

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Impressions in the Southwest—Socialist Prospects and Socialist Tasks—Capitalism at Work—The Ambitions of "Alfalfa Bill" Murray—Oklahoma—The Farmers' Straits

ENROUTE TO LOUISVILLE.

A HEAVY schedule and slow mails resulted, I learn, in the failure of my column to reach the New Leader in time for publication last week—the first failure, I think, in several years. Now I'll add a little in the hope that it will arrive in time.

SOCIALISM IN TEXAS AND KANSAS



NORMAN THOMAS

TEXAS still has the best open forum movement of any state I've seen. The interest in Socialism is deeper and more intelligent than it was two years ago. There is no organization corresponding to the interest—a matter in which, alas, Texas is not unique. I attended somewhat encouraging organization conferences in Houston and Waco. In many cities in Texas and elsewhere, properly chosen and trained organizers could get far. They would have to know local conditions, understand the terrible problems of tenant farmers as well as of industrial workers, talk the American language, avoid an overdose of Socialist theory, but be sound Socialists who can make clear the difference between Socialism and the kind of revived Jacksonian democracy which Governor Murray of Oklahoma is trying to pull off.

This goes for Kansas and lots of other states as well as Texas. At present Kansas is feeling the reviving influence of Haldeman-Julius's activity. His "Freeman," edited by Fred Warren, is attracting wider influence. It's a lot better stuff for Kansas—and the rest of the states—than the pabulum furnished by the famous "great gland" Dr. Brinkley, almost elected governor, on a platform of promising something for everybody including putting lakes in every part of Kansas.

To take advantage of this revived interest and push organization is our main job. In this matter the national party has fallen down in the face of difficulties and above all poverty—but difficulties we can and must surmount. The main job of the next convention must be with more vigorous and effective action on a planned national strategy.

CAPITALISM AND ITS WORK

A North Texas Social Workers Conference I got new insight into the shameful "dole" that Americans who spurn the justice of unemployment insurance or indemnity offer the unemployed. In Dallas estimates of the number unemployed range from 10,000 to 22,500! Workers on city emergency jobs get \$2.40 a day, paid in groceries handed them by the city! The workers can't select their own. No North Texas City or County has adequate relief. The "usual" unemployment of cotton pickers and then admit that cotton prices were so low that these seasonal workers brought back nothing! They know that Negroes never beg but don't know how they live. They admit there may be riots though so far the people have been astonishingly patient. They only get along because the poor help each other and because there is a kind of crude, inequitable, involuntary moratorium on rent and mortgages which the shysters for individual initiative don't seem to mind if it hits the other fellow! This is what President Hoover really means when in one of his dreary messages he tells us that almost every locality in the country has reported that it "will take care of its own."

Meanwhile oil exploitation and waste goes on. We passed through part of the East Texas oil field (where this summer water cost 2 1/2 times what a barrel of oil would bring) and saw them cheerfully burning off natural gas because it didn't pay to pipe it! And in one great field watermelons rotted on the vines. It didn't pay to pick them! Great is capitalism.

NEWS IN THE INTERIOR

NEVER did any situation call more loudly for compulsory unemployment insurance, the five day week, a great national housing program and federal relief than what we have all over America.

While the papers in these parts are improving in giving the news, they still do better by the bridge "battles of the century" than by foreign affairs. I gather the League of Nations Manchuian Commission, accepted by Japan, is a few degrees better than nothing—but not much—and that the danger has not passed. More immediately serious to us is the German situation. Mellon's plan for further reducing of debts according to capacity to pay is both impractical and dangerous—as bad as his taxation plan to hit the poor. Congressional insistence on debt paying is as bad. The only way out is a willingness to cancel debts and reparations provided there is reduction in armaments. That must come soon or Germany will collapse or blow up.

A thoughtful German Social Democrat at Kansas University told me there was no hope save some compromise basis for action between the younger Social Democrats and the more reasonable Communists. Democracy, he said, under the latest decrees was already gone. He sounded convincing.

ALFALFA BILL AND THE PRESIDENCY

AUSTIN, TEXAS, DEC. 7.

I HAD barely had time to get off the train and eat breakfast in Tulsa, Okla., before a reporter was asking me what I thought of Governor Murray's chances for the presidency. That shows how amazingly Alfalfa Bill has caught the public interest and the first page. Even his enemies admit his genius as an exhibitionist. And his friends who cheered when he announced that he'd live in the garage and plant rutabagas in the grounds of the Executive Mansion forgive him when he does nothing or the sort. They find some excuse for all the relatives he put on the payroll and the big cement man he made highway commissioner. Does he not swat the big banks and oil companies gloriously? And can't he make a grand speech and if necessary stand on his head as well as any acrobat?

Just now Oklahoma is all set up about the Governor's seven initiated bills to be voted on at an election December 18. As usual in Oklahoma there is a legal tangle on some of them; and the Governor is at odds with the Supreme Court. With the purpose of most of them a Socialists would sympathize; to increase taxation and lighten the ad valorem tax on families is good. But the school men claim that one provision is so drawn as to threaten school funds and make it likely that country schools will have to close in a four month year. It may also be wise to reduce cotton and wheat acreage. But how to prevent the bootlegging in grain and cotton without keeping the hard worked Oklahoma militia on the job all over the state is another problem.

Actually Murray's radicalism is not forward but backward looking. It is not Socialistic but a flare up of the old pioneer ways of thinking. Murray is not against capitalism but against big capitalists; not against the terrible wastes of oil and the social injustice of private ownership of oil, but for the little oil men and against the big. He is so far from understanding labor problems that the striking coal miners in the northern part of his state accuse him of working with the operators. His only advice to the miners was to take a wage cut!

Imagine, then, how a Socialist feels when he reads editorials both for and against Murray appealing to Socialists who "hold the balance of power" to vote thus and so on these bills. Here is a state where once our party was strong and where lots of Socialist believers are left; yet without organization they are reduced to being the tail of the kite, either for Murray or his enemies. The moral is plain in every state. In Oklahoma I was rejoiced to see our old friend W. L. Garver taking the lead in reorganizing the party in Tulsa. There was much hopeful interest also in the State University. To have value, Socialism or Socialist sympathy must have organization and its own program. It must not be reduced to holding the balance of power on some half-baked program like Murray's.

THE PLIGHT OF THE FARMERS

HERE in Texas the Socialists have called a convention or conference for the day I am to be in Waco. That is a good sign of life. So far as I can make out the unemployment situation is proportionately as bad as in New York. Relief funds are even less. The community chest drive is far from

(Continued on Page Three)

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Harlan Frame-Up Jails Union Leader For Life

President of Miners' Local Faces Similar Trial Next Week—Defense Witness Indicted for Murder—Governor's Commission Flays Lawlessness

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

MT. STERLING, Ky.—W. B. Jones, United Mine Workers' secretary of Evarts, Ky., local union 5355, has been found guilty of the murder of Jim Daniels, brutal gunthug who was slain by unknown persons in a gun fight last May 5th on the Evarts-Harlan road. The jury in Judge Prewitt's Montgomery Circuit Court lacked even one working man, being composed almost entirely of farmers and merchants.

Such a jury figured very prominently in the calculations of Harlan authorities, who, acting on instructions from the Coal Operators' Association, which is ruled by Insull, Peabody, Mellon and Morgan, secured from the notorious Judge D. C. ("Baby") Jones, himself financially interested in coal companies, a change of venue to the 200 miles distant Mt. Sterling in the heart of the farming and Blue Grass section of Kentucky.

1,100 GUNMEN USED

By jailing Jones for life, the commonwealth makes another violent effort to smash the union movement in southeastern Kentucky's coal fields. Since arriving in the Black and Cumberland Mountains of Harlan County last August, Jones, a member of the U. M. W. of A. for 29 years, became the outstanding union agitator. Finding conditions of slavery in the mines, he immediately put his fine energies to the task of rousing the men to economic cohesion. For this activity he was discharged by the Insull-Peabody Black Mountain Coal Corporation and driven from its closed camp at Black Mountain. In Evarts, two miles away, he continued organizational work where he had been elected secretary of the local union.

Around this brave figure, fighting at first almost alone in those company thug-infested hills, the miners rallied. With Jones they appealed for law enforcement, for an end of dep-

uty sheriff ruffianism and coal corporation flouting of statutes guaranteeing fair weights on the tipples, safety provisions in the pits and the right to trade where they pleased. When the Black Mountain Company cut wages for the fourth time, thereby reducing living standards to the lowest depths known in the mining industry, the men struck. The union continued to grow and the coal barons increased the violence and number of their repressive measures. To insure the slavery of 18,000 coal diggers 1,100 gunmen were employed.

DANIELS SHOT FIRST

Jones carried his appeal for the starving mining people to Frankfort before Governor Flein D. Sampson. Jones' home, early the union headquarters, became also the central point for distribution of aid to destitute mountaineer miners, their women-folk and children. The slain deputy, Daniels, had made himself a hated figure because of his leadership in cruelties practised upon a suffering people. Testimony of many defense witnesses shows that whoever did kill this monster shot in self-defense, for Daniels' Browning automatic was the first weapon fired.

The coal operators framed up a conspiracy and murder indictment against Jones and other Harlan miners. 43 of whom were indicted. They introduced a large array of lie-swearing witnesses, almost entirely made up of deputy sheriffs, scabs and agents provocateur. Defense counsel showed how the Black Mountain Coal Corporation rewarded with jobs and promotions nearly every witness who took the stand for it to swear away the guiltless defendant's life. Jones' testimony that he was not at the scene

the committee to organize the party.

CHARLESTON, West Virginia.—A conference of the West Virginia Mine Workers Union held here this week has voted to organize a state-wide labor party which will contest local, city and town offices in the forthcoming elections. Complete opposition to both old parties has been decided upon.

The union, which has a membership and following of over 18,000 miners, will be the nucleus of the new party. Other unions in the state will be invited to attend another conference to be held in the middle of January. Norman Thomas, Socialist party leader, will address the convention.

Harold Houston, general counsel for the miners' union, and former Socialist candidate for Governor, is chairman of

the January convention will determine whether the newly formed state labor party will affiliate at once with the Socialist Party of America. A strong sentiment for affiliation with the Socialist party was evidenced at the miners' conference when Murray Baron and Amicus Most, Socialist organizers, addressed it and urged cooperation with the Socialist party.

The Socialist organizers pointed out that the Socialist party has a functioning national political machinery at hand from which a West Virginia labor party would immediately obtain national contacts. Baron and Most spoke of the many services to the miners and other unions given by the Socialist party in time of strikes.

of the shooting and that he did not incite the miners to attack the gun guards was corroborated by over a hundred witnesses. The jury, taken from social strata traditionally bitter enemies of labor organizations, preferred to believe the murderous gunmen, the traitorous scabs, the corporation spies and such poisoners of their own kin as the three lying Lesters who gained immunity from being tried for Daniels' murder by reciting the crude and lurid tale by which the prosecution inflamed the minds of the jurors against the miners' union.

Appeal of the case will be made by Captain Ben B. Golden of the General Defense Committee, former U. S. Senator John M. Robison and W. Bridges White of the United Mine Workers. The two organizations have jointly defended Jones. Labor must unite to win the freedom of this framed-up union miner and send him back to his wife and seven children.

HIGHTOWER NEXT VICTIM?

William Hightower, veteran union coal digger and president of the Evarts local union of the United Mine Workers of America, has been chosen by the commonwealth court here as the next victim of the union-crushing Harlan coal exploiters. He will be tried on December 28 in the Montgomery Circuit Court on the docket that includes nine Harlan miners charged with first degree murder of Deputy Sheriff Daniels.

Conviction of Jones has whetted the appetite of the bloodlusting coal operators, whose anti-union move was always manifest in the frame-up case against the Evarts union secretary and is now blazoned to the world by selection of the union's local president for trial on the same murder indictment.

In the short period until trial date the prosecution will employ the resources of the rich coal combines and the vassal state to frame-up this old-time union worker who has spent a long life for the spread of labor unionism and that freedom which it alone guarantees for the working class. The perjury of coal company hirelings by which Jones was convicted will be re-enforced by additional lies and new liars. To keep a \$2 wage scale in the Kentucky coal fields, thus gaining millions of dollars in this super-profit-eering racket, the coal kings are primed to spend huge sums against the union and its advocates.

DEFENSE NEEDS FUNDS

The labor movement is on trial in the hostile courts of Kentucky. Its foes number the leading capitalists of this country. Every device for antagonizing working class organization has been used, both extra-legal and legal. From every point of the compass, from every city and town in the land labor must pour funds to save these miners from master class punishment. Labor must free the heroic Harlan miners and keep the union banner aloft.

In the terrific contest waging in Kentucky the General Defense Committee, first to the rescue of the framed miners, has depleted its treasury. More funds must be raised at once. Attorneys' costs must be paid and witnesses, hundreds of them, must be brought to Mt. Sterling and provided for. The major part of this great burden rests on the General Defense Committee. Pledged to fight the cases through to the finish and to victory, it appeals in the name of the Harlan miners and for the life of the labor movement in Kentucky. There is no time to be lost! Rush all funds to the General Defense Committee, 555 West Lake Street, Chicago, Ill.

Governor's Commission Flays Lawlessness Perpetrated Against Workers in Harlan

FRANKFORT, Ky.—(FP)—Lawlessness of the law in Harlan is now sharply attacked by two Kentuckians, sent to investigate conditions officially for Gov. Sampson himself. In a nine-volume, 1,200 page report to the Governor, testimony to make the blood run cold is detailed by Judge J. Smith Hays and A. A. Babbitt, Lexington attorney.

L. P. Fuson, Evarts carpenter who had gone bond for union men, was framed, according to the report, for possessing liquor. The killing of Julius Baldwin and Joe Moore at the soup kitchen near Harlan was unprovoked, the commission found. The commission quotes John B. Gross, former jailer and tax assessor of Harlan county, about the acquittal of Deputy Bill Randolph of murdering John Chastemon, storekeeper friendly to the miners. Gross said the jury was selected to acquit Randolph and it did so.

The Folly of Capitalist 'Planning'—The Socialist Plan

WE live in a civilization where the opportunities of employment are the property of powerful owning groups. Some decades ago the small shop and business and farm offered a refuge for the worker who disliked conditions in a large industry. It was the age of small enterprise. It lured the worker and the farmer who had accumulated some savings. They desired individual escape from dependence upon another class.

All this is changed or rapidly changing. Vast accumulations of capital invested in industry, business and banking have emerged from the small business era. These accumulations have heaved their owners to the top of society where they rule the millions of useful workers. These masters are removing the small shop and small business and farm. It is an age of big business. Little business is no longer the refuge it once was for a few individual workers.

Time was when the little proprietor of a shop, a business or a farm was warned against Socialism. He was told that the triumph of a Socialist movement would be followed by the small owner having to part with his small property. The small owner didn't want to "divide up" so he voted with the big masters of capital.

THE FOOL'S PARADISE ENDS

Now the owners of small capital all over the nation, especially in the post-war period, have been "dividing up." Nay, more. They are parting with everything they had. Tens of thousands of them are passing over their little capital into the hands of the more powerful capitalists. They are falling before the fire of the heavy artillery of corporate, chain, and merger capital. The Socialist has nothing to do with it and even if he wanted the little fellows to "divide up" they will have nothing left to divide up by the time when a Socialist movement controls

This means a revolution in the old order of American capitalism, a revolution foreseen by Socialists whose warnings were credited to unreasoning "calamity howlers." Masses of people were living in a fool's paradise. Not till it collapsed did they awaken to the fact that the capitalist system of production

is rapidly becoming unworkable, that it is no more permanent than feudalism or the slave system was.

Why did the Socialists know? For one thing because Socialism is a philosophy which interprets social and economic change. Knowledge of it permits the Socialist to forecast much that is to come. However healthy capitalism may appear to be, he knows that the margin between productive power and the purchasing power of the laboring millions widens. The time must come when industry must break down because we produce more than we can buy, not more than we can enjoy.

CAPITALIST "PLANNING" VAIN HOPE

Now that capitalist production and exchange are almost paralyzed, now that millions face ruin and stark want, various members of the ruling classes talk about "planning" to "stabilize" the system. University men and editors and experts also talk of planning and stabilizing.

Vain hope. For years before the collapse they assured us over the radio, in magazines, and in learned books that American capitalism had been stabilized. It had been planned and charted and blue-printed so that it was different from the prostrate capitalism across the Atlantic.

"Make everybody rich," said the prosperity ballyhoosers.

"We will soon abolish the poorhouse," said Hoover.

The engineer and the technician had straightened out all the kinks in the system, we were told. It was a planned and stabilized capitalism that the "wise men" sold us in the days of the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover era.

We have had industrial panics before yet never in our history have we had one like this one. It has continued the longest, it is the most widespread, it has affected more people, it is the most severe, and there is less hope for recovery than in any other panic we have had.

And yet the medicine men, the Dr. Munyons and the Lydia Pinkhams of politics and industry, talk soothingly of planning the system which only yesterday they were assuring us was thoroughly planned!

No planning of capitalism will make it work. It may re-

cover—for a time—whether it is planned or not. There may be a partial recovery, a brisk period of feverish action, but another collapse is sure.

CHANGE THE SYSTEM

Whatever its fate, the only hope of escape, of security and emancipation from its uncertainties and miseries is to plan for its overthrow and this is the main task of the working class. The vast majority—the workers—produce wealth which they do not own; a small minority—the owners of finance and capital—own wealth which they do not produce.

Plan such a system so that it will be satisfactory to the working people—if you can. It cannot be done.

What is required is POWER by the millions of victims, power in industry and politics, power in the city, state and national governments to put an end to the ownership by a few of the mills, mines, railroads, banks and other great agencies for the production and distribution of wealth.

THE SOCIALIST PLAN

That is the Socialist plan—if you want to call it that. Without POWER we can do little. The enemy has POWER and uses it to maintain the class advantage of the present owners. A movement that does not look to the acquisition of power by the working masses to completely reorganize the whole capitalist system does not serve the suffering millions.

Power cannot be gained at once but by labor organization and political struggles we can eat into the heart of capitalistic power and do much to strengthen the laboring millions. We should use the taxing power to the limit, taxing the unearned millions of the despoilers to provide unemployment insurance for the millions of the jobless. We can wrest many other important measures of relief while we are marching to the conquest of POWER.

This is the Socialist plan and the Socialist aim. Get busy. Join the Socialist Party. Become an informed and disciplined member of the army of the new emancipation. As some one once said, "Better an end to terror than a terror without end."

Misery Fails To Speed Up Congress

Representatives and Senators Will Take Usual Christmas Vacation

By LAURENCE TODD

WASHINGTON (FP)—Christmas holidays are coming, and there's no hurry about starting debates in committee or on the floor of the House or Senate concerning the need for relief for the unemployed.

That is the prevailing sentiment among Republicans and Democrats in Congress, who expect to be absent from the Capitol from Dec. 23 until Jan. 4. Just as in the days when Taft and Wilson and Harding and Coolidge in turn occupied the White House, the lawmakers feel that the country can run along, after all, while they take another holiday. Three days after New Year's they will come back, well fed and warmly clothed, pleased with their own benevolent intentions, to resume the solemn business of pointing out leaks in the federal expenditures. In the meantime the unemployed who had hoped for swift action in the House and Senate to bring back work and wages, or direct federal payments to the jobless, will have to bear their disappointment.

The Lowly Meek

How bitter this disappointment may become, when Congress returns after the holiday recess, will depend upon the meekness of spirit shown by the millions of men and women who no longer are permitted to earn their daily livelihood. If protests grow sharper and more widespread, the lawmakers will perhaps discover that they want to appropriate money right away—in January or February—to prevent wholesale deaths from hunger in American industrial cities and on American farms where the pinch of want is now felt. But it is more likely that the sufferers will not make their protests strong enough to awaken Sen. Joe Robinson and Speaker Garner or Sen. Smoot or Rep. Snell to any sense of responsibility.

Sen. Dill of Washington, liberal Democrat, addressed the Senate Dec. 14 on the silver question. He denounced the administration's attempts to deal with the world depression by cancellation of all or part of the Allied war debts to this government. He proposed, instead, that a world monetary conference be called, to make silver a legal basis for debt payments. This, he argued, would give all debtors an even chance to pay their debts in silver coin—and that would add to the world's money supply as to start industry going again.

Hoover Quite Busy While he was speaking, the international bankers' committee of inquiry on Germany's impending bankruptcy was in session at Basel. All of the big powers had refused to take steps that would save Europe from financial and economic chaos in February. All continued to follow paths leading to a world disaster within three more months—a disaster that promised to rock America far worse than has two years of Hoover depression. Yet Congress was not concerned over that approaching peril. Faced with absolute necessity to cancel debts and reparations and to cut down the tariff walls, if industrial employment was to avoid complete paralysis, Congress was chattering over details of organization patronage, or discussing prohibition.

President Hoover, it is true, was busy. He was trying to kill the Federal Trade Commission's investigation of his friend the power trust. His proposed budget slashed the Commission's funds 28 per cent, thereby insuring that the inquiry into the finances of the Morgan and other power groups would be crippled. His scheme has insured an attack on his budget by the Norris group—thereby diverting their attention for a while from unemployment relief. Power companies were his best financial angels in 1928, and he wants their help next year.

After these fateful holidays Congress will come back, look at the ragged garments and pinched faces of the unemployed, and wonder how they got through the two weeks without good square meals. Then Congress will discover Germany and the coming storm. Possibly Congress will then decide that millions for jobless relief cannot be spared; Wall Street must be saved instead.

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Socialist Student Is Rhodes Scholar For Quebec Prov.

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
MONTREAL, Canada.—David Lewis, active member of the Young People's Socialist League, secretary of the Montreal District Council of the Canadian Labor Party and President of the McGill Labor Club, won the Rhodes Scholarship for the Province of Quebec. The Scholarship is good for three years at Oxford. Its value is \$1,600 a year.

Lewis leaves for England next October and expects to be active in the British Labor movement. On more than one occasion Lewis was threatened with expulsion from the University because of his Socialist propaganda on the campus, but he continued his propaganda through leaflets, pamphlets, debates, lectures and articles in the McGill Daily and the McGillian, a monthly magazine of which he is the editor. He won the admiration of his fellow students for his courage and the respect of those who disagree with him.

Iowa Bankers Go Socialist; Ask Govt. Aid

Gov. Turner Supports Pleas of Financiers for Government to Step In

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
INDIANOLA, Iowa.—The much belated author of the epithet "more business in government" and less government in business" would have cause to give up the ghost were he alive to read the current declarations of Iowa bankers. They are not satisfied with the work of the privately subscribed \$500,000,000 under the control of the National Credit Corporation. They are clamoring for \$1,000,000,000 from the government to help them out of the mess into which rugged individualism has precipitated them.

According to the Des Moines Register of December 8, Mr. W. H. Brenton, president of the Iowa-Des Moines National Bank and Trust Company, says that "much effort has been put forth by citizens of Iowa and Des Moines to deal with the world depression by cancellation of all or part of the Allied war debts to this government. He proposed, instead, that a world monetary conference be called, to make silver a legal basis for debt payments. This, he argued, would give all debtors an even chance to pay their debts in silver coin—and that would add to the world's money supply as to start industry going again."

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Va. Socialists Win Fight for Free Elections

Board Gives Up Proposals for Cash Deposits by Candidates—New Reforms Won

By David George

RICHMOND, Va.—Socialists in Virginia have won a victory for fundamental democracy. The Governor's Election Codes Commission has abandoned proposals for cash deposits and petitions in order to get on the ballot. Instead, the commission recommended the proposals urged by the Socialist party. These are that the name of the party be printed on the ballot, and that voters shall mark their choice, rather than scratch all to whom they are opposed, as at present. Facsimile ballots may also be published in newspapers and sample ballots may be printed and distributed. At present it is illegal to do either.

The commission's decision came after a storm of protest which filled the newspapers, swamped the commission itself. Resolutions of protest on behalf of several thousand voters were presented, and several hundred wired and wrote the commission while in session. A committee consisting of Herman Ansell, A. J. Royal and David George, representing the Socialist party, appeared before the commission for a hearing on Dec. 3. A letter to the Governor by George was printed on the front pages of the Richmond papers. Ansell was widely quoted. Socialists everywhere, in attacking the proposals branded the move as "Fascist."

"Make evolutionary methods impossible to an extent greater than the poll tax has already done, and you will bring revolution upon yourselves," the Socialist representative declared.

What Governor Proposed The Governor had proposed that a candidate for a state-wide office be required to post \$500 and secure 1,000 signatures to petitions in order to get on the ballot. He would lose the deposit unless he polled 10 per cent of the vote. Candidates for lesser offices would have smaller requirements.

The Socialists urged that the present system was good enough. At present any candidate needs only to send a declaration of candidacy, signed by himself and two witnesses, in order to have his name appear on the ballot. The Socialists also urged that the party names should be printed on the ballot, that a different method of marking the ballot should be established, preferably a column to mark an "X" in favor of the candidate of one's choice, and that the printing and publication of facsimile ballots should be permitted.

The commission has accepted the Socialist proposals. It is a triumph for us. We would certainly have been robbed of our ballot had it not been for the fight we made.

Special Election Called

Due to the death of the Democrat incumbent, a special election will be held in the 35th Senatorial district on Friday, Jan. 8. This district includes Chesterfield, Henrico, Charles City, James City and New Kent Counties, and the city of Williamsburg.

The Socialist party has nominated Eunice Johnson of Chesterfield, to make the race. Four Democrats, including the Speaker of the House of Delegates, announced for the seat, but the politicians, fearing a split vote, persuaded the Socialist a chance, persuaded all but one to withdraw—Conway Saunders of Henrico County. The Governor himself wrote a letter to one of the Democrats—the last to withdraw—asking him to quit the race. Now it will be a straight Democratic-Socialist fight.

Comrade Johnson ran in the November election for House of Delegates from Chesterfield County, while Winston Dawson ran for the House in Henrico, and John J. Kafka made the race for the Senate seat. Comrade Johnson made a good race, getting 97 votes out of a total of 976. Dawson got 137 out of 948 in Henrico while Kafka ran a few votes behind both. Comrade Johnson was chosen, however for the particular purpose of advertising the fact that we are a "sex-equality" party. We plan to make an active campaign in the last seven days before the election, on Jan. 8.

Comrade Kafka is working to build a local in Ettrick, where 28 straight Socialist votes were cast, against 128 Democrats.

On WEED

Dec. 21, 2:30 P. M.—Labor's News Reporter, The Federated Press.
Dec. 22, 2:30 P. M.—Labor's News Reporter, The Federated Press; 8:15 P. M.—Samuel Orr, "Between the Headlines."
Dec. 23, 1:30 P. M.—Mrs. I. Swasey of the Women's Peace Union; 2:30 P. M.—Labor's News Reporter, The Federated Press; 3:00 P. M.—Rev. Elliot White, "Freedom of Expression in the Churches"; 4:00 P. M.—Bishop J. McConell, President of the Federated Council of Churches in America.
Dec. 24, 1:30 P. M.—Frank L. Palmer, "Labor's Front Page"; 2:30 P. M.—Labor's News Reporter, The Federated Press; 4:15 P. M.—Mrs. Mary Cousins, World Peace Posters; 8:15 P. M.—E. M. White, "City Affairs"; 8:45 P. M.—William Karlin, "Current Events."
Dec. 25, 1:00 P. M.—Labor's News Reporter, The Federated Press.

Enrollment Figures Show Extent of Fear In McCooey Rule of Kings

Democratic Vote 100,000 Less Than Enrollment—Socialist vote Exceeds Enrollment

By Wm. M. Feigenbaum

THE enrollment figures for Kings County have just been made public by the Board of Elections, and they furnish considerable food for thought for those who have the interests of New York City and of the Socialist party at heart.

The three regular parties, Democrats, Republicans and Socialists—are represented upon the enrollment blanks, and voters are permitted to indicate their preference when they register. However, while voting is secret, enrollment is not, and the names of those enrolled are printed with their party preference, in the official records, where those who care about such things can read.

Here are the figures for the three parties:

	Enrollment	Vote
Democrats	332,022	281,984
Republicans	116,859	100,358
Socialists	8,900	50,453

There was no candidate running for the head of the ticket, and I have taken the Republican and Democratic vote for county clerk, and the total Socialist Assembly vote, which differs by only a couple of hundred from my own vote as candidate for county clerk.

Here are a few of the Assembly Districts:

	Enrollment	Vote
Second A. D.		
Democrats	46,572	30,941
Republicans	11,220	9,853
Socialists	1,576	8,449

	Enrollment	Vote
Sixteenth A. D.		
Democrats	37,235	23,700
Republicans	7,087	5,814
Socialists	1,249	6,978

	Enrollment	Vote
Eighteenth A. D.		
Democrats	32,619	20,868
Republicans	9,002	7,218
Socialists	1,719	8,367

The Assembly figures differ somewhat from the figures here given, but in the first of the three districts listed the Socialist vote came close to the Republican, and in the two others passed the Republican vote for all offices.

"Enrolled" Democrats

These figures bear careful study. It will be noticed that in every case the Democratic enrollment is far above the vote the McCooey puppet polled, and that in every case the Socialist vote exceeded the enrollment many times over. When an organization is so solidly entrenched that it elects every candidate on its ticket, even to the notorious McCooey, and even tapers down to McCooey, Jr., there is something to think about when over 100,000 men and women who do not vote its ticket find it necessary to pretend that they do and mark their crosses under its

Morris Hillquit and George Gordon Battle To Debate Socialism as Cure for Depression

Socialism is the only possible solution for the recurring problems of industrial depressions will be debated this Sunday night, Dec. 20th, at the Brooklyn Forum, in the Brooklyn Academy of Music, Lafayette avenue near Flatbush, Brooklyn. Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the Socialist Party, will take the affirmative on the subject, "Resolved That Periodic Business Depressions Can Be Eliminated Only by Socialism." George Gordon Battle, well known attorney and prominent Democrat, will take the negative. Dr. Harry W. Laidler, director of the League for Industrial Democracy, will preside.

This will be the sixth weekly event on the program of the Brooklyn Forum, which was organized by the Socialist Party of Brooklyn through its county committee. Three of the five previous events drew audiences of over 2,000, while the other two both had more than a thousand in attendance. The largest audience thus far was brought out last Sunday night by the debate between Heywood Brown and Michael Gold on the issue of Socialism vs. Communism and associated problems. A symposium on Russia with Matthew Woll and Norman Thomas among the speakers, and a debate between Thomas and Scott Nearing resulted in drawing so large crowds that many hundreds had to be turned away.

The Forum beyond a doubt has been the most successful in years conducted by any Socialist local in the nation. Harry Kritzer has been in charge, and he has been assisted by a committee which included B. C. Vladeck, Abe Belsky and Jack Altman.

Thomas Fifth in Poll On 1932 Held in Seattle

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
SEATTLE, Wash.—The Seattle Star of this city is "aking a poll of its readers regarding their preference for a Presidential candidate next year. Hoover does not appear in the list in over 21,000 votes polled. Among the Democrats Roosevelt heads the list, with Al Smith second and "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, Governor of Oklahoma, third.

Senator Borah heads the list of Republicans and in the total number of votes cast he is fourth and Norman Thomas, Socialist, is fifth. W. Z. Foster, Communist, is far down the line but he gets 101 votes. Thomas has 978.

Some of the returns are amusing. Colin Harvey receives 495 votes. Will Rogers 109 and both are ahead of Calvin Coolidge who has 86. "Hill Billy," listed as a Republican, has 48 admirers who would like to see him succeed Hoover. Other favorites with a scattering of votes are Jack Dempsey, Hearst, a mysterious Pat Sullivan, Brisbane and Coney. We miss Andy Gump who polled over a 100 votes in San Francisco in 1928.

Socialists of Philadelphia Quit C.P.L.A.

Party Resolution Hits Muste Group—Krueger, Schwartz, Biemiller Resign

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA.—Philadelphia Socialists left no doubt of their attitude toward the recent move by Conference for Progressive Labor Action, for the formation of a new political group, by passing the following resolution at their membership meeting on Dec. 15:

"The C. P. L. A. has seen fit to constitute itself a political party. Its new statement of purpose, sent to all members of that organization and published in Labor Age of Nov. 1931 contains the sentence, 'The C. P. L. A. aims to function as such a militant left wing political organization.' In explaining the duties expected of members, the following statement is made: 'We aim to build an active, disciplined membership devoted to a militant struggle against capitalism on every front, political, industrial, cooperative and cultural, and free from ties which might compel them to subordinate C. P. L. A. activities to those of other political groups.'"

"Attacks on the Socialist Party appearing in recent issues of Labor Age, the official publication of the C. P. L. A., and recent public attacks of responsible officials of the C. P. L. A. make it perfectly clear that the political policy of the C. P. L. A. is no longer one of friendly criticism of the S. P. This attempt to set up a rival political party is not supported by any considerable group of the American working class, and will serve only to confuse the thinking workers in regard to the issues confronting them."

"Not only has the C. P. L. A. set up a rival political organization, but it has taken definite but unsuccessful steps to induce a most valuable group of militant comrades to withdraw from the Socialist Party and devote their political energies exclusively to the C. P. L. A. In the November Labor Age an editorial concludes with the sentence, 'To militant comrades we say, "Come ye out from among them and be ye separate."'"

"Therefore be it resolved that Local Philadelphia, Socialist Party, express its belief that Socialist Party members should no longer remain as members of the C. P. L. A.; and it asks that the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party express this as the sentiment of the entire membership of the Socialist Party; and for this purpose we ask that the entire matter be placed on the agenda for the coming National Convention."

Active Members Resign At the same time Joseph Schwartz, who has been a member of the Executive Committee of the C. P. L. A. since its founding, Maynard Krueger and Andrew J. Biemiller, all prominent in the Philadelphia Socialist ranks, made public a letter of resignation which they had sent to the Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

Executive Committee Of Jobless Parley to Meet On Saturday Detailed plans for carrying out the program of the Emergency Unemployment Conference will be worked out at a meeting of the Executive Committee taking place this Saturday afternoon, at 2 o'clock, at 7 East 15th street.

As a means of rallying union support for its activities, the Emergency Unemployment Conference will, in all probability, send speakers to address labor organizations on various aspects of its program, including unemployment insurance, more adequate relief and shorter work week legislation. In addition, it is expected, that meetings of workers in various industries will be arranged, to be addressed by authoritative speakers.

Notices have been sent to 50 members of the committee, and since unemployment menaces the labor movement more severely than ever, a large attendance is expected.

Through an oversight in the account of the conference held December 9 the name of Fannie M. Cohn of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union was omitted from the list of the members of the Resolution Committee.

Crosswath Suit Appeal Is Ready

DENVER.—Local Socialists are prepared to appeal from the decision of the court which denied damages over the eviction of Frank R. Crosswath, colored Socialist leader and labor organizer, from a restaurant he had entered as a guest of his white comrades. Carl Whitehead, attorney for the Socialist party, has started to make a transcript of the testimony and promises to proceed with the matter as quickly as possible. Funds for the suit have been furnished by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Socialist party and the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Community Forum

Dr. Hans Kohn of Palestine, will speak on "Bolshevism and Nationalism" for the Community Forum, Temple Beth-El, Sunday, at 8 p. m. At 11 a. m., Dr. John Haynes Holmes will speak on "Gandhi and Jesus: A Christian Parallel."

Buffalo C. P. L. A. Branch to Disband; New Policy Opposed

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
BUFFALO, N. Y.—The Buffalo branch of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, at a meeting Monday, Dec. 14, on a motion made by Robert A. Hoffman, unanimously voted to disband.

This action was taken because of disagreement with the new statement of purposes of the national organization, which statement committed the membership to a semi-Communist attitude, it was felt. The officers of the Buffalo branch were Thomas A. Phillips, chairman; Charlotte I. Clafin, vice chairman; Lillian McKinney, secretary, and Ruth Phillips, treasurer.

Kirby Page Speaker At West Side Forum

Kirby Page will speak on "Dollars and World Peace" at the West Side Socialist Forum, 100 West 72nd street, New York City, on Friday night, Dec. 18, at 8:30. This will be the opening of the second season of this forum. Meetings are to be held on the first and third Fridays of each month. The speakers announced for January are Heywood Brown on Jan. 8, and Norman Thomas on Jan. 22.

Campaign Straws

WASHINGTON.—(FP)—Latest of the 1932 campaign stories is this: Hoover and Andy Mellon were leaving a conference, and Hoover hunted in his pockets, in vain.

"Lend me a nickel, Andy," he said, "I have to telephone a friend." Mellon handed him a dime.

"Here, telephone ALL your friends," he urged.

Tom Mooney Will Not Get Xmas Pardon

Rolph Will "Require 2 or 3 Months More"—Billings Would Take Parole

SAN FRANCISCO.—(FP)—Gov. Rolph has announced that he will revive the old custom of pardoning a number of convicts at Christmas. Tom Mooney, however, will not be included. It will "require two or three months more" before he can get around to considering that case.

In an interview at Folsom, Warren Billings has stated definitely that, though he will not apply for a parole, he will now accept one if it is offered him. It is not what he wants, but in lieu of hope of anything better, he will take it if it is voluntarily proffered. However, he says, "a parole is not the kind of vindication I have always contended for, and it will carry drawbacks and curtail my freedom." Billings reiterated his intention to conduct his own defense, separately from Mooney's, by his own committee under his personal jurisdiction. He predicted that Rolph would deny Mooney's new pardon application "as all other Governors have done."

Mooney will under no circumstances accept parole, and could not be forced to accept commutation of sentence to time served.

Ingersoll Forum

"Free Will As An Illusion" will be the subject of the lecture to be delivered by Samuel Sklaroff, under the auspices of the Ingersoll Forum, in the Pythian Temple, 135 W. 70th street, Sunday, at 8 P. M.

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The Socialist Party 'Defeat' in Reading

Loss of City to Fusion of Two Old Parties Nevertheless Leaves Workers' Party Stronger Than Ever—A Survey of the Result and a Forecast

By George M. Rhodes

THE election that took place in Reading on Nov. 3rd was truly an important skirmish in the American class war. The campaign, in which the Socialists were ousted from power by fusion of the old parties, was fought upon clear cut class issues. The press, the church and all the forces of capitalism were arrayed against the Socialists.

The capitalist press, since the election, took advantage of the opportunity to tell its readers, through the country, about the failure of the Socialist administration in Reading. Even though Philadelphia is only 58 miles from Reading, the Philadelphia Daily News was so brazenly untruthful as to say editorially:

It is obvious that the people of this country are tired of theories, straddling and pussy-footing. The most significant object lesson was the result of the balloting in Reading, Pa., where the Socialist Party, after two terms, was defeated for every office to which it sought re-election from mayor down.

Theoretically, the Socialist doctrines were supposed to be especially constituted to meet all the emergencies and problems which a time like this creates. Apparently, what was so dazzling in theory was something quite different in practice. People want action instead of theories. They want something concrete rather than promises. They want results in place of delay and dilly-dallying.

It doesn't make any difference whether the theorists, promoters or delayers are Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, Laborites, Prohibitionists, Progressives, or Communists. They are doomed to go unless they substitute action for talk or inactivity.

It is no longer a matter of party lines. It is a matter of keeping faith and in doing things.

With a Philadelphia paper editorializing in that manner, I have to think that the editor of a capitalist rag in California will have to say, of course, it is the duty of the capitalist press to suppress the truth in order to maintain the status quo. It is well, therefore, that Socialists should know the real facts which led to the Socialist defeat in Reading.

The facts are that the Socialist

administration did so well that it was necessary for the Republican and Democratic parties to combine against them in order to win. The Socialist administration ventured into a number of municipal enterprises, abolishing private contracts and saving large sums of money for the taxpayers. This enabled them to make extensive improvements without a tax increase. The Socialist assessment on property resulted in lower assessments on the homes of the workers. In general, the Socialist administration made a good record in the eyes of the majority of the people of Reading.

Together with this good record of administration, the Socialist party did much propaganda and educational work during the four years of Socialist power, which caused the Socialist vote to increase tremendously.

Without understanding the facts of the 1927 campaign, when the Socialists swept into power, Socialists outside of Reading cannot realize the great moral victory the Socialists won in the campaign of 1923, even though they lost control of the city government.

As the 1923 campaign approached, old party political leaders and industrial czars realized that the people of Reading were generally satisfied with the Socialist administration. Seeing the growing Socialist sentiment, they knew that their only hope of defeating the Socialists was by fusion of the Republican and Democratic parties.

Before the primary election a fusion committee was formed, with the attorney for the Wyomissing textile interests as the chairman. Hostile manufacturers and other industrial leaders together with leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties made up the committee.

This committee made an effort to have one set of candidates, to oppose the Socialists, who would have the endorsement of both the Republican and Democratic parties.

Therefore, they selected their candidates for the eight city offices and filed nomination papers for them on both old party tickets. The eight city offices were Mayor, two council seats, controller, treasurer and three school board seats. The Socialists were in control of the first four named offices. The treasurer and three school directors whose terms expired were Republicans and Democrats.

With plenty of money at their disposal, the fusionists succeeded in having their candidates nominated on both old party tickets, except in the case of one council seat and controller. In these two cases they nominated their choice on only one of the tickets. One of their council candidates, who is a Republican, won the Democratic nomination, but lost the Republican nomination to a Republican politician who declared against fusion. Their candidate for controller, a Democrat won the Republican nomination but lost the Democratic nomination to an independent Democrat who also denounced fusion.

After sufficient pressure, the fusion committee succeeded in having their original choices for these two seats, who received but one nomination, to withdraw. The two independents then accepted fusion and were placed on both party tickets, making the fusion against the Socialists complete.

The Socialist campaign started promptly after the primaries. The fusionists waited until the last two weeks and then opened a campaign of vilification, slander and lies against the Socialists. Because the Socialist administration made good in the eyes of most people, the fusionists found it necessary to use false insinuations against them.

Fusion backers enlisted civic leaders, lawyers, church workers, preachers and ex-service men to speak against the Socialists. Practically all of their speeches were broadcast over the Reading station WRAW.

These fusion lackeys told the

people that Socialism would take the babies from their mothers' breast. They pointed to Russia to show how churches were destroyed and how free love was destroyed. Home life, Socialists were charged with being unpatriotic and haters of the boys who wore the uniform in 1917-1918.

They were irreligious. They would remove the "Stars and Stripes" and the Bible from the schools and substitute the "Red flag" and the teachings of Karl Marx. The "Star Spangled Banner" would give way to the "International" as the national anthem. Reading was called "Little Moscow" and a disgrace to the nation. Fusion speakers pleadingly told their listeners that Reading must establish the confidence of the outside world so that industries would come to Reading and give employment to the people.

They untruthfully stated that industries left Reading and others remained away because of a Socialist government. They even mentioned names of these various industries. The Socialists ran down these untruths with letters from a few of the firms, but as fast as one lie was nailed, two new ones were invented.

In a full page advertisement, fusionists declared that the General Electric Company intended to build a plant in Reading that would employ 30,000 men, but stayed out because of the Socialist government. With a telegram from the General Electric Company this lie was run down, but the fusionists then changed the name to Western Electric.

Full page ads were then used with pictures of the Western Electric plant at Baltimore, where it was said to have gone after Western Electric officials discovered that Reading was ruled by Socialists. They also charged the number of men it would employ dropping from 30,000 to 2,300.

But this time their plans seemed to work out better, as Mayor

Stump did not receive an answer to his telegram to the Western Electric until after the election. The reply stated that the Western Electric had at no time considered Reading, because they desired a seabornd location.

Thousands of dollars were spent by the fusionists on newspaper advertising alone. Full pages of fusion ads filled both capitalist papers during the two weeks preceding the election. Some days their ads covered several pages of both Reading dailies.

Here are some of the captions used in fusion newspaper ads: "Save Our Schools from Socialism!"

"You Can't Eat Theories!" "Old Glory or the Red Flag?" "The Bible or Karl Marx?" "England Has Learned the Folly of Socialism!"

"Socialists Keep Industries Out of Reading!"

Personal attacks were made upon Socialist leaders. They pictured Socialists as pie counter politicians and used all kinds of unscrupulous methods to arouse the prejudice of the people against the Socialists.

The Labor party defeat in England, which came a few days before the Reading election, was used against the Socialists by the fusionists who told the story in numerous full page ads. A Tory poster, picturing a British worker saying: "What did the Socialists do for me?" was reproduced and filled a page in each of the Reading dailies.

Personal letters were sent out to church workers, school teachers and other groups warning them of the dangers of a Socialist victory. Workers in industry received intimidating letters from their employers telling them to vote against the Socialists.

Because of the intense campaign, many people who were formerly indifferent, heard the Socialist message for the first time. The Socialist radio talks were given almost every day over the Reading station, and made a lasting impression on the minds of many people.

Our propaganda paper, "The Pioneer," was well received in all sections of the city and county. Hundreds of people came to our county and street corner meetings in the city, while fusion meetings were poorly attended. Even though the Republican and Democratic parties were combined against us, all indications pointed to a Socialist victory as the campaign drew to a close.

On the Friday morning preceding the election the next Tuesday, the "Reading Times," unscrupulous anti-Socialist paper, opened up against the Socialists with four-column first-page editorials. They continued their attacks until the election. However, the attack from this anti-Socialist rag was not an important factor, in the Socialist defeat, as the Socialists in the past had proved that paper to be untruthful and bitterly anti-Socialist.

But on the Sunday prior to the election came the crisis. The fusionists carried their vicious campaign into the church. With very few exceptions the ministers and priests opened a barrage against the Socialists. They pointed to Russia. They told their congregations that it was impossible to be a Christian and a Socialist. In many cases they openly told their congregations to vote fusion. Some sermons were broadcast, some carried in the newspapers. Some of

the preachers went from house to house to warn their members of the evils of Socialism. This attack from the pulpits coming on the eve of the election turned the tide against the Socialists.

Thousands of dollars was dumped into Reading from outside sources. Whatever the preachers received for the party they played was well earned as they were the fusion lackeys who turned the tide. If the real truth were known, I believe that it cost at least \$150,000 to defeat the Socialists who spent less than \$5,200.

On the day of election, fusion henchmen received enormous sums for bringing in the votes. In the Negro and foreign section of the city, liquor flowed freely. In one of the districts Socialists caused the arrest of an election judge for allowing the fusion ward beelers to go into the polling booths with Negro and foreign voters.

But in spite of all the Socialist vote increased remarkably. Especially when taking into consideration that when the Socialists swept to power in 1927, it was largely on an issue of unfair assessments which caused a revolt against the old parties at that time. Of course, the Socialist party was a factor in all elections in Reading in the past thirty years, because of their organization which functioned in that time.

But the 1927 vote was far above the normal Socialist vote. Few people expected such a sweeping Socialist victory as came at that time. Even Socialists were surprised with the result.

Two years later, in 1929, the Socialist vote fell off, but we succeeded in making a substantial gain over our normal vote, which gave us two additional councilmen in a three-cornered fight.

In 1930 we succeeded in electing two members to the State Legislature. This was also a three-cornered fight. But when the 1931 campaign arrived we faced a real test of Socialist strength. The Socialists were active during the year in distributing their educational and propaganda paper monthly. But they had to face the combined opposition of the old parties and their millionaire backers. In this campaign class lines were sharply drawn. It was an extremely bitter campaign of capitalism vs. Socialism.

The following figures show the Socialist gains since 1923 in Mayor-al campaigns:

City Offices	1923	1927	1929
Mayor	14,395	12,004	6,414
Council (two seats)	13,725	11,749	6,189
Controller	13,395	11,549	5,435
Treasurer	13,278	9,203	4,653
School board (three seats)	13,749	8,340	4,608
	13,086	11,808	4,951
	12,885	10,140	4,717
	12,718	8,891	4,698

County Offices	1923	1927	1929
Judge (combined vote of city and county)	10,714	8,826	5,404
County commissioner	19,684	9,368	5,444
Assessor (two seats)	18,898	8,958	5,184
District Attorney	20,005	8,615	—
Clerk of Court	20,242	9,184	5,310

For the twenty-three county seats contested by the Socialists the vote for all our candidates was close to 19,000. The lowest candidate being less than 1,500 votes difference between the highest and lowest Socialist candidates. About 18,000 straight Socialist votes were cast.

The Communists who repeatedly denounced the Socialists during the past four years of Socialist control made a poor showing. Even though the "Reading Times" gave

them plenty of publicity in denunciation of the Socialists, Communist candidate for Mayor received only 53 votes.

"Socialist candidates were successful over fusion opponents a number of ward contests, electing assessors and constables and winning control of election board."

As the figures show, our vote throughout the city and county was generally a straight Socialist vote. Our county vote showed the result of the propaganda during the past four years. This propaganda work was done through broadcasting the Socialist message and by distributing Socialist literature.

I firmly believe that the campaign will bear fruit for Socialists in the future. People who heard the message and read Socialist literature were sympathetic and driven off by last minute broken. A little more prosperity and these people in the Socialist ranks. Soon learn that ten verses of the Bible in the public school feed their starving children the folds of "Old Glory."

Only a few days after election people began to realize they were tricked and fooled. They held back by employers, an anew. Several plants closed down for lack of orders. But election was over. Church organizations quarreled with their preachers' betrayal. Some dropped from the church. If the election is to be held today again, it will be a different story.

But our defeat was a hee one. Hundreds of people, especially young folks, are joining the Socialist party since the election. Subscriptions are rapidly coming in for our paper, "The Laborer."

There are still four Socialists on the school board of nine members. Two Socialist councilmen remain in the city government, and have two seats in the State Legislature, besides many ward officers.

We are not discouraged, we know the future belongs to the branch and local meetings attended than ever. Larger headquarters are necessary in some districts. Membership is double the year ago. New branches formed throughout the district that seemed impossible a few years ago.

Young blood is coming in, a fighting spirit. Minimization is here and growing. All indications are stronger and more. Socialist party for Berks County.

Already we have weekly broadcasting a fifteen-minute propaganda. I raised for this work monthly literature means of contributions contributing \$1 a week.

The old parties are already talking terms. The Socialist legislators terms expire next year. The Congress fight, which the city and county, the Socialists and Democrats against us.

But we welcome the capitalist twin party. We know it is inevitable. It is of Socialist advance. We are forward and in the near future will smash the fusion force. Make Reading and Berks County the "Gibraltar of Socialism" United States.

Teddy Roosevelt, Hero of Grown-Up Children

Biography of "Knight Errant of the Platitude" Recalls His Role in "New" Capitalism

By James Oneal

NOTHING is more apparent than that the period of 1890-1910 was one of a profound revolutionary change in the United States. Power passed from independent capitalists to the greater capitalists and bankers organized as corporations and trusts. The revolution in industry was registered in politics, journalism, and foreign affairs. The United States became an associate of the international thugs who were robbing weaker peoples and in this country, as in others where the revolution was also destroying an earlier type of capitalism, certain politicians and statesmen emerged who represented the new imperial capitalism.

Of those who played this role, the late Theodore Roosevelt was in many ways a master. No other man in our history so incarnated the spirit and outlook and best interests of the new class rule as Roosevelt. A whole literature has grown up around him, much of it written by admirers of the man and we are accustomed to more literary steaming of his bones each year. Much of this output is worthless and it was with some apprehension that we opened the pages of another book, one by Henry F. Pringle (Theodore Roosevelt, A Biography, Harcourt, Brace and Co., \$5) but apprehension turned to interest and interest to satisfaction. Here is one book not written by a sycophant. Nor is it the work of an enemy. It is objective; it does not conceal anything or attempt to make out a case for or against Roosevelt. Pringle tells his story with careful consideration for his sources and the reader is left to make his own estimate of the man.

The net impression left upon an intelligent reader is a man of extraordinary vitality and in this sense a personal embodiment of the feverish and ruthless new capitalism which he admirably represented. Born of the middle class and educated at conservative Harvard, Roosevelt exhibits no intellectual traits above the average of his class. His responsiveness to the changing order of capitalism was more instinctive than based upon knowledge of fundamentals. It was like that of a watch dog for the welfare of his master.

He bore that malice towards workingmen that is typical of the aristocrat. If they received anything it should be from above and during the Haymarket riots he expressed a desire to lead his cowboy friends with rifles against the "mobs." In 1896 Altgeld, Debs, Coxe and others were "like the leaders of the Terror in France." The industrial crisis, unemployment and general misery of the period only evoked in him an expressed wish to stand the leaders of dissent up against a wall and shoot them. His later public condemnation of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone before being tried is also an example of his social and economic views.

In the eighties Roosevelt was exhibiting that combination of moral cant and utter damnation

of all who disagreed with him that was typical of his entire career. If Putnam, Godkin and others could not support the grifter Blaine in 1884 that was not because they honestly detested Blaine but because they were suffering "from a species of moral myopia, complicated with intellectual strabismus." In 1900 "the paramount issue was the depravity of those who disagreed with the Republican administration," writes Pringle, and so throughout his life Roosevelt maintained this intimate contact with the righteousness of God. If he took orders from Platt that was one thing; if somebody else bowed to some other Platt that was quite another thing.

The new capitalism required plenty of cannon fodder; it required war, aggressive militarism, a morose patriotism, and Roosevelt was ardent in support of all these. Within the decade before the Spanish-American War he had favored war with Mexico, Chile, Great Britain, Spain and other powers. Those who disliked this would bring about "a flabby, timid type of character, which eats away the great fighting qualities of the race." If the "soldierly virtues" appealed to him he was also sure that "Peace is a goddess only when she comes with sword girl on thigh." In all this he was shallow enough, as these quotations show, but much of this bragging stuff represents the influence of the writings of Captain A. T. Mahan and we think that Pringle has not made the most of the intimacy between this extraordinary man and Roosevelt.

Mahan's writings constitute a rounded philosophy of imperialist capitalism. Moreover, they had a profound effect upon von Tirpitz and the Prussian Junkers and without exaggeration it may be said that this American naval officer contributed much to the development of that German policy of imperialist arrogance that ended in the bloody shambles of the World War. The German imperial philosophers were free in acknowledging their indebtedness to Mahan and in other countries, especially Great Britain, Mahan was appreciated by the imperialists. Mahan wrote in terms of sea power, markets, investments, loans and trade. With a compelling literary style, he linked the power and interests of the imperialist capitalists with religion, morality, and national greatness. Christian missionaries and the Bible were to be the advance guards of expanding capitalism and these were to be followed by diplomatic pressure, commercial agents, naval power, and invasion and force were necessary to bring the "barbarous peoples" within the benevolent guardianship of the "civilized" nations.

This philosophy provided Roosevelt with the intellectual weapons he needed and one will find it in his speeches and writings over and over again. It admirably fitted the needs of the imperialist capitalism that emerged out of isolationist capitalism, the latter dying

in the Spanish-American War. Henceforth, our ruling classes were intent on acquiring the resources of weaker peoples for purposes of exploitation and the laboring millions were to serve as cannon fodder in case of war.

Roosevelt wanted large families to insure that plenty of conscripts would be available.

We may digress from this biography for a moment to note the emergence of this philosophy of imperialist capitalism. In the campaign of 1896 the Republicans were fighting the agrarian rising under the leadership of Bryan and there was little trace of the new dogmas in that struggle. Four years later, 1900, there is another campaign and in the meantime the Spanish-American War had been fought and the United States was in possession of overseas booty. The Republican convention meets in Philadelphia and the orators break loose with a frank impudence that is expressive of the change that had taken place. Henry Cabot Lodge declares that "We make no hypocritical pretence of being interested in the Philippines solely on account of others." "We mean to stimulate the expansion of our trade and to open up new markets." Chauncey Depew asks, "Why these hammerings at the gates of Pekin? Why this marching of troops over Asia and Africa?" And he answers, foreign markets for the surplus goods that workers heap up for the capitalist class. Roosevelt obtains the floor and roars: "Is America a weakling, to shrink from the world work of the great world powers?"

In domestic policies Roosevelt recognized that the upper classes should not let their greed get the best of their judgment. They should not kill the goose that lays the golden egg and the workers were the geese. He watched the rise of the Socialist vote and he feared it. As early as 1905 he wrote a friend that the growth of

the Socialist Party was "far more ominous than any populist or similar movement in the past" and he was anxious to check it. He was ignorant of economics but he was confident that if some gesture of reform was not made the Socialist movement would become a serious rival to the politics of capitalism.

The Republican platform of 1908 carries the first attack on Socialism but it is ascribed to the Democrats in order to avoid official recognition of the Socialist Party. Hence Roosevelt's program during his terms as President, regulation of corporations, his preaching against "malefactors of great wealth," and his tiresome "moral" tirades, but he generally balanced his denunciation of the "malefactor" with a slap at labor leaders and radicals. He was for "righteousness" whether of the rich or the poor and was also against the "evil-minded" in either class. As he told Owen Wister one day, "I have to use bromides in my business" which was simply his way of admitting that he was faking. It recalls a statement attributed to Medill McCormick later who said that Roosevelt was a great man because "he knows the American mutt."

It was not the middle class, as some erroneously think, that Roosevelt had in mind but the upper class whose interests he was interested in preserving. He regarded many of their leaders as fat-heads. The lesser capitalists might have to go in time and Roosevelt would have them go by the painless chloroform route rather than have the fat-heads pick them out on their heads. Industry and capitalist politics were dirty. There were ugly sores that caused dissatisfaction. Politics should be cleaner and the pickings of the big exploiters were so abundant that they should agree to some social legislation and better standards of living so as to keep the masses satisfied with continued plucking.

This was his point of view into 1912 when he headed the Army of the Lord and his sappy soldiers waved the red bandanna in imitation of the red flag. We again turn from this biography for a moment. "Teddy" wrote an introduction to S. J. Duncan-Clark's book, "The Progressive Movement," which appeared in 1913, and clearly defined his views. He wrote that the "Progressives" repudiate the Socialist doctrine of class consciousness and "preach social consciousness as an antidote" and that one or the other doctrine would eventually prevail. But, "the attitude of the owning class will largely determine which of them does prevail. Frank acceptance of the Progressive doctrine of social consciousness by the men at the top is the only effective way to prevent woeful damage that would come from the triumph of class consciousness."

"Teddy" represented and appealed to the "men at the top," not the middle classes, although much of his blather appealed to the middle classes.

Pringle declares that Herbert Croly's "The Promise of American

Life" which appeared in 1909 had much influence upon Roosevelt. Croly as founder of "The New Republic" became an exponent of "liberalism" and one will find an intellectual kinship between Croly's book and Roosevelt's speeches on "The New Nationalism." What is interesting in these facts is that "liberalism" may easily play the role of half-brother to the "men at the top" of capitalist society and in its innocence not suspect to what uses it is put. Having its origin in middle class respectability, fearing the "men at the top" and distrusting the working class below, "liberalism" vegetates in a cloudland of erudition and finds itself the yoke-fellow of the imperialist peace-makers of Paris or the pal of a clever politician like Roosevelt.

The "Bull Moose" revolt from the Republicans led by Roosevelt in 1912 with his program of "social justice" fits into his career with no compromise of his life-long views. He fought Taft because of his chummy relations with Camron, Aldrich and their kind and yet Roosevelt had worked with this group when he was President. Contradiction, you say? Not at all. Remember "Teddy" could do a thing and be "righteous" but if some one else did it "righteousness" would be offended. The revolt itself was financed by Perkins, McCormick and other "men at the top" and the Progressive leaders who attempted to give a literal interpretation of "social justice" found Roosevelt and these "rich uncles" in opposition.

When the crusade failed it was finally squelched in 1916 and Roosevelt turned to what was really upmost in his philosophy, war, conscription, imperialism and military glory. In this period he said some things that he later kept out of his autobiography and this recalls a method he followed in many controversial matters. If he anticipated a controversy and existing material might be cited against him he would write a "postscript" letter, that is, one that would anticipate the event and which he could quote if necessary at some time. Considering that the author was not permitted to use any Roosevelt letters and papers after March, 1909, when he left the presidential office, we wonder how many "postscript" documents were written after that period.

The rest of his career is generally known, the raucous bellyacher for war, roaring for the blood of the "Hun," again chummy with the Republican Swiss Guards of capitalist enterprise, and acting in accord with the pompous philosophy he had learned from the pages of Captain Mahan. Just as the Civil War tore the creed of planter rule into shreds so the World War has shown that the Mahan-Roosevelt philosophy leads to the suicide of capitalism itself.

"Teddy" passed to his reward in January, 1919, and those who enjoyed his thunder missed him. No other figure in our modern history so incarnated all that the higher capitalism represents than Theodore Roosevelt, knight errant of the platitude and the hero of grown-up children.

The Back of the Worker

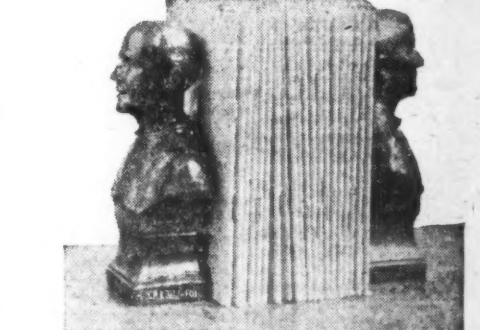


"The back of the worker is the selfless green table at which employers and speculators play the game of chance which production has become. . . It is the worker who pays, with wage reductions, hard-earned savings, loss of employment and his very existence, for the failures inevitable to the game of the employers and speculators for whose miscalculations and false speculations he is not responsible, for whose greed he is not to blame, and in whose successes he does not share."—FERDINAND LASALLE

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA 549 RANDOLPH STREET CHICAGO

I Meet a Star Gazer

I HAD the good fortune, the other day, of meeting one of the most distinguished astronomers in this country. We had a swell time chewing the fat about all sorts of things, for, being a highly intelligent, brilliant-minded scholar and gentleman, he is naturally a radical and we found we had many common friends.

Finally we got around to the subject, to be expected, I suppose, when you're talking about astronomy, as to what the whole thing was about. I mean this universe of ours in which our world is such an infinitesimal speck, and the other universes far beyond ours.

I got a bit dizzy I must confess, trying to get the hang of light years, galaxies, cosmogonies and the like, but I couldn't fail to catch a bit of my friend's enthusiasm over the new ranges opened up for man's intelligence by some of the recent findings of the star-gazers. He was as excited about a problem he was wrestling with, as a ten year old kid is excited about a new pup. Practically the solution of that problem isn't worth a damn. A damn cent, to be more accurate. If he works it out, no one can buy it, it won't do anything to cure halitosis or stop falling hair, it can't be used by one man to exploit another. Nor will my friend use it, as some of our latter-day scientists with their tongues, I suspect, in their cheeks, use their discoveries to prove that life is purposeful, or that there is life after death or any of the blather that is connected with the futile attempts to reconcile science and religion. He is too sane and fine for any of that nonsense. If he gets the answer, he will just be blazing a new outpost on the long trail of man towards an understanding of the world about and above him.

There is a tremendous kick in making contact with a mind like that. Give him a good telescope and enough to eat and he will work for all of us perfectly content and magnificently contemptuous of any dollars and cents rewards. I wish I could introduce him to some of my conservative friends who are forever telling me that if the money incentive is removed, we will all go to hell on a toboggan. What rot! For a researcher of this sort, one glimpse at a new star is worth all the houses, automobiles, yachts and other junk that the Fat Boys might offer. Though his intelligence tells him that there is very little meaning and purpose in life, he is having a perfectly swell time with his nice measurements of things millions of miles away. It is sheer idle curiosity that has given the whole human race a new slant on its environment.

He is a Socialist because he somehow senses that in a Socialist state he and his fellows, men of ranging minds and lively interests in intellectual matters, will be the top boys. He is a Socialist because when he stops to think about such things, he realizes the disgustingly stupid and unscientific way in which the capitalist world is going. I don't mean of course that he and the other worth while scientists in this country will ever do much to help us in our day by day work of propaganda, education and organization. That's our job, boys and girls, and the quicker we get it done, the better. But I've met quite a number of the latter-day pioneers in science and I know that we can count on their whole-hearted cooperation in setting up a new order of society, once we can prove to them that we have the goods.

In our State laboratories, we'll give them what they need in the way of apparatus, (not too fancy, because there is a danger there,) but everything they want and can use. We'll just take it from the money we will save on scrapping one battleship. And then we'll say, "Gentlemen, you've had to spend a lot of your precious time which you should have devoted to research, going around with your hats in your hands parading bankers and private foundations for enough money to keep on with the all-important work you are doing. Those days are gone forever. From now on, you are your own bosses. Go get that star, or whatever it is you are after, take your time, do the job thoroughly and then we, the people, will pay the bill gladly, for what you will have done will make us all walk a bit more proudly in the sun."

"The Nation" is running a series of interesting articles under the general heading, "If I Were Dictator." In them, men like Stuart Chase and Lewis Mumford tell just what they would do with and to the rest of us if they were sitting Mussolini-like. It's lots of fun to dope out just what you would do if you were king-pin. I wish I had been asked to contribute to the series. I can't even dictate to my black cats with any success and it must fill one with swell delusions of grandeur to be able to sit down and write a piece telling how you would boss this country.

I know for certain one of the first things I would do. My first decree would be the opening of every church, armory, and unoccupied dwellings in our great cities for the immediate housing of the unemployed. It simply gives you the jitters to think that thousands of men are sinking through the wind-swept streets while there is so much of mortar and brick and stone for their sheltering. Naturally, if I were dictator, those armories and a powerful lot of the churches would be speedily rid of their present incumbents so that there would be room and to spare for the workless workers. Nor would these workers be workless much longer if I or any other Socialist were dictator. They'd be putting up decent homes for the working classes, like those in Vienna, they'd be throwing bridges across great rivers, they'd be setting up giant power plants in the coalfields, they'd be doing a thousand and one useful things that cry aloud to be done and they'd be doing it under human working conditions and at short working hours. But here, I'm not dictator. Nor is this a bid to "The Nation" to get my ideas. As a matter of fact I feel that I would be an awful flop as a dictator. I don't like to ride horse-back for one thing and parades bore me to death. Most dictators seem to put in time and overtime going to parades. If I were dictator I would swipe the title of a grand book by Ford Maddox Ford and send out an edict, "No more parades." This, of course, would be a terrible blow to the boys who make the newsreels. For next to pictures of our glorious feet going where only the Admiral knows, and fashion shows with lovely gals, parades are their stock in trade.

So it would be just too bad for these birds if I ever got to be dictator, because there wouldn't be any nice new shiny battleships to take pictures of, nor parades, nor conventions of Boy Scouts. I will give them one break though, they can take as many pictures of lovely ladies as they want, always with the stipulation that the ladies in question be a lot better looking than most of those who now appear in the news reels.

McAlister Coleman.

From Our Foreign Correspondent

Tension Socialists' Problems

Fascist Menaces in Germany and Austria Engross the Parties; The Split in Germany and the Opposition

By Benedikt Kautsky

VIENNA (In December)

THE situation in which the Clerical government of Austria finds itself because of the well known Kreditanstalt affair and the possibility, although not probability, of another attempt by the would-be Fascists to seize power, the Austrian Socialists are facing difficult problems. At the national convention of the Social Democratic party held in Graz, Nov. 13 to 15, Otto Bauer's report, which was the high spot of the meeting, occupied itself almost exclusively with a situation that made it impossible to foretell the future with any degree of certainty.

Consequently, no far-reaching program could be laid down, but the convention was a unit in believing that participation in the government at the present time would be inopportune. The possibility of the necessity of a coalition government in the future wasn't absolutely rejected, although all the speakers, regardless of what shade of opinion they represented, agreed that such participation was undesirable. It is true that a situation may arise in Austria at any time where the bourgeoisie will show itself incapable of running the state any longer, or there may come a fresh rebellion which will make it necessary for the working class to take control of all the powers of the state in order to ward off such an attack.

The convention furnished new evidence of the unbroken fighting spirit of the Austrian proletariat which doesn't allow itself to be bluffed by all the hardships of the present, doesn't lose itself in the worries of the moment, but maintains its faith in the rejuvenating power of the Socialist ideal.

The German Situation

In Germany the increasing menace of a reactionary combination of the Hitler "Nazis" with the Hugenberg Nationalists, which might induce Chancellor Brüning to form a government of the Extreme Right that would mean still worse political and economic conditions for the German workers,

has forced the Social Democratic party to continue its policy of "toleration," even the opponents of such a policy not having anything better to offer at the moment.

This situation makes it all the more regrettable that the larger part of the Opposition recently brought about its expulsion from the party. This is the only way to characterize the procedure of the tiny group that now has organized itself as the Socialist Labor party. As an opposition body it had complete freedom of action within the party. It was able to publish its own paper, Der Klassenkampf; a number of its representatives, including Deputy Seydewitz, its real leader, were employed on the party press; it received full freedom of speech at the Leipzig convention; in short, it couldn't assert that it had been prevented from making its standpoint public. Only when the Opposition began to create its own organization did the party executive take a hand and order it to stop such action. When the opposition refused to obey it was expelled.

From a numerical standpoint this split doesn't amount to much. The new group has eight members of the Reichstag, out of 143 Socialists, and may have taken with it about 8,000 out of a total party membership of around 1,000,000. It would be a mistake to talk about a real split in the party.

Nevertheless, just at this moment the loss of this group is especially painful to the Social Democracy. At a time when the party is obliged to carry on its struggle against the Right and the Left—Nazis and Communists—simultaneously, it needs a united, solid organization most of all. And when we take into consideration the heavy psychological burden imposed upon the party by its "toleration policy" and understand how great is the need among the masses of the workers of a more active policy, we must doubly regret the splitting off of a section of the Opposition.

Larger Opposition Weakened

The splitting off makes the situation much more difficult for that part of the Opposition that has remained within the party. Al-

though this part is larger and more important intellectually than the group that has split off, still it has lost ground in its stand against the majority. So the result of the founding of the new party is nothing else than the weakening within the Social Democracy party of the very ideas it claims to represent. Its own existence as a party between the big Socialist and Communist parties is bound to be precarious.

How difficult the position of the Social Democracy is may be seen from the results of the recent elections in Hamburg, Hesse and elsewhere. Everywhere we see the same picture. With the exception of the Centrist (Catholic) party, all the bourgeois groups are suffering catastrophic defeats, as their followers are going over to the Nazis in a body. The latter are also drawing considerable support from the ranks of former non-voters. On the other hand, the Nazis are not succeeding in cutting into the ranks of the proletariat, for the proletarian parties taken as a whole are able to hold their voting strength. It is true that a displacement of strength is taking place between the Socialists and the Communists to the advantage of the latter.

This has produced a very peculiar situation. Despite the big gains of the Nazis, the reactionary parties nowhere have a majority. But neither can the Social Democracy rule together with the democratic bourgeois parties any longer. And the Communists, who hold the balance of power all over, cannot be induced to follow the practical anti-Fascist policy which is the need of the hour.

How far the Communists will go in their blind hatred of the Social Democracy is shown by an incident following a speech delivered by Rudolf Breitscheid, the well known Socialist leader, during the campaign in Hesse. The Communist party, in connection with a trial in Hamburg arising out of the murder of a Communist party officer by Nazis, issued a statement repudiating acts of individual terrorism. Comrade Breitscheid, in a very careful way, that this statement removed a material obstacle to joint action by Communists and Socialists in the battle



Karl Lange-Christopher in Der Wahre Jakob. "Why do you fear me? I am the good, sweet Hitler."

against Fascism if the Communists really took it seriously.

The answer to this was a violent Communist attack in Die Rote Fahne in which it was explained that the real enemy to be fought at the present moment

wasn't German Nationalism, but the Social Democracy. So the fratricidal strife in the German proletariat will continue. It is easily understood that this fact materially raises the hopes of the Nazis.

THE NEW LEADER MAIL-BAG

THAT F. P. STORY

Editor, The New Leader:

Although my name was prominently mentioned at the initiation of the discussion between Comrades Levinson and Gerber and the F. P. story which my name was signed appears to have furnished the bone of contention, I have so far made no contribution to this promising spat because I failed to see that there was anything genuinely important involved. I still am unconvinced by anything contained in the exchanges and am unable to detect more than one of the normal temptations in the New Leader. I have not been a bit bit by the smoke of the battle front here in Pennsylvania and therefore not able to detect the fundamental quality of the issues that the more radical atmosphere enables those in New York to discern. However my name has been brought in for a second time and in a different connection for the editor to print a letter from one whom the other writers seem anxious to involve.

As a fact might be helpful amid so much conjecture, suspicion, charges and counter-charges, let me sum up the events that attended this spat. Extended discussion from Saturday evening and Sunday's morning program overflowed into the final session of the Eden Conference. Paul Blum further complicated the situation by having a subject, not previously on the program, added to the agenda for the final session which was devoted to summing up under the original program. By the time odds and ends were cleaned up and the extra program discussed, the interest to be subordinated to others. Louis Schaffer of the Forward and Eddie Levinson of the New Leader were charged with the responsibility for a pinhole tournament long before the conference formally closed.

When the young New York comrades charged on the program with chairmanship and guiding the summing-up rose, he made a few inconsequential remarks and then, in particular about the niceness of the weather and the related slowness of the crowd and without warning announced that his part of the program would be dispensed with, leaving many of us particularly outside of New York disappointed. Several of us had been sitting up with a lot of proposals for work to be done etc., and being interested of course in previous proceedings from an intellectual angle, were nevertheless primarily interested in what this splendid body of young people would be prepared to do, say for example, in another great call to arms, the struggle for the right to a rail strike. In dismissing this most important part of the program of the Eden Conference, the speaker's remarks and struggles in responsibility, made some vague references to a committee who would draft findings, etc.

Still rather huffy, myself and some other out-of-towners complained of such procedure and were told that the individual responsible had not been authorized to do anything of the kind (sic) and had acted without advice or warning to the arrangements committee. Remembering the academic emptiness and total inconclusiveness of the 1930 Eden Conference we expressed our resentment in no uncertain terms and were assured that the committee that had arranged the conference would sum up findings and the discussion and findings would be made available to the general run of Party membership. This seemed somewhat irresponsible and unrepresentative but we were assured

that anything resembling the election of a committee or the formation of an organized group was to be avoided for however temporary it would break havoc in the minds of a few shell-shocked comrades who still thought in terms of the past.

The matter was left there and although the report was to issue shortly after, nothing has been heard through the past week. I am concerned, any other source. In writing an F. P. story for the general labor press I probably out of a desire to be kept in the news by people gave them more clarity and definiteness than they actually possessed. The use of the phrase "left wing" was entirely in correspondence with good usage and Socialist practice. There had been a "left" report at the Second International Congress. The Independent Labor Party was generally considered the left group of the British labor movement in general. There was and is no reason why one of the healthiest things possible through the past week. I am concerned, any other source. In writing an F. P. story for the general labor press I probably out of a desire to be kept in the news by people gave them more clarity and definiteness than they actually possessed. 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Sifts Sum Up the Jobless Year, "1931—"

In Holiday Feature at the Hipp



Robert Armstrong, Bill Boyd and James Gleason in a scene from "Suicide Fleet," the new film at the Hippodrome. On the stage are eight acts of vaudeville.

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

IN WHAT YEAR NEXT?

"1931—" By Claire and Paul Sifton.

At the Mansfield, "1931—" has set in a frame of steel—cold, confining, unrelenting steel—this record of the great unemployment year of 1931, for the end of which, as one character remarks, "It behooves us to be thankful." (I know a good story about Hoover and something higher on a horse than his hooves; but even the guy that didn't write "Washington Merry-Go-Round" was fired!) This steel frame is the warehouse door, that shuts out men seeking work; it bounds — and binds — the city square, the many-sided ways of the city; it hems in all our lives today: "We must make bands of steel. We must make wheels of steel. We must make men of steel: Progress."

Capitalistic progress has taken our triumphs over nature—but human nature's greatest defeat—not to give all men fewer hours of work, but to speed up production and profit for the few. One result is that increasingly large numbers of men have no hours of work whatsoever. The Sifts have taken one such man, a strong fellow (a bit too independent for a capitalist boss, unwilling to be one of the dumb driven cattle in the brouhaha of life—where few get the Beevo and most feel the whack!) A good fellow, willing to work, and they carry him on his hunt for a job until starved operation has made him a bit of driftwood, a bum. When he finally lands a job he has been turned into the proper kind of worker for a capitalist boss, ready to accept any insult, to strain every muscle, for fear of those fatal words: "You're fired!" But his girl appears once more—they might have been happy together!—and she too has been sent adrift, jettison of the running tide. Only, as there are no flop-houses for women, she has had to buy with her body lodging for her nights, and the kind men who have accommodated her have given her a disease to remember them by, and to pass on. Learning this, Adam (the name symbolic both of the first worker and the "express" speed of our times) becomes a rebel, and joins the hunger-riot. March on!

Starting with too much job, jabber, "1931—" grows to several effective scenes, notably that on the Bowery, the snow shoveling scene, and that in which the charity-house manager displays his customers. The chief fault of the play is that, effective as its scenes may be, they reveal only the surface. It is true that many of the castaways, the victims of our permanent social ills or their temporary aggravations, have little social vision, little understanding of the causes of their condition. Little knowledge is overwhelmingly democratic of our social state cannot prescribe for themselves, those who study them, those who intelligently consider them and the machine age, should have a clearer picture. As this sense of causes and remedies grows out of our observing conditions in life, so it should rise from the events of the drama. As the year 1931 has been a further lesson to the concerned and intelligent man in life, so the play "1931—" should bear deep

In Dance Recital



Carola Goya, the popular Spanish dancer, has just returned from a coast to coast tour, and will give her only New York recital of the season at the Morosco Theatre on Sunday evening, Dec. 27.

Implications to the intelligent man in the audience. These social implications, this background of causes and cures, the Sifts have left most meager. Their individual study is true, and will probably be to the good fortune of any beggar who happens to be outside the theatre at the play's close; but a wider view is essential before the drama will (if drama ever can) contribute toward the day when the "robust individualism" of unemployment becomes extinct.

MAKING A GOOD PLAY

"REUNION IN VIENNA" By Robert E. Sherwood. Theatre Guild at the Martin Beck.

A better play than Sherwood has constructed has just closed, after a week's run to scant houses. Sherwood had the luck that the Guild accepted his play (which, after Lynn Fontanne's pre-eminence in "Elizabeth the Queen," gives Alfred Lunt the greater opportunity); and the Guild equipped it with these two players, with Henry Travers and Helen Westley and others excellent and sent it forth with a glamorous production that makes this stock Graustark formula a glittering entertainment. It does not matter at the time that the jewels are paste.

Alfred Lunt, as the last of the Hapsburgs, has another of the megalomaniac roles in which alone he has appeared, these many seasons: von Hapsburg is accused, in the play, of having elephantiasis of the ego. No real word of Lunt's

BROOKLYN

FOX BROOKLYN Flatbush Ave. & Verine St.

"Good Sport"

Linda Watkins, John Boles

And a Big Pre-Holiday Stage Show

TESS GARDEL (Aunt Jemima)

Great Farewell Week

ABE LYMAN in person and his

BAND

Fanchon & Marco's

"VACATION DAYS" Idea

Sing with Hal Beckett at the Organ

Philharmonic-Symphony

TOSCANINI, Conductor

CARNEGIE HALL, Sun. At. Dec. 29, 3:00

CHERUBINI, BRAHMS, STRAUSS, RAVEL

GULSCHMANN, Conductor

CARNEGIE HALL

Wed. Eve. Dec. 22, at 8:45

THUR. At. Dec. 24, 2:30; Sat. Eve.

Dec. 26, at 8:45

ROUSSEL - SATIE - STRAVINSKY

TANIGUCHI - DEBussy - DE FALLA

Arthur Judson, Mgr. Steinway piano

"Explorers of the World," at Criterion, Is Good Film Fare

A unique exploration-and-adventure film, "Explorers of the World," is at the Criterion. It represents the first experiment of its kind, which is that of combining the six expeditions of as many celebrated explorers to various parts of the world.

The film employs an interesting dramatic device, opening upon a banquet table at which are seated six explorers. Then, one of the explorers arises and acting as Master of Ceremonies, introduces his colleagues one by one. Their individual sequences follow, which are accompanied by each explorer's running flow of comments.

The explorers represented in the picture are James L. Clark of The American Museum of Natural History, with motion pictures of his expedition to Africa; Harold MacCracken and his films of the Arctic; Gene Lamb and his films of China and Tibet; Lt. Commander J. R. Stenhouse and his adventures in the Antarctic; Harold Noice and his expedition to the headwaters of the Amazon; and Dr. Laurence M. Gould tells of his experiences with Byrd to Little America.

The film moves at a swift pace, extends from pole to pole and just about covers every type of human being and animal under the sun with a newness of appeal.

"Killing to Live," an Amkino Film, Held Over at the Cameo

"Killing to Live," a motion picture drama recording the continual fight in nature for food, light, protection and life, itself, holds over a second week at the Cameo Theatre.

This film was produced by the Moscow studios, but a descriptive talk in English has been added by Myron Auckland, formerly of the Museum of Natural History, New York. Vladimir Korolevitch directed this film, with the aid of "shock brigades" from the Souzokino production unit, of Moscow. The director describes it as "an attempt to dissect by the cinematographic method, the problems, chaos, ceaseless struggle of animals, and of orderliness in nature."

quality can be spoken till he says other roles; as the self-satisfied braggadocio blusterer, he is unexcelled. The manner in which His Highness' former mistress—now wife of a great psychoanalyst—at the royalist reunion gives herself again to her royal lover, won't by his confidence but by his defeat, is an intelligent handling of the theme; the dialogue is deft though seldom unexpected. Sherwood in Tia Juana has given a continental flavor to another exquisite trifle of the Guild's.

GILBERT MILLER presents

HELEN HAYES

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The GOOD FAIRY

"In one of the few triple-starred, immediately recommendable, entertainment in town."

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Thea, 124 W. 43rd St.

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"There is fine material all through it and writing of great sympathy and humanity."

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BAND

Fanchon & Marco's

"VACATION DAYS" Idea

Sing with Hal Beckett at the Organ

Philharmonic-Symphony

TOSCANINI, Conductor

CARNEGIE HALL, Sun. At. Dec. 29, 3:00

CHERUBINI, BRAHMS, STRAUSS, RAVEL

GULSCHMANN, Conductor

CARNEGIE HALL

Wed. Eve. Dec. 22, at 8:45

THUR. At. Dec. 24, 2:30; Sat. Eve.

Dec. 26, at 8:45

ROUSSEL - SATIE - STRAVINSKY

TANIGUCHI - DEBussy - DE FALLA

Arthur Judson, Mgr. Steinway piano

MARY "Priestess of Modern Dance"

WIGMAN

Tomorrow Evening at the CHANIN THEATRE

and CARNEGIE HALL, DEC. 27th

Also Sunday Eve., Jan. 3rd, at the CHANIN THEATRE

Tickets at Box Office

Coming: Jan. 17th, VICENTE ESCUDERO

AND HIS ENSEMBLE World's Greatest Male Spanish Dancer

Exclusive Management: HURON MUSICAL BUREAU 119 W. 57th St., N.Y.C.

Mary Wigman in Her "Summer Dance"



Hailed in America as Isadora Duncan's successor, Mary Wigman's next appearances will be Sunday, Dec. 20, Dec. 27 and Jan. 3. Miss Wigman was brought to this country under the management of S. Huron, the musical, dance and theatrical impresario.

Zwei Menschen ("Two Souls"), New German Dramatic Romance, With a Cast of German Favorites, Will Have Its New York Premiere at The Little Carnegie Playhouse on December 22

"Opera Ball" and "Kaiserliche," the gay Viennese musical films now current at Little Carnegie Playhouse conclude an eight-week run next Monday (Dec. 21). "Zwei Menschen" ("Two Souls"), adapted from the sensational novel by Richard Voss, of which over a million copies have sold in Germany alone, reaches the Little Carnegie's screen Tuesday, Dec. 22, for its New York premiere.

Hailed by press and public, wherever it has been screened, for its fine technical and emotional skill "Zwei Menschen" stars Gustav Froelich and Charlotte Susa, popular German screen stars. In this picture Froelich especially, is described as reaching emotional heights, in his portrayal of a boy, torn between his obligation to tradition and an overwhelming love for his beautiful sweetheart. The story is essentially emotional, and the ecclesiastical music heard in one of the important scenes, is truly impressive. Enhancing the tender, romantic story, are the photographic qualities of the picture where Director Erich Waschneck attains a remarkable degree of success with the camera.

The quality of the acting of the principals is such, according to advance reports that a minimum of dialogue is necessary, thus making it exceptionally easy for those with no knowledge of German to follow and enjoy the picture.

The Group Theatre presents

1931-

by Claire and Paul Sifton under the auspices of The Theatre Guild

"Nothing that the publicists have said, none of the familiar, pleading facts, is half so moving. . . Stunned an audience." J. Brooks Atkinson—Times.

"All those who like plays that make you think should rush at once to the Mansfield Theatre, and all those who like thrillers that keep one awake at night will find 1931—more effective than a couple of mystery melodramas." Arthur Pollock—Bklyn Eagle

"Quivers with the sense of living tragedy . . . here is a piece with real vitality—one that seems really to fulfill the Group Theatre's ambitious hopes." Arthur Ruhl—Herald Tribune

MANSFIELD THEA., 47th St. W. of B'way

Eves. & Sat. Mat., 8:00 to 10:30

THURS. MAT., 3:00 to 5:30

THE THEATRE GUILD presents

REUNION in VIENNA

A comedy by ROBERT E. SHERWOOD

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45th St. and 6th Ave. Penn. 6-6100

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"It is merry. It is malicious. It is an uproarious evening's entertainment."

—ROBT GARLAND, World-Telegram

LOUDER PLEASE

with LEETRACY

Staged by GEORGE ARBOTH

MASQUE Theatre

45th Street

W. of B'way. Eve. 8:30. Mat. Wed.-Sat.

ROXY 7th Avenue

MAKER OF MEN

with Jack Holt

Richard Cromwell Joan Marsh

On the Stage

RUTH ETING

Singing the Songs That Made Her Famous

BORRAH MINEVITCH

and His Rascals

The De Marcos - Roxyettes - Ballet

ROXY Theatre Symphony Orchestra

UVA WERE

CAPITOL Broadway and 61st Street

Major Edward Bowen, Mgr. Dir.

NORMA SHEARER

and ROBERT MONTGOMERY

In NOEL HOWARD'S Marriage Farce

with REGINALD DENNY

JACKIE COOPER'S Christmas Party

15 stars, with Jimmy Durante

ON STAGE: "SLEEPING HIG" with

Wm. & Joe Mandel; Yasha Hunkin

and Grand Orchestra . . . Capitols

Evenings 8:30

Wed. Mat. 2:30

Sat. Mat. 2:30

BEST SEATS

Strong Bill at the Fox B'klyn; Linda Watkins In "Good Sport" on the Screen; Big Stage Fare

The pre-holiday bill at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre is made up of "Good Sport" on the screen; Tess Garden in person, Fanchon & Marco's "Vacation Days" on the stage; and also marks the farewell week of Abe Lyman and his Band.

"Good Sport" is a picture of modern matrimony. When the bride of a year discovers her husband has taken another woman with him on a business trip to Europe, she decides to find out her rival's methods of holding her man. In seeking the information she mingles with a set of gold diggers and in this way meets a man who makes her throw a pretense to the winds. John Boles plays opposite Linda Watkins, supported by Greta Nissen, Minna Gombell, Allan Dinehart and Hedda Hopper. Kenneth MacKenna directed the production.

Tess Gardel, known by millions of radio fans as "Aunt Jemima," will appear in person at every performance.

Farewell week for Abe Lyman and his Band is celebrated by this popular bandmaster playing a round of melodies that have helped make his aggregation a favorite in Brooklyn.

Fanchon & Marco's "Vacation Days" idea brings relaxation and fun from several of the well known vacation spots in America.

Carola Goya's Dance Recital at the Morosco Theatre January 3

Carola Goya has moved forward a week the date of her Morosco Theatre recital in Spanish Dances, this being made necessary by a rearrangement of her January bookings in other cities. She is now scheduled to appear at the Morosco on Sunday evening, December 27th, instead of January 3rd. Miss Goya has several new numbers and costumes to reveal on that occasion. Notable among the new dances are her versions of the celebrated Malaguena of Lecuna, the equally renowned Zambra of Albeniz, the Farruca of Luis Sopena and the Zapateado (heel dance of Manuel Font).

"Excellent Entertainment." —REGINA CREWE, American

"Thrilling, thoroughly enjoyable—we were mighty keen about it."

—IRENE THIBER, News

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CRITERION 4th St.

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The unique Marxian drama from U.S.S.R.

"KILLING TO LIVE"

"Fascinating, entertaining, strikingly arranged and amazingly well photographed."—World Telegram

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Twice Daily 2:30, 8:30

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Mats. (exc. Sat.) 12:45 to 2:15. Eve. 8:30 to 10:30

Seats on sale at box office

Premiere Tues. Night, Dec. 2, 8:40

HELL DIVERS

with WALLACE BEERY

CLARK GABLE

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Continuous Noon to 11 P.M.

2nd WEEK

First Showing in America

"La Douceur D'Aimer"

"The Sweetness of Loving"

The best Screen Comedy ever made in France with Music and Song Hits.

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BROADWAY AND 59TH STREET

Where Americans Enjoy the Best Continental Pictures

A Bill of Berlin in New York

EMIL UND

DIE DETEKTIVE

A Hilarious Juvenile Picture for Youngsters of All Ages

Added Attraction on the Stage

MICHAEL KEMMETT'S

Punch & Judy Show

Continuous 12:30 to 11:00

80c, 75c, 50c, 25c, 10c, 5c

Cont. 11:30-11:55 p.m.—Popular Prices

Two of Germany's Favorite Stars in Little Carnegie's New Film

NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement.

James O'Neal Editor Edward Levinson Assistant Editor

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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggles of the organized working class. Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of the New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinion consistent with its declared purpose. Contributors are requested not to write on both sides of the paper and not to use lead pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1931

Nick's Prize

THEODORE ROOSEVELT once received the Nobel Peace Prize and Nicholas Murray Butler is one of two Americans to receive it this year. Roosevelt was an ardent pupil of Captain A. T. Mahan, the founder of the philosophy of imperial force in extending the rule of capitalism all over the world. Mahan's system included a nation of conscripts and great military and naval establishments and his writings influenced the admirals, generals and imperialist philosophers abroad.

The New York Times announcement of the Butler award carries a paragraph that may have been the work of an imp reporter. At any rate it is a piece of irony that is worth passing on to our readers. Citing the activities of Butler the paragraph states that "he vigorously supported this country's participation in the World War and took strong measures against unpatriotic tendencies that appeared in certain sections of the Columbia faculty and student body."

Even this is not complete. Years before the outbreak of the World War Nicholas Miraculous was the most outspoken admirer of Wilhelm of Hohenzollern. It was his opinion that if he had not inherited his job he would have been elected to it in any general German election. When we were plunged into the bloody shambles Nick changed his views as easily as he changes his socks. He supped on the blood of the "Huns" at least once each day and fought heroically behind the Columbia fortress in defense of God and country.

Nick gets a Nobel Peace Prize! Who is to get it next year, Nick's friend, the exile at Doorn?

Unemployment Relief

PRELIMINARY announcements of a report on unemployment benefits and insurance by the National Industrial Conference Board indicate its general character. The report is ranged against unemployment insurance legislation and in favor of corporation plans. The report, says one announcement, "points out that the operation of private voluntary unemployment benefit plans in the United States, as they are generally perfected and extended, will develop a body of experience that will yield valuable, actuarial data as a basis for this insurance."

As for the legislation abroad it is said that unemployment insurance "is subject to constant and irresistible pressure to increase the benefits." Precisely. The class views are set forth in these two quotations. In the United States the industrial masters are more absolute in industry than anywhere else in the world and leaving the matter of unemployment relief to them simply means placing the unemployed masses in the hands of our reigning capitalist kings.

On the other hand, if we take the legislative method we deprive the exploiting classes of this grip on the workers in the industries. Moreover, once it is a matter of legislation we would welcome the "irresistible pressure to increase the benefits" and that pressure would come from the working masses who would receive the benefits. One view represents the owners of industry and the other view represents the workers in industry.

The authors of the report did not intend to bring out this distinction but it is there just the same.

The Party Puzzle

THE joint authors of a history of the campaign of 1928 came to the conclusion that the likeness of the Democratic and Republican parties, their lack of issues, their tomfoolery and sheer nonsense, baffle any effort to interpret them in terms of economics. When we find importers and bankers and big industrial magnates supporting both parties, where is the economic explanation? They conclude that there is none.

At the same time the authors point out the

almost equal sums contributed to the two parties in that campaign by plug hat members of the ruling classes. We may add that the Republicans have Mellon and the Democrats have Raskob and it appears difficult to think that these powerful capitalist kings would range themselves into different parties. The authors are baffled and conclude that interpretation of the two parties in terms of class and economic interests is impossible.

An article would be required to consider this matter in full but the puzzle is not a puzzle at all. The authors themselves have cited economic reasons, some of them mentioned above, why the ruling parties are alike. That being the case, what else is left to the parties of the capitalist class but the nonsense and tomfoolery which disgust the authors? The likeness is due to the like economic interests that nourish these parties. Therefore, importers and bankers can invest in both with confidence that they will receive legislative dividends no matter which one holds the offices.

Roaring "Progressives"

IF tomfoolery and nonsense, accompanied with huge piles of cash, are typical of the ruling parties today, we are inclined to think that if the "progressives" do not have the cash they have a good stock of the tomfoolery and the nonsense. This applies to even some that bear the Farmer-Labor label. Senator Shipstead's main achievement at Washington seems to be that of a social success and now Floyd B. Olson, Farmer-Labor Governor of Minnesota, has supplied the tomfoolery.

Olson is quoted as saying that Western "progressives" will form a third party unless there is a "really progressive" major party candidate they can vote for in the next presidential election. Just what is "really progressive" we do not know and Olson himself did not explain, but it is no doubt the old game which "progressives" have been playing since the end of the World War while the laboring millions have been sinking to lower levels of privation.

The agricultural bloc has been playing the game since 1921 when it was organized. Its main achievement has been to administer narcotics to dying farmers, dying of the increased load of capitalist exploitation piled on their backs. Last week Senator Brookhart of Iowa voted for Senator Moses as President pro tem of the Senate. Speaking to a gang of fat capitalists in the East in 1929 Moses referred to ragged farmers as the "sons of wild jackasses" and Brookhart thundered anathemas in reply. Other "progressives" voted against him but accept the same party he does. The "progressives" roar like lions with the stripped farmers and then lure the latter into the political shambles. Governor Olson sees no farther than they do.

What is needed is war against the two parties of capitalism and all who play the game of these parties. The workers have reaped a hell of misery by remaining in those parties and those who play the game are tarred with the same stick whether they are "progressives" or "regulars." Independent working class politics alone should inspire the masses.

IN A NUTSHELL

By J. O.

"Revolutionary Tactics"

Now and then one comes across an old phrase that had its origin in the anarchism of the eighties and nineties. It then passed into the syndicalist movement and then into the Socialist movement. One hears of "revolutionary tactics" although there never has been and never can be such a thing. Tactics refer to methods of getting results and as methods, whatever form they may take, can be adopted by any group or movement and for any purpose they are neither revolutionary nor conservative.

Communists talk of civil war as "Revolutionary tactics" but fascists urge civil war and they serve reaction. The same confusion occurs with reference to secret organization, political action, and work in parliamentary bodies. Anarchists and syndicalists oppose the last two methods on the ground that they are not "revolutionary tactics." Armed insurrection is often supported as a revolutionary method despite the fact that throughout much of Latin-America every adventurer with an itching palm who seeks power for himself and for reaction adopts this method.

The aim of a movement alone determines whether it is revolutionary, conservative, or reactionary, no matter what the method may be of trying to realize that aim. If the aim is the overthrow of capitalism and the emancipation of the working class it is a revolutionary movement. That movement may make mistakes in the employment of methods but its aim gives it its distinction, not the method or methods it may employ.

The same reasoning applies to Fascism and all other forms of reaction. Their aims make them reactionary. The Hitler gang does not become less of a reactionary organization because of its election of Deputies to the Reichstag nor does it become more reactionary when its hoodlums ignore the Reichstag and run amuck in the streets with clubs and guns. Fascism is anti-revolutionary and anti-working class no matter what method it employs.

All this was threshed out years ago in the Socialist parties of the world but it bobs up now and then. Finally, it may be observed, that what some mistakenly call "revolutionary tactics" often gives an excuse to the ruling classes to venture upon reaction against the working class. Keep the aim in mind and adapt our methods to changing capitalism, but let us never mistake the methods for the aim. That would be to place the cart before the horse.

A want of the necessities of life, in peasants or artisans, when the seasons have been favorable, is a certain sign of defect in the constitution or of criminality in the administration.—Walter Savage Landor (1775-1864.)

The benefactors of mankind are those who grumble to the best purpose. Grumbling has raised man from the condition of the gorilla to that of the judge on the bench of justice. John Wagstaffe.

SOLIDARITY FOREVER



PRINTED FOR WORKERS BY LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY AND EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR STRIKERS' RELIEF, NORMAN THOMAS, Chairman

The League for Industrial Democracy and the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief have filled a long felt need of workers and labor organizations by printing a forceful labor poster, of which the above is a reproduction. The original poster is 24 inches wide by 18 inches in depth. The League can supply these posters hand-colored for 50 cents each, or in black and white for 25 cents. No labor Socialist headquarters should be without one of these inspiring posters. Its article makes it suitable for hanging in workers' homes. The artist is Anita Parkhurst. For copies write to the League for Industrial Democracy, 122 E. 19th St., N. Y.

The Fight For Peace

Pressure of Masses on Geneva Disarmament Conference
Most Important Next Step for War on War

ALL over the world working class organizations, Socialists and Labor parties, and sympathetic anti-imperialist and anti-war organizations are circulating petitions for reduction of armaments. This world-wide petition drive was inaugurated by the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions. It is hoped to present millions of signatures to the World Disarmament Conference when it meets in Geneva.

The American Socialist Party as a section of the International is pledged to cooperate in this work which has now begun. It is an interesting fact that the United States has the largest percentage of increase of "defense" expenditure than any other nation in the world. Its percentage of increase since 1913 compared with other nations is as follows: United States, 197 Japan, 142; Italy, 44; Great Britain, 42; France 10.

MORE MEN UNDER ARMS

Moreover, there are more men under arms and in the reserve forces of the armies of the world than at the outbreak of the World War. Another significant thing is the increase of conscript armies. Of 58 nations listed in the December number of "Foreign Policy Reports" 17 have conscript armies.

DISARMAMENT RESOLUTION

Drafted by the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labor and Socialist International for the WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE, Geneva.

This meeting of..... (Name of Organization)

of.....men and women in the city of.....

state of.....United States of America, declares that without disarmament peace is always in danger; the Peace Treaties have imposed disarmament upon certain countries and have promised it for others; yet the prolonged negotiations in Geneva have had no tangible results; the burden of armaments is growing; and the patience of the peoples is strained to the utmost.

It therefore calls upon the Governments represented at the Disarmament Conference to take some positive action. A Convention should be included which will ensure an immediate and substantial reduction of effectives and all forms of war material and expenditures, and lead to complete universal and controlled disarmament at the earliest possible moment.

Signed..... Secretary

This meeting of..... (Name of Organization)

of.....men and women in the city of.....

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Signed..... Secretary

(Fill out both blanks and return to Socialist Party of America, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.)

Neither Song Nor Serm

IF YOU'D like to know what "blue Monday" means, just the reports of the preceding day's sermons. Not a week by but some clergymen attempt a religious interpretation of the omic crisis. And such amazing things as they do say!

One rejoices in the opportunity which the wealthy now to practice the Christian virtue of charity—a virtue, known, which causes a multitude of sins. Of course little rough on Lazarus, that he must suffer want in Dives may give alms. But presumably Lazarus is as in Abraham's bosom, and how fine it is that Dives should

chances to escape damnation. Another is sure that even for the poor this depression is a blessing in disguise. Of course, hunger and cold are hard to bear, but through lack of gross material comforts the unemployed may be brought to a keener appreciation of spiritual values. So Lazarus also is a beneficiary.

A third talks of divine vengeance. A few years ago Mammomon was enthroned. The mighty ones forgot God and laid up for themselves treasures upon earth—and now just see what has happened to their stocks and bonds!

Whenever I meet this God of Vengeance theory I am reminded of the earthquake which devastated Messina and its vicinity some twenty years ago. A very eminent churchman in the United States gravely declared that this was God's way of punishing Italian people for giving such a big vote to the irreligious Socialist party a few months before. He forgot to mention that almost all the Socialist votes were cast in Northern and Central Italy, and the punitive earthquake hit only the extreme south. But, to paraphrase a historic saying, What's geography among prelates? Besides, if you only know your theology well enough you'll see that it is quite all right for Messina to suffer for Milan's unrighteousness and for \$12-a-week office girls to expiate the sins of Wall Street.

Of course, I don't mean to say that all the preachers talk such pernicious nonsense about the industrial depression. A good many of them wisely avoid the subject and a few discuss it in a sensible and humane way. Moreover, clergymen are by no means the only ones whose utterances on this theme stir my indignation. Indeed I think the sort of sermons I have cited are only pulp versions of the views of Big Business.

Henry Ford, who is not particularly pious, gave an interview a few weeks ago which was about as cold-blooded as anything that has been said in church. He talked about "natural law" instead of "divine law" but to the same effect—that the depression was not an evil, but a thinly disguised blessing. And business men with more brains than Ford has and with very respectable Bradstreet ratings too, are equally well content.

Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., president of General Motors, in his latest quarterly report, "asserts that the general business and industrial structure of the country has been strengthened through the elimination of the inefficiency, waste, and false thinking that accompany periods of intense and prolonged fine.

Mr. Sloan—nor even Henry Ford—when it comes to considering business interests. They know they want. They want deflation. Labor. And they are getting it. What does really make me is to hear some men who themselves Socialists arguing unemployment (for other folk a thing for us to rejoice over). Working men are a lot of heads, they say. They think of with their bellies. So long as they had enough to eat they let Hoover and Al Smith lead them around by the nose. Serves them right they are getting hungry now they starve a little longer maybe they'll turn to the party—and, I infer, let them around by the nose while.

We haven't many of hope. Many or few, the excess baggage. I wish themselves do a little to they find a full stomach quite willing they should most human beings it is.

Leads Jobless, Jailed

(By a New Leader) THREE RIVERS, R. Selby, Socialist, just been released after 60 days of a 60-day strike case. The Committee of the Socialist Party, Selby, and the shared equally fine.