

## Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Newspapers and the "Dole"—Unemployment, The Senate and the President—The Foreign Debts Problem—Domestic Finances—Party Problems

### DISHONESTY ON THE "DOLE"

JUST how mischievous and essentially dishonest is the campaign against the misnamed "dole"; that is, unemployment insurance, in our country which has the real and terrible dose of breadlines by the way in which at least two great New York newspapers played up the news that Commander Booth of the Salvation Army opposed our copying the British "dole."



NORMAN THOMAS

Now what Miss Booth said was bad enough, but it was not what the headline and the lead to the story represented her as saying. What she did was to express the conventional hope of people who have money or who hope to get money from the rich that the United States might escape the necessity for a scheme like the British "dole." But Miss Booth has the fundamental honesty to go on to add that many of the Salvation Army workers in England gave this "dole" a share of the credit for the great improvement to be observed in social conditions among the poor in England. No one would guess that she had made this additional statement from the headlines I saw.

### THE LA FOLLETTE BILL

SENATOR LAFOLLETTE, according to a very brief despatch I have just seen, has introduced what appears to be substantially such a bill as Socialists long have advocated. It calls for a five billion dollar federal loan for public works to be repaid out of a 25 per cent additional surtax on incomes over \$5,000. Whether this bill makes any provision for possible use of any part of this money in an emergency for direct relief or for housing, I do not know. Both provisions ought to be made in this or in other bills. The one place where not even capitalists can allege overproduction is in the field of low cost housing. Since one-third of our people live in inadequate and insanitary housing this is above all others the place to start work. There are some legal difficulties about federal aid in this field. They can be surmounted if we so desire. Anyway, Senator LaFollette's bill as summarized in the despatch I have seen deserves earnest support.

### A HOOVER COMMISSION REPORTS

ONE of Hoover's innumerable committees has reported adversely on the whole subject of a big federal loan for public works. Its arguments as summarized in the New York papers are plainly childish. The gist of them seem to be that public works won't stimulate every line of business directly—the automobile industry, for instance—and that in some mysterious way a loan of any size would interfere with the normal processes of recovery from this crisis. How, neither the committee nor anybody else can explain. No one with brains, certainly no Socialist, ever said that such a bill as Senator LaFollette has finally introduced after too long a delay would cure unemployment. It is only part of the immediate program we have advocated. What a big program of public works, especially that includes housing, would do, is not only to stimulate a great many trades and industries directly, as even Mr. Hoover's committee admit, but indirectly to stimulate business in general, by giving to a great many workers more money to spend. It is quite true that such a program might not directly help the automobile or certain other industries. It might help even them indirectly. Certainly by past road building the automobile industry has been greatly helped. All arguments against direct federal aid to this war against poverty are based either on the sheer selfishness of taxpayers with surplus incomes or on a singularly stupid brand of capitalist economics which have woefully broken down under the test of reality.

### ON FORGIVING FOREIGN DEBTS

IT is good that Congress finally passed the bill for legalizing the moratorium, a bill to which the majority of its members were already pledged. It is bad that it accompanied this act with a lot of oratory unnecessarily offensive to foreign ears and with a declaration against any further reduction or cancellation of debts. Some excuse may be found for Congress in the mistakes both of President Hoover and the great bankers. Mr. Hoover never properly educated the public on the significance of debts and reparations and he proposed a moratorium without calling Congress in session to discuss the matter. The banks ran wild in floating all sorts of foreign loans which Wall Street promptly unloaded on Main street after having made a more than generous commission. Today some New York banks which hold comparatively little in long-term loans have advanced so much to Germany on short-term credit for commercial transactions that complete German default on these credits might imperil some strong banks and start a general banking run in America of incalculable consequence. In these circumstances the big bankers do not look like disinterested preachers of forgiveness of those debts owed to the American government which ultimately will have to be paid by American taxpayers.

Nevertheless the main sufferers in the present world situation are not bankers but farmers and workers, European and American. Blind insistence that Germany must pay reparations has put every possible difficulty in the way of Social Democracy in Germany. It has played into the hands of the Hitlerites. It has terribly reduced German wages and has been a factor not only in German unemployment but in world depression. England, France and Italy are not likely to forgive German reparations if they have to pay debts incurred by all the Allies in a war in which we were foolish enough to take part. For the most part none of these debts arising out of the war can be paid except in goods which all nations prove that they don't want by putting up tariff walls. Partly justly and partly unjustly but wholly naturally, all these debtor nations look on their debts with a degree of psychological irritation greater even than the actual economic hurt that they impose. We Americans fool ourselves if we think that the present schedule of reparations and debts ever will be paid or that the Allies will pay us and forgive any large share of those German reparations now under discussion. It is very significant that the neutral nations through their representatives at the Basle conference on Germany's capacity to pay have all declared for wiping out reparations, or at least that part of them which is now conditional under the Young Plan. They are in a position to see things fairly. We might as well make a virtue out of forgiving what we can't collect anyhow.

To American forgiveness of interrelated debts there should be three conditions: (1) as a matter of course German reparations should be wiped out; (2) not one cent should go to support Europe's extravagant armaments which must be reduced; (3) what the United States loses or seems to lose should be covered by a surtax on the incomes of that class which profited, if anybody did, out of the war and out of those private foreign securities which though they have shrunk in value will not be forgiven and, indeed, cannot be forgiven short of general collapse of the whole economic structure. That general collapse would not be a bad thing if we had ready another system to put in its place. A chaotic collapse arising out of a refusal or inability of Europe to pay anything on any of the money it has borrowed since the war for peaceful purposes is another matter. Moreover it should be observed that these private debts do not involve the fate or danger of war involved in the public debt; and finally that many of them may automatically shrink—or have shrunk—as fixed public debts cannot.

### OUR OWN FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

COMING back to some financial problems, unless there is at least a partial recovery from the present depression there must either be a partial moratorium or reduction of mortgages and certain other classes of debts or a moderate or controlled inflation. Both, in terms of justice it is outrageous that railroads should get wages to pay bond holders and that the city of Chicago should further hold back the salaries of its employees in order to pay bond holders. What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander, and if we can afford to take a cut because the cost of living has so can bond holders.

One of President Hoover's financial proposals goes to the root matter. His Reconstruction Finance Corporation, however, is defective. That corporation is nothing in the world but a device for the government's cheap credit at the disposal of private business. That rate is very low as was proved in September when

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In This Issue:  
"MILWAUKEE'S FINANCES"  
The First of Three  
Exclusive Articles

# NEW LEADER

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Is Combined

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## Five Harlan Defenses; Witnesses Indicted

### W. Va. Miners Rallying for Labor Party

Socialist Organizers  
Find Warm Reception  
in Trip Through  
the State

By MURRAY BARON  
(Special New Leader Correspondent)

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—The West Virginia Mine Workers' Union, with a membership and following of 18,000 members, in its recent strike learned bitterly the lesson of the absence of a workers' party to aid in its industrial struggles. A vicious and hostile political administration, through its control of sheriffs, constables, judges and police virtually broke the strike. The capitalist parties fully understand the significance of the recent move by the Union to join an independent labor party. It is a basic and constructive program against persecution and intimidation by the henchmen of the bosses.

However, it is the clear sentiment of the Union men not to engage in a temporary or timid skirmish against the two old parties, but to build a permanent and separate labor party. In a convention to be held in January, the rank and file will determine that question of application as a body with the Socialist Party. Other local labor unions will be invited. Norman Thomas will be the principal speaker.

Socialist Organizers Murray Baron and Amicus Most are daily demonstrating to the union and its members the advantages of Socialist Party affiliation. In our short stay thus far, we have spoken at several locals of the union in the mining camps. The halls are jammed and the response is truly wonderful. With hand-clapping and cheering, the miners greet the pledge of support through their industrial and political fights by the Socialist Party. The meetings end with the singing of "Solidarity Forever" and "The Internationale."

President Frank Keeney and Vice-President Scott have generously supported these meetings by facilitating the arrangements. We have been scheduled to speak at every local, reaching nearly all the members with Socialist propaganda so that the union may well be expected to vote for Socialist Party affiliation. There are quite a few Socialists in the union.

The Socialist organizers have not been confining their activities to the union. In Charleston we have formed a Socialist party local with a membership of 15, all avidly interested in building a stronger local. Comrade J. H. Snider single-handedly distributed notices of a meeting to be held in the court house of Fairmont, West Virginia. As a result of this splendid comrade's activity, over 200 people jammed the room and greeted Most and Baron enthusiastically. The meeting resulted in 22 members and the immediate formation of a local. Star City has already organized a local under the guidance of J. F. Higgins, new State Secretary. With the slogan of a "local in every city," the organizers are heading for Wheeling, Clarksburg, Weston, Huntington, etc., in each of which a nucleus exists for strong local organization.

**Resolution on Elections**  
Following is the resolution adopted at the conference of the union a week ago, on the subject of a labor party:

"This conference goes on record as re-affirming the stand taken by the West Virginia Mine Workers' Union when it was organized in March, 1931, namely that just as labor must organize industrially for its own protection into militant and progressive industrial unions, so on the political field labor must build its own party."

"We favor taking immediate steps to organize a labor party to put candidates in the field at the next election for local offices, because experience has taught us the lesson that these so-called officers of the law when elected on the Republican or Democratic tickets do not enforce the law impartially, but act solely in the interest of the employers."

"We favor the holding of meetings immediately in all sections of Kanawha, Boone, Raleigh, Fayette and Putnam counties to discuss this matter of a labor party."

"We believe that further thought should be given to the question as to whether it would

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## The Low Tide of Politics

Two Old Parties Display Their Complete Servility to Big Business and Their Uselessness to the Mass of the People

THE two-party politics of American capitalism has reached its low ebb of futility. The informed Socialist expects little or no relief for the masses from this source but Republican-Democratic politics is in some ways even incapable of intelligently caring for the capitalist system it represents.

The Democratic national platform in 1920 declared that "By the enactment of the Federal Reserve Act, the old system, which bred panics, was replaced by a new system which insured confidence." The Republican national platform in 1928 declared that "through the wisdom of Republican policies and the capacity of Republican administrations, the foundations have been laid and the greatness and prosperity of the country firmly established."

Millions to their sorrow remember the Republican ballyhoo of 1928 but have forgotten the Democratic hokum of 1920. Try the above hymns on your piano and try to detect a difference in the melody.

### POLITICS AND PLUNDER

Political parties in this and other countries have generally represented the economic interests of a class or allied groups with similar interests. This has been true of the United States since the first party struggle in 1796. The Democratic Party generally represented farming interests before the Civil War; at first small farmers of the West and South and then the landed magnates of the slave regime. The Republican Party within a decade after its organization to check the extension of slavery became the carrier of capitalistic and banking interests.

After the defeat of Bryan in 1896 the Democratic Party more and more changed into a party of capitalism. By 1912 its leadership had permanently shifted from the agrarian West to the capitalistic East. More and more the Democracy wooed the bankers and capitalistic barons. By 1928 it was successful. It captured "Fat Cats" like the Raskobs, Owens, Kennys, DuPonts and their kind, labor exploiters like the Mellons and Rockefeller who underwrite the campaign income of the Republican Party. Raskob was a registered Republican in 1924 and voted for Lord Calvin of the New England textile dynasty. He had no more difficulty in passing over to the Democracy than he has in changing his shirt. He moved the headquarters of the party into the General Motors Building.

### TWO KEPT PARTIES

The two parties now represent a stage which the Whigs and Democrats reached on the eve of the Civil War. They had become the kept women of the wealthier slave owners. The two parties today occupy luxurious apartments owned by the ruling capitalists and bankers. They do not pay rent. Their rent is paid by the owners of the apartments.

The Democracy had once represented the middle and lower middle classes. These classes during the post-war period have been rapidly stripped of their property. As they lost prestige, as they have been pushed to lower levels, the Democracy packed its baggage and moved into the upper heaven of capitalism. There it was welcomed by bourgeois kings with possessions as vast as those of the kings that keep the Republican Party.

Here is the explanation of the death of genuine party life and struggles at Washington. A similar situation brought a party revolution in 1860. It should bring a party revolution in 1932.

### Phila. Labor Organizes Permanent Group to Fight for Tom Mooney

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—The Philadelphia labor movement pledged support to the fight for Tom Mooney's freedom at a mass meeting Dec. 17th held by the Mooney Defense Conference. More than forty working-class organizations are affiliated with the conference.

The meeting was addressed by Alexander McKeown, President of the Hosiery Union, and Socialist candidate for Mayor in the recent election; Ben Fletcher, national organizer for the I. W. O.; Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union; and Byrd Kelso, personal representative of Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee. Adolph Hirschberg, President of the Central Labor Union and of the Musicians' Union, presided.

All of the speakers stressed the necessity for labor to continue its fight for Mooney's freedom. They placed little faith in the maneuvers of politicians like Jimmy Walker to secure Mooney's freedom. Kelso read a communication from Mooney addressed to the meeting. Mooney affirmed his faith in American labor and urged the continuance of the struggle for economic and political freedom for all members of the working class. The Executive Committee of the Philadelphia Tom Mooney Defense Conference announced that the Conference will continue its work until Mooney is released from prison.

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### Speeches Banned From New Year's Eve Dance; Debate 'Till 4 A. M. Averts Danger of Split

The Greenwich Village branch of the Socialist party almost split into four factions and deviations early Wednesday morning when a special committee met to consider one of the most momentous issues that ever confronted a party branch. But the committee emerged in a dazed condition after seven hours of warm debate with a compromise which gave the right-centerists a shade over the periphery but nevertheless gave the latter enough concessions to keep them in the fold.

The problem that came near swamping the branch was that of the New Year's Eve dance which is to be held next Thursday night and Friday morning at the Rand School auditorium. Preparations for the carnival had gone ahead, swimmingly until the problem of who should speak, if at all, staggered the committee.

Socialists all over the city had prepared to make the dance the center of their New Year's festivities. Samuel A. DeWitt was to come, dressed up as a Russian balalaika. Teddy Shapiro was coming costumed as a torpedo, loaded August Claessens had been trilling in the privacy of the party office for weeks, prepared to make his appearance as a Swiss yodeler, while McAlister Coleman was reported to be putting the finishing touches on his mid-Victorian maid disguise. It was to be a big night. Then came factionalism. A. N. Weinberg started it when he demanded that a symposium be staged on the question of Gottliebism in the party, the problem

that raised its hydrahead when the organizer of the Village Socialist branch launched his now famous 38-page thesis on "The six-minute plan; or how to age gin while you wait." The special session was summoned. Starting calmly, the discussion waxed hotter. The four chairs owned by the branch were smashed, as well as its two gavels. The father of the compromise proved to be none other than Ben Blumenberg.

"I want to speak to the point," said Ben Ben, as he is affectionately known. "The issue is one of crude materialism versus comparative religion. As Robert Benchley says in his latest work, 'Through the Alimentary Canal with Rod and Gun,' the end must justify the means. I don't see why we need any speeches."

The logic of Comrade Blumenberg's address electrified the committee. It was the best organized and most logical speech heard in many years. The branch immediately voted to print it in a special edition of 20 copies of which 20 copies were to be destroyed and the type immediately broken up. The dance was saved. And now, dear brothers and sisters, if you miss the New Year's Eve dance of the combined Greenwich Village, 6th and 8th A. D. branches, next Thursday night at the Rand School, you will have passed up the merriest Socialist affair in years. Come in costume. Come in crowds. Come anytime between 9 p. m. and 5 a. m. And get your tickets in advance for \$1—thereby saving 50 cents—from the Rand Book Store, 7 East 15th street.

### Baltimore Labor Favors Labor Party

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

BALTIMORE.—A resolution adopted by the local Federation of Labor declares that "It has been proven beyond any doubt that the men chosen by the people, be they Republican or Democrat, to represent their interests in our country have either through apathy or lack of intelligence failed miserably in their efforts to cure or even remedy the chaotic economic conditions existing." Formation of a labor party is called for.

### Socialist Enemy Out of New Spanish Cabinet

MADRID—Victory for Socialist principles in the formation of the new government was seen in the cabinet slate chosen by Premier Manuel Azana. Most notable was the appointment of Luis de Zulueta as Minister of State, to succeed the reactionary Alejandro Lerroux, who has been a consistent opponent of coalition between the Socialist and Republican parties.

The new cabinet, all Socialists or "left-wing" Republicans, includes, besides Azana and Zulueta, Jaime Carner, Minister of the Treasury; Jose Giral, Minister of Marine; Santiago Casares Quiroga, Minister of the Interior; Fernando de los Rios, Minister of Public Instruction; Francisco Largo Caballero, Minister of Labor; Indalecio Prieto, Minister of Public Works; and Marcelino Domingo, Minister of Agriculture. The post of Minister of Communications has not yet been filled.

### Tennessee Union Head Also Named

Operators' "Justice"  
Reaches Out for  
Turnblazer in Wholesale  
Frame-up Effort

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

HARLAN, Ky.—Harlan's coal operator justice—which has had a merry time indicting radicals, conservatives and plain working men, novelists, newspaper men and miners—has capped its clownishness by accusing Pres. William Turnblazer of United Mine Workers District 19, comprising Tennessee, of conspiracy to murder.

Turnblazer joins 40-odd more who have been charged with murder and conspiracy to murder in connection with the death of three company gunmen, deputized by Sheriff Blair of Harlan county, on May 5 at Everts. He has not been in Everts since 1917 and the cause of his indictment apparently is a remark in a letter to W. B. Jones, just convicted and given a life sentence, that "it is better to die fighting than to die starving." The Tennessee miners' union head is a conservative man and an ardent supporter of Pres. John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers. W. B. Jones, just convicted in the first conspiracy trial at Mt. Sterling, is secretary of the U. M. W. A. local in Everts.

**Turnblazer Gives Self Up**  
Indignation ran high in Bell county, adjoining Harlan, when news of Turnblazer's indictment by a grand jury under the control of the notorious Judge D. C. (Babyface) Jones of Harlan was made known. Prominent Bell county officials offered to put up bond to the extent of \$100,000. He was greeted at the county line by the sheriff and a delegation of prominent Bell county people. Turnblazer could have sought extradition from Tennessee, but preferred to appear voluntarily in Kentucky to post the \$15,000 bond required. He will be defended by the U. M. W. A.'s Indianapolis staff of attorneys.

Other new indictments were returned against Charles Colcord, Jim Maynard, Carl Williams, Kenneth Dalton and John Gross, former county assessor who was first indicted after his favorable testimony in Jones' trial.

All the newly indicted testified in one or both of the first two Harlan county murder cases, lately tried in Mount Sterling. All are key witnesses in the 42 other cases, in which the defendants are accused of killing three deputy sheriffs and three mine guards from ambush in Everts on May 5. W. B. Jones was convicted, not of participation in the killing, but of conspiracy to kill. William Burnett was acquitted.

**Prosecution Is Vicious**  
However absurd the entire crop of murder, conspiracy to murder and criminal syndicalism indictments may seem to an outsider, events in the Jones' trial in Mt. Sterling prove that they are a serious matter down in Kentucky. With prosecuting attorneys and private operator-paid associate counsel painting lurid pictures of slimy serpents climbing up flagpoles, of Muscovite influence seeking to undermine good old Americanism in Harlan county, and calling the Harlan miners "beggars" and "loafers," the bluegrass courtroom recalled memories of the big labor trials of the post-war period in Seattle, Everett, Chicago.

Innuendo proved the deciding factor in the Jones trial. A purported "black oath" of the United Mine Workers, which was never produced in court, bloody statements attributed to Jones by state witnesses whom the defense had no difficulty in discrediting, apparently stuck in the jurors' minds.

In non-industrial Mt. Sterling, which knows nothing of unemployment, blacklists and discharge for joining the union, the admissions wrung from miners that they were unemployed gave credence to the prosecutors' claims that they were "bums" and "loafers," the sum to be found in any county. "When are you going to quit loafing and begging and go back to work," was the trick question sprung on abashed miner witnesses.

Unusual viciousness was shown

by prosecuting attorneys, who prided themselves in displaying their education and experience against the fool of uneducated, bewildered miners. "What killed Jim Daniels?" was the type of question hurled in thunderous tones at the witness as he ascended the witness chair. They didn't know. "What did you do to find out?" was the next question. Nothing much. "Now as a matter of fact weren't you glad Jim Daniels (the deputy) was killed?"

**Typical Examination**  
Then to clinch matters, the witness would be asked if he attended Daniels' funeral at the Black Mt. mine, where union miners are forbidden to go. The witness would answer no. Then the next question, Did you attend the funeral of Carl Richmond? (the union miner killed in the Evansville battle).

An affirmative answer would bring a gloating expression to the prosecutor's face. "As a matter of fact wasn't the Richmond funeral a sort of jubilee at which you rejoiced over the killing of Jim Daniels?"

However, when defense witnesses experienced in courtroom tactics took the stand, they were subjected to two or three perfunctory questions and excused. The brilliant prosecutors took no chances with any miner with the equivalent of 8th grade education.

### W. Va. Miners Rally To Labor Party Idea

(Continued from Page One)  
he advisable to try to organize a state-wide Labor party in West Virginia to run candidates for all offices in the forthcoming election, and also to question whether we should affiliate politically with any national party organization.

"We favor the appointment of a committee of seven to carry forward the plans for running local labor candidates in the next election; for holding meetings in various sections of Kanawha and other counties to promote the idea of a Labor Party; for studying questions of more extensive organization and affiliation.

"We also instruct this committee to make plans for a Labor Party convention early in 1932 at a time and place to be determined by the committee, delegates at this convention to be elected by local unions of labor organizations, and particularly by locals of the West Virginia Mine Workers and other labor groups.

"We emphasize that our foremost and ruling purpose is to build a progressive, powerful, fighting union for the coal miners of West Virginia, and that any steps to be taken on the political field must always have this purpose in mind."

### Rand School Prints 'Socialist Fundamentals' By David P. Berenberg

The Rand School announces the publication on December 18 of "Socialist Fundamentals" by David P. Berenberg, author of "A Workers' World." Here in 100 pages is a compact and thorough statement of the Socialist theories, in simple language.

Here is the pamphlet that you have so often asked for—the book to put into the hands of the new party member, so that he may fit himself in his work for Socialism; the book for the inquiring sympathizer who needs only another argument to win him over to the party. This is the book to give to the once critical friend who has begun to wonder if, after all, there isn't "something in Socialism."

The whole field of Socialist theory is covered. Here you will find the Labor Theory of Value, the Theory of Surplus Value, the Materialist Conception of History, the Theory of the Class Struggle, and a brief statement of the Socialist program.

### Winslow Urges Medical Cooperatives

Group medicine will be advocated by the National Committee on Costs of Medical Care, Dr. C. E. A. Winslow, executive head of the committee, last week told the Bankers' Club.

The best medical care now provided in the country, the committee has found, is found in the socialized clinics to be found in the better universities. Some similar arrangements should be worked out for the general population, Dr. Winslow said. Group medicine may be provided by voluntary associations with or without state aid, or entirely by the state, he predicted. Successful examples of all three systems are found in European countries and in scattered communities in this country, he pointed out.

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### Bill Puts \$50,000 Maximum Price on Seat in U. S. Senate

WASHINGTON (FP).—Not more than \$50,000 can be spent on nomination and election to the Senate, and not over \$1,000 on a Congressional seat, while \$5,000,000 will be the limit of legal outlay on the election of a presidential and vice-presidential ticket, if the bill introduced Dec. 21 by Chairman Nye of the Senate campaign fund probe committee becomes law.

This proposed federal law would not supercede a lower legal limit of campaign expenditure fixed by State laws, unless and until the courts so rule. Meanwhile some States limit expenditures in senatorial campaigns to \$10,000 for any candidate.

### Harlan Defense Conference in N. Y. C. Jan. 6

**Socialist and Labor Groups to Meet at the Labor Temple**

AN effort to crystallize the existing resentment directed against the brutal campaign of persecution in the Kentucky coal fields by all Socialist, labor and liberal elements in the New York City area will be made at once. An emergency conference is to be held at the Labor Temple, 242 East 14th street, on Jan. 6 for the purpose of intensifying and giving greater support to the campaign being waged by the Kentucky Miners' Defense and Relief Conference of New York City. That conference was organized by the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W. last June as a supporting body, the latter named organization having charge of the defense of all murder cases arising out of the strike as well as the hundred odd Criminal Syndicalism cases also pending.

The recent conviction of W. B. Jones at Mt. Sterling, Ky., on a first degree murder charge and his sentence to life imprisonment along with the subsequent indictment of five defense witnesses is credited with contributing greatly to current interest in this issue. It is common knowledge that all five newly indicted miners are to be witnesses in the pending trials of an additional 42 miners on three first degree murder indictments, a circumstance which provides grounds for a charge of deliberate intimidation of all defense witnesses and an almost certain impossibility of a fair and impartial trial in the anti-labor commonwealth of Kentucky.

The feeling of exultation on part of all friends of the striking coal miners when William Burnett, the first striker to go to trial on a murder charge, was acquitted, has somewhat cooled due to the conviction of Jones, secretary of Evansville, Ky., miners' union, which called the strike last spring.

About a score of progressive labor organizations now comprise the New York conference. Among the endorsers of the call for the coming emergency conference are Norman Thomas, Roger Baldwin, Fannie M. Cohn, Carlo Tresca, E. A. J. Muste, Carlo Tresca, Giulio Valenti, James Onorato, Justus Ebert, Margaret Tucker, Enotrio Greco, Stanley Indrulis and Benjamin H. Fletcher.

### 133 Banks Crash; Loss to Millions

Bank failures showed a sharp decline during November from the all-time high record in October. Failures remained, however, at a point which would have been high in any other period, with 133 crashes totaling \$70,371,000 in liabilities.

October's figures of nearly a half billion dollars in losses were higher for the one month than any year until 1930, and equalled about two-thirds of that high record. Another month of such a record would have swamped the nation's banking system, observers declare. Bradstreet's says that the present figures are to be expected until the long-awaited business upturn occurs.

#### THE COMMUNITY FORUM

Jack Black, famous author, will speak for the Community Forum Sunday evening at 8 o'clock on the subject of "What Makes Criminals?" At the Community Church service to be held at 11 a. m., Dr. John Haynes Holmes will speak on "If God Sees Us, What Does He Think of Us?"

#### THE LABOR TEMPLE

Dr. Edmund B. Chaffee will speak on "Can We Believe in a Christian God?" in the Labor Temple, 14th street and Second avenue, Sunday evening at 8 o'clock.

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### Hillquit Sees Socialism Cure For Depression

**Socialist National Chairman Debates Battle at Brooklyn Forum Before Large Crowd**

PERIODICAL depressions can only be eliminated by Socialism, declared Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the Socialist Party, in debate with George Gordon Battle, Democratic leader, before the Brooklyn Forum of the Socialist Party in the Academy of Music last Sunday night. This debate was the seventh in a series that has been arranged.

The Socialist leader was at his best and delivered a masterly exposition of the Socialist point of view regarding industrial panics. Mr. Battle stressed "human nature" as in conflict with a Socialist society and Hillquit's rejoinders were witty and to the point. About twelve hundred people heard the debate.

"Capitalism cannot eliminate periodical depressions," asserted Mr. Hillquit. "The modern, capitalist economic system is based on large scale organization and mass production for the market. Our industries are owned and managed by private concerns, mostly impersonal corporations, for profit. The capitalist does not care whether the community goes barefoot or starves, so long as he fills his own coffers."

"The system works with little plan or co-ordination. Each concern seeks to dispose as much of its products as possible without regard to its rivals. In a promising market each concern is apt to produce a little more than it can readily dispose of. In the course of a few years the market is overstocked, production is curtailed, the industrial life is paralyzed. This is called a state of 'over production.'"

#### An Artificial Condition

"It is a purely artificial condition. At no time did any country possess more goods than the people could readily consume. The people do not consume all they need, because the vast majority of them do not have sufficient purchasing power. The capitalist system is based on wage labor. The capitalist class cannot afford to pay to the workers as a whole a wage equal to the value of their collective product. The workers can only buy back a part of what they created. The capitalists cannot physically consume all of the balance. This creates a condition of 'under consumption' as artificial as that of 'over production.'"

"There is no escape from this vicious circle under capitalism. 'Socialism stands for the socialization of the industries and their operation by governmental or other social organization on the basis of planned and scientific production for public use and not for private profits. Hence overproduction, under-consumption and cyclical depression will be impossible under Socialism.'"

"Mr. Hillquit assumes," said Mr. Battle in his first answer, "that Socialism is a practical working doctrine which can be put into effect, but this is a demand on our credulity and our confidence which is hard to meet."

"Karl Marx, the scientific leader of Socialism, believed in violence to win his ideal. There is no other way to make man give up his rights of private property. And as long as Socialism ignores the fundamental facts of human nature, either through lack of courage or too much goodness of heart, it must remain an impractical dream."

He concluded his opening speech by asking, "Will the people be willing to take the great chance of changing the order by which they have been living for centuries?"

#### The Issue of Violence

In answer to the charge of violence Hillquit stated that the Socialists conducted their activities on legitimate and political grounds and on the assumption that they would be allowed to carry out their program if they attained a majority in the electorate and government, but he held that if the ruling classes declined to submit to a mandate of the masses that Socialists would certainly fight.

In response to the question, "Have you seen Socialism successfully carried out anywhere?" Hillquit answered, "Have you ever lived in 1935?"

Hillquit claimed that capitalism crushed individual development, and Battle argued that man's selfish instinct will always lead him onward and upward.

The chairman was Harry W. Laidler, president of the Bureau of Economic Research and associate director of the League for Industrial Democracy.

Next Sunday Alexander Woolcott, eminent dramatic critic, will lecture on "Forgotten Utopia." Harry Hansen, literary critic of the World-Telegram, will serve as chairman.

THE INGERSOLL FORUM  
The lecturer for the Ingersoll Forum at the next meeting to be held in the Pythian Temple, 135 W. 70th street, Dec. 27, at 8 p. m., will be Morris Goldberg, M.A. His subject will be "Did Jesus Christ Ever Live?"

### N. Y. C. Young Socialists Open Convention Today

**Activity in Strikes Feature of Y. P. S. L. in the Year Now Ending**

A LARGE mass meeting will greet the opening, at 2:30 this Saturday afternoon, of the annual convention of the Young People's Socialist League of Greater New York, in the Debs Auditorium of the Rand School, 7 East 15th street, New York City. The session will be addressed by Charles Solomon, former Socialist Assemblyman; August Tyler, editor of Free Youth; Aaron Levenstein of the Bronx, representative of fraternal organizations, and the city executive secretary, Abe Belsky.

In the evening the delegates and Yipsels from all over the greater city will gather in celebration of the convention at a Convention Dance tendered by the Bronx Boro Yipsels at the "Sholem Aleichem Center," 2075 Clinton avenue, near 180th street, Bronx. An interesting feature will be the presentation of the third act of the Mooney-Billings protest play, "Precedent." The cast is composed of the Y. P. S. L. players of the Bronx. A nominal admission will be charged. On Sunday, there will be two sessions, the first at 10:30 A. M. and the second at 2 P. M.

Abe Belsky, Executive Secretary of the New York League, reports that the organization has made a most remarkable record of activity and fundamental growth in 1931. Though part may be attributed to the fact that the present time makes young people go somewhat radical, he declared that the stride from 400 members in December, 1930, to 700 at the present date is primarily due to a real and conscientious amount of organization activity. It is noteworthy that this past year has seen more Yipsels involved in industrial struggles than for many years. Many members of the league were arrested on the picket line and in the act of agitating for striking men and women.

Some of the outstanding fights of the year where Yipsels played a most prominent part have been: The organization campaign and strike of the Butchers' Union in the Bronx; the strikes and lockouts of the several Bakers' locals throughout the city; the intense struggle of the Bushmelen tailors of Local 2 of the A. C. W. A., and the organization attempts of the workers of the Brooklyn Edison Company. The most fierce fight of young Socialists sharply in contrast with the courts. Aaron Levenstein, one of the outstanding young Socialists in this battle, was arrested several times, and was convicted once, only to be freed by a higher court. Levenstein has in this way probably sacrificed years of study at college.

In strike relief, one has only to consult the great number of letters of thanks from the various strike and relief committees, to realize what fine work the New York Young Socialist has done. The miners of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio; the textile strikers of Lawrence, Allen-town and Paterson, were the recipients of several carloads of food.

### The Low Tide of Politics

(Continued from Page One)

will be considered as one who "had died." The reckless Congressman has his "pork chops" confiscated in his district and now he is a political corpse. His party workers at home will have nothing to do with a corpse and a live dummy will succeed him in the next election.

And this is the legislative regime created by the two-party politics that represents the great property interests of the nation. More than 36 millions of voters cast their votes for this thing in 1928 and a majority of them are the suffering masses, about seven millions of them without jobs, other millions employed part time, still others receiving reduced wages, and several millions of farmers reduced to beggary!

When vast corporation capital flooded the Democratic Party it became merely a competitor with the Republican Party for the job of ruling us in the interest of the owners of great industries and banks. When the Democracy moved into a safe niche in the capitalistic heaven by the side of its ancient opponent, it began to share in the job of caring for the interests of the ruling barons. That is why the laboring millions can look for no genuine help at Washington in their general distress.

#### BUILD THE SOCIALIST PARTY!

The millions of the dispossessed, the jobless and the starving, have not one courageous fighter for their class at Washington despite the sea of ballots they cast in 1928! A party of the working people was never more needed than today.

Next year the two-party agents of the ruling powers will again face ballot-armed millions. Our members give us enormous potential power. These agents know it. They are gathering millions of dollars from their wealthy Fat Cats to gather in our millions of votes.

Shall the old sad experience be repeated? We alone can give the answer.

The Socialist Party represents the suffering millions of useful workers. Use it as a battering ram against the fraud and deceit at Washington. A hundred Socialists sent to Congress next year would transform that body into a real arena of debate and struggle. Life would return to its ancient halls. The voiceless millions would be heard through earnest and determined representatives of the masses.

It is your party. It will represent your claims, your program, your demands for release from the hell of uncertainty and privation that now afflicts us.

Build the Socialist Party and make it your agency to do your will!

### Senate Seeks Suppressed Mooney Data

**Resolution Is Adopted Unanimously Asking Hoover Release Wick-sham Survey**

WASHINGTON (FP).—Without a dissenting vote the Senate adopted, Dec. 21, the resolution offered jointly by Senators Walsh of Montana, Costigan of Colorado and Cutting of New Mexico, calling upon President Hoover to deliver to the Senate the suppressed report on the Mooney-Billings case which was prepared for the Wickersham Commission last Spring. This book of 600 printed pages has been locked up in the White House storeroom for the past six months, since Judge Kenyon failed to get the commission to approve it. Objection to the handling of a report on the American Dreyfus case was led by Newton D. Baker, Roscoe Pound and Chairman Wickersham. Baker modified his attitude after he had received unfavorable publicity but Kenyon then dropped the fight.

The report which the Senate now asks Hoover to deliver to it—in order that the Senate may know why the Mooney-Billings case is a shameful chapter in the history of the American courts—was prepared at the instance of Judge W. S. Kenyon, formerly Senator from Iowa, by Attorneys Pollack and Stern of New York, and was edited by Prof. Zechariah Chafee, Jr., of Harvard Law School. Tom Mooney and his defense committee have been trying to secure the publication of the findings of these investigations, since the Wickersham Commission ended its legal existence on June 30 last. The administration has stood guard over the suppressed report, ignoring all appeals that the document, prepared at public expense with funds voted by Congress, be made public.

#### Johnson Still Dodging

Sen. Cutting stated after the adoption of the resolution, that he anticipated that the President would comply with the Senate's request at the earliest possible moment. Since the document is public property, he and Walsh Costigan believe there will be no need for further action to unlock the report.

California's senior Senator, Hiram Johnson, was governor at the time of the conviction of the two class prisoners. He was not in the Senate chamber when the vote was taken, but he indicated afterward that he would raise no objection. He has never assisted publicly, if at all, in the movement to free Mooney or Billings. Governors Stephens, Richardson, and Young, who in turn have refused to pardon Mooney, were members of the Johnson faction when he was governor. Judge Griffin, who sentenced Mooney to death and afterward became convinced that the conviction rested on perjured testimony, was secretary to Johnson in the latter's first term as governor. Griffin's years of effort to have Mooney freed have not led Johnson to appeal to Stephens, Richardson or Young.

### Boro Park Socialists Get Legal Aid Bureaus

Establishment of a Legal Advice Bureau by the Boro Park, Brooklyn, branch of the Socialist party, under the direction of Robert Landor Bobrick, is announced. Members of the Socialist party, Workers' Circle members, union members, or any working man or woman in need of legal advice and unable to afford it, can obtain it cheerfully and free every Tuesday evening, at the Boro Park Lyceum, 42nd street and 14th avenue.

"Reach the people with our message and help them with whatever we can offer," has been the policy of the Socialists of the Boro Park branch. The last campaign was conducted on the lines of an extensive distribution of literature. "Reach the Masses" was the slogan, and so, a distribution of 20,000 leaflets on five important topics, "War," "Must Men Starve?," "Milwaukee," "Smash Tammany," and "Protect the Depositors," were systematically distributed every Sunday morning.

The response was gratifying. Our vote increased by 25 per cent and above all, our message was placed in the households of 20,000 families. The establishment of the Legal Advice Bureau is just another step in line with the activity of the Boro Park comrades.

#### WALDMAN AT THE GROUP

"Is Capitalism Worth Saving?" will be debated by Louis Waldman, recent candidate for Governor on the Socialist ticket, and J. George Frederick, well known writer on economic subjects, Tuesday, Dec. 29, at 8:30 p. m. The debate will be held in the Auditorium, 150 W. 85th street, under the auspices of The Group Forest Bailey will preside. On Sunday afternoon, Dec. 27, at 4:30, Leon Samson will speak on "Is Art Possible in America?"

### Costume Ball Arranged By Three Branches For New Year's Eve

One of the most colorful affairs of the year arranged by Socialists will be the gala costume ball under the joint auspices of the Chelsea, 6th, and 8th A. D. Branches of the Socialist Party, for New Year's Eve, Dec. 31, in the Rand School auditorium. All New York City Socialists and their friends are urged to take note and spend a pleasant evening.

An interesting program is being arranged. A hot orchestra will provide continuous dance music extending into the new year. Many are going to come in costume—but costume or no costume—they will be there just the same. There will be plenty of color, refreshments and merriment. Tickets are now on sale at the above mentioned branches, as well as the Rand Book store. Tickets in advance \$1.00; at the door on the evening of the affair, \$1.50. Get your tickets now!

### Idaho Unions For Jobless Insurance

**State Federation Opposes Policy of A. F. of L. Convention—Wants U. S. to Run Railroads**

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
IDAHO FALLS, Idaho.—The State Federation of Labor convention, the first one to meet after the national convention of the Federation in Vancouver which rejected unemployment insurance legislation, has adopted a resolution in favor of federal unemployment insurance. A hot resolution also records the delegates in favor of government ownership of the railways. The convention then instructed the executive board of the State Federation to put on a campaign for ratification of the child labor amendment to the Federal Constitution.

In this mountain region the unions are taking on new life and some real organization work is being done. There is also a growing dissatisfaction with the old parties and their policies, the resolutions on the railways and unemployment insurance being symptoms of the trend.

#### The two leading resolutions follow:

**Unemployment Insurance**  
"To the Officers and Delegates of the Seventeenth Annual Convention of the Idaho State Federation of Labor:

"Whereas, millions of people are unemployed through no fault of their own, and thereby prevented from obtaining a decent livelihood; and

"Whereas, employers are placing a deadline of 40 and 45 years for employment of workers; and

"Whereas, we believe it to be the duty of society to see that every person needing work is gainfully employed or maintained, until they are employed; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we go on record as being in favor of federal unemployment insurance; and be it further

"Resolved, That we use our best endeavors to bring about the establishment of unemployment insurance in our country; and be it further

"Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to our Senators and Congressmen."

**Railways**  
"To the Officers and Delegates of the Seventeenth Annual Convention of the Idaho State Federation of Labor:

"Whereas, The industrial masters of America through gross infatuation of railroad stocks and bonds brought the railroads of this country to the verge of bankruptcy and receivership, it now being recognized that the railroad transportation industry cannot make interest and profit on the tremendous amount of watered stock that they are now loaded with; and

"Whereas, Through incompetence, mismanagement, and curtailment of service, the railroad magnates have created a crisis in the railroad service of this nation; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we, the delegates of the Idaho State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, believing that the private ownership of railroads is no longer practicable, go on record as being in favor of the nationalization of the railroads at their physical valuation; and be it further

"Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the Idaho Representatives and Senators in Congress."

And when they ask us why we did not say: Because our fathers lied. Kipling

### FUR COATS

Direct from Our Upstairs Factory. As Manufacturers—selling direct from our Factory Showroom, off the street level, we are able to UNDERSELL, and "YOU Save the Difference" when you buy direct from the Factory. Other Fur Coats, \$35, \$65, \$95.

YOUR OLD FUR COAT RESTYLED \$15 GROSSMAN FUR FACTORY 218 WEST 34th

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### D. A. R. Effort Fails to Smash Peace Parley

**Students Ask Drastic and Universal Cut in Armaments — Reprisals Threatened**

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
PHILADELPHIA.—Professional "red baiters," with the enthusiastic voluntary assistance of Mrs. Rudyard Stevens Uzzell, an ardent member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, attempted to stop the sessions of the Inter-collegiate Disarmament Conference last Thursday on the University of Pennsylvania campus. More than 40 letters and telegrams were sent out to Dr. Josiah Penningman, provost of the university, urging him to disband the conference. Dr. Penningman took no action.

Mrs. Uzzell also attempted to obtain the cooperation of student leaders in banning the conference. They refused to follow her suggestion.

On Saturday more than 150 students gathered at the Christian Association Building to discuss disarmament. They were joined by Mrs. Uzzell, who took copious notes on the entire proceedings, particularly in the evening, when the conference was addressed by Tucker P. Smith, director of the committee on militarism in education. Mrs. Uzzell had frequently appeared at his meetings and had several times tried to stop his addresses.

The conference was conducted as a model of the forthcoming Geneva Disarmament Conference. Students from ten colleges and universities argued the position of the great powers on a resolution introduced by the Russian delegation for total disarmament. The resolution was overwhelmingly defeated.

After listening to Tucker Smith's plea for elimination of "the war habit," the delegates at the evening session unanimously passed a resolution calling upon President Hoover to appoint an American delegation to the Geneva conference which would take the lead in promoting a universal 50 to 75 per cent cut in armaments and armament budgets.

Mrs. Uzzell denounced this action as "expressing only the views of the Christian Association" and said she attempted to stop the meeting "because the students engaged in holding it were not representative of the student body." She announced that although her group had not succeeded in halting the meeting, they would continue an investigation, and declared "much more would come of this."

The conference was sponsored by the Christian Association and the University Forum of the University of Pennsylvania. The University Forum is the Pennsylvania chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy.

### James Lund, Seattle, Killed by Automobile

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
SEATTLE, November 29.—James A. Lund, whom many a western Socialist will remember, was struck by an automobile while crossing the road in front of his home near Redondo Beach, and died without regaining consciousness a few hours later.

Funeral services were held in Kent undertaking parlors on Saturday, Dec. 12th, at three o'clock in the afternoon. Socialist Organizer, W. R. Snow, conducted the impressive though simple ceremonies. Among the many beautiful floral tributes was a large wreath from the little children of the neighborhood, bought with their own small donations of nickels and dimes, in memory of one who had always been their most loving friend and adviser. The remains were cremated and the ashes buried beneath a tree on the school grounds where he can always be near to his little friends. Lund is survived by his sister, Mrs. E. K. Mickelsen, of Chicago.

### REBEL COSTUME FROLIC NEW YEARS EVE

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WE'VD RADIO DANCE ORCHESTRA

AUSPICES GREENWICH VILLAGE BRANCH SOCIALIST PARTY

## Roll Fights Program for Public Works

F. of L. Leader Aids Hoover Efforts to Shield Rich From Taxation

WASHINGTON (FP)—President Hoover's opposition to expenditure of large sums of money for relief of unemployed was given powerful reinforcement Dec. 21 with the publication of a report by the James Gifford committee of the Gifford-Overman Organization on Unemployment, demanding that four proposals for relief be defeated.

One of these is the plan proposed by Father John A. Ryan and endorsed by the Progressive Committee and the Joint Committee on Unemployment, for appropriation of \$5,000,000,000 for emergency work. Sen. Wagner has offered a bill proposing that \$2,000,000 be appropriated for this program. Sen. La Follette has introduced the Progressive Conference bill for introduction after the day recess.

Matthew Woll, acting president of the National Civic Federation and chairman of a high-tariff lobby, was placed on this Gifford committee as a spokesman for the executive council of the American Federation of Labor. He signed a report which strikes at the heart of the relief program by demanding that 2,000,000 idle men would be put to work within a few weeks of highway and bridge improvements, grade crossing separations, and other projects. On the day before the publication of the report, the White House allowed it to be known that I. M. Orniston, president of the Cigar Makers' International Union and one of the most influential figures in the Woll lobby and the Woll beer campaign, had been selected for a U. S. Tariff Commission.

Over- Gifford-Garfield argues that the sale of \$5,000,000,000 of government bonds to raise money for the reconstruction program is dangerous to the banks and government bonds as desirable as investment securities would be in the market by their sale. He ignores the fact that \$5,000,000,000 of idle money would be put to work in government bonds at a fair rate of interest. He does not mention the fact that the administration has proposed the necessity for this proposed government loan, by increasing the larger income tax rates.

do not have accurate knowledge of the number of unemployed persons in the different wage earners," the report says, "but it is believed that the unemployed are the miners, employees, skilled artisans, group composed of clerks, sweepers and others not employed in manual labor, and unemployed labor. The advocates of appropriations for public work as a means for relieving unemployment seem to assume that work can be shifted readily from normal work to emergency construction, or moved from home foundations to new localities. Experience shows such assumptions are untenable.

**Protecting the Rich**  
Our political system is not for nor should it be for the general employer of labor. It is a system where private enterprise fails; in such periods some must assume the care of those who are unable to help themselves and their children; the obligation is upon the political division where such conditions exist. The response of great and small cities to meet such conditions shows that our system will not shirk their obligations. If some localities are unable to carry their burden, then States will do their share. This familiar Hoover doctrine is used to provide employment for one hand and refusal to provide relief to the hungry on the other—in face of virtual exhaustion of local finances in most sections of the country—is calculated upon the administration of rebuffal in Congress. Congress will be administration is again protect the very rich from the rising anger of the unemployed from starvation.

**WILLCOTT**  
"gotten" opia"  
SEN. Chairman  
December 27th  
F. M.  
MENT OF MUSIC  
near Flathead Ave.  
at Box Office and  
F. M. 10th St., N.Y.C.  
Debate  
Catharine  
Societies Party

## Tammany Aldermen Endorsed by Labor Kill Firemen's Eight Hour Day Bill

AFTER more than a year of agitation, circulation of petitions which were signed by tens of thousands of people and endorsed by many trade unions and other organizations, the N. Y. C. Board of Aldermen this week killed the proposed local law providing for an eight-hour day for the City Firemen. There was no record vote on the measure. The Board simply adjourned without any attempt to call the proposal out of the committee and there it died.

One of the strong arguments for the measure was that an eight-hour shift would make room for the employment of more firemen and thus provide work for some of the jobless. The proposal was in keeping with the general demand of workers throughout the country for a reduction in the hours of labor.

The method of killing the bill by the Tammany Aldermen is an old trick of capitalist legislative bodies and it is often used in Congress. As a rule politicians running for office agree to support such proposals but in office they must so handle the measure that no office-holder can be singled out as having opposed it. This is accomplished by letting a bill die in committee. There is no record of a vote for or against it but the result is just the same as though it had been rejected by all the members. The fact that no member made a fight to bring the bill out of committee records every member against it for such a fight is just as necessary as the fight when the bill is dragged before the members.

Tammany has lived up to its traditions. Practically all its aldermen had the approval of the Central Trades and Labor Council

## N. Y. Printers Organize War On Open Shops

Thirteen Unions Join in Effort—Typo International Elects Leon Rouse—Doings in Big Six

WITH 3,000 non-union printing offices in New York City thirteen allied union organizations in the printing trades have formed an alliance to carry on a drive for organization and elimination of the non-union shop. Through this central organization an effort will be made to enlist the active support of every union man in the printing trades industry. The Monthly Bulletin of "Big 6" Typographical Union, says that this will be a "fight to the finish." The drive will begin Jan. 1st and will be first concentrated in support of union label printing.

This organization will be known as the "Associated Unions of the Graphic Arts." Its affairs will be administered by a board on which will sit the executive officers of thirteen unions of the allied group. Its officers are: Austin Hewson, President; James Conway, President of Pressmen's Union No. 51, Treasurer; and James Bambrick, Organizer of No. 6, Secretary. Each executive officer of the twelve unions becomes a vice-president of the association. The Board of Trustees consists of President Castro, of the Lithographers; President Kaye, of the Pressmen's Assistants; and Representative Schwartz, German Typographical Union.

Each of the unions in the drive has pledged a per capita tax to defray the expenses of the campaign. Hundreds of names of union members are being compiled and an "Honor Roll" will be kept of the work done by each.

Former President of "Big 6," Leon Rouse, has been elected Vice-President of the International Typographical Union over C. M. Baker of San Francisco by a majority of 580 in a total vote of 59,876. Baker, who represented the Progressive faction, received a majority of the votes cast by the printers but Rouse was elected by the aid of the mailers. He received 740 mailer votes in New York City compared with 26 for Baker.

A referendum of the entire membership has just been concluded which provides for a larger number of delegates to the international conventions according to the number of members. That enables "Big 6," which in the past has sent four delegates, to send eight.

The following candidates have been nominated from Big 6 for international office to be voted on May 25, 1932:

For President, Fred N. Cornell and Leon H. Rouse; for 2nd Vice President, Francine G. Barrett and George Bentley; for Delegates to A. F. of L., William J. Robinson and John Simmons.

The proprietors of the union book publishing and job work offices in New York have a contract with "Big 6" which expires Oct. 1, 1932. Under the terms of the contract which runs for five years, the employers pay \$1 additional on January 1, 1932, making the day scale \$60, night scale \$63 and the third or so-called lobster shift \$66. The proprietors have requested the union to waive the dollar increase at this time. At a meeting of the Union December 13, the question was discussed and the proposition defeated by a vote of 627 to 137. Edward F. Cassidy was one of the speakers.

**Jobless Aid Continued**  
By a referendum vote of 6,315 to 1,582, the members decided to continue until April 1, the 8 per cent assessment on earnings or one day's work a week to help unemployed printers.

In the last eighteen months the New York Typographical Union which has between ten and eleven thousand members, has raised \$2,276,000 for the unemployed and this amount will approximate \$3,000,000 by April 1st.

The 1400 unemployed union printers are now receiving from \$12 to \$18 a week, according to the length of membership in the local union, the minimum going to those who have been members for one year and less than two and the maximum going to those who have been local members for four years or longer.

There are 2,400 union men and women typists who are regularly employed on New York's newspapers, who have given out 114,000 days of employment to substitutes and by April 1st they will have given out 142,800 days. Each month the union distributes about \$225,000 in relief. In giving out a day a week the situation holders assess themselves 16 2-3 per cent of their week's pay or in the neighborhood of \$11. So by April 1st each employed newspaper typist will have donated about \$500 for unemployment relief. Have they shared? At the same time the publishers have contributed nothing, but have criticized and have requested a further contribution of one per cent of their wages to the Unemployment Emergency Committee.

In a communication to the membership of Big 6 at the conclusion of the favorable 4 to 1 referendum vote, the officers said that to their minds, the result of this vote was the "greatest example of true fraternalism displayed in the history of the labor movement. It is the finest sales talk for our campaign for union printing which starts January 1. On that date an intensive drive will be inaugurated by all the printing trades represented in the Allied Printing Trades Council.

## Catholic Leaders Rap Hunger Rule

BOSTON.—(FP)—"We hear much protest against a dole. 'Dole' is a trick word. It wasn't called a dole when we were feeding starving Belgians," declared Rev. James I. Corrigan, professor of ethics at Boston College, in a radio address supporting social legislation.

"If a five-day week or a six-hour day will accomplish a remedy, let's have it. The banks of this country are stuffed with money and six million are out of work, with many people hungry. A new social order is needed and new social legislation is vital."

## Belgian Labor To Meet Crisis Asks Action

Unions and Cooperatives Join Socialists in Presenting Program for Workers

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
BRUSSELS.—The conference of the Belgian Labor party which met in Brussels Nov. 7 and 8 adopted a program for combating the economic crisis, which had been drawn up by the party, the trade unions and the cooperative societies. We give the main points in this program below:

1. A minimum wage.
2. (a) Unemployment in shifts, in order to distribute the work available fairly among all workers, manual and clerical. (b) Efforts to secure the general application of the 40-hour week, whilst retaining purchasing power at its present level.
3. Improvement of factory inspection.
4. The carrying out of large-scale municipal, provincial and national public works of a productive character, the speedy and coordinated execution of which would lead to the rational equipment of the country and thus to a vitalizing of the industrial and commercial life of the country.
5. Full power to be accorded to the provinces and the municipalities to raise the sums required for the payment of unemployment benefit.
6. The creation of a crisis fund for cultivators in view of the fact that the prices which they receive for the major part of their products are no longer an adequate return for their labors.
7. As a first step towards the socialization of industry and commerce, the reorganization of production and of the market, especially by means of industrial agreements under public control, in accordance with the principles of planned economy and cooperation. This method would prevent the anarchic increase in the number of undertakings and would adapt the volume of production to consumption, whilst at the same time protecting the consumers from profiteering. This measure must be taken in those branches of industry the nationalization of which can be envisaged in the near future, i. e., coal, gas, electricity and insurance, in particular.

## Woolcott to Speak At Brooklyn Forum

Alexander Woolcott, famous dramatic critic who is appearing in one of the season's theatrical hits, "Brief Moment," will lecture under the auspices of the Brooklyn Forum in the Academy of Music, Sunday evening, on the subject of "Forgotten Utopia." The interest of Mr. Woolcott in the subject may be due to the fact that he was born in Phoenix, N. J., a "Utopia" that lives only in history. Harry Hansen will serve as chairman.

## THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

Because of the holiday season there will be no sessions of the People's Institute on the following dates: Dec. 25, 27 and 31. The first lecture in the New Year will be given by Dr. Richard McKoon in Cooper Union on Jan. 8, Dr. E. G. Spaulding's course on the foundation of science and philosophy, will be resumed in the Muhlenberg branch library on Jan. 17.

## BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP

The program for the Bronx Free Fellowship for Sunday evening is as follows: at 8 p. m., Rev. Leon Rosser Land will render an address, "Commemoration Services for Great Americans Who Died in 1931." At 9 p. m., Dr. William L. Sullivan will lecture on "The Fate of Civilization According to Spengler."

## ETHICAL CULTURE SOCIETY

Professor Alexander I. Kaun of the University of California will speak under the auspices of the Brooklyn Ethical Culture Society, on "The Russian Epic, Lenin to Stalin," Sunday, at 11 a. m. The lecture will be given in the Brooklyn Academy of Music, Lafayette avenue.

## N. Y. Emergency Unemployment Conference Organizes to Carry On Year-Round Fight for Idle

WITH the election of permanent officers by its Executive Committee of Fifty last Saturday afternoon, the work of the New York Emergency Unemployment Conference is speedily getting under way to assure the furthering of the program adopted at the conference. Headquarters will probably be established within a week. By Jan. 1st a score of speakers will be out addressing meetings on behalf of adequate relief legislation, unemployment insurance and the shorter work week. The educational work will include the distribution of tens of thousands of pieces of literature. Hundreds of volunteers will be organized to gather signatures for the unemployment insurance petitions to impress Albany with the fact that this legislation is demanded by the workers of New York state.

The Conference will also see to it that large delegations go to

## Negro Workers Carry Heavy Burden in Crisis

Urban League Survey Reports Whites Taking Jobs as Servants in South

WHILE the depression has brought unusual hardships to all racial groups it has been more severe on the Negro than any other group, a survey by the National Urban League discloses. The report lists 106 cities in which live more than 3,000,000 Negroes, or 58 per cent of the entire urban population.

The report comments on the fact that there is a growing tendency on the part of public and charity officials to issue charity donations rather lavishly while withholding work from those who seek jobs. "Time and again have Negroes begged for work and scorned charity," the report sums up, "but charity is what they are getting. We may expect them soon to scorn work and demand charity. The dole is rapidly becoming the accepted policy of relieving distress among Negroes and just as rapidly being accepted by them without protest. In such an extremity as they find themselves today they have no alternative. It is charity or starvation."

An interesting fact revealed by the report is that whites in many parts of the country are now performing tasks once thought to be exclusively for Negroes. In the South, where Negroes once performed all the domestic work for families that could afford to have servants, the jobs are being taken over systematically by white domestics. This has interfered seriously with families where the Negro woman had heretofore contributed substantially to the support of her children.

The South is not alone in the practice of supplanting Negroes with white domestics and common laborers, the report shows. Among the Northern cities where this is prevalent are Denver, Waterbury, Augusta, Wilmington (Del.), Columbus (Ga.), Springfield (Ill.), Wichita, Englewood, Montclair, Orange, Plainfield, New York City, White Plains, Camden, Cleveland and Youngstown.

## Woolcott to Speak At Brooklyn Forum

Alexander Woolcott, famous dramatic critic who is appearing in one of the season's theatrical hits, "Brief Moment," will lecture under the auspices of the Brooklyn Forum in the Academy of Music, Sunday evening, on the subject of "Forgotten Utopia." The interest of Mr. Woolcott in the subject may be due to the fact that he was born in Phoenix, N. J., a "Utopia" that lives only in history. Harry Hansen will serve as chairman.

## THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

Because of the holiday season there will be no sessions of the People's Institute on the following dates: Dec. 25, 27 and 31. The first lecture in the New Year will be given by Dr. Richard McKoon in Cooper Union on Jan. 8, Dr. E. G. Spaulding's course on the foundation of science and philosophy, will be resumed in the Muhlenberg branch library on Jan. 17.

## BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP

The program for the Bronx Free Fellowship for Sunday evening is as follows: at 8 p. m., Rev. Leon Rosser Land will render an address, "Commemoration Services for Great Americans Who Died in 1931." At 9 p. m., Dr. William L. Sullivan will lecture on "The Fate of Civilization According to Spengler."

## ETHICAL CULTURE SOCIETY

Professor Alexander I. Kaun of the University of California will speak under the auspices of the Brooklyn Ethical Culture Society, on "The Russian Epic, Lenin to Stalin," Sunday, at 11 a. m. The lecture will be given in the Brooklyn Academy of Music, Lafayette avenue.

## N. Y. Emergency Unemployment Conference Organizes to Carry On Year-Round Fight for Idle

WITH the election of permanent officers by its Executive Committee of Fifty last Saturday afternoon, the work of the New York Emergency Unemployment Conference is speedily getting under way to assure the furthering of the program adopted at the conference. Headquarters will probably be established within a week. By Jan. 1st a score of speakers will be out addressing meetings on behalf of adequate relief legislation, unemployment insurance and the shorter work week. The educational work will include the distribution of tens of thousands of pieces of literature. Hundreds of volunteers will be organized to gather signatures for the unemployment insurance petitions to impress Albany with the fact that this legislation is demanded by the workers of New York state.

The Conference will also see to it that large delegations go to

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David B. Rossi  
DRAMA FROM GREEKS TO MODERNS  
Peter M. Jack  
MODERN CONCEPTS OF THE UNIVERSE  
Dominic d'Eustachio  
PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM  
A. I. Shiplacoff  
**Tuesdays**  
FUTURE OF CAPITALISM  
Harry Delson  
PROGRAM FOR SOCIALISM  
D. P. Berenberg  
BASIS FOR SOCIAL BEHAVIOR  
J. M. Osman  
CURRENT ECONOMIC CHANGES  
G. S. Mitchell  
AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT  
Louis Stanley  
**Wednesdays**  
CONTEMPORARY ETHICAL THINKING  
Henry Neumann  
HISTORY OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM  
Wm. M. Feigenbaum  
PSYCHOLOGY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT  
Alexander Fiehauder  
TRADE UNIONS IN ACTION  
David J. Saposs  
POST REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIAN WRITERS  
Elias Tartak  
NATURALISTIC CONCEPTION OF HISTORY  
Bela Low  
**Thursdays**  
PUBLIC SPEAKING  
August Claessens  
GREAT PHILOSOPHERS AND MODERN PROBLEMS  
Ernest S. Bates  
PHILOSOPHY OF MARXISM  
H. Kantorovich  
**Fridays**  
NEW FORMS OF OLD MUSIC  
Adele T. Katz  
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**The Bronx Free Fellowship**  
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1301 Boston Rd., near East 172nd St.  
Sunday Evening, Dec. 27th  
8 P. M.—Rev. Leon Rosser Land, "Commemoration Services in Honor of Great Americans Who Died in 1931."  
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## Socialist Party Denounces Fake Movie Operators Union

Local 306 Pledged Support in Strike—Committee Hears Thomas Criticisms

IT HAS come to the attention of the N. Y. City Executive Committee of the Socialist party that a group of people have organized what they call a Union of Motion Picture Projectionists in opposition to the legitimate and recognized Motion Picture Operators' Union, Local 306, and in their fight against the recognized union these persons use the name of Norman Thomas, a prominent member of the Socialist party.

The City Executive Committee has therefore issued a statement declaring that "the Socialist party stands firmly with the bona fide union Moving Picture Operators Local 306, in its efforts to organize the trade and to get decent working conditions for its members; that whatever criticism Norman Thomas may have made against this union, was done in a spirit of friendship to help improve the organization and its methods, which can and is being done at the present, by the Union itself."

"We further declare that neither Mr. Thomas nor any other member of the Socialist party would sanction any attempt to disrupt a bona fide Labor Union because of some grievance a few individuals may have. We call on all who believe in organized labor to disregard the campaign of these would-be wreckers of a labor union and to give their whole-hearted support to the legitimate union, Local 306, Motion Picture Operators' Union, in its fight to unionize their trade and against union baiting employers and their hirelings."

**Thomas Hits Company Union**  
Thomas, chairman of the Public Affairs Committee of the party, who has been critical of certain features of the organization and work of the Motion Picture Operators' Union, Local 306, declared Friday that "recent developments warrant hope for improvement within." As a result of consultations of Mr. Thomas with officials and others in the operators' union, a committee of trade unionists is supervising the current union election. Other items in dispute are also being taken up.

Mr. Thomas urged whole-hearted public support of the motion picture operators in their strike against the Springer Circuit of theatres. Referring to the recently organized "Union of Motion Picture Projectionists," the Socialist denounced it as a "company union."

Mr. Thomas' statement follows: "I have on occasion criticized certain features of the organization and work of Local 306 of the Motion Picture Operators. I am now happy to state that recent developments warrant more hope for that best of all things, improvement from within. I, myself, have been out of the city on a speaking trip, but the Union has permitted my representatives to carry on certain investigations

without let or hindrance. It is also permitting the opposition to carry on a democratic political campaign within the Union, prior to the Union election. It has assented to the appointment of a committee of labor men to supervise its election in accordance with the rules of the Union, which of themselves are designed to assure a fair election.

"Finally, President Kaplan and other officers have given me their personal assurance that they are taking up the problem of the permit men with a view to some solution of the evil of taxation without representation presented by the existence of this group which came into being owing to the unusual conditions within the industry."

"In view of these specific facts, as well as in view of my keen opposition to company unions, I do not hesitate to say that my own sympathy, and I think, the sympathy and support of the public should be on the side of the Motion Picture Operators in their present strike against the Springer Circuit. I should like to add that at no time did I approve the use of part of a statement of mine criticizing Local 306, which statement I made when there was no strike by the company union to support its cause. I have reason to believe this company is seeking to lower standards of wages and working conditions."

## Court Receives Plea In Scottsboro Case; Excludes Communists

Returned to New York from a conference in Birmingham with Roderick Beddow, of Port, Beddow and Ray, leading attorneys retained to defend the eight condemned boys in the Scottsboro case, Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, reports the following developments:

(1) The bills of exceptions filed by the N. A. A. C. P. have been certified to the Supreme Court of the State of Alabama. (2) The bills of exceptions presented by George W. Chamlee, attorney for the I. L. D., were not approved. Mr. Chamlee demanded and received opportunity to argue for the certification of his bills but his argument was not successful. The Judge ruled against them on two grounds: because they were defective and because Mr. Chamlee was not an attorney of record in the case. (3) Argument before the Alabama Supreme Court will be had on Jan. 18, 1932, and prior to that time there will be a conference in Birmingham, participated in by the attorneys retained by the N. A. A. C. P., Messrs. Roderick Beddow, Clarence Darrow and Arthur Garfield Hays, Mr. White will go to Birmingham to be present at the conference.

No steps will be omitted to procure the very best possible defense of the boys, said Mr. White, who urged that the public send contributions promptly toward the expenses of the approaching legal battle.

## TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page One)  
the government floated bonds at 3 per cent. Now if the government can put its credit behind private business most emphatically it can and should put its credit behind the public business of providing decent housing to which I have referred earlier in this column. This, I repeat, is the one business now in a position to take up slack.

**OUR RESPONSIBILITY FOR IMPERIALISM**  
JAPAN is going to celebrate Christmas by more fighting in Manchuria. And for this mess the United States has no small share of responsibility. We can stop this high-handed imperialism by setting an example ourselves by abandoning our own imperialism in the Caribbean, and by telling Japan plainly that we will cooperate in a boycott on loans to her and on furnishing munitions or war supplies if she continues an aggression contrary to treaties guaranteeing China's territorial integrity which she as well as the United States has signed.

**SOCIALIST PARTY PROBLEMS**  
I FIND myself at the end of this space and will have to postpone comment I want to make on certain issues coming before the national convention and the importance of the right sort of personnel. Also I want some time to state the reasons why in most parts of America at this moment political action by labor is more promising than industrial action and may be a condition of successful industrial action. Of course we've got to have both, and the Socialist party must do a better job at both than it has done before if it is to be the hope of the labor movement.

# Milwaukee's "Miracle" in Municipal Financing

## Chicago and Philadelphia "Broke" and Graft-Ridden, While Socialist Party Meets Crisis by Aiding Jobless and With Big Surplus in Banks

Republican Philadelphia is broke and pays its employees in scrip which banks and stores hesitate to honor. Democratic Chicago flounders in the grip of near-bankruptcy, with salaries and other obligations unpaid.

But Socialist Milwaukee has paid its bills, is expending hundreds of thousands of dollars in unemployment relief, and as the year ends has about \$4,000,000 in the bank! The Associated Press and other news agencies report this "miracle," a startling series of facts to the general public but a none-too-surprising story to the Socialists who have followed the story of Socialist government for years.

Socialist Milwaukee has become the center of attention because of its accomplishment in the midst of a period of economic disaster. The New Leader is particularly glad therefore to be able to offer its readers at this time an exclusive series of three articles by Daniel W. Hoan, Mayor of Milwaukee, and a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.

By Daniel W. Hoan  
Mayor of Milwaukee

LETTERS come to me each day from city officials and others interested in municipal government asking in substance: "How does Milwaukee get that way?" "How do you manage to run a large industrial metropolis with a tax rate below the average of large U. S. cities, with million dollar balances in the bank, with an amortization fund, already exceeding \$3,000,000, which is designed ultimately to wipe out the city's bonded debt, with most of the departments converted from a non-cash to a cash basis, and with a record for administrative efficiency and socialized municipal services unequalled by any other city? How is all this possible when other large cities are floundering in a morass of corruption, struggling to extricate themselves from financial chaos, borrowing money to pay salaries, resorting to various emergency measures to stave off a virtual state of bankruptcy, gradually sinking deeper and deeper into the quagmire of debt? Why is it that many Milwaukee property owners pay their taxes in advance and draw 2 per cent interest on their money, while other cities, like Chicago, have difficulty in getting their people to pay even a part of their back taxes by buying 'tax anticipation certificates'?"

The answer to these questions must be sought in Milwaukee's financial program. It was not put into effect over night, or by the

they will not do so. The average public official elected by the old-line political parties simply has not the character to withstand the constant demand to lower the tax rate and is driven by moral cowardice to borrow, borrow, borrow to escape levying needed taxes which result in an ever increasing rise in the interest expense of his government.

I do not believe that what has been accomplished in Milwaukee will be carried out in other cities without the leadership or driving force of a well-organized and well-disciplined party of workers as illustrated in the Socialist Party in Milwaukee. Such an organization demands not only efficient government: one that is free from graft, but one with an honest financial program. This is due in a large measure not only to the fact that this political group is made up of workers and small businessmen, who in reality are workers, who want and demand good government, but because of their principal plank of public ownership they are ever desirous of improving government so as to demonstrate that it is an admirable proprietor.

While one or two of the measures hereafter discussed were initiated by our political opposition, these efforts would not have been exerted, nor would they have been either successful or continuously sustained without the consistent support and the widespread sentiment for a new deal in government stirred up by the Socialist Party.

**The Borrowing Habit**  
To simplify matters one must first understand the bad practices which prevail in order to appreciate the significance of remedies. One of the principal curses is the habit of borrowing. While the issuance of bonds for major

projects of long life can not at present be wholly eliminated, it is cowardice for public officials to indulge in, and wrong for the people to demand, that a municipal government continue to borrow, borrow, borrow, thereby multiplying its interest expense, when honesty and prudence should require the levying of sufficient taxes to meet a given expense.

Let us illustrate this by picturing as an analogy a private business poorly managed. This is not unusual since all but 5 per cent of all ventures in business are failures. Let us suppose we are operating a hotel and discovered that in October the receipts for the year were much less than the actual disbursements during the period. Let us say that we rushed to the bank and borrowed the amount needed to make up the loss and pay an interest rate of 6 per cent on the loan. This interest payment would not only be a dead loss to the business but would only aggravate the problem by increasing the annual deficiency.

Let us discuss another bad practice. Suppose the 'best two months' business occurred during the months of January and February. During this time a considerable surplus of cash was accumulated. Assuming that we deposit this surplus money in the bank to draw but 2 per cent when we could by judicious investment buy short term U. S. bonds or safe municipal securities earning 4 per cent interest. It is plain to see that the management of the hotel would lose in its annual receipts the difference between the 2 per cent and the 4 per cent rates of interest. It must be easy to understand that in the first example the business will be piling up trouble by increasing its interest expense at the bank and losing

an opportunity of increasing its revenue.

**The Bankers' Position**  
In the last example it will lose interest money which should be earned. Every banker or stockholder in a bank knows that this practice is indulged in universally by cities; that it is detrimental to the best interests of the community although profitable to the bank. Still he makes no move to rectify the practice. The trouble is that his local patriotism is at war with his pocketbook.

We will pass on to another problem. Imagine that the floors in the hotel were worn and needed replacement about every 6 or 7 years much as street pavement needs to be relaid. Since the hotel's receipts are not adequate to pay for this replacement, the manager slaps on a mortgage to pay for the alteration and adds a second, third and fourth, etc., mortgage every seven year period when the floors or other similar replacements must be made. Surely the normal mind can grasp the fact that the added interest charges accumulated by such mortgaging or bonding the premises as the case may be, will rapidly increase the loss to the business and even drive it along the road toward final bankruptcy.

Such is the case with municipalities issuing bonds for recurring expenses such as the dredging of rivers, the laying of pavements and similar ones that should be paid for out of cash tax receipts each year instead of out of bond issues which drive the city into debt and increase its interest charges.

**Milwaukee and New York**

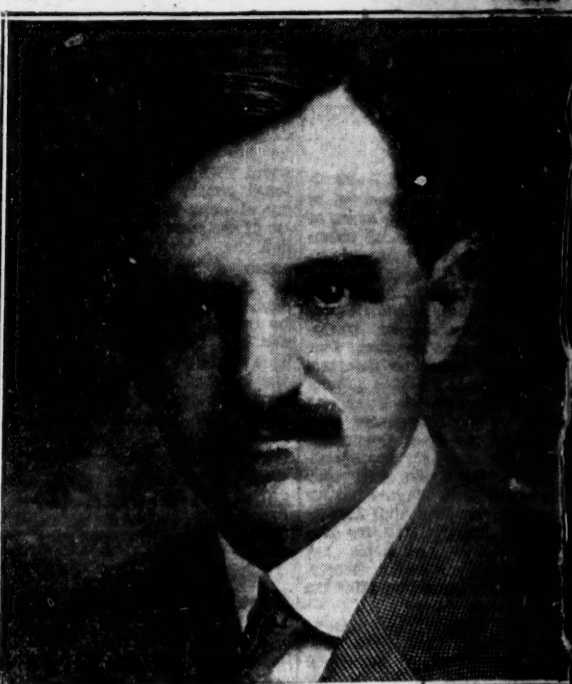
Right here it may not be amiss to compare this budget item with at least one other municipality. In the City of New York, for example, out of every tax dollar re-

ceived, 42 cents must be paid out to meet the debt obligation which comes due each year and to pay the growing interest expense. In the City of Milwaukee, because of a different policy, only 18 cents out of each dollar collected in taxes are used to retire bonds and meet interest charges. This is a saving of 24 cents or virtually one-fourth of every dollar collected in taxes that can be used for other desirable purposes rather than to be disbursed on the dead horse of public debt.

Let us say that the hotel needs painting or the rehabilitation of some department and a contract is let for the purpose. Imagine the manager issuing notes to the contractor in payment for his work. Again would the interest burden increase. It is quite a universal practice for municipalities to issue such paper which is usually called certificates of indebtedness bearing 6 per cent or more interest, in payment for work. Again the financial headache of the municipality increases. Such poor financing not only adds to our interest burden but because of the poor credit induces the contractor to charge more or bid higher for the work required. Further illustrations are needless to prove that such a private business must ultimately pass into bankruptcy and complete collapse.

**Hypocrisy of Low Taxes**

In the City of Milwaukee, prior to 1910, such was the picture. The succeeding administration had proclaimed that they favored more improvements and less taxation—a hypocritical issue, to say the least. The government indulged in all the practices above indicated. The tax rate indeed for a time was kept low but the agony of municipal management increased until finally every fund in the city was depleted. The Fire



Mayor Hoan, of Milwaukee

and Police Pension funds were bankrupt to the tune of \$2,000,000; there were insufficient funds in the budget to operate the city; there was shortage of nine school houses; bridges and streets were in disrepair; no playgrounds for the children; in brief, much the same conditions prevailed as now. In the next article I shall outline the steps taken by the first Socialist Administration to begin

placing our financial household order. We will discuss the program which at the end of a two-year experience has given Milwaukee the best financial credit of all American cities, made us the object of envious attention throughout the States and in many parts of the world. Mayor Hoan's second will appear in The New next week.

# What Shall We Do About the Seabury Inquiry

By Norman Thomas

LET me make it plain at the outset that I do not appear as a special pleader for the Seabury investigation. It is true that both I and the Socialist Party worked for a city-wide investigation. But in view of the known relations between Republicans and Democrats we urged that the investigating committee should be tripartisan with Socialist representation. Moreover even in urging an investigation we took extraordinary pains to insist that New York could be saved by no mere investigation and that the old "good government" cry was quite inadequate even to give us good government in the narrow and conventional sense.

Nevertheless we have watched sympathetically the honest and determined efforts of Judge Seabury, from the magistrates' inquiry until now, to bring into the light the facts about the government of New York City which everybody suspects but which most New Yorkers do not want to be compelled to admit. The reaction of New Yorkers to such revelations as the Seabury investigation have produced is disappointing but not unexpected, for reasons that I shall shortly set forth. I want first to stress the nature of those revelations which have produced so little effect upon the heart and conscience of New York.

**A Picture of New York**

What has happened is this: The city now knows that its judiciary is in such a situation that seven judges resigned under fire or were removed, and one disappeared. There has been an immense traffic between the Vice Squad, a certain type of lawyer, and the women who are their victims. There is, as everybody knows, a well regulated financial relationship between the bootlegging industry and the authorities; there is a tin box brigade of politicians in office who cannot explain the pleasant miracle by which their bank accounts grow in time of depression. This brigade is apparently so numerous that Judge Seabury thinks it has representatives in every department. The Mayor of New York himself, according to reliable reports, has certain explaining to do and his private accountant remains mysteriously absent while a key to the safe deposit box of that same accountant and the Mayor is in the hands of a gentleman who is the treasurer of the Mayor's favorite applicant for an immensely valuable bus franchise.

Certain city employees have disappeared in the course of investigation and the chief engineer of the Dock Department was either murdered or committed suicide before he could testify publicly concerning conditions in a department which has many rumored and unexplained scandals to its discredit. Thanks to Judge Seabury, it is now a matter of public record that Tammany deliberately prostituted the relief of the poor to the increase of its vote and its reform after exposure consisted not in setting up proper city machinery of relief but making at least a gesture of turning it

private committee. The actual workers will doubtless be the same old political "boys" who will get \$10 worth of political subservience for 10 cents worth of relief.

Finally Judge Seabury has proved the extraordinarily profitable business that former Tammany leader, Olvany, did with clients who wanted favors from the Board of Standards and Appeals and other city agencies. Among them, as everybody knows, was none other than Col. Carrington, later Republican candidate for Borough President of Manhattan, a fact which helps to establish the bi-partisan nature of misrule in New York.

**The Trouble with Politics**

In short, whatever else Judge Seabury may uncover he has already given us a convincing and damning picture of a system under which public office is apparently normally regarded as an opportunity for private plunder and political leaders work for their pockets all the time. This situation is the more dangerous because the times require a steady increase in city functions and any proper program for making the city the public servant is vitiated by the lax standards—to put it mildly—of public officials, and the cynicism of the city. The saddest part of the story is the general opinion which finds expression even in the newspapers that after all Seabury hasn't told us anything new or very important. There could be no more complete proof of the extent to which the racketeering standards of capitalism have poisoned our public life.

What can we do about it? Merely bemoan or denounce the public apathy? That will not do much good unless we at least realize that what we are denouncing is not a disease peculiar to politics but peculiar to life in these days when the old acquisitive society is dying of its own sickness. The trouble with politics is not that it is a peculiarly corrupt thing in a world of honest business but rather that politics to some extent partakes of the corruption of a society which has cynically accepted the acquisition of money as its god. It would be entirely possible to show that bad as things are in New York waste and graft cost the people less than waste and graft in business enterprises accounted reputable. In terms of fundamental ethics rather than legality these New York politicians can make a pretty good case that they have at least rendered as much if not more service than manipulators of the market, bank directors who grow rich but do not direct, and corporation presidents who without knowledge of stockholders or workers get in a single year bonuses that would make the greediest politician's mouth water. When Tammany

Hall lets its friends in on condemnation proceedings or good contracts, many times distinguished members of the bar and reputable business men are beneficiaries. Moreover Tammany is only doing what corporation directors do to their friends and has scarcely matched in fundamental immorality the general practice of bank directors who use depositors' money to buy securities which they sell as directors of the bank's affiliates.

**The Limits of "Good Government"**

In this plain statement of our current economic ethics we have the first explanation of the indifference of New York to the Seabury revelations. Everybody's doing it, so why worry? Even some labor unions have been to some degree contaminated by the general poison of these racketeering standards of capitalism. Our own ruling classes have no desire to dis-

turb a political organization which shares their general ethics and which on the whole takes no more than a reasonable commission from them for keeping the masses quiet by a judicious mixture of fear and favor. As for the exploited masses themselves often they are bound by their own bitter necessities and benumbed by their own misery. The district leader is for them a potent power for good or evil. He is more accessible than the cruel and impersonal system which puts 800,000 or more of them out of work. The district leader personally is likely to be more human or even more humane than the average employer. At any rate, these masses of workers and little business people, with much justice, think that they suffer more from landlordism, the extortionate prices of privately owned public utilities and the failures of privately owned banks

# Socialism And the Negroes—Prospects in Harlem

By Arthur C. Parker

DURING the October campaign for the city election in New York City I had the extreme pleasure of working with Comrades Crosswath, Thomas, Brown, Forre and Gasper in their spirited fight to make Harlem class conscious. I left Boston anticipating some interesting meetings but my gratification knew no bounds after participating in and witnessing some of the most stirring and inspiring meetings ever presented to a thankless contemporary society.

It is to be remembered that Harlem, 95 per cent colored people, is one of the hardest nuts in the Socialist bag of obstacles to be cracked. Colored people in the United States have a very limited cultural background, suffer from an abnormally developed inferiority complex, and have been and still are the most economically insecure, dependent national group in our society. Unfortunately, they are burdened with a debilitating religion of death and are prone to be more conservative than even the reactionary land-owning exploiters of labor.

The case for Socialism, casually presented, has no significance for most Negro workers. Only the class struggle dramatized and eloquently interpreted, reiteration and a concentrated program of education will solidly insert the keen wedge of reason between those two enslaving impostors of the group—environment and custom. After conferences with several nationally known Socialists who, though hopeful of the progress to be made in Harlem, were obviously dubious, I confronted that courageous gladiator for Socialism, Frank Crosswath, with my ardent slightly cooled. His words were few and cryptic, "Comrade, let us go forward." We did, and Harlem stopped, waited and listened. Here is the result. I am again without the confines of dear old conservative Boston and enjoying the lights and breezelines of metro-

politan New York City. I have just attended a meeting of Crosswath's rejuvenated 19-21st A. D. Socialist Party Branch, held in his home at 95 West 119th street, Harlem. I was accorded the honor and privilege of acting as chairman and was kept busy welcoming new members the entire evening. These new and enthusiastic comrades who filled the house have built up their treasury to a figure justifying a headquarters. So they decided to rent a very delightful office suite on Seventh avenue, to be equipped and ready for service before the next meeting in early January.

The officers of the Branch are determined men and women in the persons of Comrade Crosswath, able organizer; Jane Morgan, a well schooled, transplanted English Socialist, Recording Secretary; Ethelred Brown, Socialist soldier of proven metal, Financial Secretary; Roy Nichols, Harlem business man, ardent convert, Treasurer, and Mrs. H. Emptage, Mrs. Alma Crosswath, Mrs. Pauline Williams, George Morris and Ivan Forand, House Ways and Means Committee.

Not many folks, even Socialists, realize fully what a tremendous task it is to carry out the Socialist program of education with

tangible results among colored people. I know, and some few others know, that the baleful influence of environment, lack of general secondary school education, hand to mouth existence and fear erect nearly insurmountable obstacles in the path of the class educator, the radical organizer.

Yet we know too that once the barriers are blasted, there are no people on earth who will remain more steadfast, more loyal, more consistently progressive than these colored people in Harlem and elsewhere who do need Socialism so badly.

The American Negroes rank first among the exploited national groups in the world. It is a known fact that even in the so-called prosperous times the masses of black men and women are constantly kept far below the subsistence level, a larger proportion of margin unemployed and nearly all colored workers held constantly at the gate of industry as an ever present threat to organized white labor.

Why? Because of color? No! but because these colored people in these United States must live

have a right to live, and as they will to live and develop, they must have jobs. In our barbarous society a working man's essential requirement is a job. Experience teaches us that general and prolonged unemployment brings about evictions, starvation, bread lines and charity, which, in turn, breed crime, disease, misery and death. Heretofore owners of industry have arranged and perpetuated their unholy system of too few jobs to go around with workers leaping at each other's throats in their individual struggle to secure a job and thus exist. Colored men and women, helpless and abused, are invariably used as the cat's paw in most of these labor disputes. Over this daily enacted tragedy the owners of industry, like great pot-bellied gargoyles, have grinned in satisfied derision, and like the greasy vultures hovering over the battle, have grown increasingly fat on the mutilated carcasses of working men who are fools.

Harlem suffers like all other Negro communities; sweltering, freezing, starving and inarticulate; black and white, Democrat and Republican leaders alike, selling the futures of their children for their immediate individual creature comforts. Harlemites, disaffected with the crumb and bone feast of Tammany, yet hesitate to look up and live for fear the crumbs will no longer be forthcoming.

Mid all this pain, docility, brutality, ignorance and evil, the clarion voice of Socialism is heard emanating from the powerful throat of Frank Crosswath. The Negro Labor News Service, started by Crosswath with the aid of such able Socialists as Alfred Baker Lewis, August Claessens, James Oneal and others, grew until 68 Negro papers in America now print its articles and over 100,000 colored people in America read the Socialist message and are becoming increasingly sympathetic to the cause of Socialism.

The important thing, however, is that the new policy would mean the ditching of a large cargo of the dogmas that have been peculiar to American capitalism. This partial surrender would be a significant change in the ideology that has sustained capitalism in the past and an important admission that the "New Capitalism" is not the blessed utopia which its retainers assured us that it was before it plunged into the red in October, 1929.

than from the profits of politicians.

What I have said is anything but a complete justification for the indifference of great numbers of workers to the question of common honesty. Without common honesty our social salvation in a collective society is hopeless. But the best way to awaken new ethical standards in the City of New York or any other city in America is not by mere investigation, important as the right sort of investigation is, to give us facts. Neither is it by a conventional "good government" program. The so called good government program in New York is peculiarly discredited because the masses know, as some newspaper editors do not, that the Republican machine all through the greater city is Tammany's little brother. The flourishing business of vote stealing in New York which Judge Seabury has not yet investigated is bi-partisan, as I can testify from much personal experience. It is a notorious fact that the Republi-

cans look with at least fear as hope at the Seabury inquiry. They are afraid Col. Carrington cases in rank. They have no all to want Congress gale the prohibition of New York and they reason to fear the investigation lest it be to upstate cities. Only and almost accidental closures forced the Republican in the legislature gate at all, and most of the investigation was in their heart that Judge would get Jimmie Wall Republican.

But even if the Republic, or rather the Republic, were less hypocritical, talking of good government, whole idea is inadequate government? Good for whom? Is good government simply a matter of cutting legal graft and leaving a waste system intact? Is it an attempt to force on a Sunday virtue in municipal administration which they lack business?

**A Socialist Answer**

This brings me to my special answer to the question what should do about the Seabury inquiry. By all means we should support it and bring home to dears the lesson it teaches. But afterwards we must go beyond mere inquiry or superficial reform. The answer to the ethical question at all cost is the ethical for Tammany misgovernment of cooperation. The one real is municipal Socialism. Men cease to sell their political loyalty for mean favors or petty when they have faith that the city can do for all the world as a matter of right is greater than what any district leader do as a matter of charity. There is no hope for New York as there is no hope for the world save in social order which will make the demand of an interdependent machine age for intelligent cooperation.

Already in our city what city does or leaves undone to most of us more than what can do for ourselves. Health, education, aid for the fortunate, the whole process of justice, these to a very large are functions of the state. There is no hope of escape from the slums that disgrace our city planning and city building. There is no hope for the bus workers who now work days a week in the midst of unemployment save in intelligent co-operation and operation of social service.

There is no deliverance from the bitter crusts of private degradation and poverty in the hands of the state in a proper program of insurance; that is, old age, health and maternity insurance and unemployment. What we ought to push the effective of the Socialist Party, the district of the city for the essential part of the program.

# Anthracite Miners Back Mooney Drive

WILKES-BARRE, Pa.—(FP)—

Three mass meetings, arranged by the Anthracite Free Tom Mooney Conference, have been held in Luzerne, Old Forge and Hanover, Pa. The main speaker at the meetings was Carlo Treaca, well known Italian labor leader and editor. Despite the two deputy sheriffs who were in attendance at all meetings, he made a fiery speech and the applause showed how much the hard-coal miners appreciated his words. Among the other speakers were Eugene Bradley of Local 1616, United Mine Workers of America, and John Hermansen, a member of the Pennsylvania General Assembly. Other meetings are planned by the Anthracite Free Tom Mooney Conference, which represents 6,000 anthracite miners. Twenty-six organizations were represented by 60 delegates at the last conference, which was held Nov. 8 in Wilkes-Barre. Another—and much larger—conference will be held Jan. 10.





# States Meeting Up Party Work

## Active-Near Locals in West Virginia

CHICAGO.—A tour for Clarence H. Taylor, of Baltimore, will start on Jan. 1. Socialist headquarters in Baltimore will be in the most active communities of the eight northern states. Taylor carries a letter from his local of the Baltimore branch of the party, which will enable him to address union meetings in the industrial areas of the north. Members and sympathizers of the party are being sought in the National Headquarters, Socialist party, 540 Randolph street, Chicago, to arrange for dates Taylor.

**KNOWS BETTER NOW!**  
SPOKANE.—"I voted the Republican ticket until I was old enough to know better," said Ernest Miller as he spoke at a meeting of the Socialist party. Miller was 100 years old December 8th.

**STUDENTS VOTE AGAINST**  
BIRMINGHAM, Conn.—A poll of the students of Wesleyan University here showed 91 per cent opposed to the Republican R. O. T. C.

**California**  
LOS ANGELES.—The Socialist mass meeting for Tom Money, arrested in the Temple, William Busick president, Dr. P. Ryland, Rev. Fred Jackson and attorney Fred Moore the speakers.

**Illinois**  
CHICAGO.—Headquarters for state, city and Young Socialist League activities have been leased at 3038 North La Salle.

**Iowa**  
DES MOINES.—J. C. Lewis, president of the Iowa Federation of Labor, is at a Socialist meeting to discuss the adoption of unemployment insurance.

**Kansas**  
TOPEKA.—The Club for Socialists at the state university is sponsoring a series of lectures on "The Theory of Socialism" by Dr. P. Ryland, talked on "Fascism" by Dr. P. Ryland, last week on "The Theory of Socialism" by Dr. P. Ryland, last week on "The Theory of Socialism" by Dr. P. Ryland.

**Michigan**  
DETROIT.—The University of Michigan has established a new restaurant in which eat three meals daily for \$4.00. The club is located at 1111 Michigan street.

**Oklahoma**  
OKLAHOMA.—A meeting of Socialists was held in the city last week. The meeting was held in the city last week. The meeting was held in the city last week.

**Pennsylvania**  
PHILADELPHIA.—A new local has been formed in Lykens, Dauphin county. It is a hard coal township. It is in this county by the trip on the state capital.

**Texas**  
DALLAS.—The state conference, held in Dallas, Texas, was held in Dallas, Texas. The state conference, held in Dallas, Texas, was held in Dallas, Texas.

**Wisconsin**  
MILWAUKEE.—The new Socialist party local was opened last Tuesday with a meeting addressed by Sheriff A. J. Hanson and Otto R. Hauser of the Milwaukee branch. The meeting was held in the city last week.

**Oregon**  
SEASIDE.—With the assistance of one other Seattle local, Local 100, Seattle, has been organized. The somewhat pretentious task of reorganizing the Western Slope of the state of Washington. We have the services of the local, known as the "Socialist League," which is a fairly good working organization in the city of Seattle. Results of his lectures are highly satisfactory.

**Seattle**  
SEATTLE.—The "Social Evening" held by Local 11th, was an unqualified success. The attendance, program, refreshments were good. Speakers Snow and John M. Collins, Chicago. These were followed by impromptu speeches from I. F. Wilson, who was the "old time" member of the "Band on the famous Red Special" and the "Social Evening" held by Local 11th, was an unqualified success.

## Hezekiah D. Wilcox, Veteran N. Y. Socialist, Passes Away in Elmira at the Age of 76

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

ELMIRA, N. Y.—Another pioneer Socialist of New York State has passed away with the death of Hezekiah D. Wilcox, Friday, Dec. 18th. Mr. Wilcox, who attained the ripe age of 76 years and who practiced law in Elmira for 52 years, was a delegate to many conventions of the Socialist party, both state and national. He was many times honored by a place on the state ticket of the party. In 1922 and 1926 he was its choice for Attorney General, and in 1927 and 1928 he was candidate for Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals.

Mr. Wilcox, although of naturally retiring disposition, was an indefatigable worker for the cause of Socialism. As a lawyer Mr. Wilcox enjoyed the highest reputation.

der the management of Mrs. Stella K. Garrison in whose home they are held.

**West Virginia**  
The widespread Socialist sympathy in the state is now being crystallized through the activities of J. H. Higgins, state secretary, with the active cooperation of other party members. Promising locals have already been formed at well attended meetings in Charleston, Star City and Fairmont. Changes were granted, officers elected and a program of activities planned at these locals. Meetings are being planned throughout the state to form locals. Sympathizers and members are being sought to arrange such meetings, and to get in touch with Comrade Higgins at Star City.

Comrades Most and Barton are also holding a series of meetings at mining camps. Such meetings have already been held at Whitestone and Ward. Others are arranged for Houghton, Dry Branch, Elkade, Blacky and Gallagher. The officers of the new locals are as follows: Charleston: Organizer, M. Kornstein; financial secretary, George Glass; secretary, C. J. Gordon; with other members, Fairmont: Organizer, J. H. Snider; financial secretary, Fred Billingsley; secretary, H. L. Franklin; membership 22. Star City: Organizer, J. F. Higgins; membership 8.

**Connecticut**  
The state executive committee will hold its December meeting Sunday, Dec. 27, at the Workers' Circle Educational Center, 72 Legion avenue, New Haven. The important business will be the report of the state organizer and speaker on activities during the past month.

**NEW HAVEN.**—The League for Industrial Democracy lectures series will open in New Haven on Jan. 21 at the New Haven Trades Council Hall with Harry Laidler as the speaker. His subject will be "How America Lives." The other lectures will be held at Lamson Hall weekly thereafter, with speakers as Elsie Higgins, A. L. Harris, Norman Thomas, John H. Gray, H. C. Herring, A. J. Muste and Colston Warren.

**MAINE.**—Following is the correct vote cast in the recent Meriden city election. Last week The New Leader reported the vote as 22. A gain of 600 per cent was made compared with the vote in 1930 state election. For Mayor, Harry P. Shaw, 826; Comptroller, Charles H. Shaw, 826; Auditor, Edgar O. Erickson, 826; Board of Aldermen, James H. Conner, 827; Robert P. Zemke, 827; Aldermen, Walter C. Johnson, 49; Salvatore Mercuri, 195; Carl O. Berglund, 205; Carl M. Rhodin, 205; Louis O. Krabi, 161; Alvin Wassman, 163; Theodore Kull, 22; Edward Swanson, 226.

Local New Haven held an enthusiastic meeting Monday evening this week. A number of new members were admitted. Plans were made to make the card party Jan. 8 a big success. Election of local officers will be held Monday, Jan. 4. A committee was appointed to raise sustaining fund for new headquarters.

**New Jersey**  
A general membership meeting of all Socialist party members in New Jersey will be held Sunday, Dec. 27, 9:30 a. m., at the National Convention, 256 Broadway, New York City. Election of delegates to the national convention and other important matters demand the presence of every party member.

**Virginia**  
The state executive committee met in Hopewell, Dec. 20, and was in session for eight hours. It will meet again in Richmond Dec. 23. Several applications for membership-at-large were accepted.

It was decided that, in accordance with the constitution, the delegates to the national convention shall be elected by referendum vote. We have only one vote in the convention, but decided to send three delegates with instructions to vote as a unit. Nominations will be made by the locals or members-at-large, and must be filed with the state office, P. O. Box 893, Richmond, Va. The referendum will open on Jan. 10 and close on Feb. 20. James P. Rice was elected to serve with Richard L. Johnson on the slate for eight hours. Comrade Rice was elected to fill a vacancy.

**STATE CONVENTION.**—The executive committee voted to call a special state convention in the month of March to meet in Richmond. The convention was tentatively set for Sunday, March 13, but the chairman was authorized to fix the date definitely after investigation of other affairs. The convention will be essentially an organization convention, and will also consider the agenda of the national convention and instruct our delegates.

## New York State

### STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The State Executive Committee met in New York City last Sunday. William Karlin presided. Voting members of the committee present were Morris Berman, Julius Gerber, Karlin and Ritchey; ex-officio members, Chairman Waldman and State Secretary Merrill. Reports of the State Secretary showed that the paid-up membership of the party organization in the state was the largest since 1921, and had increased 82 per cent since 1928.

The principal matter considered was the 1932 National Convention. The committee voted to apportion the 10 delegates not allocated at the November meeting as follows: Two to be elected as delegates-at-large by the membership of the entire state; eight to be elected from districts composed of the County of Richmond and counties of the state located outside of New York City, each district to choose one delegate and one alternate. District No. 1 will be composed of Erie county and District No. 2 of the County of Monroe, Onondaga, Madison, Oswego, Jefferson and Dutchess counties; District No. 3 of Dutchess, Ulster, Sullivan, Hamilton and Cortland counties; District No. 4 of Albany, Rensselaer, Schoharie and Warren counties; District No. 5 of Albany, Rensselaer, Schoharie and Warren counties; District No. 6 of Albany, Rensselaer, Schoharie and Warren counties; District No. 7 of Albany, Rensselaer, Schoharie and Warren counties; District No. 8 of Albany, Rensselaer, Schoharie and Warren counties; District No. 9 of Albany, Rensselaer, Schoharie and Warren counties; District No. 10 of Albany, Rensselaer, Schoharie and Warren counties; District No. 11 of Albany, Rensselaer, Schoharie and Warren counties; District No. 12 of Albany, Rensselaer, Schoharie and Warren counties; District No. 13 of Albany, Rensselaer, Schoharie and Warren counties; District No. 14 of Albany, Rensselaer, Schoharie and Warren counties; District No. 15 of Albany, Rensselaer, Schoharie and Warren counties; 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**SATURDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1931**

**O**UT of every breakdown of capitalism we have had, mystics and soothsayers have emerged with magic formulas. They conjure up spirits to help a stricken world. Economists and

**By J. O. =**

Democracy is by no means the perfect thing some assume it to be and it can never be satisfactory in a society with a ruling class owning the means of production and distribution, but it is the best that can be obtained by the working class in this society and it is our job to fight for its further extension, not to waive it aside. Moreover, it is a shallow mind that ignores the history the workers made in winning concessions from the ruling classes. It concedes the capitalist class something it does not deserve and deprives the working class of its fighting traditions and achievements.

A Christmas Card for 1931

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Estimates of governmental expense for 1932, released last week by the treasury department, show a total payment in contemplation for past, present and future wars of \$2,727,854,700. All other expenditures to be made by the government, according to estimate, will total \$1,754,268,700.

LONDON—The I. L. P. organ, "the New Leader," announces Paul-Boncour's resignation with a note of relief, and says, "It would be truer to say that he cannot maintain his own policy without savouring Socialism and Internationalism."

## Split Three Ways

## Reaction in Danz Hits Socialist A

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