment Needed

Socialists and Unions Must  
Unite to Push Constitu-  
tional Change as Well as  
Supplement by State  
Legislation.

By Louis Waldman

IN holding the National Labor  
Relations Act unconstitutional,  
Judge Merrill E. Otis of the  
Federal District Court of Kan-  
sas City, Mo., delivered a body  
blow to organized labor. His de-  
cision, of course, is not final.  
The Supreme Court has not yet  
spoken. What the highest court  
will do no one can predict with  
finality.

Judge Otis' decision raises for  
labor and progressives generally  
some profound questions of policy  
and of the government's respon-  
sibility for the peaceful settlement  
of social and labor problems.

Judge Otis' decision, in my judg-  
ment, is legally unsound and should  
be reversed by the higher court.  
There is ample legal authority and  
judicial precedents for holding the  
National Labor Relations Act con-  
stitutional.

This Act does not establish, as  
some people suppose, labor's right  
to organize, to strike or to picket.  
That legal right labor has had for  
close to a century. It is true that  
labor's right has not been fully re-  
spected in all parts of the country  
to the same degree, but the right  
itself is well-established; employers  
exercising their vast economic  
power and freely using their polit-  
ical power have been interfering  
with labor's legal rights.

The National Labor Relations  
Act was designed to put an end to  
the employers' practice of inter-  
fering with labor's legal right to or-  
ganize and bargain collectively.  
Employers are forbidden to dis-  
criminate against workers for be-  
longing to their own unions.  
They are also forbidden to inter-  
fere with this right of free organi-  
zation by organizing employer-  
dominated company unions enjoy-  
ing privileges and subsidies con-  
ferred upon them by management.  
Under the Act, the employers are  
required to bargain collectively  
with the representatives of their  
employees, freely chosen. Govern-  
ment machinery was set up to hear  
complaints and make binding or-  
ders to enforce this Act. Employers  
are given the privilege of judicial  
review in the Federal Courts.

**Biased Interpretation**  
There is nothing in the Constitu-  
tion forbidding the National Labor  
Relations Act.

To nullify the Act on constitu-  
tional grounds a Court must rely  
solely on interpretation.

A reading of the Court's opinion  
in the Kansas City case shows that  
Judge Otis translated his reaction-  
ary social philosophy and economic  
bias into constitutional law. Rarely  
has a decision revealed a Judge's  
state of mind as does this one. He  
disapproved of the wisdom and de-  
sirability of the Act in language so  
strong that it might have been  
written by a manufacturer's polit-  
ical spell-binder. After declaring  
that there is now pending in Con-  
gress a constitutional amendment  
which, if adopted, would make a  
law like the National Labor Rela-  
tions Act constitutional, Judge Otis  
nevertheless proclaims that—

"Then, also, what yet re-  
mains of the sovereignty of  
the states will cease to be and  
the 'citizen' will have become  
a subject."

Thus, the Judge shows that he  
was strongly opposed to the Act,  
whether constitutional or not.

Many thoughtful Americans, in-  
cluding a good many enlightened  
judges and progressive lawyers  
better informed on economic and  
social questions and imbued with  
broader human sympathies than  
those of Judge Otis, differ from  
the learned judge on the wisdom  
and the social consequences of the  
Act itself. Congress, speaking for  
the American people, enacted the  
law and the President signed it.

But that a Judge who is so de-  
set against the Act, even though it  
(Continued on Page Three)



## Roll Call of N.Y. Branches Shows "Militant" Rout

These figures are given county, county, and branch by branch every case the first column represents the branch membership on the basis of dues stamps bought during the first ten months of 1935. The second column represents the number of bolters. The figures speak for themselves:

Manhattan		
Branch	Total membership	No. of believers
Knickerbocker	12	4
Chelsea	30	4
A. D.	30	1
A. D.	85	3
A. D.	35	2
Large	45	25
Upper West Side	80	32
East A. D.	15	10
East A. D.	12	8
Washingtonville	40	30
Greenville	45	4
18th A. D.	20	1
21st A. D.	6	4
23rd A. D.	30	20
Spanish	250	0
German	45	2
Downtown	130	3
W. C. M.	28	1
Seamakers	45	0
Teachers	30	0
Polish	12	2
Spanish	5	0
	1,030	155
Bronx		
A. D.	9	5
A. D.	60	32
A. D.	18	10
A. D.	24	4
A. D.	30	18
A. D. (Lower)	15	7
A. D. (Upper)	45	10
A. D.	50	8
A. D. (Lower)	85	10
A. D. (Upper)	12	1
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	110	3
Branch 1	80	10
Branch 2	40	27
Branch 3	25	10
Branch 4	85	2
Branch 5	25	0
Branch 6	18	0
	676	162
Richmond		
North Shore	13	6
South Shore	10	1
Spanish	15	0
	37	7
Kings		
Downtown	55	30
A. D.	15	10
Wood	80	6
Light	40	8
14th A. D.	35	8
17th A. D.	10	5
A. D.	20	14
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	35	17
A. D.	12	0
A. D.	10	0
A. D.	80	10
A. D. Branch 1	20	20
A. D. Branch 2	30	15
A. D.	25	15
A. D. Branch 1	45	24
A. D. Branch 2	25	13
A. D.	30	13
Spanish	15	0
German	35	0
A. D. Branch 1	40	0
Flatbush Br. 1	35	0
Flatbush Br. 2	35	0
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	40	1
19th A. D.	30	0
Bay Island	40	0
St. Clo. Workers	35	0
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	15	0
	597	196

***What About Health of Hillquit*** **The Bolters' Conference**  
***At Milwaukee? Maurer Inquires*** **"Represents" Much Paper**

Committee removed them from office and elected loyal members in their places.

Twenty of the thirty members of the

Fraternally yours,  
JAMES H. MAURER.

## *Cry of Protest from Russian Exiles*

lished. Weak branches will be  
stered up. And to start things  
a membership meeting of the  
nx was held last Sunday which  
ved to be a big and enthusiastic  
ting.

### "A Flourishing Local"

With this miserable showing was in contrast Local Buffalo where the organization with 200 members was unanimously voted to remain loyal to the State organization. The volunteers then resorted to the expedient of "organizing" a rival

From all statistics it is apparent that the loudly heralded "Utica conference" will take place without benefit of legally elected delegates from actually existing locals unless all the bolters in the state or at the very least half of them, are present to give an appearance of a real group of "delegates." The bolt is indeed in desperate straits which grow worse from day to day.

WE DEMAND NOT ONLY THE  
LIBERATION OF HUMAN BEINGS  
BUT THE LIBERATION  
OF THOUGHT, FOR THE LIB-  
ERATION OF THOUGHT IN-  
CLUDES THE LIBERATION OF  
HUMAN BEINGS, AND THE  
RELEASE OF HUMAN BEINGS  
WITHOUT THE LIBERATION  
OF THOUGHT HAS NO VALUE  
WHATSOEVER!"

## Red Flowers in Party Office; Julius Gerber is 65

The flowers had been placed here by the cooperation of the members of the office staff, The New Leader, the state office of the party, and Comrade Fred Spitz, the florist. And the reason was that it was Julius Gerber's 65th birthday, although to see him and note his energy no one would guess


**Midwood Branch  
Starts New Leader  
Drive With 60 Sy**

As a starter the branch ordered 60 subscriptions to go to unenrolled Socialists of the neighborhood. This number will be increased as the drive continues. Individual members of the branch have already contributed \$25 for subscriptions.

Other party branches will follow.

# JACOB RUPPERT BREWERY

extends  
Holiday Greetings



A calendar will be sent complimentary, containing all feast and fast days and additional special days. Address a postcard to Jacob Ruppert Brewery of New York City.

Don't say Beer—say Ruppert's



# A Judge With a Heart and a Social Conscience

## Solomon Frees Pickets And Cites Law and Statute

(Continued from Page One)

form prospective customers that a strike is in progress and to request them not to buy.

Kartman objected to the decision and declared that before most magistrates he would have secured convictions, to which Solomon retorted, "If I did not expect to differ with some magistrates in some cases I would resign tomorrow."

### Solomon Retorts

The attorney had sought to have Magistrate Solomon disqualify himself "because his background indicates a sympathetic attitude toward labor in disputes with employers." He said that as an old acquaintance of the magistrate he knew that because of his Socialist background he was favorable to the workers' point of view, and that he might therefore lose his case. Disqualification of a sitting magistrate would mean that the case would be heard before another judge.

"Good clients are hard to get," said the department store's attorney, "and this client pays me well. If you force me to trial you will embarrass me and might cause me to lose a client."

The Magistrate told the attorney, "You don't want impartial justice. If you had found a magistrate you were sure would convict you wouldn't ask for a change, would you?"

The plea was ineffective, and Solomon dismissed the case against the picket with the remarks quoted above, based upon the law, statutes and penal code.

Before Magistrate Solomon was faced with the cases growing out of the strike at May's store he had faced virtually every problem a judge must face in the lower courts, and he had met them in characteristic fashion.

Within a few days of his induction he had his first taste of Communist tactics. A number of demonstrators had been arrested at a Brownsville relief station, and instantly telegrams and letters began to be sent to the Magistrate "demanding" the freeing of the arrested persons. Solomon declared from the bench that the sending of the telegrams was "silly," that they would only antagonize and alienate the average judge, and the public generally; then after hearing the evidence and finding the prisoners not guilty of the charges of disorderly conduct he turned to the attorney, an I.L.D. lawyer, saying, "You thought I would not have the courage to try these cases." "Yes, Judge," he replied. "I was agreeable surprised. You tried the case very fairly." That, however, did not prevent the Daily Worker the next day from proclaiming that Solomon had "carried his anti-labor bias to the bench!"

### A Trial of Negroes

On Sunday morning four Negroes were brought into court charged with robbery from the person, an offense that would generally mean imposition of heavy bail, and in lieu of that several days in jail before the case could be tried. Solomon, however, tried the case at once, appealing to the complainant to tell the truth, not what was alleged in the complaint. He turned to the four prisoners and referring to the complainant said, "He can fool this judge, but there's another judge he can't fool. He'll have to face that judge some day, and if he wants to face him with a clear conscience it is up to him." The deep human appeal struck, and the complainant broke down and told the story of a crime in which all had participated, a story quite different from the charge of robbery. The four men walked out free men because a human judge had probed with humanity and had thus learned the truth.

There was the case of a colored student at Manual Training High School, who was charged with grand larceny for stealing a microscope from a school laboratory. Teachers from the school appeared against him, and testified that the boy had a good record. The Magistrate, on admission that the authorities did not know the money value of the microscope, had the charge changed from grand to petit larceny, and then on the plea of the teachers to leave the disciplining of the boy to them permitted them to withdraw the charge. But then he asked them not to exercise their right to exclude him from the school, as they had threatened.

"I am surprised to hear you, as educators," he declared, "say that you will expel the boy from school. If you want to force the boy into pool rooms and to evil companions close the doors of the school to him. But in that way you may wreck his life." With that plea to the teachers the boy left the courtroom.

### First Picketing Case

Solomon's first picketing case came with the arrest of a striker against a shoe store on Broadway, Brooklyn, charged with disorderly conduct for "talking in a loud voice." Solomon got the arresting officer to admit that the corner where the picketing took place is so noisy that to be heard at all anyone had to talk in a loud voice. After discharging the picket for lack of evidence of disorderly conduct, he turned to the policeman and asked what he had been before joining the force. The officer said he had been a printer, a member of Typographical Union No. 6. "You are a workman," he told him, "and you are now working for the city. As a former trade unionist you know what organization means, and the need of strikes and picketing to build up the unions. You must never forget that you, too, are a worker, only wearing a blue coat and a badge."

In connection with the strike at May's store there were several cases, in addition to that of the pickets discharged on the charge of urging people not to buy in the store. There were the two boys who had been held in jail ten days and four days, after being held on a short affidavit. They were charged with malicious mischief, the store accusing them of having smashed a window. The prosecution wanted still another postponement, which would have meant still another period in jail. The arresting officer admitted that the previous day he had conferred with the store owners, who had said, "If we had a third person we would have a case." The Magistrate, however, insisted on protecting the rights of the accused and granted the motion to dismiss on the ground that the prosecution had no more evidence than what was contained in the short affidavits.

Four girls, arrested for mass picketing, were found not guilty on the law and the facts. Solomon took the complaint of the arresting officer and broke it down into its component parts, holding that what is called mass picketing is no more than picketing by one or two; then he held, and proved by the statutes, that if a crowd collects as a result of perfectly lawful actions by pickets the legality of their actions is not affected by the effects of their perfectly legal actions upon others. In dismissing them he dictated his opinion to make it part of the court records, showing that in every detail it was based upon the law.

After the girls were discharged, however, he called them before him and read them a lecture upon the meaning of picketing. "What may be a lark, a picnic and thrill for you," he said, "is a deadly serious matter to the workers. When you elect to picket upon behalf of striking workers you must think, not how much of a thrill you get out of it but what good or harm it does to the workers in whose behalf you are acting."

### Dinner to Solomon Jan. 24

The entire Socialist and Labor movement will tender a testimonial dinner to Magistrate Solomon January 24th at Webster Hall. Max Zaritzky, president of the Headquarters Workers' Union, is chairman, Abraham Miller of the Amalgamated is secretary and Henry Greenfield, 175 East Broadway, treasurer. Abraham Cahan is Honorary Chairman, and the names of the important labor officials who have thus far accepted membership on the committee of arrangements follow:

Luigi Antonini, M. Ashbes, Paul Arno, Jos. Breslow, Joe Bessly, Morris Blumenreich, H. Begoon, Joseph Catalonotti, William Collins.

David Dubinsky, Morris C. Fine, Louis Fuchs, J. S. Goldberg, Joseph Gold, Rubin Guskin, Harold Goldstein, J. Goldstein.

Abram Herschkowitz, Louis Hollander, Harry Heizer, Julius Hochman, Sam Herschkowitz, Marx Lewis, Pietro Lucchi, Martin Lawler, Saul Metz, Peter Monat.

Georg Meany, John J. Munholand, Isidore Nagler, Salvatore Ninfo, Samuel Perlmutter, Alfred Peabody, James C. Quinn, Joseph Schlossberg, Samuel Shore, Charles E. Sinnigen, M. Tigel, Joe Tuvin, Fred Umhey, Harry Wander.

### PARTY NEWS

Rockland County. The date of the first meeting of the Forum has been changed to Sunday, Jan. 5, with Jesse Wallace Hughson as "Socialism and War."

Sullivan County. Louis P. Goldberg will be speaker at a meeting to be held at the Riverside Hotel, South Fallsburg, Friday evening, Jan. 3, at 8. The subject of the lecture will be "Lawless Judges." State Committee. The State Committee will meet at People's House this Saturday at 2 p. m. A Sunday session will also be held. Robert A. Hoffman of Buffalo will report to the Committee on the situation in the western part of the state.

## SIX TAMPA COPS HELD IN HIGH BAIL FOR MOB MURDER

(Continued from Page One)

to remove the 1936 convention of the A. F. of L. from this city has had a sobering effect upon the local reactionaries. Removal of the convention means the worst kind of advertising for the town considering the reasons that would have to be given, advertising the town can ill afford; and it also means the loss of the business that would come here if over a thousand delegates and visitors spent two weeks in the city.

An example of the sentiment of the people of the entire state is the following editorial from the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times:

**Political Murder**  
"The death of Joseph Shoemaker, victim of an atrocious political murder, brings into tragic relief the bitter fruit of corrupt government tolerated too long by neighboring Tampa and Hillsborough County."

"His death, if it is to go unavenged, will be a bloody warning to free men in this supposedly free nation that liberal, independent thinking is dangerous and that abject obedience is the only safe course when crooked elections put crooked men in charge of our governments."

"Joseph Shoemaker and other equally innocent companions were arrested in a private residence in Tampa, without a search warrant, and questioned at police headquarters about alleged Communist activities. Released, Shoemaker and two others were picked up in the shadow of City Hall and fogged, tarred and feathered in a merciless fashion reminiscent of nothing in modern history."

"What was Joseph Shoemaker's crime that he should die this horrible death?"

"He opposed the lawless elements in Tampa and Hillsborough County that have stuffed ballot boxes, stolen elections by any means necessary and ruled with the profits of gambling and other vices. He and a little band of honest citizens sought to organize a group—the Modern Democrats—to combat the corruption and graft of government."

"For this crime Joseph Shoemaker was stripped of his clothing on the cold night of Nov. 30. He was beaten until his torn and quivering flesh could stand no more. Then upon the bleeding wounds, hot tar was poured to add a thousand living deaths to his almost unbearable suffering."

"Five hours later help came to him, lying in his agony almost frozen by the cold night air. He lay in a Tampa hospital almost 24 hours before his wounds could be dressed. He died Monday night after naming at least one of his assailants to authorities."

"The mob attack upon Shoemaker has been laid at the very door of police headquarters. One or more members of the Tampa police department have been accused of the crime. Authorities questioned more than 50 witnesses since the flogging 10 days ago. No arrests had been made up to the time of Shoemaker's death."

### A Criminal Dictatorship

"The entire state is aroused, and repercussions have been heard throughout the nation from men who want the right to think according to their own consciences—who will not tolerate a criminal dictatorship in this free nation."

"Joseph Shoemaker sought to enlist for his country in the World War and was turned down for physical deficiencies. His brother fought in that war and now occupies the office of district vice-commander of the American Legion."

"Joseph Shoemaker had embraced the faith of Socialism—a political creed as bitterly opposed to Communism as the most reactionary Republican."

"But even if he had been a Communist, this nation and this state guaranteed him and every other man the right to believe and advocate any peaceful doctrine he might choose. There was no authority in law for his arrest, and there is no possible justification in humanity's name for his brutal treatment."

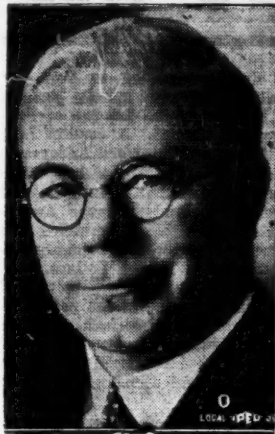
"The people of Florida look to Tampa and Hillsborough County for prompt apprehension and severe punishment of the culprits, no matter how high in public affairs the effect may reach."

"They will not tolerate a white-wash nor will they be content until outraged public opinion has been completely satisfied and an example furnished to any other lawless, un-American elements that may desire to perpetuate a rule of terrorism."

### Port Chester Protests

The Port Chester Branch of the Westchester Local, in its meeting Dec. 17, voiced its protest against the County Committee for its unconstitutional action in electing a delegate to the "militant" conference in Utica, Dec. 23-29, in the name of the Socialist Party.

The Port Chester Branch is the strongest in the county and the most effective in the educational field, constituting the majority of members in the county.



Mayor James Simpson

## Mayor Simpson In Reelection Battle

(Continued from Page One)

The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation is patterning this election after last year's successful battle. It is following a strict Socialist policy of non-alignment with any other political group and is basing its campaign upon 38 radio programs, the circulation of 200,000 copies of the New Commonwealth, the party's newspaper, and nightly meetings. Basically its platform calls for the lifting of the tax burden from the small householder and transferring it to the large incomes in Toronto.

Four candidates oppose Simpson, and all are receiving favorable editorial support from the Toronto dailies. Mayor Simpson rarely breaks into their columns. Two of his opponents are well-known reactionaries and have made the issue the reduction of municipal wages. One, Mr. Hunt, a candy manufacturer, is notorious for the low wages paid in his factories; Mr. Hunt was defeated by Mayor Simpson in 1934. The last is Sam McBride, Toronto playboy, owner of race tracks and gambling houses who enjoys a Jimmy Walker type of reputation and is popular among the town's population.

### Labor Backs Simpson

These are the men who run against the Socialist candidate, under whose administration Toronto has continued payment of cash relief—the only Ontario city to do so—the city's credit has become the most stable in Canada, and has approved special committees to deal with the problem of its economic and socially bankrupt youth.

As the lone Socialist representative in the City Council the Mayor has at every opportunity fought for immediate improvements promised by his Socialist platform. He was the only one in the Council who fought and succeeded in preventing the slashing of civic employees' salaries.

Rallying behind Mayor Simpson is the organized labor movement. When interviewed at a recent labor conference Simpson said:

"I am opposed to the reduction of any wages and will fight this disguised attempt to lower the standard of living of those working in and for the City of Toronto. I will fight the drive made behind obscure issues to attack wage scales and will champion, as always, the cause of labor in the city council. The conservative forces must not succeed in throwing out labor's voice in the council."

### The Socialist Program

The Socialist's municipal program includes the following planks:

1. Immediate extension of the principle of public ownership to include insurance on city-owned property, a comprehensive plan of slum clearance, civic housing, reduction of interest rates on civic debt, and the municipal distribution of milk, bread and coal.

2. Federal responsibility for direct relief. Full relief allowances to include rental, food, clothing, medical and dental services. Employment only of relief officials who are capable of sympathetic administration. Cash relief. Protection against eviction. Union rates of wages on all civic and relief work.

3. Extension of municipal franchise to all citizens of twenty-one years.

The Board of Education platform includes demands for:

1. Cooperation of welfare and health department with the Board of Education in extension of public health, medical and dental services, including adequate nourishment for all children and provision of medical and dental services in Secondary Schools.
2. Free text-books.
3. Opposition to military training in schools. Children to be taught the folly and not the so-called glory of war.
4. The use of available school premises by responsible groups for the discussion of public questions and community functions. Provision for adequate playground and recreation facilities both indoors and outdoors.

## McLEVY CHOOSES NEW COMMISSIONERS FOR THE YEAR 1936

(Continued from Page One)

select at least one member from the Democratic primary list for each commission. This year Mayor McLevy will have a far greater discretion in selecting the non-Socialist from either the Republican or Democratic primary lists, or from neither. The sole basis of selection will be merit. Nearly all the commissioners are non-paying ones. In the past a large number of the appointees were members of organized labor and all of them sympathetic to labor.

### To Abolish a Racket

A municipal car-towing and storage service will be established soon when Socialist administration plans are carried out, following a public hearing on the matter to be conducted by the Board of Aldermen in January. The towing racket, in Bridgeport as in other cities, has become so vicious as well as dangerous to safety that the Socialist administration feels that anything in the way of "reform" on the part of automobile towing operators can at best be only a temporary change in policy, and the best way to eliminate an abuse of exorbitant fees from motorists dazed and excited by a mishap is to eliminate the profit motive from the business, except in cases where the motorist actually prefers the services of a private towing car.

Considerable support is expected for the measure when it is presented for public discussion, although strong opposition is naturally anticipated from a group of towing-car operators and their representatives.

Comrade Harry E. Griffin, Socialist commissioner of the Board of Appraisal of Benefits and Damages, and husband of Sadie K. Griffin, first woman on the Board of Aldermen in the city's history, died here Saturday after an illness of several months.

Griffin was appointed to the Board of Appraisal by Mayor McLevy in 1934. He was a veteran party member, having often been a candidate on the Socialist ticket. In 1933 he was unsuccessful Socialist candidate for Alderman from the second district, from which his wife was elected as a Socialist in 1935. It was through her husband's efforts that Mrs. Griffin joined the party about a decade ago, and has been an active party worker since.

In a resolution passed unanimously by the Board of Aldermen Monday night, regret was expressed upon the passing of Comrade Griffin. He was buried on Monday, Mayor McLevy and a large delegation of other city officials and party members attending the funeral.

## LABOR IN PHILADELPHIA STARTS DRIVE FOR NEW LEADER

(Continued from Page One)

the meeting was arranged, and so were not officially represented.

The meeting was presided over by B. Sherman, Chairman of the United Hebrew Trades. David Braginsky, Executive Secretary of the United Hebrew Trades and Chairman of the Labor Committee of the Socialist Party of Local Philadelphia, made the appeal for funds and subscriptions, which resulted in \$185.59 in funds, and many subs. A continuation committee of 11 was elected by the conference to work in the Trade Unions and pledged itself to raise hundreds of dollars and subscriptions in the next few months.

The importance of having such a paper as The New Leader, which was the only paper distributed to the delegates at the American Federation of Labor Convention, was stressed by both speakers and the delegates.

Local Philadelphia is arranging for a bus to go to the Reading Inauguration Monday, Jan. 6. The roundtrip will cost \$1.40. All persons desiring to go, should get in touch with the Local Office at once, Kingsley 9373, 415 S. 19th St., as the capacity of the bus is limited.

A banquet has been arranged for the N.E.C. meeting which is to be held in Philadelphia, Jan. 4-6, at the Labor Educational Center, 415 S. 19th St., Saturday, Jan. 4, at 7:30. Reservations at \$1 should be made at once at the Party Office. All members of the N.E.C. will be present.

A mass meeting with Hoan, O'neal and Thomas as the speakers will be held Monday evening, Jan. 6, at 8 p. m., at the Hillquit Auditorium, 415 S. 19th St.

Tickets for "Black Pit," which opens at the Erlanger Theatre the week of Dec. 30, are on sale at the Party Office. Get your tickets and help the party raise funds.

The Debs School has just finished a most successful season, with hundreds of enthusiastic students enrolled. An interesting program for the new season has been arranged.

## Socialists Flay Judge Otis Opinion on Wagner Labor Act

(Continued from Page One)

were constitutional, as he himself admits, should sit in judgment on its constitutionality with so wide a latitude in the selection of precedents and legal authority to sustain or not to sustain the Act, is a question of propriety Congress may well look into for the purpose of enacting legislation to prevent such a judge from entertaining and passing upon the constitutional character of its legislation. For, since the constitutionality of legislation is in most cases dependent upon interpretation of the Constitution and the judicial precedents, it becomes important for orderly government to know who interprets.

If a judge is biased against the legislation itself he renders himself unfit to interpret such legislation, the Constitution and the judicial precedents. In the words of a great legal authority, Dean John Henry Wigmore, "a judge may decide almost any question any way and still be supported by an array of cases." Is it recognized by legal scholars that in interpreting the constitutionality of legislation, judges have the free selection of alternative principles of construction and of alternative lines of precedents.

In the summary of his facts Judge Otis shows his economic bias as between the organized workers and the employer. He speaks of union's demands in language that make it appear as if they were unreasonable; he speaks of employers as being asked to "surrender" their right "to employ and discharge their employees as they choose." He seems to think it is all very unreasonable.

### A Judicial Economist!

He writes of the employer's offer of an increase in wages to the non-union employees in the mill in a way that makes the employer appear reasonable and generous when, as a matter of fact, every intelligent student of organized labor knows that every employer hostile to organized labor is ready to offer an increase in wages to non-union employees as a price for not joining the union and for leaving the employer a free hand in the future to dictate conditions of labor, including the rate of wages. With the all-powerful weapon to "hire and fire" in a glutted labor market, the employer is a virtual dictator.

Yet this Judge thinks it strange that organized labor should insist upon a collective agreement which calls for the limitation of the employer's right to hire and fire as he "chooses."

After struggling for three weeks he finally succumbed. No attempt was made to arrest Green until after the funeral and until the Detroit Federation of Labor demanded action from the Mayor.

Five thousand workers are involved in the Motor Products strike which is now in its sixth week.

## FUNERAL OF LABOR MARTYR ATTENDED BY THOUSANDS

DETROIT.—The funeral of Carl Swanson, 26-year-old Socialist and trade unionist, drew hundreds of workers who came to pay their respects to him and to renew their pledge to win better conditions.

Swanson's death brought the toll of Socialists killed in the class struggle to three within the last two months. William L. Polley of Kansas City was first; Joseph Shoemaker of Tampa, Fla., was second; Swanson is the latest.

Swanson died as a result of being shot in the back by Eugene Green, scab foreman at the Motor Products Corp., when he accompanied a committee to the foreman's house to ask him for support. Swanson was standing on the sidewalk when the shot was fired.

After struggling for three weeks he finally succumbed. No attempt was made to arrest Green until after the funeral and until the Detroit Federation of Labor demanded action from the Mayor.

Five thousand workers are involved in the Motor Products strike which is now in its sixth week.

I do not desire here to analyze in detail Judge Otis's unsound judicial reasoning. There are ample precedents showing that manufacturing such as is involved in the Kansas City flour mill is business engaged in interstate commerce. The recent Schechter case (N.R.A. decision) is no authority against the National Labor Relations Act.

But even if the United States Supreme Court reverses Judge Otis's decision, as we hope it will, there is still the very vital problem of covering the largest field of employment—that involved in intrastate business and services. For that purpose, it will be necessary to enact State Labor Relations Acts.

On behalf of the Socialist Party in New York State, I am now working on a State Labor Relations Act which will be modeled after the National Act with certain improvements. Many of the arguments on constitutional grounds raised by conservative lawyers against the National Act could not be raised against State Labor Relations Acts.

**Duty of Organized Labor**  
It also seems to me that organized labor, speaking through the American Federation of Labor, should formulate a constitutional amendment and together with responsible Socialist and other progressive and forward-looking groups and organizations unite in getting this amendment adopted by Congress and ratified by the states.

It is clear from the recent judicial trend that social control of the economic life of the country will require an amendment to the Federal Constitution. The Constitution has already been amended twenty-one times. In the adoption of the last amendment—the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment—it was shown how an amendment could be put through Congress and ratified by the states in less than one year. Where the public will exists, and the government is ready to take energetic leadership, an amendment to the Constitution is not so cumbersome and so difficult to obtain as had been heretofore believed.

When the nation, which the Constitution is supposed to serve, requires for the continued happiness and contentment of its people that changes be made, and such changes are not acceptable by the judiciary under present provisions, they can be made acceptable by amendment.

The responsible Socialist Party organizations in the various states, and organized labor, should assume the leadership in this fight.

## Seger Speaks for YPSL Thursday, January 2

Gerhart Seger, former Socialist member of the German Reichstag, editor of a German Social Democratic newspaper, escaped prisoner from a German concentration camp, will speak at a mass meeting of loyal Young Socialists, at the Young Circle League Center, 22 East 15th St., Thursday night, Jan. 2.

Comrade Seger's subject will be "European Socialist Youth, its Organizations and Activities and its Relation to the Socialist Movement."

Admission is free, but by invitation only. Tickets will be distributed at the office of the Young People's Socialist League—7 East 15th St.

### BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP

Azure Masonic Temple, Boston Rd. and E. 172nd St. Sunday, Dec. 29 8:00 P.M.

REV. LEON ROSSER LAND on "THE YEAR 1936"

Followed by the REBEL ARTS in a Special Program.

AT YOUR SERVICE FOR OVER 86 YEARS  
Quarterly Dividend declared for quarter ending December 31, 1935, at the rate of 2% per annum

INTEREST  
BEGINS THE DAY  
OF DEPOSIT,  
when left to the end of quarter.

"Banking by Mail"

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

MANHATTAN SAVINGS  
INSTITUTION

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

Banking Hours:  
Weekdays from 10 A.M. to 3 P.M.  
Saturday from 10 to 12 noon  
(Organized 1856)

The New Leader is published every Saturday by The New Leader Publishing Association, 7 E. 15th St., New York, N. Y. Tel. ALgonquin 4-4223. Entered as Second Class Matter, January 19, 1934, at the Post Office at New York, under the act of March 3, 1879. Vol. XVIII Set. Dec. 28 No. 52

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:  
Year, New York City Edition.....\$2.00  
Year, National Edition.....\$1.00  
Year to Foreign Countries.....\$3.00  
Year to Canada.....\$2.50



## The Workers Abroad

**Plan to Partition Ethiopia Defeated by Mass Protests in Two Nations While Two Internationals of Labor Call on World's Workers to Fight Fascism**

By John Powers

In the opinion of H. G. Wells the situation in Europe since the war has been a race between civilization and catastrophe.

Latest developments have marked a signal victory for civilization. In the first place, the resounding defeat suffered by the reactionary forces in England and France in their effort to put over their shameful plan for the settlement of the Italo-Ethiopian conflict at the expense of sacrificing the principles of the League of Nations, the policy of the international Socialist and labor movement, and the integrity and independence of Ethiopia.

The "peace" plan devised by the Baldwin and Laval governments has been thrown into the waste basket under the impact of revolt of public opinion in England and France. The policy of the international Socialist and labor movement has been vindicated, to the discomfiture of the reactionaries, fascists and the handful of anti-Socialist left wingers who have been supporting the forces of imperialism and reaction against the League of Nations and world organized labor.

The downfall of Sir Samuel Hoare, British foreign minister, and the impending demise of the Laval government in France, constitute a significant refutation of the contentions of those who have maintained at the League of Nations was not to be trusted in the policy of appeasement and firm opposition to the war adventure of Benito Mussolini.

Events of the past fortnight have proven that the masses in England, France and all democratic countries are behind the League of Nations and the policy of the Labor and Socialist International. The policy of collective strangling of the fascist adventurers in Italy is also elsewhere.

The people everywhere are determined that the League of Nations will live—a real, live, vigorous and vital League of Nations, the only immediate instrument available for the prevention of war and the ending of the forces making for war.

### Repudiation of Two Governments

What happened in Europe in the past fortnight is, indeed, a milestone on the road upon which the masses have embarked in their determination to substitute the reign of law for the rule of the jungle. Never before has Europe witnessed such a spectacle. Two governments entrusted by the League to initiate negotiations with Italy for settlement of the war in Africa have ventured to propose a plan by which the nation proclaimed by the League to be the aggressor was to get a rich reward for its aggression in the form of half of Ethiopia. It seemed incredible, but it was true. Publication of the proposal, however, kindled a veritable revolution in England and France. Within seven days the Baldwin government was brought to the verge of downfall. It managed to save itself only by the sacrifice of the foreign minister who dared to take part in the attempted assassination of Ethiopia and the League. All parties joined in the revolt.

### Scandinavia Forges to Front

Similarly, in France, Laval was compelled to beat a hasty retreat. Completely discredited, the Baldwin and Laval governments have been forced to turn over direction of the Italo-Ethiopian question to the League Council. For the first time in history the small nations, headed by the Socialist-directed Scandinavian countries, have taken the lead in the concert of Europe. Behind them stand the armies of labor, led by the Socialist International and the International Federation of Labor Unions, pressing uncompromisingly for the execution of the League of Nations policy of sanctions designed to bring Mussolini to his knees. That they will now go forward. The ultimate result cannot be doubted. It will go forward, if the organized workers of the world can help under the slogans put forward by the L.S.I., the I.F.T.U. and the Congress of Italians Living Abroad, held in Brussels.

### Two Internationals Act

It is well at this time to recall the salient points of the proclamation issued by the congress. We quote in part:

"The war undertaken in Italy on October 3rd is not Italy's war, it is the war of the world. It is the outcome of 13 years of a policy of madness, of a policy of the subjugation of the masses to a handful of exploiters and of profiteers; of a policy which has vainly denied its supreme justification in the trial of the corporative system, of a policy of failure, and which is at present seeking a way out in a policy of militarist dictatorship, born of the illusion that the League of Nations can bring about peace, and who seek in vain to prevent or delay their inevitable bankruptcy by gathering the bloody spoils of short-lived military victories.

Through the breach which the fascist cannons have just created, the conflicting desires of all the imperialisms are surging; and already, the fascist Italy's heels, all the reactionary forces of Germany, which have taken an oath of mortal hatred against the Soviet Union and all the peoples of democratic liberties, are preparing and advancing.

### Italian Fascism Denounced

"Before the world and before posterity we declare that fascism is the entire responsibility for the war, for its consequences and the complications it involves. Fascism has dishonored Italy by the best traditions of the Italian people, who were always to be found on the side of those who were fighting for their freedom and their national independence.

"By violating the treaties which assured peace and amicable co-operation between the nations, and by denying its pledge to respect the independence of the Abyssinians, fascism has exposed Italy to the contempt of the world. By arousing the reprobation of the entire world by its bombardments from the air of populations without defense, it has provoked, to the great detriment of Italy, the application of sanctions against the aggressor envisaged in the Covenant of the League of Nations.

"In these circumstances to fight against the war in Africa and to insist on its immediate cessation by all possible means is to set oneself the task of avoiding for humanity the most frightful of catastrophes. Therefore solemnly declare that this congress is proud to find itself in the van of this struggle.

"Our call goes out to the soldiers, the mothers, the workers, the men of Italy and of the whole world, and to the fascists themselves, who, as a result of this war, may perhaps have realized at last the true nature of the Mussolini dictatorship. All must enjoin immediate cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of the troops from Ethiopia.

### Call to International Solidarity

The congress calls upon the workers of Italy to unite, to organize and to sabotage the war, to defend their lives, their substance and their future.

The congress expects of the emigrant masses an increasingly energetic effort against the war, and against fascism.

The congress appeals to the solidarity of the nations. It calls for the international organizations of the workers to place an embargo on supplies for war purposes, and upon the League of Nations to apply such sanctions as are capable of putting an end to the war. It is convinced that economic sanctions—if they are applied energetically and without delay and, above all, if the world solidarity of workers give them their full efficacy—are capable of vanquishing the fascist regime before the application of military sanctions in the danger of a world war, the last and cynical hope of the fascists.

The Committee of Action, composed of representatives of all the tendencies which have responded to the appeal for unity, is instructed to organize and to intensify the struggle in favor of the most suitable concrete measures. The rallying cry of all the workers should be:—

**IMMEDIATE PEACE WITH ETHIOPIA! DOWN WITH MUSSOLINI!**

The voice that spoke these words is the voice of International Solidarity, of the organized international working class.

**IT WILL BE HEARD!**

By John Chamberlain

## Politics and the Novel

The following is an abstract of a recent lecture at the Rand School:

I AM supposed to speak to you tonight on the subject of "Politics and the Novel," and those who consider the novel more important than politics may be disappointed. For, inasmuch as my major interests are history and sociology, I am not passionately interested in the future of the novel. As a critic, I tend to take the novel as offering me a window on some aspect of contemporaneity, which means that I can't draw any hard and fast political distinctions between the worth of, say, Fielding Burke's recent "A Stone Came Rolling," which is proletarian in its viewpoint, and Ellen Glasgow's "Vein of Iron," which is middle class.

The Burke book is valuable to me for what it has to show about the politicalization of the mill workers of the Carolina towns; Miss Glasgow's novel is valuable because it shows the a-political nature of "shabby genteel" people living in the Great Valley of Virginia, which has yet to see strikes and hunger demonstrations. Each novel has something to say about America; therefore each is of value to a student of the conditions confronting the politician who would change America.

When the novelist is consciously tied to a political chariot wheel, it seems to me that his value as a reflector is damaged. This is likely to prove serious. For the novelist is always of more worth as a reflector than he can possibly be in the political field as a sloganizer. A Proust, as evidence is worth something, a Proust, as an exhorter, would be horrible.

I remember Isidore Schneider's 1932 complaint. He was all tied up with questions of proletarian form and proletarian content. "You know John," he said to me, "I'm convinced intellectually that there will be no solution short of Communism, yet when I write a poem it somehow turns out to be a bourgeois poem." Mr. Schneider said this with considerable ruefulness and perhaps some inward horror. Yet he needn't have worried; if he had failed to write "bourgeois" poetry at this stage of his development he would have been worthless as a poet. To have given us "proletarian" poetry at this period would have been to falsify the evidence.

### Hollow Criticism

Isidore Schneider's troubles were coincident with the first ferment of the American intellectuals who were "going left," as the saying is. And this ferment was part of a transplanted RAPP feeling. (The Russian RAPP, you may remember, was a writers' organization dedicated to the proposition that "art is a class weapon.") The RAPP ferment, before it was liquidated, produced, to my mind, some of the most ignorant criticism in the United States, and some of the most vicious in its effects on writers. Henry Hazlitt, who was then on the staff of the Nation, justly pointed out that the Communist critics who were under the spiritual sway of the RAPP were repeating the mistakes of the Humanists, who judged a novel by the degree of its protagonist's "will to refrain." Just what one of the Humanist's favored characters were to refrain from was never quite clear, but you rather got the idea that Shakespeare and Sophocles and Dostoyevsky were bad artists because they didn't write about Caspar Milquetoast.

Michael Gold and his friends among the Communist intellectuals had jumped all over the Humanists. But, as Irving Babbitt was fond of saying, nothing resembles a bump so much as a hollow, and Left literary criticism, at this period was often the bump to the Humanist's hollow. The Communists for a while, went about judging a novel by the amount of class-consciousness and intransigence exhibited by its favored characters: the "will to act" for the working class was substituted for the "will to refrain." It was and is a better will, but it had nothing to do with the value of the novel, either esthetically or as evidence. Use of the "will to act" as a touchstone of merit resulted in Michael Gold's famous commendation of Mary Heaton Vorse's "Strike" as a "burning and imperishable epic." It was hardly that, and I say this with no desire to reflect adversely on Mrs. Vorse as a writer. When she is reporting, she is often magnificent.

### Infantile Disease

Well, the type of criticism that held the fort at this period was part of the infantile disease of Left Communism. Lenin, as you may remember, once wrote a pamphlet against this disease. Anyway, the phase faded out; like measles, it wasn't very serious.

The succeeding phase, however, was hardly an improvement. I consisted of praising a novelist, a poet or a dramatist merely because of his public statements expressing sympathy for the working class, merely because of his willingness

to sign the pledge to vote for Foster and Ford, merely because he had joined the League of Professional Groups. A certain Left critic praised Sherwood Anderson's "Beyond Desire." He has since changed his mind about "Beyond Desire," probably because Anderson deserted the Communists and came out for the revolutionary potentialities of Henry Wallace.

The trouble with the tactics of this second phase of the politicalization of the American critic is obvious: such tactics are constantly leaving the intellectual holding a nice, big and thoroughly empty bag.

The third phase of the intellectual's politicalization was that of the "party line" fetish. I recall Henry Hart's "hew to the party line," let the chips fall where they may. Well, when the party line changes, the critic who has been busy hewing may discover that he is out on the limb which his axe has been attacking with such gusto. He may discover that he has irrevocably committed himself. It is embarrassing to be confronted with past verdicts that have been delivered with a political motive in mind, for if one—in obedience to the new "party line"—tries to retract these verdicts, one must inevitably lay one's self open to the charge of rank opportunism. And the most flagrant political mistakes are an result from the time lag that is usually observable in the changes in the American Left literary front. For example, when André Malraux was in Moscow, collaborating with the Soviets, he was being looked upon as a New York for having written a "Trotskyite" novel in "Man's Fate."

### A Changed "Party Line"

Last spring, however, the tactics of the United Front began to bring clarity and common sense into the world of the Literary Left. At the first American Writers' Congress, which held its sessions at the New School for Social Research, the RAPP period and its heritage was thoroughly liquidated. The threat of war and reaction had changed the "party line." Exposed on the left, the Communists and those sympathetic to the Communists

sensed the need for making common cause against reaction. No longer was it quite so fashionable among intellectuals to remark that "democratic government under capitalism is merely a mask for the dictatorship of capital." The statement may be true, given certain definitions of dictatorship, but it suddenly became obvious—as it should have been all along—that a "democratic dictatorship" of capital is superior, at least, to the naked dictatorship of fascism. The writers who attended the Congress—whether they were Communists or Fellow Travelers—at least agreed on the negative proposition of what constitutes the immediate enemy. And consequently the absurd stringency of Left literary criticism ceased to exist.

Robert Cantwell, for example, had been chastised because his novel, "Land of Plenty," had failed to hold out absolute assurance of the triumph of the workers. It had been overlooked that Cantwell was trying to make literature out of confusion in a Northwest lumber town, out of a situation that might very possibly end in the defeat of the working class. Well, the type of critic who wanted Cantwell to act as a Pollyanna on the barricades was drowned out at the Congress. And a very good thing, too.

### Pollyanna Critics

The point of view stressed by Josephine Herbst and James T. Farrell, both of whom are excellent novelists, triumphed. This point of view recognizes that a novelist has often to deal with refractory material which may not promise ultimate victory. When a novelist has to deal with such material he is of political value only insofar as he tells the truth. For if he fails to tell the truth, if he fails to recognize the realities of the situation he will be guilty of misleading the party leaders who read him. Thus out of an emotional predilection for the "red dawn" finale on the last page may come defeat on the industrial front or at the polls. And defeat is no more palatable because it results from the false hopes raised by Pollyanna critics than it is when it results from too gloomy a view of the possibilities for action.

Malcolm Cowley, it seems to me, made a correct analysis when he asked, not "What can the writer do for the revolution?" but "What can the revolution do for the writer?" The one thing the revolution can do for the poet and the novelist is to renew his energy, fuse and direct his flagging talents lead him to a new awareness of viable patterns in the life around him.

### A Magical Change

Here I must revert to the case of Isidore Schneider. Mr. Schneider's troubles, in 1932, were not to be found in the fact that he was a bourgeois. His trouble was that he couldn't generate any working energy out of the fact of his middle class psychological orientation.

There is an inescapable relation between energy and conviction. One needs the dynamo of conviction if one is to have any galvanic impulses, even if one's conviction be only of a negative nature. When one is stewing around, convinced that negative assaults on the restrictive convictions of one's forefathers are no longer of any value, a conversion to the Left may result in a good stiff jolt of creative electricity. But the conversion ought to be a personal one.

Isidore Schneider had, originally posed himself a false question. The trouble with his art was not one of form and content, for form and content follow from a writer's interests as a human being. When Mr. Schneider stopped worrying about the bourgeois form and content of his art, and got genuinely interested in the labor movement, he change in him was magical.

He had new experiences, in the Macaulay strike, as a political pamphleteer, reading to workers' audiences, and so on. Personally, I don't think very much of his political pamphleteering, but that is not important here. The point is that when Schneider took on new interests as a man, he suddenly found that he could write a novel, "From the Kingdom of Necessity." It is a good novel, but it is ironical to note that its form is precisely the form of bourgeois Scott Fitzgerald's "This Side of Paradise," or bourgeois Floyd Dell's "Moon-calf."

## The Broadway Sector Struggles to Survive

By Sam Jaffe

Sam Jaffe is well known as one of the most sensitive performers in the theatre today. Perhaps best remembered for his work as "Aringelstein" in "Grand Hotel," he has to his credit a series of portraits intimately felt and captured. Mr. Jaffe is one of the active workers in the left-wing group of Equity, and speaks with authority.

There will shortly appear an article by Joseph T. Shipley, dramatic director of The New Leader, in summary and comment on The New Leader Series on the theatre (and movies) as a social force. Readers' comments are welcome, on any phase of the public arts.

THE theatre news of the New York Times recently carried a note that an intensive drive to Broadway playwrights was being made by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer for its West Coast story department. By now, not to be outmaneuvered, an equally intensive drive in the same direction is undoubtedly being made by all the major studios. This isn't exactly news. Broadway's best names have left the theatre for pictures. So has the pick of Broadway's newcomers. And the exodus continues.

Meanwhile the Broadway sector is struggling to survive. The failures may be shorter-lived; the casualties more numerous; the losses greater, but Broadway carries on.

Against this heroic struggle stands the tragedy of waste: the weeks of preparation; the heavy financial losses; the disappointed hopes. The ridiculously short life of productions in our present system, or lack of system, is a sad commentary on our theatre.

Of course, there are successes, but these occur in spite of—not because of—the present set-up. The serious manager will tell you of no hazardous risks and almost insurmountable hurdles of production.

Is movie backing the solution? Broadway soon to become the now-shop for Hollywood and are pictures to be the dictator and criterion of our drama with the movie censor to tell us what is or is not good for Pennsylvania and Kansas? Of three closings one week on Broadway, all three were financed by screen companies. This ought to give some estimate of the stabilizing effect that the picture tie-up may have on Broad-

way; that is, if experience is any criterion.

How long can our theatre last on this hit-or-miss basis? That this chaotic state of affairs exists in the face of a wealth of theatre resources is unbelievable. From the medieval morality play to the propaganda play of the present day we have the richest material to draw from. There is an abundance of acting talent. Our technical ingenuity is, to borrow a phrase from the movies, "bigger and better" than ever. What is it then that is blocking the free play of the various creative agencies?

With a few prominent exceptions, the answer lies in the mad scramble of producers, actors, writers and technicians for the pot of gold; in the theatre as a gamble opposed to the theatre as a going concern; in the theatre as a business as against the theatre as a living organism.

Broadway's hits have held the spotlight too long on novelty and sensationalism and too infrequently on merit to give the public any confidence in the theatre as an institution. To restore this confidence the theatre must, first of all, prove itself alive to the changing times. Audiences have strayed from the theatre because it had failed too often to recognize a responsibility toward them; because it had nothing to say to them that was of vital importance. To win back these audiences the theatre must deal openly and courageously with our economic, social and cultural problems. It must endeavor to make the public a part of the theatre by offering them creative participation in its affairs and a voice in its policy. It must bring the theatre closer to the people by bringing it within the means of all. Only when it is removed from the non-competitive industrial sphere, from the pursuit of selfish ends and the careerist domain, can we hope to make the theatre secure for its creative agencies and sound for the people.

On the other side of the footlights there must be that co-operative effort which will make possible a popular price scale. There must be provision for the artistic growth of the players; for the development and encouragement of new talent; for the keeping alive in repertory of the best plays of the past and present; and for the security of employment so necessary for the release of creative energies.

This can only be accomplished through the union of writers, actors,

technicians and scenic artists into harmonious groups. The opportunity of working together; of understanding each other; of the search for new methods that every artist must crave; of experiment and the development of dramaturgy and style can only be realized through the cooperative agencies of such groups.

The support of the public at large and the collectivization of the theatre in general are natural concomitants of a social approach to the theatre. Such a theatre is bound to weld both sides of the footlights into an organic whole, eager and ready to carry on the rich cultural heritage that is ours.

### The Good Time Coming

By Eugene V. Debs

THE time is coming when co-operation will succeed competition; when man will no longer be pitted against man in the degrading struggle for existence.

Then the virtues will find expression, and man will develop those higher qualities which dignify his being; he will cultivate the good and beautiful things in life, sing the songs of love and fill the world with joy.

The flower of love will blossom in his heart and he will "build his house by the side of the road and be a friend of man."

## LAUGHTER on the LEFT

No Covert Charge  
COMMISSIONER OF ACCOUNTS PAUL BLANSHARD nominated himself for a medal the other day because he got "three men to work full time for the pay of one." The Citizens' Budget Commission may name Blanshard for the Simon Legree decoration but old-fashioned Socialism has another name for it—exploitation.

Jimmy Higgins, Jr., says: "The New York Post is also a capitalist newspaper."

### Cursey Rhymes

Hey diddle diddle  
Thomas plays the fiddle  
While Browder calls the tune  
And Moscow laughs to see such sport . . .  
That spells the workers' ruin.

### Impropaganda

Re: Armed Insurance  
Goofy, goofy, propaganda  
Where shall it wander?  
Upstairs, downstairs,  
In a prison chamber.

A dual organization soon breeds a duel organization.

Now that the Townsends have succeeded in electing Representative Verner W. Main they must feel hopefully that—as Main goes, so goes the country.

### No Censors Present

It was Walter Duranty's turn at the Moscow Gridiron Club annual frolic. Garbed in his favorite regalia—a jockey's uniform with the crimson colors of his owner's stable—Duranty trotted out on the stage to the tune of "Horses, horses, horses." His skit was called, "I Ride As I Please" and consisted of a number of gags about the comical doings of the American Communists. This was a night when vodka and vaudeville mixed pleasantly.

The more he dug his spurs into the ribs of the unionsquare comrades the hoarser the horse-laugh. He was taking them for a ride but they guessed it was only on a merry-go-round. For the final black-out Duranty told this one:

A certain Bronx landlord had a number of Communist tenants who were always picketing him, bearing placards on which all sorts of demands were written. Finally he called the tenants together and told them he would grant every demand.

"He would cut the rent, repaint the rooms, repaper the halls, install new plumbing and lights."

"But," he demanded, "will you please tell me how in hell I am going to defend the Soviet Union?"

It was Joseph Stalin himself who laughed loudest and longest. His robust guffaws shook the Kremlin walls. In fact it was on the following day that he promulgated his famous "be gay" ukase to the Russian masses. The jolly dictator has been feeling pretty gay ever since. Like a popular movie idol he goes around the country autographing pictures for comely comrades with embroidered mantillas and flashy bracelets and wrist watches. Yes, he has even been seen embracing, rather sheepishly, the pretty peasant girl who won the all-Soviet bathing beauty contest.

### The Old LaGuardia

This week's prize, a copy of Marx's "Das Kapital" printed in braile, for daffy dialectics goes to Norman Thomas for this gem. "The Old Guard wants to reduce itself to a small group that it can indulge in political trading with LaGuardia." The Mayor of New York City may not be an Einstein but is certainly most know simple political arithmetic.

### Saw Dust Brutus

"Lay off this imperialistic gink," Said Saw Dust Caesar with a swagger.  
Said Baldwin with a furtive wink, "I'll stick you with my paper dagger."

A Merry MarXmas!  
BEN BELSKY.



Christmas joy at the Municipal Lodging House



# Back of the Bridgeport Victories *By Lena Morrow Lewis*

For a third of a century Jasper McLevy led an untiring band of Socialists in spreading the message of their party until the masses caught the fervor of the propagandists—  
The children of Bridgeport are McLevy's most enthusiastic supporters

BRIDGEPORT Socialists came into power in 1933, electing 12 out of the 16 Aldermen, two members of the school board and all the city offices, with the Mayor leading the ticket by a plurality vote.

The city was bankrupt. It had lost its right as a municipality to issue bonds and to conduct business. It had become a ward of the state. Only one other city in New England had ever been reduced to this humiliating position.

The city officials found their offices in a state of confusion and disorder. The City Clerk and Treasurer were unable to find receipts and records with which to organize their offices. As a start in straightening out the muddle, the newly elected Socialist City Treasurer John Shenton advertised in the daily papers for any bank or firm holding any of the city's money to report the fact to his office. As a result various sums were unearthed of which there was no record on the Treasurer's books, in one instance a substantial sum had been on deposit in a local bank for more than twenty years.

Among the first things Mayor McLevy did was to demand an audit of all financial records of the city. This was disconcerting to the outgoing Democratic administration. They did not audit the Republican books when they came into office; that was, they felt, just a lot of quite unnecessary red tape. But the canny Scotchman told them that the Socialists are different from the old political parties and "We are going to have the books audited." The job taxed the patience and temper of the auditors, and before they finished they discovered graft and misappropriation of funds sufficient to indict and convict and sentence to the state penitentiary two former city officials. The city also recovered several thousand dollars from a bonding company.

## Reporters Invited

When Mayor McLevy went to the first meeting of the School Board, where his presence was necessary for the board to conduct business, he found a group of newspaper reporters outside the building. In previous administrations the press and outsiders had been excluded, but McLevy had given out the word that the press would be in on all city business transactions. So the boys were there waiting on the steps when the Mayor arrived.

"Why don't you go in?" asked McLevy. "They won't let us, we are waiting for you," they replied. Very soon some one from the board came out and told the Mayor they were ready for him, and he replied, "I am not going in unless these reporters go in with me." Objections were raised that newspaper men had never attended School Board meetings in the past, that it "wasn't customary," etc. To which the stubborn Scotchman replied, "The former administrations are not setting any precedents for us. I don't move a foot into that room unless these newspaper men go with me." They couldn't do business without the Mayor, and the Mayor wouldn't do business without the reporters; and so the "fourth estate" came into its own in Bridgeport.

The inauguration of elected officials which heretofore had been held in the City Hall as a mere routine matter with few or no outsiders attending had to be transferred to the largest auditorium in one of the high school buildings, which was not even then large enough to accommodate the crowd. Flower baskets, bouquets and other decorations graced the platform. Every one felt that a new day had dawned for Bridgeport.

## City Council Meetings

The public was invited to attend the meetings of the city council. Every move the Mayor made, or anything done by any department or official, was promptly reported to the reporters, not because the officials were seeking headline publicity but because they considered that they were servants of the people who were entitled to know what was going on in municipal affairs. Every meeting of the council since the Socialists came into office in November, 1933, has been attended by a large number of citizens and sometimes by more than the Council chamber could comfortably accommodate. Newspaper men are always on hand to report proceedings and the citizens of Bridgeport know more about what is going on in municipal affairs than ever before in the history of their city. The civic spirit has been greatly developed.

The unique achievement of the Socialist party in Bridgeport is that it came into office for its second term at this past election by a far larger majority and a straight vote than its previous election. To return to office by a larger vote and gain more power was evidence that the citizens of Bridgeport were satisfied with the kind of administration that "McLevy and his gang" (as they called

them two years ago) had given the city the past two years.

The Socialists asked to be elected on their record. The third Sunday before election the party published a full-page statement in the three daily newspapers and the Sunday Herald setting forth the record and accomplishments of the Socialist administration from November, 1933, to the middle of October, 1935. They published this docu-

\$8,000. No favoritism is shown in the Department of Public Works and all purchasing is on a competitive basis determined by quality and price.

McLevy also abolished the executive secretary to the Mayor and had the City Comptroller made "Budget Aide" to the Mayor, and in this capacity he reports to the Chief Executive of the city the financial status and outlook of the

Working out a program of municipal activities which would enable the city to conduct its own business, improve its departments, etc., the Socialists went into the state campaign of 1934 with this challenge to the voters: "If you want us to carry out this program, you must elect our men to the state legislature so they can sponsor measures to restore Bridgeport its municipal rights." The Socialists made their legislative campaign on that issue. The full State ticket of the Socialist party received a substantial majority in Bridgeport in the 1934 election.

## No United Front

The story of how the three Socialist Senators blocked all procedure until they got what they were after, deserves an article all its own. Enough to say that these three Senators and two Representatives returned from Hartford with more legislation for the benefit of the common people than was ever secured in all the history of Bridgeport.

From this time on things began to move. And when the campaign opened in October, 1935, the Socialists had a record with which to go before the voters and upon that record which we have very briefly outlined above they made their campaign.

"Militants" and Communist-minded persons have played little part in the Socialist movement in Bridgeport. A letter from the Communist party asking the Socialists for unity in the election. If it had been granted the Communists said they would withdraw their ticket. The letter was, figuratively speaking, consigned to the waste basket. The Communists, however, insisted on getting in on the Socialist bandwagon. The Republicans and Democrats insisted on making our people responsible for the coming of Earl Browder to Bridgeport shortly before election. The straightforward repudiation of Communist alliances on the part of Mayor McLevy and his party made no impression whatsoever on the old party candidates, particularly former Mayor Clifford B. Wilson, Republican candidate, under whose administration graft, bridge scandals and other scandals had developed. On one occasion Mr. Wilson charged me with saying in addressing a Socialist rally October 23rd, "The eyes of the country are upon Bridgeport because it has a Socialist administration. You need not fear to use force to obtain what you want because the police will not interfere." Through the kindness of the Bridgeport Post, which was supporting the Socialist ticket, I was able to reply to this statement in addition to what I could do from

the platform in following meetings.

## A Communist Booby

In my article in the Post I said, "Neither at that meeting or any other I have addressed in this or any other city have I ever recommended that force or violence should be used to accomplish our ends. As a matter of fact, I am a believer in democratic methods for securing what we want. I am opposed to the Communist dictatorship and do not believe that the tactics of the Communists can ever establish Socialism. No, Mr. Republican mayoralty candidate, the Socialists have not taken over the policies of the Communist party."

That the citizens of Bridgeport did not get scared at this Communist bugaboo the old parties tried to flaunt in their faces is evidenced by the fact that out of 43,823 votes cast Jasper McLevy received 24,287. The next high man on the Socialist ticket received 23,675 and the lowest city-wide candidate on our ticket polled 23,421. In the aldermanic contests our candidates received a majority over all votes cast in 12 out of the 16 wards, and all the rest were elected by plurality vote.

This vote was a splendid demonstration that the people of Bridgeport were not afraid of the Socialists. The Socialists had a program and McLevy has always said if you have a program and the ability for putting it over and it has merit in it the people will support you.

For some 35 years Jasper McLevy has been running for office in Bridgeport, soap-boxing campaign or no campaign, doing his stint as house-to-house literature distributor, studying the history of his city and state, learning what he could of government and its relation to the workers and the common people and finally arrived at the highest executive office within the city. In all the years of his campaigning he never asked for votes for the individual man Jasper McLevy, and in the recent campaign in all his speeches he told the voters that it was of no avail to elect him personally. If they wanted his program to be carried out they must elect the men to work with him. He so thoroughly impressed the citizens with this idea that the slogan of the campaign was "Pull the third lever" and elect the Socialist candidates to back up McLevy.

## McLevy and Children

The story of the campaign and election celebration would not be complete without an account of the part the children played. My first introduction to the interest the children were taking was one night when Jasper McLevy drove me over to one of the places where

I was to speak. There was a large group of children out in the street. The Mayor did not get out of his car but asked me to have some one come over to see him. I had not reached the other side of the street before I heard the boys and girls all excitedly saying, "O, there's the Mayor," and some of them were even shouting, "There's Jasper," for this name is as familiar to the children of Bridgeport as 'Gene

said, "Why, he gives us playgrounds." And a boy followed with "Yes, and he has cleaned up the beaches so we can have nice places to go swimming." And another added, "He made the street car companies give us a five cent fare to the beach where to go to other parts of town we have to pay 10 cents."

## Election Night

I wish I had space to tell how the children form committees to call on the Mayor whenever they think they ought to have a new playground. On election day they organized a parade and marched around the City Hall. The local papers carried pictures of the parade. No one was more pleased over the election than were the children of Bridgeport. They crowded the yard and street out in front of the McLevy house.

The "hill-billies" of Bridgeport serenaded the Mayor and when finally he opened the door to receive them on the front porch the demonstration of affection and joy of the youngsters was indescribable. In the parade that followed later in the evening the children played a prominent part. As one of the Bridgeport papers said, the children felt that Jasper McLevy was not simply Mayor of Bridgeport, but he is their Mayor.

The whole town gave itself up to celebrate on election night. Not since the first Armistice Day had Bridgeport ever seen such a happy crowd of citizens, and even that did not equal the enthusiasm of this election night. Even a young grammar school boy, when asked by his teacher if he was not ashamed for not being better prepared with his lessons the next day, said: "No, I'm not a bit ashamed. I was out last night celebrating Jasper McLevy's election—and I'm glad I was."

For the first time in the history of Bridgeport a woman has been elected a member of the Board of Aldermen. Mrs. Sadie Griffin has already had much experience in welfare work, is familiar with the needs of the people, knows the problems of the city, and has been for a number of years a member of the Socialist Party. Her advent into the Council Chamber is hailed with appreciation by the women of Bridgeport as well as the men.

Mayor Jasper McLevy is a man of vision. He is looking far ahead in his program of service for the people of Bridgeport. He is supported by able officials and appointees. He has the personal respect and confidence of his entire administration. His long reach for power as the result of constructive cooperative work with his comrades, his well-organized program are items well worth considering by other locals.

The Bridgeport and Reading victories are the most encouraging events that have happened to our party in a score of years.

May their tribe increase!

FORM. "CAN WE ALREADY SAY THAT BRANTING WAS RIGHT?" ASKS HANSSON. "ARE WE NOT PERHAPS IN THE MIDST OF THE TRANSITION?" CAPITALIST SOCIETY IS RELATIVELY YOUNG. YET IT IS CONSTANTLY CHANGING. "HOW OFTEN HAS IT BEEN SAID: SO FAR BUT NO FURTHER! BUT DEVELOPMENT HAS GONE ON ITS WAY. WHY SHOULD IT STOP JUST NOW?"

Such, in brief, are Hansson's views on democracy. But there is much more in this book. In all the speeches and writings it contains we are given an insight into the mentality of the man and the philosophy of the party which follows his lead. It is a pity that the book is so far only available in Swedish, because its contents are of the deepest interest not only for those who support his views but also for those who oppose them.

## Brownsville Workers' Alliance Elects New Officers

The Brownsville local of the Workers' Alliance, one of the largest and strongest in New York City, elected officers last week for the coming year. The meeting was held at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., their headquarters.

The newly elected officers are: Chairman, Irving Ostrowsky 1st Vice-Chairman, Samuel H. Mitlin; 2nd Vice-Chairman, Louis Schultz; Fin. Sec'y, Jack Speiser; Rec. Sec'y, E. M. Brown; Treas., Jos. Pikes; Chairman, Grievance Committee, Harry Feldman. Central Committee delegates: E. Brown, L. Green, Ed. Goldstein, H. Lopatin, B. Polisky, and M. Sherman.

# Sidelights on Swedish Socialism

THOSE who wish to secure an insight into the position and outlook of the Socialist movement in Sweden will find a rich store of material in the speeches and writings of Per Albin Hansson which have just been published.

Per Albin Hansson, the successor of Hjalmar Branting as leader of the Swedish Social Democratic Labor Party, and Prime Minister since 1932, has put together a selection of his speeches and writings from the last ten years, and the party's publishing concern, Tidens Förlag, has published it in celebration of his fiftieth birthday (October 20, 1935).

As he himself says in the preface, the collection is intended to give a summary of his general views on social questions and at the same time an idea of Social Democratic policy. The title of the book, *Demokrati*, is significant. For if one thing emerges from study of its pages it is that Hansson is a great Democrat. In his view democracy is not merely a political system. It must pervade the whole of life. So much does democracy mean to him that he even devoted his first talking film (made in 1933) to a discussion of the merits of democracy as compared with dictatorship. And a man's first talking film is, after all, an event in his career!

## Democracy

Democracy, he says, belongs to "the individual life, the family, the circle of friends, the place where you work, organizations, or whatever form of communal life there may be." Great care must therefore be devoted to the fostering of democracy, not only at home and in the school, but individually and mutually.

Again, "If one were to sum up the nature of Labor Scandinavianism in one word, there is nothing better than—democracy; democracy in the people and among the peoples, social, political, economic, national, Scandinavian and inter-

## Socialist Premier Hansson Discusses Some Vital Problems of Socialist Statesmanship and Principle—Democracy as Foundation of Social Reconstruction—The Lessons of the Crisis—A Review of a Striking Book

national democracy."

And again, "What we most need is to learn at last that we should always think and act in a truly democratic manner." This must be done "not only in the relations between one social class and another... but also among various groups within the lower class."

He therefore does not merely conceive democracy as a system of government. It is something which extends to all spheres of community and individual life.

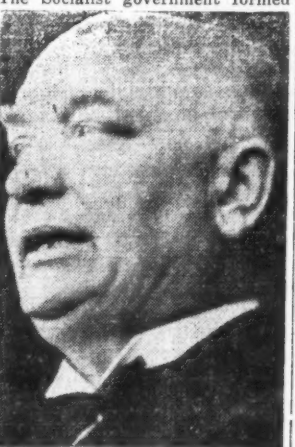
This conception colors his attitude towards the problems of government, and in many of his utterances we see how it has affected the aims and methods of the Socialist government of which he is the head. This government, although in a minority, has maintained itself in office since September, 1932, during a period of acute economic crisis, a period when democracy was at one time retreating over a wide front before the advance of dictatorship. It has, in fact, held office longer than any other Swedish government for a generation. Hansson himself has pointed out that ten governments have succeeded each other during the last fifteen years.

## Socialism on the March

Why has the Socialist government in Sweden been able to hold out so long, and why has the Social Democratic Party during this period been able to strengthen its position both from the point of voting power and of membership? Per Albin Hansson's explanation is scattered among a number of his speeches.

The feature of the last general election, he says, was the progress made by the Social Democratic Party, which was accentuated by the fact that the anti-Socialist par-

ties were shown to be a minority among the electorate. There can be no doubt that the party's progress was, above all, due to its program for dealing with the crisis. The Socialist government formed



Premier Hansson

after the election felt that in seeking a solution to the question of the crisis, regard should be paid to the difficulties of other groups. This was the starting point for their effort, and they welcomed the declaration made at the time by the other parties that they were willing to cooperate.

The Social Democratic Party had no majority in the Riksdag. But it had the advantage that other parties had to take their responsibility more seriously than might otherwise have been the case. "The gravity of the time pressed for cooperation, and thus it was possible to establish a democratic combination over a wide front in support

of the Social Democratic government's crisis policy, to which in a great measure three parties, comprising two-thirds of the members of the Riksdag, gave their support."

## Riksdag Stands High

"If the Swedish Riksdag stands so high in the people's esteem today as it actually does, it is because the present government, in open cooperation with the Farmers' and the People's Party, has understood how to make Parliament into a working and not a talking organ." This quotation from a Norwegian newspaper was read and emphasized by Hansson during an address on "Northern Democracy" delivered before an audience of Danish students. He went on to claim that tradition was not a sufficient explanation for the fact that democracy was being consolidated in some countries while it was declining in others. The strong position of democracy in the North, he said, was due to the following circumstance. "Socialism and bourgeois democracy in the Northern countries have never come into hopeless opposition to each other, the bourgeois democrats have not allowed themselves to be driven by fear of Socialism from their democratic ideal, and the Social Democrats have not for fear of contamination fled from bourgeois democracy. Instead, the forces were able to unite on the solution of democratic tasks which are common to them."

Throughout its period of office the Socialist government has held the lead and taken the initiative. "For me it is part of a good parliamentary order that the government should have the lead and not allow itself to be allocated the role of a football or of a forwarding

agent for what the forces alongside the government, or in opposition to it, push forward." And speaking on the government's policy in the Second Chamber in 1935, in reply to criticisms from the Right, he said: "If my memory does not deceive me, it was precisely the people on the Right who were accustomed to talk about strong governments, and I do not believe that anyone would be willing to accept the view that a government should merely be a messenger-boy for the Riksdag."

## The Government's Program

Thus the government has been able to carry out its program with the results which are already known. "Democracy's constructive method is cooperation. If group and party interests are driven so far that workable majorities cannot be formed, then democracy loses its capacity for positive work." But is the policy of cooperation one for the period of crisis alone? Per Albin Hansson says no. "Anyone who will quietly consider things as they are, will find that there is no necessity to go back to the old conditions of strife after the cooperation during the years of crisis." "I venture to hope," he says, "that the lessons of the hard times will not be all too quickly forgotten, and that the idea of cooperation, which contains the meaning of democracy, will have struck deep roots."

HE GOES FURTHER AND SAYS THAT IT IS IN SUCH COOPERATION THAT THE TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM CAN BE ACHIEVED. THIS WAS THE VIEW THAT BRANTING TOOK AND HANSSON STILL HOLDS IT.

BRANTING SAID IN 1900 THAT "THE TRANSITION NEED NOT NECESSARILY TAKE THE FORM OF A CATASTROPHE." IT MIGHT TAKE PLACE UNDER A JOINT GOVERNMENT OF THE SOCIALISTS AND OTHER SYMPATHETIC POLITICAL GROUPS, CARRYING OUT A POSITIVE PROGRAM OF RE-



# "Libel"--Fine Court-Room Drama Opens Gilbert Miller's Season

## The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

### BAR-SINISTER

"LIBEL." By Edward Woolf. At Henry Miller's.

"Libel" can hardly be called either a mystery play or a melodrama; yet it combines all the excitement of these with a searching character study, and much excellent humor of the "dry" English sort. There is a deal of surprise, which we shall not give away; yet the interest is not lost with the revelation, for the plight of Sir Mark Loddon holds us still.

Sir Mark has just been elected to Parliament, when a London scandal sheet spreads a news item proclaiming "Sir Mark" is an impostor, not merely elected but even

married under false pretense. The consequent suit for libel unrolls before our eyes. To trace the movement of the trial would be both lengthy and unfair to the play—which bears back, in its course, to war scenes and brutality significant beyond the immediate play, glimpses into wide fields of horror and disgust. And one of these, beyond any imposture, had been a Chinese wall between the baronet and his wife, a barrier the barrister (their lives passing in vain) helps them break down. And on the way, through clever touches of character-revelation and of humor, and through its own powerful movement, one of the season's surest and most gripping plays forms into "Libel!"

## ARTHUR L. MAYER'S NEW RIALTO THEATRE OPENS WITH FRANK BUCK'S LATEST THRILLER, 'FANG AND CLAW'

The New Rialto, on 42nd St. and Broadway, sponsored by Arthur L. Mayer, opened Christmas day on New York's most historic theatre corner.

It has as its first attraction Frank L. Buck's latest adventure picture "Fang and Claw."

This is the third in the series of Buck's thrill films. The earlier pictures were "Bring em Back" and "Wild Cargo," also produced by Van Beuren and released by RKO Radio.

"Fang and Claw" is the pictorial of Buck's recent expedition, highlighted by the capture of a man-eating tiger, a giant crocodile,

a rhinoceros, and various rare specimens of wild life in the Far East.

In the gay nineties, Hammerstein's Victoria Music Hall flourished on this corner. In 1915 it was replaced by the old red-plush Rialto, first of New York's great picture palaces. Now Arthur L. Mayer gives us something definitely 1936. A modernistic theatre in blue, gold and terra-cotta, with every latest feature designed for comfort, and a policy of showing good adventure, mystery and drama films, the sort designed to please the male, but that the gentler sex falls hard for.

## "Crime and Punishment" Enters Seventh Week at Cinema de Paris

The student Raskolnikov and the ice chief Porfiry continue to act their cat-and-mouse game at Cinema de Paris, in the French version of Dostoyevsky's famous story, "Crime and Punishment." Pierre Blanchard as the egomaniacal student and Harry as the wily inspector have tried on their battle of wits for weeks at the theatre and will continue the warfare during Christmas week.

Supporting Baur and Blanchard "Crime and Punishment" are Melaine Ozeray as Sonia, Paul-Elambert of "La Maternelle" Polia, and Alexandre Rignault.

Opens Tonight  
10 DAYS ONLY—SEATS NOW  
S. HUROK presents

## TRUDI SCHOOP

her COMIC BALLET  
This woman is a phenomenon... great art is universally comprehensible, like music, and a world-wide success will surely be hers.—Thomas Mann.

MAJESTIC Thea., 44th St., W. 4th Ave. Mat. 75c to \$2.50. Eve. 75c to \$2 (plus tax).

4th MONTH!  
"LA MATERNELLE"

ALOGUE TITLES IN ENGLISH  
masterpiece... should win the world's cinema prize.—World-Tel.  
PLAYHOUSE-154 W. 55th St.

tion, Labor Secretaries!

## MOVIES

can be shown by  
any Union, Branch,  
Club or Local  
FIFTY FINE FILMS

TALKIES, EQUIPMENT,  
OPERATORS SUPPLIED

HARRISON FILM DIST., INC.  
129 7th Ave., N.Y.C.

## MUSIC

HARMONIC SYMPHONY  
LEMPERER, Conductor

AT CARNEGIE HALL  
Sunday Afternoon at 3:00  
Klemperer's last appearance  
(this season)  
Schoenberg, Beethoven 'Eroica'

BEECHAM, Conductor  
Sun. Eve., 8:45; Fri. Aft., 2:30  
Smyth, Delius, Vaughan Williams  
Sart and Elgar Symphonies

at Eve., 8:45; Sun. Aft., 3:00  
Vaughan Williams, Gustav Holst  
Sart and Elgar Symphonies

JUDSON, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

## THEATRE PARTIES

Party Branches and symphony organizations are requested to do so through the Central Department of THE NEW LEADER. Phone ALgon 4-4622 or write to Ber-Feinman, Manager, New Theatre Department, 15th Street, New York.

## Madcap Comedians, Who Head Stage Show at Loew's State



The Three Ritz Brothers, who make merry with patrons of the State this week, where they are part of Ed Sullivan's "Dawn Patrol Revue"

## Garrison Film Distr. Releasing "Crime and Punishment" for Unions, Clubs

"Crime et Châtiment," the French film version of the famous novel by Dostoyevsky, will be released by the Garrison Film Distributors Inc. for use in clubs, schools, labor unions and fraternal groups, it was announced today. The film will be available on 35mm and 16mm sound-on-film for groups outside of New York City effective January 1, 1936. Groups in New York City will be able to use the film at a later date.

The Garrison Film Co. also announced that out of town groups may rent safety equipment from Garrison agencies throughout the country.

## In Gilbert Miller's Long Awaited and Much Publicized "Victoria Regina"



Herewith is Helen Hayes who comes back to the Broadway stage in the title role of "Victoria Regina," which promises to be one of the important events of this theatrical season—the play opened at the Broadhurst Theatre last night

## Two New Film Features at Brooklyn Strand

The dreaded Devil's Island, painted in fact and fiction as the hell-hole of the tropics, serves as the locale for the new film "Escape From Devil's Island" which shares the double feature program this week at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre on the same program with "Millions in the Air."

## Trudi Schoop and Comic Ballet Due at the Majestic

Trudi Schoop and her Comic Ballet, the internationally famed Swiss troupe of dancing comedians, will begin their first American tour with a ten-day engagement at the Majestic Theatre next Friday evening (December 27) under the auspices of S. Hurok.

3  
MATINEES  
WEEKLY  
TUES.,  
THURS.  
& SAT.

GILBERT MILLER presents  
**HELEN HAYES**  
in  
**VICTORIA REGINA**  
By LAURENCE HOUSMAN  
Broadhurst Theatre, W. 44th St. Eves. 8:30  
Special New Year's Eve Performance at 10 p. m.

**BLIND ALLEY**  
with ROY HARGRAVE and GEORGE COULOURIS  
"Completely fascinating."—Anderson, Journal.  
**MOROSCO THEATRE** WEST 45th STREET, L.A. 4-2820.  
Eve. 8:40. Mat. Wed. & Sat. 2:40

GUTHRIE MCCLINTIC presents  
MAXWELL ANDERSON'S  
**WINTERSET** ★★★  
"One of the finest plays which any American has ever written."  
—Gilbert Gabriel, American  
**LYCEUM THEATRE**, 45th St., E. of B'way  
Evenings 8:40; Mats, Thurs. & Sat., 2:40

Luther Greene presents  
in HENRIK IBSEN'S  
**NAZIMOVA GHOSTS**  
(First Time in New York as Mrs. Alving)  
with MCKAY MORRIS—HARRY ELLERBE—ONA MUNSON  
Staged by Mme. Nazimova—Setting by Stewart Chaney  
**EMPIRE THEATRE**, 40th St. & B'way. Evenings 55c to \$2.75  
Wednesday Mat. 55c to \$1.65 Saturday Mat. 55c to \$2.20

**CENTER THEATRE**  
ONE BLOCK SOUTH OF RADIO CITY MUSIC HALL  
Rockefeller Center Playhouse • 49th St. at Sixth Ave.  
The Great American Comedy-Romance  
**AH WILDERNESS**  
A comedy for everybody from seven to seventy with  
WALLACE BEERY—LIONEL BARRYMORE—ALINE MACMAHON  
ERIC LINDEN—CECILIA PARKER—SPRING BYINGTON  
A Clarence Brown Production—From the play by Eugene O'Neill  
Produced by Hunt Stromberg—An M-G-M Picture  
25c to 1 P.M. every day. First Mezz. Seats Reserved.—Phone  
CO 3-6535—Rockefeller Center Parking Space Next Door

**MUSIC HALL**  
SHOW PLACE OF THE MUSIC  
SHIRLEY TEMPLE in  
"The Littlest Rebel"  
with John Boles, Jack  
Holt, Karen Morley,  
Bill Robinson  
A Fox Picture  
On the Great Stage—  
"The Toy Princess"  
Leonidoff's gorgeous  
Christmas Pantomime  
in 3 acts, with Music  
Hall cast & augmented  
ensembles. Symphony  
Orch. dir. Erno Rapee.  
New Shows  
Reserved  
Phone CO  
5-6

The Roxy's Famous Holiday Show!  
**HERBERT MARSHALL**  
and **JEAN ARTHUR**  
in Columbia Pictures' Comedy Romance  
"If You Could Only Cook"  
LEO CARRILLO—LIONEL STANDER  
★ On the Stage ★  
**PAUL ASH** in Person  
HOLLAND & HART • 3 Fonzie Bros.  
Roy Campbell's Royalists • Charlotte  
Lamberton • Torelli's Circus • Others  
**ROXY** ANY DAY!  
25c to 2 P. M.  
25c to 7 P. M.  
10th Ave. & 69th St. ANY SEAT!  
SHOW VALUE OF THE NATION

TWO BIG FEATURES  
**LILY PONS**  
in  
**"I DREAM TOO MUCH"**  
— Also —  
WALLACE FORD  
in  
**"Another Face"**  
with  
PHYLLIS BROOKS  
**PALACE THEATRE**  
47th St.

**CLAUDETTE COLBERT**  
**FRED MACMURRAY**  
in **"THE BRIDE COMES HOME"**  
with ROBERT YOUNG  
— ON THE STAGE —  
First time in any New York Theatre  
In Person **GLEN GRAY**  
& his Original Casa Loma Orchestra  
A Paramount Picture  
NEW YORK TIMES SQUARE  
**PARAMOUNT**  
43rd St. & B'way, N. Y.—CH. 4-7022  
25c to 1 P.M. Every Day

## Nazimova Scores in Ibsen's "Ghosts" at the Empire

### STILL ALIVE

"GHOSTS." By Henrik Ibsen. At the Empire.

Those who rashly thought that "Ghosts" was laid have a poignant awakening at the Empire, where Nazimova heads an impeccable cast in glorious proof that the play still lives, as a rich and soul-stirring experience of the theatre. The fact that, a dozen years or more ago, folks began to say Ibsen's scenes were dating is happily irrelevant; for the basic idea, the driving force, in "Ghosts" is no mere inheritance of disease or condemnation of double standards of morality, but the eternal moral that a life founded on a lie cannot stand. Long before Oswald was born, Mrs. Alving had learned that her husband was physically, as well as morally, worm-eaten; it was sense of duty, conventional morality, the sham of keeping up appearance, that kept her an outwardly devoted wife. And against such shams in our social system, Ibsen's dramas still ring true.

An ideal reader assumes that a play will have the performance it deserves; but such an ideal cast is rarely assembled. Under the direction of Nazimova (who plays Mrs. Alving) such a company foregathers in the present "Ghosts," blending their work in an ensemble

of poised; sensitive, respondent playing that will be memorable through many years. To the rising generation, that pictures Ibsen as a venerable greybeard, senescent, moribund, no better word can be given than this: See Nazimova and her company in "Ghosts" and you will have bestowed upon yourself an evening of deep and penetrating beauty; you will retain a rousing memory and a standard for measurement of the theatre's best. And those that know Ibsen, and Nazimova, will have no need of such a word, but are already banking memory with "Ghosts."

Bette DAVIS  
Franchot TONE

## "DANGEROUS"

A WARNER BROS. Picture with  
MARGARET LINDSAY  
ALISON SKIPWORTH

Walter Winchell says—  
"Bette Davis tops her performance in 'Of Human Bondage' in 'Dangerous'."

United Artists  
**RIVOLI** B'way  
49th St.

## CLIMAXING A YEAR OF HITS!

"... crowds the screen with beauty and excitement, sparing nothing to the screen brilliantly..."  
—Richard Watts, Jr., Tribune

*Charles Dickens'*  
GREATEST LOVE STORY

The biggest hit in a year  
of hits and we've saved it until now to  
make this holiday season memorable!

## A TALE of TWO CITIES

starring  
**RONALD COLMAN**

Cast of 8,000 including ELIZABETH ALLAN,  
EDNA MAY OLIVER, REGINALD OWEN,  
BASIL RATHBONE, BLANCHE YURKA,  
HENRY B. WALTHALL

Produced by DAVID O. SELZNICK  
Directed by JACK CONWAY  
A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture

## CAPITOL

BROADWAY & 51st St. • Major Edward Bowes, Mng. Dir.

NOW!

A MILLION DOLLARS' WORTH OF ADVENTURE  
packed into this miracle of motion pictures!

## CAPTAIN BLOOD

WITH ERROL FLYNN  
OLIVIA DE HAVILLAND  
LIONEL ATWILL • BASIL RATHBONE

A Cosmopolitan Production  
A First National Picture  
Presented by Warner Bros.

**STRAND** B'way & 47th St.  
POP. PRICES • MIDNIGHT SHOW NIGHTLY

FABIAN'S  
**FOX** FLATBUSH & NOVINS  
25c to 5 P. M.

A tingling drama and red-hot rhythm!  
**"BROADWAY HOSTESS"**  
WINI SHAW — GENEVIEVE TOBIN  
Phil Regan — Lyle Talbot  
**"FORCED LANDING"**  
Esther Ralston, Toby Wing, Onslow Stevens

2 FIRST-RUN HITS IN BROOKLYN  
"ESCAPE FROM DEVIL'S ISLAND"  
— Also on the Screen —  
"MILLIONS IN THE AIR" with a great cast.

## BROOKLYN STRAND

Fulton St. & Rockwell Pl.  
25c After-  
noons 40c Even-  
ings 25c Midnite  
Show Sat. 15c Children  
at all times

OPENING SATURDAY EVE., DECEMBER 28  
GEORGE KONDOLF presents a new play by JOHN PATRICK  
**HELL FREEZES OVER**  
with LOUIS CALHERN, JOHN LITEL  
Lee Baker, Myron McCormick, George Tobias, Richard Abert, Frank Tweddell  
Staged by Joshua Logan  
**RITZ Theatre**, W. 48th St. Eves. 8:40; Mats. Wed and Sat., 2:40

**TAPESTRY IN GRAY**  
By MARTIN FLAVIN  
with ELIAS LANDI, MELVYN DOUGLAS, MINOR WATSON, ARNOLD KORFF  
Production conceived and staged by MARION GERING  
**SHUBERT THEATRE**, WEST 44th STREET, L.A. 4-7175  
1st Matinee Saturday (today)

ALL NEW — 12th STAGE EDITION  
**GEORGE WHITE'S SCANDALS**  
RUDY VALLEE BERT LAHR WILLIE & EUGENE  
GRACIE CLIFF HOWARD  
BARRIE EDWARDS JANE COOPER  
75—GEORGE WHITE GIRLS—75  
NEW AMSTERDAM Thea., West 42nd Street  
Eves. 51 to \$4 plus tax

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.

GILBERT MILLER  
presents  
**"LIBEL!"** COLIN CLIVE  
Staged by  
Otto Ludwig Preminger  
"Holds audience spellbound"  
—Brown, N. Y. Post  
**HENRY MILLER'S THEATRE**  
124 W. 43rd St.—Eves. 8:50. Mats, Thurs. & Sat.

Your Great Opportunity 30¢ TO 1\$  
\*\*\* dramatic hit crowded with excitement  
and laughs at Theatre Union's Low Prices  
**LET FREEDOM RING**  
"Deeply moving... laden with conviction... infinitely poignant  
revelation of the embattled human spirit."—Atkinson, N. Y. Times...  
**CIVIC REPERTORY THEA.** 11th St. & Sixth Ave.  
WALKINS 9-7450  
Eves. 8:40. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30. 30c to \$1 (Sat. Eves. 30c to \$1.50)  
For Benefit Theatre parties call Sylvia Regan, CHelsea 3-6894.

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 5 wks. in advance



## Editor's Corner

### Review of and Comment on Events Here and Abroad, Critical and Otherwise

By James Oneal

#### Questions for Norman Thomas

IN a letter by Norman Thomas to the New York secessionists he makes the following statement:

"We can easily make it clear that we are not splitting the party; we are saving it from petty tyrants denying democracy; we are saving it from the lawless dictatorship of the old guard—Forward coalition."

The facts are that the "militant" insurrectionists as a dual party machine bolted the party and announced themselves as the City Central Committee. Any members of an organization who bolt it split it.

At the meeting of the C.C.C. on Dec. 4 they began in a legal manner by moving for a reconsideration of the action on Nov. 13 authorizing the City Executive Committee to take such steps as are necessary to dissolve the organized faction. That was within their rights.

But to move reconsideration some one who had voted for dissolving the faction would have to make the motion. That is a basic rule of parliamentary law. Unless one who had changed his mind made the motion it is obvious there would be no change in the original vote.

The secessionists could not find one delegate who had changed his mind, so the motion could not be made. In defiance of parliamentary democracy and of decency they bolted. Now Thomas declares that the opponents of the secessionists are "splitting the party." He knows better.

The trouble with Thomas is that he is the leader of the secessionists whose price for peace in the party is their right to support armed insurrection. He has been the supporter of the Communists expelled by Local Buffalo and has voted in the N.E.C. to condemn the New York State Committee for not reinstating these armed insurrectionists.

#### Wabbling and Juggling

In a letter to the secessionists Thomas says, "We are not giving over the party to Communism but saving it for Socialism."

Our answer to Thomas is, If you are for Socialism why do you support the bolters whose demand is for the right of party member to advocate armed insurrection? Is that Communism or Socialism? Are you for it or against it? Are you against it in public but for it in private? If you are against it in private and public, why are you the leader of the secession insurrectionists and why do you insist that the Buffalo insurrectionists be readmitted to the Socialist Party?

The party members throughout the country want an answer to these questions. They are tired of your wabbling, tired of your juggling of hardware, of china plate and rubber balls, while you walk: slack wire and change one disguise after another in bewildering succession. Where do you stand anyway, Norman Thomas? If you are for armed insurrection, say so. The secessionists had the guts to say that they want the right to advocate it. We can understand them no human being can understand you.

In that same message to your insurrection-secessionists you say that we Socialists are "seekers after easy cures for the illness of our modern civilization." What do you mean? Does anybody know what you mean? Your insurrectionist friends claim to have found an easy cure in the advocacy of armed insurrection. That brings us again back to the questions we ask above.

You add to the reference to "easy cures" this statement: "It is by deeds that we shall win." What deeds? What do you mean? Do you mean insurrectionist deeds? If not, what deeds do you favor that we do not?

Why do you insist on writing like a medieval obscurantist, stringing words together that may mean anything or nothing? Is it because you insurrectionists now have in their midst the R.P.C. insurrectionist, a few Stalinist plants, Lovestonites, Trotskyites and Gitlowites who are certain to stage a merry shindy now that they have isolated themselves? Is it because you want to please all of these elements? Is it possible for you to write that two and two make four?

#### A Point of Honor

Then you say something that raises a point of honor and human decency. You say that we have a desire to bargain "with old party office holders who have jobs to give out." You once put that into letter to another comrade. I wrote you asking you to have the decency to present any evidence supporting that statement to the proper party agencies. You did not even answer my letter.

You repeated it in your letter to the Forward. Algernon Le asked you to name names, to bring the accusation into the open and assume responsibility for it. I am also asking you to do so. You impeach my honor and of other comrades associated with me when you make that statement. Will you have the manhood to sign your name to it? accusation, bring the accusation before the party, and then present the reasons and the evidence on which you make the accusation?

That is what a man of honor will do when he impeaches the honor of others. The ethics of decency do not permit circulation of such statements. Why do you continue to squirt this poison? Do you have any ethical standard at all? If so, what is it?

The fact is, there is only one party member I know of who has dickered with "old party office holders" and he is Norman Thomas. Did you not for several years urge Senator Norris, a Republican, to lead the Socialist Party into a political coalition? You know that it is a part of party history. You cannot erase it.

You impeach our conception of party democracy. How long would you tolerate an organized clique in the L.I.D. usurping its function and powers? Would you call it democracy for that clique to assume functions and powers not vested in it by the L.I.D. membership?

#### The Issue of Oligarchy

You know the answer. And yet you helped to organize such a clique in the party here. It is now a secession clique and you are still with it. As a result of your work with this dual organization you have brought a split. Now you pose as a democrat after having violated the democracy of the party. You assert that we are an "oligarchy" because we oppose the imposition of the minority oligarchy over the party organization!

You are again on your slack wire juggling hardware, china plate and rubber balls while you shift from one mask to another. Party democracy, indeed!

Do you have any convictions or principles at all? If you have no human being has ever been able to learn what they are. You have played a very clever game in the party. You are for this and for that fifty-fifty, for one-third against it, one-third opposed, and one-third midway between. You are for one thing in public and something else before your insurrectionists, for one thing at night and another thing by day. And yet you call us "opportunists!"

For the sake of the movement, end this artful dodging. Try to be something. Try to be a Socialist, for example. You will get a thrashing out of it.

Finally, do the honorable thing. Tell us who wants to bargain with capitalist politicians. Name names. Either that or admit, that you have no information whatever that justifies this statement.

## DEBATE

### Are Women Happier in the Soviet Union?

ANNA LOUISE STRONG says YES!  
Editor,  
Moscow Daily News

TATIANA TCHERNAVIN says NO!  
Author,  
"Escape from Soviets"

FRANK PALMER, Chairman, Editor, People's Press

MECCA TEMPLE WED., JANUARY 8  
133 West 55th Street  
8:30 P. M.

New Masses (orders by mail and phone filled, CA. 5-3076), 31 E. 27th St. Reserved seats now on sale, 35c-55c-85c-1.45, at the following book stores: Read, 7 E. 15th St.; Workers, 50 E. 13th St. & 369 Sutter Ave., Bklyn; People's, 140 2nd Ave., 1001 Prospect Ave. & 1337 Wilkins Ave., Bronx; Midtown, 112 W. 44th St.; Columbia, 2960 Broadway, and Putnam, 2 W. 45th St.

## SOCIALIST LEAGUE OF FURRIERS' UNION BACKS OFFICIALS

Whereas, labor throughout the country has come to the realization that re-employment can only come through the shortening of the hours of the work week, and

Whereas, a labor union cannot truly serve as such unless it assures its members the right to their jobs, and

Whereas, labor realizes that capital is responsible for unemployment and should pay for the workers' idleness, and

Whereas, the steady rise in the cost of living reduced our minimum pay far below a decent scale of wages; be it therefore

Resolved, that the Socialist group in the Furriers' Union fully supports the demands of the 30-hour week, closed shop, unemployment insurance and 25% increase in the wage scale and every point in the demands set forth to the manufacturers as being vital in keeping the workers and their families in decent sustenance, and be it further

Resolved, that the Socialist group in the Furriers' Union, while not in accord with the present administration, and while it may argue and even emphatically disagree with the present leadership in the Furriers' Union, will set aside its every grievance in a common fight for the conditions above enumerated, and be it further

Resolved, that the Socialist group in the Furriers' Union will fully support our leadership in every move to gain those conditions, and we call upon all furriers in sympathy with the Socialist group to set aside their grievances and work with might and main to bring about humane working conditions in our shops.

Signed:

Furriers' Socialist League.

#### Dr. Eva Katzman Dies at 60

Dr. Eva Katzman, veteran Socialist and old-time Russian revolutionist, died at her home in New York on Dec. 24, after a long illness.

Comrade Katzman was born in Odessa in 1875, and immediately upon her graduation from the gymnasium joined the Social Democratic movement. She came to America in 1892 and graduated from college in 1905. All her life here she was an active member of the Socialist Party and of various other labor organizations. She was the wife of Dr. I. M. James.

#### Giant Christmas Tree In Yorkville Bank

A giant Christmas tree has been set up in the corner of the main banking floor of the Manhattan Savings Institution, 154 East 86th street, rising from a specially made tank filled with water to a point well above the mezzanine floor on toward the top of the fifty central dome, thirty-four feet high.

The commonest query reaching the ears of the bank's officials is now the question of attaching the brilliant star custom to the tree's distant tip. They explain that it took the combined efforts of five tree men and a small army of the bank's own staff to incline the tree to the balcony. Then, from the top of a high step ladder, some one was able to reach the tip and secure the lights.

Exactly a month ago, according to M. Frank, florist, this stately Iowa Scotch Balsam was felled deep in the Canadian forest. It was then drawn by sled to a railroad siding, shipped by flat, opened at 133rd Street and Willis Avenue Bridge, and from thence to the bank.

The display of a sizable Christmas tree as an expression of good will to the people of Yorkville has been a custom of the bank for many years. This year's tree is the largest of all. (Adv.)

#### Jager on WEVD for New Leader Dec. 31st

Henry Jager will speak on "Father Coughlin: Promise or Menace?" Tuesday night at 10 o'clock over Station WEVD for The New Leader.

#### 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 &amp; 83 Sts.

BAKERY and RESTAURANT

##### Fifth Avenue Bar

Wines - Beers - Liquors

77 FIFTH AVENUE

Bet. 15th &amp; 16th St. New York

Tel.: STUYVESANT 9-164

Special Luncheon 35c

Tompkins Square 6-9402-3

##### TIP TOE INN

62 EAST 14th STREET

(Between Broadway &amp; 4th Avenue)

SHULEM, Mgr. NEW YORK CITY

## New Year's Eve Dance At the Rand School

What to do on New Year's Eve has been solved by the Rand School. Come for a gay time, refreshments, and costume dance to a tuneless orchestra on the night of December 31. A special program and all-star variety show will be featured. Individuals, couples, groups and parties are welcome. Tickets available at the Rand School office, 7 East 15th St., in advance at \$1. At the door the admission charge will be \$1.25. All proceeds will be divided between the People's House and the Rand Playhouse, cultural division of the school.

## PARTY NEWS

### MANHATTAN

4th A. D.—Saturday evening, Jan. 25, our branch holds its third annual dance in its clubrooms, 204 East Broadway, featuring Harold Picles and his cucumbers, radio artists, who will furnish the entertainment.

### KINGS

Borough Park.—Next Monday, Dec. 30, in the Borough Park Lyceum, 43rd St. and 14th Ave. Joseph Mandelsohn will lead a discussion of Current Events. During January, Dr. Louis Hendin will lead a weekly discussion on "Socialism and Our Times." A large forum is being planned.

Midwood Branch.—By an overwhelming majority, with but three dissenting votes, our branch ratified the action of our Central Committee delegates in demonstrating their loyalty to the party by not joining the secessionists, and by their action in voting for the abolition of dual organizations. The organ of the bolters brazenly attempts to stigmatize this decision by listing our branch in its short-lived roster of "Anti-Loyalty Branches," a signal honor, as a matter of fact, considering the unsavory record of these new "Loyalty Oath"-makers. The recording secretary, who quit the branch, failed to bring the minute book to this meeting, but pledged his word to the assembled comrades, while the meeting was still in session, to surrender it to the branch. He has since refused to do so. The branch, in addition to the individual donations made by more than 20 members present at the Debs Auditorium party meeting, donated \$20 to Local New York.—Ben Lichtenberg, organizer.

### BRONX

Bronx County Ball.—The Women's Committee of the Bronx Ball Committee, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Rose Goldsmith, is doing excellent work in getting advertisements for the journal in connection with the 23rd annual ball to be held Saturday, March 21, in Burnside Manor. The chairman of the Ball Committee is Harry Kavesh. All comrades are urged to keep that night open.

## A CORRECTION

The New Leader has received a note from Harry T. Smith of Branch Jamaica, which seemed from the Socialist Party, saying that our reference to Jack Karro of that branch having accepted a job in the NRA at Washington is in error, that he passed a civil service examination and is employed in a purely statistical position in the Labor Department.

We publish this correction but we are compelled to add that no assurance was given to the party that it was a civil service appointment. Even a "militant" should report the fact, especially if it is an appointment to a Washington job.

## 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

### Dr. J. LUNENFELD

Surgeon Dentist

80 DELANCEY STREET

Bet. Allen and Orchard Sts.

New York

Office Hours:

Daily 9 A.M. to 5 P.M.

Friday 9 A.M. to 9 P.M.

Sunday 9 A.M. to 7 P.M.

## SOCIALISTS FIGHT WAGE SLASHES IN READING, PENNA.

(Continued from Page One)

and the county as well as for the city.

With Alvin F. Stone, newly-elected Socialist member of the Board, leading in the fight to preserve salary schedules hitherto in effect, the non-Socialist directors first voted down Stone's motion to restore the original schedules and then approved a wage list which will make the following reductions in the wages of public employees:

Chief deputy city treasurer, reduced from \$2,500 to \$2,000; two assistants, cut from \$1,800 to \$1,700; two assistants, cut from \$1,400 to \$1,200. The salaries for two additional assistants were fixed at \$1,500 per annum.

Pointing to the responsibilities of the office as justification for his motion for the retention of the higher pay rates, Stone declared he Socialist Party's stand for the principle of a living wage for public servants.

"I favor economy in the administration of public affairs, but not at the expense of the worker, paid less than he earns or less than he can live on. I urge that salaries be paid these people that will represent a living wage and one that more nearly approaches the higher type of service required in the treasurer's office."

With a lack of comment which left no doubt that they had sharpened the salary pruning shears in advance, the non-Socialist directors first voted down Stone's motion and then approved a second motion favoring the lower rates.

By slashing the salaries in the tax collection office the non-Socialist members of the Board reverse the position which they took at a meeting with city and county officials on Dec. 9, when five of the six who voted for cuts at Tuesday's Board meeting indicated their approval of the original salary schedule.

Following Tuesday's action, both Stone and George W. Snyder expressed their opposition to salary cuts a matter of principle. "As a Socialist, I feel that I have served the workers generally in fighting salary cuts," Stone declared.

Mrs. Hoopes also expressed regret that the Board had taken action against workers' salaries.

## Lecture Calendar

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

Sunday, December 29

Algernon Lee: Topic to be announced; 204 East Broadway, Manhattan; 4th A. D.

August Claessens: "Fundamentals of Socialism"; 3rd lesson; 95 Ave. B., Manhattan.

Thursday, January 2

Gerhart Seger: "European Young Socialists—Their Organization, Activities and Relation to the Socialist Party"; Workmen's Circle Auditorium, 22 East 15th St., Manhattan; auspices Y.P.S.L.

Friday, January 3

Gerhart Seger: "What's Happening in Germany"; 1113 Brighton Beach Avenue, Brooklyn; Brighton Beach Branch Forum.

## ORGANIZATIONS

Get estimates on your printing jobs from

THE CHELSEA PRESS

Union Printers

8 WEST 19th STREET

Chelsea 3-6964-6965

Patronize our Comrade

Fred Spitz, Inc.

Florist

74 SECOND AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

Telephone DRyck 4-6355, 4-6356

Not connected with any other store in New York or Brooklyn

## HALLS and LYCEUMS

### BROOKLYN

#### LABOR LYCEUM

149 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn

Large and small hall suitable for all sections and meetings at reasonable rentals

STAG 2-3843

### LABOR TEMPLE

242-247 EAST 84th ST.

Workmen's Educational Association

Free library open from 1 to 10 p.m.

Halls for Meetings, Entertainment and Balls Tel. REgent 4-1035

## UNDERTAKER

### CHAS. NAGEL

UNDERTAKER

Main Office:

1641 First Ave., near 86th St.

New York City

Telephone BR 4-5191

Chapel and Private Rooms Free in New York, Bronx and Brooklyn.

COMPLETE FUNERAL OR CREMATION FROM \$125.00 UPWARD.

## BEAUTY SALON

### MME. ROSE, Inc.

Exclusive Beauty Salons

ELECTROLYSIS \$1.00 per Treatment

PERMANENT WAVING—ALL METHODS

Largest and most exclusive in Bensonhurst

Expert always at your service

6704 BAY P'WAY 2249 65th STREET

Bronxhurst 6-10044, 9435 RExchview 3-8444

## Gorman Unmasks Liberty League

(Continued from Page One)

"We are confident the law is constitutional and we believe it will be so held; but here again the court cannot so hold without being put in the position of at least seeming to do so in sheer self-defense. I think the conduct of these lawyers is reprehensible beyond words and that their associates of the bar cannot allow the scandalous episode to pass without immediate and drastic action."

"Never did a piece of propaganda backfire with more serious consequences to its promoters than the attempt of the Liberty League and its Lawyers' Committee to usurp the functions of the courts and pass upon the constitutionality of laws."

"The committee 'reported' that the Labor Relations Act is unconstitutional. The reporters to whom they gave this message questioned the lawyers dizzily and brought out in unmistakable fashion that the report was viciously unfair propaganda."

"Fifty-eight lawyers signed the report. Forty-three have been checked. With the exception of two or three too obscure to be looked up, every lawyer in the list is a corporation lawyer, or is connected with firms in corporation practice; especially in utility, steel and oil corporation practice."

**The Brass Check Boys**  
"James M. Beck, former member of Congress, and Newton D. Baker, former Secretary of War, got a fee of \$35,000 from the Edison Electric Institute for writing an opinion that declared TVA unconstitutional."

"John W. Davis, attorney for the House of Morgan, wrote an opinion for Cities Service holding the holding company bill unconstitutional. Cities Service was shown, in the Black investigation, to have spent \$100,000 fighting this bill. What part went to Davis is not known."

"Some of the Liberty League lawyers seem to have got a retainer from every corporation in sight. Forney Johnston of Birmingham, Ala., is listed as counsel for banks, insurance companies, utilities, steel companies and oil companies, besides a number of unassorted corporations whose names do not tell their story."

"Charles R. Fowler of Minne-

apolis has almost as wide a range of corporate clients; and J. J. Heard of Pittsburgh, starting with jobs from the Mellon interests, naturally raked in everything else."

"The Liberty League performance has roused protest from all parts of the country at the arrogance of corporation lawyers seeking to pass on laws of the land."

"The final advice of the Liberty League committee was to the effect that if a lawyer tells his client a law is unconstitutional, that law ceases to exist for that client from that moment. The idea that a lawyer can set aside the law for a client is so preposterous and so arrogant that it must tear from our big corporation lawyers the last shred of suspicion of genuine public interest and it certainly leads toward the conclusion that it is high time these gentlemen were shown of their status as 'officers of the court.'"

## Government Probers in Terre Haute

(Continued from Page One)

that there never would be a union at the Terre Haute plant."

The company's reply held that the labor relations act is violative of the Fifth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution, and denied that the union is composed of workers in the production department.

Otis Cox, secretary of the union, declared that the strike was due to "unbearable conditions," including lack of a regular working schedule, favoritism, inadequate ventilation and heating and "experimental operations carried on to cut down the already small running capacity."

The possible rulings by the board range from complete vindication of the company's policy to transmission of a "cease and desist" order against the labor practices charged with being unfair. A board order is enforced by appeal to the U. S. Circuit court of Appeals, in the circuit where the offense occurred, or to the U. S. District Court.

The hearings left the union men very hopeful that the decision would be in their favor.

## We Employ Only Union Labor

Established since 1889

The Oldest Independent Retail Milk Concern in the Bronx



# 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. 52

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1935

## THE NEW YEAR

THE New Year is an occasion for the usual drivel forecasts of a happy future. It will be the seventh New Year in the depression period that forecasts have been made of the return to normal, and yet 1936 promises to be the same as the previous six years.

The New Year begins with world industry and world trade still stagnant and tens of millions of workers unemployed throughout the world. All Europe is poised on a volcano which may explode at any moment and send millions of conscripts to their death. Fascist governments have not yet succeeded in forming an alliance, although some of them are approaching it and ere the new year ends, that alliance of this barbaric phase of capitalism may wage war to bring all Europe into a fascist prison.

At home the politicians in the seats of power continue to muddle through. Since the beginning of the depression a marked caste has been created in the United States, a caste as distinct as the untouchables in India. It consists of the human waste product of American industry, human beings with the wolf-stare of hunger in their eyes, deprived of work and dependent upon the hated 'alms bag to keep them alive.

Workers of the nation! Socialism is your liberator from destitution and servitude. Make it your agency for this purpose in the New Year!

## JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY

THERE are Democrats who shout, "Back to the principles of Jefferson" to end the depression, but they say nothing about the economic philosophy of Thomas Jefferson. He was opposed to capitalism and wanted to keep it on the other side of the Atlantic. He would have manufactured articles imported and have these imports supplemented with articles produced in the home. His opposition to early capitalism as he knew it was because poverty and corruption followed its development.

In agriculture he wanted a nation of small farmers, self-producers who would also serve as small and regional governing units to check the overlordship of a big government bureaucracy.

These Jeffersonian ideas fitted into the world Jefferson knew, but they are entirely out of place in our modern world. If the Jeffersonians really want to go back to Jefferson, they should advocate the destruction of machinery and great industrial plants and revive the hand-loom, the spinning wheel and handicrafts in the home. Either that or admit that they do not know what they are talking about except to get votes.

## THE UTOPIANS

It can be safely said that the Socialist movement in new countries repeats the utopian phases of its history. It is also true that new members go through some utopian phases before they become thorough Socialists. Marx and Engels, Bebel, Liebknecht and other famous Socialists also traveled the road from utopia to science. When movement like ours in the United States is renewed in organization and members both are certain to repeat this history.

This is the basic law which accounts for the unfortunate situation in the Socialist Party of the United States. It is made all the more acute because of morbid fears of war and fascism and the continuance of the most fearful depression in the history of capitalism into its seventh year.

One aspect of this utopianism today is the offering of something in the belief that it is something "new" where it too often turns out to be something very old. There is not a single "new" idea offered by our present utopians that is not old and some go back to the romantic period of Marx and Engels before they founded the modern Socialist movement.

Another form of this immaturity is vagueness. Our leading Socialist writers were always precise. Not so with the utopian. He is vague because he has not emerged from a utopian stage. Recently, in answer to question as to what a utopian meant by "extra-legal organization" his answer was—"cooperatives"! Nothing so illustrates the poverty of thought that goes with immature thinking as this answer. The "new" is often old that it is covered with dust of decades of history.

## LET US HAVE LIGHT!

SEVENTEEN years have passed since the United States entered the World War and there are documents lying in the government archives at Washington that may tell an interesting story. It is now reported that the Senate Munitions Committee will have access to these documents and to others from J. P. Morgan & Company, the fiscal agents for the British Government. It is hinted that this material is likely to show the cash between our American exploiters and the great moral crusade, as President Wilson described the world chery.

In many other countries revolution opened up the secrets of imperialist powers. Let's shed some light on our own.

## CHRISTMAS 1935

by Don Carlos



PEACE on Earth, Goodwill towards Men!  
 'Tis not so easy to sing again  
 These words, or to think of the "Holy Child,"  
 Of the "Prince of Peace" and of "Mercy Mild,"  
 Or to praise the wonderful "Christmas Star"  
 In a world of hunger, injustice, and war.

PEACE on Earth, to Men Goodwill!  
 But millions are jobless and helpless still,—  
 But women and children are crying for bread,—  
 (We send them a "Christmas basket" instead)  
 And offer to men and their eager cry  
 For work the insult of charity.

PEACE on Earth, Goodwill towards men!  
 But bomb and machinegun are speaking again,  
 And Christian nations are arming to fly  
 At the throat of the "Fatherland's enemy,"  
 While church-men continue to pray and to cry,  
 "Amen! All glory to God on High!"

PEACE on Earth, Goodwill towards men!  
 Yes, every Christmas we hear them again,  
 The ancient pronouncements of dogma and creed,  
 But when shall we see the heroic deed  
 That brings goodwill and peace from the skies  
 To dwell in men's souls and hearts and eyes?

PEACE on Earth, Goodwill towards men!  
 When shall we be able to breathe "Amen!"  
 To words so pregnant with prophecy?  
 When shall our eyes be blest to see  
 On the day we sing of the "Savior's Birth"  
 Peace, justice, and honor at home on earth?

## Behind the Scenes in Washington

By Benjamin Meiman  
 Our Washington Correspondent

THE NRA, once the corner stone of President Roosevelt's recovery program, the hope of the unemployed and the pet of the New Deal, was finally sent to its grave Monday, when the President signed the National Recovery Administration's death knell.

The truth is that there wasn't much to kill. Very few powers were left the NRA since the sick chicken decision emasculated the blue eagle. But even the shadow of it will be put into a coffin on January 1.

Officially it was announced in the White House that the remnants of the NRA are being transferred to the Departments of Commerce and of Labor, but actually Mr. Roper gets all the meat and all the gravy left. Miss Perkins just gets the smell, and not too good a smell either.

The Division of Review and Division of Business Cooperation and the Advisory Council, as constituted by an executive order issued last June, together with all their officers and employees, files, records and equipment, were transferred to the Commerce Department. The Consumers' Division was transferred to the Labor Department.

### To Pacify Business

There is good reason for putting the old NRA out of sight and tucking it away safely under the arm of Secretary of Commerce, Roper. That department is one of the few administration agencies which is still on speaking terms with the business world. Roper always had very little love for the "brain trust" and the "reformer," himself having very little brains and caring nothing for reforms. He speaks the language of the businessman and dreams the dreams of the shop-keeper. Under Roper's benevolent care the ghost of the blue eagle will not scare but amuse the timid and timorous chambers of commerce, and give them a chance to enjoy the previously promised "breathing spell."

Of course, that is bosh. TVA is a vast social project designed to provide plentiful cheap power, to serve as a yardstick, and to bestow the blessings of the electrical age upon the population of seven States in the Tennessee River basin. Although, in anticipation of

President Signs NRA Death Knell to Pacify the Timid Souls in the Chambers of Commerce — Secretary of Commerce Roper Will Embalm and Inter the Ghost of the Blue Eagle—Al Smith, the 'Happy Warrior' of 1928 Is Just a Bellyaching Loser.

to suit big business. Smith fell out with President Roosevelt before the Democratic National Convention of 1932. He was bitter to the extreme following Roosevelt's nomination. Before the Presidential campaign closed, however, Smith was heard in New York, Massachusetts and Rhode Island in support of the Roosevelt ticket, and there was every evidence of joy on the part of the Roosevelt campaign managers. How far the former New York Governor will go in the coming Presidential campaign has not been disclosed, but one thing is sure, he will no longer pretend to be against big business and for the "plain people." He has fairly well been unmasked. Aside from that, he showed himself to be a very poor sport! Not a "happy warrior," but just a bellyaching sore loser.

### "Dam" the Issue of T.V.A.

In arguing the Tennessee Valley Authority case before the Supreme Court, Government counsel was compelled to take a hypocritical position in an effort to get inside constitutional lines.

Representing the Government, Solicitor General Stanley Reed acknowledged that if TVA had been set up primarily to produce power it would be unconstitutional. It must be primarily an aid to navigation in order to be constitutional. So Reed, in dead earnest, argued that TVA was primarily an agency to aid navigation.

Of course, that is bosh. TVA is a vast social project designed to provide plentiful cheap power, to serve as a yardstick, and to bestow the blessings of the electrical age upon the population of seven States in the Tennessee River basin. Although, in anticipation of

the constitutional point, phrases about aiding navigation were stuck into the law, the actual navigation that will be aided by it can be put in your eye. One dam doesn't even have a lock to let boats through.

In his message to Congress, April 10, 1933, asking for creation of TVA, President Roosevelt mentioned practically everything except navigation. He said the Muscle Shoals plant should be put to work in the service of the people, but that this was only a small part of the potential usefulness of the Tennessee River which could be made available. Such use, he said, transcends mere power development and enters wide fields of flood control, soil erosion, afforestation, elimination of marginal lands, distribution and diversification of industry. In short, he said, the Muscle Shoals project leads logically "to national planning for a complete river watershed involving many States and the future lives of millions."

The TVA, he added, "should be charged with the broadest duty of planning for the proper use, conservation and development of the natural resources of the Tennessee River drainage basin and its adjoining territory for the general social and economic welfare of the Nation."

With these social objectives in mind, the proposal was debated and enacted by Congress and construction begun — almost three years ago.

There is something impractical in a judicial system which three years later turns up an argument as to whether it was all illegitimate and which compels the Government, after millions have been spent, thousands of families moved and the geography of a whole region made over, to go before the highest court in the land and hang by its eyelashes on a legal fiction, in a desperate effort to save the whole enterprise from being junked.

Nothing illustrates better than this the unreality of our existing procedure, and the need of constitutional reform of constitutional interpretation, if such an expression is constitutional.

## DEBS BRANCH PLEDGES 1,000 NEW LEADER SUBSCRIBERS

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

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

## Joy in Wall Street

By Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr.

Father of the famous flyer, gallant warrior against war 1914-18

THIS is the war stock soaring high  
 That brings all the joy to Wall Street,  
 This is the gambler, wild of eye,  
 Who shares with his broker, bribe and spy,  
 The profit in war stocks, soaring high,  
 That brings all the joy to Wall-Street.

SO this is the list of what they buy:  
 An orphaned infant's feeble cry,  
 A widowed woman's sob and a sigh,  
 A field of graves where the dead may lie,  
 A shambles where thousands daily die,  
 A billion shells that in battle fly.

GLADNESS glows in the gambler's eye,  
 As he shares with the broker, bribe and spy,  
 The profits in war stock, soaring high,  
 That bring all the joy to Wall Street.

## The New Leader Book Corner

### DEBS IN ATLANTA PENITENTIARY

By William M. Feigenbaum

FOR close to ten years Mark Sullivan, editor and political commentator, has been publishing successive volumes of "Our Times," a running account of and commentary upon the exciting years through which he has lived and in which he has functioned as a highly-regarded newspaper reporter. Indeed, "Our Times" has come to be regarded as a historical source book and is so used in many schools and colleges.

Mr. Sullivan's intimate knowledge of what he writes about, and his care in checking up his facts, have given his books a reputation for reliability. And for that reason it is interesting as well as important to record something about his latest volume, "The 20's," which has just appeared. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.) The author declares that there is much in contemporary history never found in books, newspapers and the other usual sources, and he illustrates with a detailed factual story of the events leading up to the astonishing nomination of Warren G. Harding as President in 1920, giving many sidelights and details that no one could ever have known without having himself been behind the scenes.

### Sullivan Whitewashes Harding

It is for that reason that Sullivan's virtual whitewash of President Harding, and especially of the notorious Harry M. Daugherty, is likely to carry more weight than any official whitewash from inside party sources. Sullivan knew Harding intimately, and he knows Daugherty well, and while he admits that neither man was supremely fit to hold the office he more or less adorned in the early 20's (no man, he says, could ever have been as great a Senator as Harding looked), he tells a story so plausible that one begins to wonder if all the Harding scandals, and the Ohio Gang revelations were not, after all, just a typographical error. Forbes, of course, was a crook and Jess Smith was a boob. Fall was a rascal, and King and Miller criminals. But that was about all. Harding was honest, sincere, decent and not very able. Daugherty had a high code of ethics and his devotion to Harding was one of the great friendships of history, ranking with Damon and Pythias, Marx and Engels, Park and Tilford and Van and Cortlandt.

It is therefore interesting to come to a chapter dealing with the inside of a story with which I happen to be rather familiar: the release of Eugene V. Debs from Atlanta. The Sullivan story seems to make sense, and it adds to the noble characters Sullivan appears to be creating for Harding and Daugherty. But corrected by facts many Socialists know, Harding and Daugherty appear in an entirely different light, as shabby and tawdry mediocrities. And then one wonders how much of the "authentic" Sullivan history can likewise be corrected in the same way. In other words, how much faith can the reader or student have in any work in which prejudices, misstatements and half-truths are known to appear? Or in any work in which such prejudices may creep unknown to the reader?

Sullivan tells the story of the arrest and imprisonment of Debs, and adds (page 216):

### Debs in Atlanta

"In Atlanta, Debs had made a quite extraordinary record—his presence, wrote one commentator, was 'like a breath of fresh air upon the men with whom he came in contact.' Everybody loved him: officials, guards, convicts. The warden felt under obligation to him because of the restraining effect Debs' gentle and kindly spirit had on the other prisoners, making easier the task of maintaining discipline and morale in a walled city of criminals, some desperate and dangerous."

Then Mr. Sullivan gives the surprising information that Harding "shared the deep compassion which Debs had for the underdog," and tells us that "the frail and aged Debs eking out his last years behind the somber walls of prison was distressing" to the Marion humanitarian.

Of course, Harding had no sympathy with Debs' political or economic views, "but Debs had gone to jail because of his hatred and loathing of war, which was something more than, and different from, a mere detail of the Socialist creed. Harding himself hated war..." (But he kept it a deep secret.)

So the President-elect, two weeks before his inauguration, told Daugherty "he wished to have Debs released."

### Debs and the Ohio Gang

"Daugherty, on becoming Attorney-General, went through the formalities requisite to the issuance of a pardon. . . . Daugherty ordered Debs released from Atlanta to go to Washington. Debs came, spent a day with Daugherty in the Attorney-General's office."

Mr. Sullivan apparently is unable to see the obscenity of a man like Daugherty summoning Eugene V. Debs to discuss ethical and moral questions, for he quotes the Attorney-General as follows: "We talked freely for several hours. . . . I found him a charming personality with a deep love for his fellow man." This is Harry Micaiah Daugherty, hero of the Ohio Gang and instigator of the "Red Raids," smasher of the railway strike, friend of Jess Smith, associate of Forb's, colleague of William J. Burns, sitting in judgment on Debs! But Sullivan sees nothing incongruous in that.

Daugherty, writes Sullivan, recommended that Debs' sentence be commuted to expire December 31, 1921. "When the order was presented to the President for his signature, he changed the date to December 24th, saying: 'I want him to eat his Christmas dinner with his wife.'" That's all you read in the book.

It seems a pity to destroy this idyllic picture of the two warm-hearted Ohio statesmen overflowing with sympathy for 'Gene Debs, but certain facts must be added to complete it.

### Shabby Generosity

After his visit with Daugherty—an amazing episode, incidentally, with Debs permitted to travel alone and without guards from Atlanta to Washington—the Attorney-General sent Debs papers for a pardon. We old Socialists recall the blazing indignation that came from Prisoner 9658: "To ask for a pardon would imply that I have done wrong, and that I admitted that I have done wrong. I will not admit it by signing an application for a pardon." 'Gene Debs would not save the face of the Ohio statesmen even to win release from prison. It was only after Harding was impressed by a gigantic petition signed by virtually every man and woman in Terre Haute and Vigo County praying for the release of Debs that he ordered him freed. 'Harding, the warm-hearted, did make the remark about wanting 'Gene to eat his Christmas dinner with his wife; and then he ordered him to report to Washington before going home, and it was not until two days after Christmas that Terre Haute welcome the Prisoner of Atlanta the welcome home of a conquering hero.

In other words, Harding, like Daugherty, talked big; and then they acted like a couple of cheap politicians. When the spaces are filled in, when the whole story is told, it does not sound so noble.

One is reminded of the mature judgment of Alice Lovvorn, daughter of Theodore Roosevelt and an intimate of the Harding household. "Harding was not a bad man. He was only a slob."

The whole Debs story, as well as the story of many other activities of Daugherty that Sullivan omits, would complete the picture. But only those who know the whole shabby episode can do that. How many more of the facts printed in our histories and source books are told with as much fidelity to half-truth as is this story?

### Branch 455 Starts

#### New Leader Drive

Branch 455 of the Workmen's Circle, one of the many English-speaking branches of that organization, has launched an intensive drive for New Leader subs. All members are to be urged to subscribe.

As a starter seventeen members, not yet New Leader subscribers, have signed sub blanks.