

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

VOL. XIII.—No. 5

SATURDAY, JANUARY 30, 1932

Price Five Cents

Bullets For Bread



Drawn by Gan Kolski

How to Deal with the Hungry Jobless

(Excerpts From Secret Orders Issued to the Illinois National Guard)

by Major General Keehn

(Commander 33rd Division, Illinois National Guard)

BLANK cartridges should never be fired at a mob. If ball ammunition is expected from the first, moral effect is gained. * * *

Never fire over the heads of rioters. If it be not practical to send a part of the command to attack in the rear, practically the same results may be obtained by dispatching sharpshooters to the roofs of upper stories of houses, from which they can pick off rioters in the rear of the mob.

An ambitious officer may by decisive action acquire fame. * * *

Temporizing with a mob is usually an exhibition of bad judgment. * * *

Officers and men should not fear reprisal in case one or more people are killed. The laws of most states provide that if it is proven that the

killing was through mere malice, wantonness, or cruelty, a soldier is not punishable even though he uses bad judgment.

Officers of troops aiding civil authorities should not permit the latter to indicate how their duties should be performed. The civil authorities may tell the military authorities what to do but how it is to be done and the amount of force to be used are purely military and tactical questions to be decided by the military officers.

Rifle grenades, gas are useful in attacking houses. * * * A few stokes or aviation bombs will be followed by immediate evacuation.

NEW LEADER

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

James O'Neal Editor Edward Levinson Assistant Editor

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Published Every Saturday at 7 East 15th St., New York City

SATURDAY, JANUARY 30, 1932

A Worthy Theatre Benefit

SPECIAL attention of our New York readers is called to the theatre benefit arranged by the finance committee of the Socialist Party in New York at the Selwyn Theatre, 42nd street, west of Broadway, on Tuesday evening, Feb. 2. The play, "The Devil Passes," provides an excellent entertainment which Socialists and sympathizers will enjoy. The proceeds will go to the city office of the party which is sorely in need of funds. Comrades and friends are urged to make this a big success. You help your movement when you attend. Seats range from \$1 to \$3. Order immediately from the committee at 7 East 15th street, New York City.

Goo-Goo Business Reform

ALL the elements of a "moral crusade" against the Tammany vandals are developing and this is almost certain to take form in a "reform" movement for the city election next year. In his report on the investigation of Tammany, Judge Seabury provides plenty of ammunition for such a movement which is now being organized. He seeks the end of "boss control" through revisions of the form of the city government. This includes the city manager plan, elimination of useless functionaries and consolidation of unnecessary and overlapping departments.

A New York Times editorial bearing the caption, "Corrupt and Contented," has given momentum to the "reform" movement and Socialists may well anticipate that all the elements of "good government" will be arrayed behind a third ticket next year. It is a revolt of the "respectables," those who want to rule but who resent paying the heavy price which Tammany Hall charges for its services. They want more efficient and cheaper government for themselves.

This has happened over and over again in city politics. There are now more than 400 cities operating under the city manager plan and in every instance it is the "business interests" and sentimental "good government" advocates who have taken the initiative in support of this plan. There is no evidence whatever that the working class has made any gains in the cities where the plan has been adopted. It is essentially a refuge of the business interests when their own politicians go a little too far in lining their own pockets.

While the business interests and their respectable allies are seeking cheaper government for their class, Socialists will go to the working masses during the need of a working people's administration. This can be realized only through a party of the workers themselves. The business interests have power but want it at a cheaper price. The workers do not have power and will not have it through a cheaper business class administration. To make these facts clear to the laboring population will be the primary job of the Socialist party as the "reform" movement develops.

Tammany capitalism is especially vulnerable just now. It has held thousands of poor voters to a political allegiance through "favors" extended by district leaders and organizations. Food and clothing for a distressed family; paying the rent of a family about to be evicted; a doctor provided for the sick, and "fixing" cases in magistrates courts are a few of the methods that have brought prestige and power. Today the gang is unable to meet the demands of hundreds of thousands in distress. This phase of power is deflated by the depression and the national opportunity for Socialist

for "good govern-

serve the masses. Whether the present form of government continues or the city manager plan becomes a reality the Socialist issue is the same. It is a struggle for power on both sides, a struggle by the business classes to keep the power they have but to get it at a cheaper price if they can, and a struggle by the working class to obtain that power for its interests and welfare. The clearer this issue is made the more readily will the masses understand the vast difference between the Socialist movement and goo-goo business reform.

Commerce and Tariffs

A RECENT decree of the French government which practically shuts out American radios makes our high tariff boys howl. They have a very simple philosophy. They insist on towering tariff barriers against foreign imports and low duties by other nations that will favor American exports. The Simple Simons at Washington are really very much peeved when some other government imitates the American policy in favor of its own manufacturers. The French decree orders that for the first three months of this year imports of radios shall be restricted to a total of 154.1 tons monthly. Of this amount Holland is allowed 79.2, Germany 50, the United States 16.6, and Great Britain 4.6. All others combined are allotted 3.7.

An American importer in France declared that his company's imports by the middle of January alone had exceeded the quota allowed the United States. Then there were thousands of American radio sets in transit across the Atlantic when the decree was announced. One importer declared that "it does seem a little unfair and rather unusual that our former allies should discriminate against us."

Oh yeah! Well, each of the allies fought for trade, markets and investments for their ruling classes and with the end of the holy war each has been grabbing what it could. But in the grabbing game the bourgeois statesmen have erected high walls against the flow of commodities. Each wants to sell but not to buy. Uncle Sam set the example and the others follow it. Our Babbitts have no complaint. They are getting what is their due.

Wealth and Income

IF the "national wealth and income" of the United States for 1930 were divided equally between all the families in the nation each family would have \$10,961 of capital and an annual income of \$2,366, according to a study published by the National Industrial Conference Board, Inc. By "national wealth" is meant tangible, physical assets only; it excludes credits and securities. By "national income" is meant the aggregate value of all commodities produced and services rendered.

Interesting as these figures are they do not tell the whole story. They relate to a depression year, 1930, and in that year there was a drop of 32.1 billion dollars of "national wealth" and 14 billion in "national income" compared with 1929. Moreover, the figures include the parasitic incomes and incomes derived from a variety of occupations that are typical of a capitalistic society but unnecessary in a society producing wealth for use and enjoyment. Advertising is an example of such occupations.

When all these factors are considered and the greater efficiency that would follow upon the socialization of industry, one gets some faint idea of the ample incomes that would be available for the masses. This aside from the fact that, with the mastery of our productive powers, we could assure continuous employment to every able bodied man and woman at some useful occupation and with a few hours of labor each day.

A Labor Spiritual

THERE is hope for the world when the Cleveland Federationist reaches many millions now deprived of its inspiring columns. It is a weak weekly but it has a punch. It fights the battles of the organized workers and a few of its kind carry on the struggle in other sectors of labor striving.

A few pearls to show what many are missing. "There are so many things in this world besides material ones." Ghosts, for example. "Had most of us looked at the spiritual side in place of the material side many of us would not have the troubles we have today." But don't misunderstand. "Material wealth is O. K., but in many instances the material overbalances the spiritual."

Having settled that matter in a spiritual way we turn to another one. "Don't become discouraged. Use all means of encouragement. Declare a lockout on crepe except in extreme cases." That's what we call profundity. The editor is a careful philosopher. He would declare a lockout "except in extreme cases." He is no extremist. He's a "labor editor" who occasionally lets the "material overbalance the spiritual."

Other gems go to the very heart of things. Get this one. He believes in "The constructive system of solving every problem in place of involvement." He would solve without involve. We'll bet you couldn't do it! Again. "We believe in favoring our friends when everything is equal." One flask of scotch for another, we suppose. Finally, "We believe in a minimum scale that shall be in sympathy with conditions that shall warrant same." Understand it? Simple. He sympathizes with conditions that warrant a minimum scale. What would happen if he did not? Get the profundity, the sparkling wit, the pep and inspiration?

Of course you do. And just think. He's a "labor editor!"

Reading Between The Headlines

WHICH WAY?

"General Atterbury Foresees Depression on Way."—Headline.

WHAT EAT—IF YOU CAN GET IT

The Hoover administration has taken note of the millions of empty mouths by throwing a 10-page leaflet, "Emergency Food Relief and Child Health," into the breach. If this doesn't stifle the pangs of hunger, the leaflet advises, see "Getting the Most for Your Food Money," a 4-page leaflet published by the Department of Agriculture. If your gluttonous appetite is still unappeased then see also, "How to Spend Your Food Money," a one-page "dodger" published by the Department of Labor. If it's a dodger, Hoover has it.

The giant minds of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor and the Bureau of Home Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture, combined with the efforts of Martha M. Elliot, M. D.; Agnes K. Hanna and Hazel K. Stiebeling, Ph. D., to produce "Emergency Food Relief and Child Health." At crucial moments they had the cooperation, which is duly acknowledged, of E. V. McCollum, Ph. D., Sc. D., professor of bio-chemistry, School of Hygiene and Public Health, Johns Hopkins University; Lafayette B. Mendell, Ph. D., professor of physiological chemistry, Yale University; H. C. Sherman, Ph. D., professor of chemistry, Columbia University; in addition to "a number of social agencies and nutritionists who contributed helpful suggestions."

WHAT THE CHILD SHOULD HAVE—TRY AND GET IT

The findings of this heavy aggregation are summarized on the cover page of "Emergency Food Relief and Child Health," here reproduced in its pristine beauty:

FOR EVERY CHILD EVERY DAY

at Least

ONE PINT OF MILK

(He should have 1½ to 2 pts.)

TWO TEASPOONFULS OF COD LIVER OIL IF HE IS

LESS THAN 2 YEARS OLD.

(He should have 3 to 4 tea'fuls.)

ONE VEGETABLE OR FRUIT

(He should have three or four).

And Also

PLENTY OF BREAD, CEREALS AND OTHER ENERGY AND BODY-BUILDING FOODS.

THEATRE NOTE

Casting has begun for a revival of that ever-popular farce, "Picking a President; or Brothers Under the Skin." Franklin D. Roosevelt, coy and elusive patter-song artist from Albany, is going to seek the role of Democratic heavy when try-outs are held in Chicago. Roosevelt has developed his well known shilly-shally dance in which, it will be recalled, he shakes in all directions making the audience think he is going three or four different ways at the same time. The Democrats of North Dakota,

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

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1 Year in Foreign Countries \$3.00

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about as numerous as Republicans in Georgia, have set up a "popular demand" for Roosevelt. He will have to satisfy the fat-boy producers, however, before he finally gets the job. Newton D. Baker is also angling for the role. Baker's qualifications are said to be his ability to fit perfectly into the leading role, to be played by President Hoover, in the event that Hoover's drawing power continues to slump. Though Baker sings liberal at times, this is said to be his falsetto.

THE MONTH'S HONOR ROLL

The National Republic, organ of the Republican party, prints a monthly list of men and women who have distinguished themselves in the cause of Socialism, free speech and progress. The department is headed "The Enemy Within Our Gates." Honorable mention this week goes to Professor Jesse H. Holmes for a speech before the Philadelphia Society of Friends; to Clair and Paul Sifton for their play, "1931—"; to the Scripps-Howard papers; to Arthur Garfield Hays and Albert Einstein; to John Dewey; to the World Tomorrow for its pacifism; to the Federated Press; to the Young Circle League and Norma Laurie, Nat Rosenberg, Sid Cohen and Morris Gosenpud for publishing a radical magazine for youngsters; and to the Women's Trade Union League. Those who may despair of the growth of Socialism in the United States may take heart from the fact that "The Enemy Within Our Gates," originally printed as a two-page feature in the National Republic, now occupies seven pages.

WHERE'S YOUR \$10,000?

Every family in the United States would own \$10,961 in property and have an income of \$2,366 if the national wealth were divided equally, according to the National Industrial Conference Board. The figures are based on 1930 returns.

A WORD TO AMERICAN NEGROES

By Albert Einstein

Minorities, especially when their individuals are recognizable because of physical differences, are treated by the majorities among whom they live as inferiors. The tragic part of such a fate, however, lies not only in the automatically realized disadvantages suffered by these minorities in economic and social relations, but also in the fact that those who meet such treatment themselves for the most part acquiesce in this prejudiced estimate because of the suggestive influence of the majority, and come to regard people like themselves as inferior. This second and more important aspect of the evil can be met through closer union and conscious educational enlightenment among the minority. The determined effort of the American Negroes in this direction deserves every recognition and assistance.

THE FOLLY OF MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP

Los Angeles made \$4,000,000 on its power department during the last fiscal year, and \$2,000,000 on its water department, Manager H. A. Van Norman reports.

The Milwaukee School

The Daily Mirror, New York tabloid, notes Milwaukee's "miracle" in starting the year 1932 with jobless relief provided for and \$4,000,000 surplus in the treasury, and suggests: "Why not send some of our (New York) officials to Milwaukee for a course in housekeeping? We seem to need one pretty badly."

Edward Levinson.

Legal Lynch Law in Kentucky

Coal Operators' Dictatorship Uses Thugs, Courts; Judge Plays Hangman in Miners' "Trials"



Drawn by Boardman Robinson.

The Same Old Line-Up in Kentucky—The Military, the Coal Operators and the Government Against the Miners.

SINCE last October one of the most dramatic struggles in labor history has been going on in the coal fields of Kentucky. These Kentucky miners struck against starvation. Receiving two dollars a day and two or three days' work a week, they resisted a wage reduction.

A single man cannot live on five or six dollars a week. Large families are the rule in these mining towns and this wage meant actual starvation for married men and their families. The proposal to reduce wages brought the workers out of the mines. They struck.

The miners demanded bread. The mine owners gave them bullets. The private gunmen of the mine owners, Baldwin-Feltz thugs, were sent against the miners. The hired killers shot strikers on the picket lines. They insulted the wives of miners and whipped half-starved children.

All the pent-up misery accumulating in these mining hells burst under the provocation of the hired assassins of the mine owners. The miners defended themselves and their families. Strikers were wounded and killed. Thugs were wounded and killed. The authorities had permitted the corporation mercenaries to usurp police powers and the result was civil war.

Thugs Go Free, Strikers Jailed

Not until the miners began to defend themselves did the state act. The militia was sent into the zone of war. To disarm the private mercenaries of the exploiters? To remind the local authorities of their duty to protect the miners in their legal rights to resist a wage reduction? No!

The most active strikers were thrown into prison! Of 104 defenders of themselves and their families, forty-three were charged with murder and sixty-one with criminal syndicalism! Over a thousand armed thugs in the pay of the Mellon-Insull-Peabody exploiters who started the civil war were not molested!

Corporate capital used its private army and then the state military forces cooperated with capital's paid mercenaries. With private and state armies serving corporate capital it took over the local governing powers, including the judiciary. The local powers established by the state constitution disappeared. They became a part of the dictatorship of the coal corporations! Naked class rule was the result.

Who are these miners striking against starvation? Most of them are descendants of the pioneers who cleared the wilderness more than a century ago. They fled from the slave-holding magnates of the South and the merchant and commercial aristocracy of the East. Today the descendants of these pioneers are shot on the highways by armed thugs of coal companies, active fighters against this capitalist usurpation are jailed, and the victors are accused of crime for defending their families!

Conspiracy—Kentucky Version

William Hightower and William B. Jones have been sentenced to prison for life. Jones, the father of seven children, secretary of a local union of the United Mine Workers, was convicted of conspiracy to murder. Hightower veteran miner, 77 years old, father of three children and officer of the same union, received the same sentence.

"Conspiracy to murder"! There was no violence, no killing, until the armed thugs of capital ran amuck. In Kentucky it is a "conspiracy" to defend yourself and family against the assaults of capital's Swiss Guards!

Judge Prewitt overruled motions for a new trial. Who is Prewitt? A judge who barred representatives of a Tennessee newspaper from the court room in the trial of Jones. Its reports did not suit his Judicial Majesty! He wanted an apology from the paper! The press should be censored. Fresh from this amazing performance, Hightower and Jones appear in his court, they are denied a new trial, and sentenced to prison for life!

While these monstrous things are done in the name of "law 'n order," there is a voluminous report in the hands of the Governor of Kentucky. That report is the story of an investigation made by leading members of the Kentucky bar. No radicals, Socialists, Bolsheviks or I. W. W.s had anything to do with it. It is an official state document and it is an indictment of the high crimes committed by the authorities of Harlan County and the hired assassins of the coal companies.

More Legal Lynchings Due

That report made to a former governor and now in the hands of the present governor has not been made public. It was because the Tennessee paper mentioned above drew upon this official government document in a series of articles that Judge Prewitt barred its representatives from his court. This judicial oligarchy thus sweeps aside the careful research made by a committee of the Kentucky bar!

This report cites almost incredible atrocities committed by public officials of Harlan County and sycophants of the coal oligarchy. A Methodist minister who helped the miners was beaten by the sheriff's deputies till he spit blood. A storekeeper faces trial for "criminal syndicalism" because he contributed a carload of flour to starving miners. "Incendiary literature" was secretly planted by raiders and miners were then arrested for possessing it. Sympathizers with the miners have been driven out of the county. Miners have been brutally beaten because they are miners and officials have resorted to bribery in cases affecting the miners.

All this under the "starry banner of freedom!" Here is an alliance between coal companies, sheriffs, deputies, armed corporation gangs, courts and the state militia

to reduce miners and their families to starvation. More trials are to come and this brutal oligarchy hopes to send others to keep company with Jones and Hightower in state prison.

Women of these miners grow gaunt of hunger and little children waste away in rags in the cheerless cabins they call "home." Jones and Hightower gaze out on the world through their prison bars, thinking of the helpless children they have left in the hell of the coal companies, thinking of what the working masses will do. Life is a nightmare of apprehension for the thousands of miners who, against tremendous odds, oppose their bare fists against the vandals that rule this region.

This is not the fight of these miners alone. It concerns every human being in this country and especially workingmen and women. That oligarchy is a forerunner of our own future if it continues. If it is successful in Kentucky it can be repeated in any state. It is a capitalistic hell that yawns for all workers.

Brutes do not like general publicity regarding their crimes. Mass meetings should be held in thousands of cities and towns. Sweeping resolutions should be forwarded to the Governor of Kentucky at Frankfort in protest against the terror. These resolutions should be sent to the local press. Local unions, central bodies, district and state federations and international unions should send protests. Socialist organizations should do likewise.

Every Socialist Must Act!

But that is not all. These meetings and organizations should gather funds, shoes and clothing for the relief of the stricken miners. This should be a nationwide revolt. Quick action and concentrated effort all over the nation would bring extensive resources for the relief of the miners.

We should also demand Federal intervention in Kentucky under Section 4 of Article IV of the Federal Constitution which declares that "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government." There is no such government in Kentucky. It has been destroyed by the agents of the coal companies.

They have struck down the civil powers, substituted their private police power for the public police power, destroyed the citizen's right of domicile, swept the Bill of Rights into oblivion, prostituted the courts, and established a terror by their armed mercenaries. Demand Federal intervention!

Make this cause your own, fighters for freedom. Send relief funds to the National Office of the Socialist Party, 549 Randolph street, Chicago, Illinois. Get busy in every organization in the street, the school, the labor board, and act now!

Va. to Hear Hillquit at 3 Meetings

N. E. C. Meeting to Be Followed by a Short Tour in the South

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

RICHMOND, Va.—Morris Hillquit, National Chairman of the Socialist Party, will speak three times in Virginia next week, on his return trip from the meeting of the National Executive Committee in St. Louis.

On Tuesday, Feb. 2, at 8 P. M., Hillquit will speak in Norfolk, under the auspices of the rapidly-growing Socialist local. The meeting will be held in the Workmen's Circle Center, at 708 East Freemason street. Admission is free.

On Wednesday afternoon, Feb. 3, at 3:30 P. M., Hillquit will speak in the Municipal Courtroom, in Hopewell. Admission to this meeting is also free.

Wednesday night at 8 o'clock, Hillquit will speak in the Workmen's Circle Center, at the corner of Broad and Laurel streets, in Richmond. Tickets for this meeting are on sale at 50 cents each, but unemployed comrades and sympathizers will be admitted free.

Arrangements for three big meetings are going forward. A widespread distribution of dodgers and newspaper publicity both are calculated to help bring out good crowds, while our membership is being stirred to activity. This is the first lecture tour of the new year, and we hope to make a real success. We hope to have several other prominent lecturers in the next few months.

Hillquit's subject will be "The Economic Basis for Brotherhood."

Children's Afternoon At the Rand School

A very unusual children's afternoon has been arranged by the Women's Committee of the Rand School for Saturday, Jan. 30, at 2:30 P. M., in the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th street. There will be a Shadow Screen presented by the Puppet Players. A Rainbow Screen on which puppets will be projected in "The Cat Who Went to Heaven" is a new and very original feature of the program. A children's program is hardly complete unless it has a magician. The committee is fortunate in having N. J. Michaels, "the Grate," who will perform all kinds of sleight of hand tricks. The third member on the program is a series of dances by the unusually talented Bernice and Dorothy Zagornick, scholarship students of the Neighborhood Playhouse.

This very delightful program together with refreshments, is offered at the very nominal price of 50 cents. All party members are urged to bring or send their children. The proceeds will be devoted to the Scholarship Fund of the Rand School.

Hillquit, Coleman and McLevy to Address Jersey Socialist Conference Sunday, Feb. 14

New Jersey Socialists will hold a conference in Workmen's Circle Hall, 190 Belmont avenue, Newark, Sunday morning and afternoon, Feb. 14, for the discussion of party problems. The conference will meet promptly at 11 o'clock and at 1 o'clock there will be a "discussion lunch" at which Morris Hillquit and McAllister

of New York and Jaapar of New Jersey will speak. The conference will be held at the Market, 2-3250.

Jersey party members and the discussion will include a wide range, the trade unions, party principles, Russia, organization and the national campaign.

Party members in all the counties are invited to attend and make this a big state affair. Workmen's Circles have also been invited.

For information or lunch reservations members may inquire of Dr. Louis Reiss, 188 Springfield avenue, Newark, or telephone Market, 2-3250.

Another Monument "The Great Engineer"



When the big Mississippi flood of a few years ago was used as a ballyhoo for Herbert Hoover, the "Great Engineer," it was promised that federal engineering projects would make a recurrence impossible. With 10 million jobless workers, Hoover has not yet got around to the task of preventing these floods and again people are drowning and starving while relief lags.

Thomas Beats Hoover By Four Votes to One In Texas Straw Poll

LUBBOCK, Texas.(FP)—Entrenched capitalism got a severe jolt on the south plains of Texas when returns came in from a straw vote on the Presidency being conducted by a local newspaper.

Though Herbert Hoover carried the district and the whole state of Texas in 1928, Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President in 1928, is running four to one ahead of him in the balloting. In fact, Thomas leads all Republicans plus such popular Democrats as Al Smith, being outvoted only by Franklin Roosevelt, John Garner, a native son, and "Alfalfa Bill" Murray.

This is all the more surprising in view of the fact that it was so unexpected that the editor did not even put Thomas' name on the ballot at the beginning of the poll. It is now appearing, replacing that of Gifford Pinchot.

Morningside Heights Branch Will Hoof It

There will be gaiety and color and warmth in the South Hall of 3109 Broadway Saturday night, Jan. 30th, at eight thirty when the Morningside Heights branch of the Socialist Party will celebrate the opening of their new headquarters with a housewarming and dance. They are expecting many friends and comrades from all sections of the city. Arrange to come too. Buy your tickets from the Rand Book Store or from Goldine Hillson in the New Leader office, or else come up to 3109 Broadway on Saturday night and buy your tickets at the door. They're only a half dollar.

Socialists of Harlem Open Headquarters

Negro Workers Have New Home After Years of Tireless Activity

By FRANK R. CROSSWAITH

ORDINARILY, the opening of another Socialist headquarters is an event of no special significance. However, when the event takes place in the most thickly populated Negro center in the world, and among a people to whom hard times have become an accepted legacy from chattel slavery, then the opening of a headquarters in the nineteenth and twenty-first assembly districts of Harlem becomes an event deserving of special notice.

Many years ago there was in this segregated section of New York one of the most active Socialist units in the state, with a popular Sunday Forum, a weekly newspaper (The Emancipator), a monthly magazine (The Messenger), and a co-operative grocery store. Some of the finest speakers in the movement were furnished by this unit. The war hysteria all but destroyed the movement for Socialism among Negroes. During the intervening years a small devoted band of Socialists continued to hold the fort. With the birth of the Pullman Porters Union the Socialist branch showed renewed life. Then came another set-back.

For over two years the only Socialist organization among the Negro workers in Harlem was confined to the home of this writer. The lack of organization, however, did not dampen the ardour of the few who during campaign time were on the street nightly talking to larger and increasingly sympathetic audiences. On each election day the votes cast for Socialism paid an eloquent and deserved tribute to the fine work done by those devoted comrades. Little by little new members began to join the branch. The need for a permanent meeting place became a question of importance. The home of Alma Crosswaith had become too small for meetings.

Thus, on Jan. 15th, at 2005 7th avenue, one of the finest club rooms in the country, with the Socialist emblem clasped in the hands of white and Negro workers, and a five-foot replica of Rodin's "Thinker" in black on the window, indicating a Negro worker "thinking at last" was opened to the public. The Negro press

took notice of the event and gave much space to it and to the significance of the "Black Thinker." Daily crowds of workers can be found standing before the window admiring the Negro thinker.

The colored motion picture operators of Local 306 who were organized in 1925 by the writer, have their club rooms with us and jointly use the auditorium with the Socialist branch, thereby truly exemplifying the unity of labor and Socialism. The auditorium seats about 175 persons. Beginning in February a Forum—"The People's Educational Forum"—will commence its work further to educate the Negro and white workers of Harlem to the need of solidarity of thought and action in the industrial and political fields for the final liberation of the working class of every race from capitalism with its attendant miseries. All hail the arrival of the awakened Negro worker.

Panzner to Run For Governor In Michigan

State Convention Names Ida Wilson as Running Mate—Hard Fight Planned

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

DETROIT.—Michigan Socialists nominated John Panzner of Detroit as candidate for Governor, and Ida Wilson, Lincoln Park, for Lieutenant-Governor in a state convention held in Detroit Jan. 23 and 24.

Officers of the state executive committee elected were Harry Bell, Royal Oak, chairman, and Francis King, Detroit, secretary. Members of the state executive committee and delegates to the national convention were elected at the same session. Committees on publicity, unemployment insurance, resolutions and nominations were appointed by the chairman with the consent of the convention.

During the election of delegates, discussion became heated over the clause in the national constitution forbidding non-citizens the right of representation. Particularly the question of the rights of party members denied citizenship because of conscientious objection to war was raised, with the result that a strong resolution to the national convention will be drafted urging a change in the constitution in this respect.

With the gubernatorial candidates selected, active campaign and propaganda work will be inaugurated in the near future.

THE INGERSOLL FORUM

Woolsey Teller and Charles Smith will debate the following subject under the auspices of the Ingersoll Forum, Sunday evening in Pythian Temple, 135 West 70th street: "Which Is the Worse, the Old or the New Testament?"

? 1932 ?

WHAT WILL IT BRING?

Four More Years of Hoover?

A Great Socialist Vote?

A Democratic Landslide?

The Eighth Annual Dinner

of the
NEW LEADER

MONDAY, MARCH 7th, 1932

6:30 O'Clock

WILL DISCUSS

"A POLITICAL POLICY AND PROGRAM FOR 1932"

Speakers

**John Dewey Morris Hillquit
Norman Thomas**

Chairman: LOUIS WALDMAN

BEETHOVEN HALL

210 East 5th Street

New York City

RESERVATIONS \$1.50 PER PERSON

The New Leader,
7 East 15th Street,
New York City.

Enclosed please find \$_____ for which you will reserve _____ places at the Eighth Annual New Leader Dinner, Monday, March 7th, in Beethoven Hall.

These reservations are for the following:

Name

Name

Name

Address

Papers Kill Expose of Militia Plans

Orders to Drown Protests in Blood Not "News" to Capitalist Press

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—It is not "news" to the capitalist press that the Illinois National Guard is definitely planning to use the methods of modern warfare, without mercy, to subdue "radical" uprisings that are expected to result this winter from the breakdown of charity.

All of the press services, and over 100 individual capitalist papers, were sent definite proof of the National Guard's terroristic plans in a Socialist party release issued a week ago. A check of dozens of these papers indicates that the story was totally ignored.

Dozens of columns of news and editorial stories in the liberal and labor press insured the spread of the information among the workers. Many Socialist locals, and not a few labor organizations outside the party, have redoubled efforts to bring pressure to bear through unemployed committees on State Legislatures and the Federal Congress for government relief.

Every United States Senator and Representative has received a copy of the plans of the militia to use gas, hand grenades, and ball ammunition against the workers, and assurance has been given that this data will be used on the floors of Congress. The "regular" army clique will use the data in its drive to cut down the National Guard appropriation.

At the Rand School

In view of the very friendly little discussions which have been advertised as debates during recent months a good deal of interest is taken in the announcement that the Rand School is going to run a real debate. When A. J. Muste and Sam Beardsley meet on the evening of Feb. 5, to argue about the policies of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, there will be a debate and not a love feast. The whole matter of the most useful attitude for the radical in relation to the labor unions will be discussed right down to the ground by two men who have had wide experience and who hold opposite views.

The course on contemporary philosophy by John B. Watson will be continued on Feb. 4, at 8:30 p. m., by Dr. Oscar Riddle. Dr. Riddle is director of the Station for Experimental Evolution maintained at Cold Spring Harbor by the Carnegie Institution. He will discuss what is for all social thinkers one of the central problems, "Heredity—And Man's Control of His Own Development."

In an effort to raise money for the school the students of the Rand School Fellowship have planned a series of entertainments and dances to be held in the studio on Saturday nights. The first will occur on Feb. 6. August Claessens will entertain with a program of monologues and pantomimes. After the program there will be tea and dancing. There will be an entertainment of this sort every Saturday evening till further notice. Admission will be 25 cents.

PITTSBURGH, Pa. (FP).—City of Pittsburgh bonds at 3% interest received no bidders. Now 4% will be offered.

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Socialists to See "The Devil Passes" At Selwyn Tuesday

New York City Socialists and their friends will gather at the Selwyn Theatre on Tuesday evening, Feb. 2, to enjoy a theatre party benefit performance. The play is one of the outstanding Broadway successes, "The Devil Passes." It has an all star cast. There are still a few tickets on hand and these can be obtained by phoning the city office, 7 East 15th street, Algonquin 4-4630.

Lecture Calendar

(All lectures start at 8:30 p. m. unless otherwise indicated):

SUNDAY, JAN. 31

Heywood Brown, 11 a. m., "It Seems to Me," Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison avenues, West Bronx Socialist Forum.

William Karlin, "Labor and the Law," 3109 Broadway, New York. Morningside Heights branch, Socialist party.

Paul Porter, "The Decline of Imperialism," 600 West 181st street, New York. Washington Heights branch, Socialist party.

Dr. David Breslow, "The Socialization of Medicine," 96 Avenue C, New York. 6th A. D. branch of the Socialist party.

MONDAY, FEB. 1

David Kaplan, "My Objections to Communism," 3820 Church avenue, Brooklyn. 18th A. D. Branch 2, Socialist party.

August Claessens, "Socialism and the Family," 167 Tomkins avenue, Brooklyn. Williamsburg branch, Socialist party.

Theodore Shapiro, "The Significance of the Radical Movement," New Hungarian Restaurant, Franklin avenue and Union street, Brooklyn. 11th A. D. branch, Socialist party.

TUESDAY, FEB. 2

Charles Kramarsky, "Trade Unionism and Socialism," 218 Van Sicken avenue, Brooklyn. 22nd A. D. Branch 3, Socialist party.

WEDNESDAY, FEB. 3

Herbert M. Merrill, "Socialism and Invention," Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn. 23rd A. D. branch, Socialist party.

FRIDAY, FEB. 5

Louis Waldman, "Civic Corruption and Reconstruction," Paradise Manor, Mt. Eden and Jerome avenues. Mid-Bronx Socialist Forum.

Samuel A. DeWitt, "The Machine and Us," 759 Allerton avenue, Bronx. 6th A. D. branch, Socialist party.

Haim Kantorovich, "Behind the Scenes in History," Hollywood Gardens, 896 Prospect avenue, Bronx. Labor Forum.

Abraham C. Weinfeld, "Unemployment Insurance," 55 Snyder avenue, Brooklyn. 21st A. A. branch, Socialist party.

August Claessens, "What Socialism Is," 327 East Ninth street, New York. 8th A. D. branch, Socialist party.

Gerhardt Fritter, "The German Social Democracy," Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn. 23rd A. D. branch, Socialist party.

William M. Feigenbaum, "International Peace," 48 Ocean place, Brooklyn. Brighton Beach branch, Socialist party.

Dr. Louis Smirnov, "Ear, Nose and Throat," 218 Van Sicken avenue, Brooklyn. 22nd A. D. Branch 2, Socialist party.

Leonard Bright, "Molding Public Opinion," Bohemian Hall, Second and Woolsey avenues, Astoria. Socialist party branch.

Socialist Literature Found on Schoolboy Brings Expulsion

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—An elementary school pupil was expelled from one of the elementary schools here because he came into the classroom with Socialist literature in his pocket. Murray Baron and Harold W. Houston, party workers, secured his reinstatement after a stormy interview with the school principal.

Miss Katz Continues Her Lectures on Music

On Friday, Feb. 5th, at 8 P. M., Adele T. Katz, musicologist, will lecture in the Rand School on "The Creation." This is the fifth of a series of ten lectures under the general title of "New Forms of Old Music." The main themes of each lecture will be interpreted at the piano by Mr. Kurt Weil.

Wis. Approves Legislation for Job Insurance

Bill Gives Bosses Alternative of Starting Own Plans—Socialists Critical

(Special New Leader Correspondent)

MADISON, Wis.—Unemployment insurance will be introduced in Wisconsin July 1, 1933, the State Legislature has voted. This is the first government-supervised unemployment insurance, provided in the United States.

The insurance plan adopted is that sponsored by Assemblyman Harold M. Groves, professor of economics at the University of Wisconsin. This bill is far less inclusive in its provision than that advocated by the Socialist legislators.

Maximum benefits are only \$100 a year, payable in not more than ten weekly installments. It does not apply to industries engaged in interstate transportation, logging, farming, private domestic service, teaching, or those who guarantee employees a salary of eleven months of the year. Acknowledged part-time workers are not eligible for benefits.

A Socialist View

Funds are established and maintained by employers but administered by the state. The measure becomes compulsory only in case enough employers have not already adopted similar systems by July 1, 1933, to provide benefits for 175,000 of the workers potentially eligible for benefits.

"Passage of this bill," Senator Walter Polakowski, Milwaukee Socialist, states, "can be regarded as a victory for the workers only in that the principles of unemployment insurance through state action thus receives its first American acceptance. The bill is woefully weak, and cannot be expected to relieve the condition of the unemployed enough to do away with charity doles."

"The Groves bill, however, will give us an opening wedge, and there is some hope that it may later be strengthened. On that basis, it received the support of the Socialist members of both Houses, after it became clear that our own bill would not receive favorable consideration."

Phila. Socialists To Meet Saturday

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA.—A special Socialist city convention has been called for Saturday, Jan. 30, at the Labor Institute, 810 Locust street. Delegates to the National Convention will be nominated and a full slate of candidates for the spring primaries will be named.

At the last meeting of the County Central Committee, Maynard Kruger was elected chairman of the Socialist Party and Oscar Stern, secretary. The following committee chairmen for the year 1932 were elected: David Felix, Organization; Maynard Krueger, Public Affairs; M. H. Goldstein, Finance; Andrew Biemiller, Education and Literature; Joseph Kazmark, Labor; Hannah Biemiller, Women's Work, and Elizabeth Hawes, Yipsel Affairs.

Chicago to Protest Ky. Trials Feb. 4th

CHICAGO.—The recent trial of the Kentucky miners and the imprisonment of their leaders makes it imperative that the workers of Chicago know what is taking place in Kentucky. There will be a mass meeting arranged by the Kentucky Miners Relief and Defense Committee on Thursday evening, Feb. 4th, at 8 P. M., at the Slovak Hall, 2857 S. Lawrence Ave.

Dewey to Give '4-Year Plan' At the New Leader Dinner

THE position of the League for Independent Political Action in the forthcoming national campaign will be outlined by John Dewey, president of the League, in his address at The New Leader dinner to be held March 7th. The League has just announced a "four year plan" to organize a radical third party in the United States which it hopes to make a real contender for power in the 1936 election. It is expected Prof. Dewey will also discuss this plan.

New Leader dinners have always aimed to combine an annual rally of readers and supporters of The New Leader with a discussion of some topic uppermost in the minds of Socialists. This year it has chosen the topic, "A Political Policy and Program for 1932." The dinner will be the most important Socialist event leading up to the national convention of the party in Milwaukee the middle of April.

While Prof. Dewey will present

the viewpoint of the progressives, Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the Socialist Party, and Norman Thomas, the party's candidate for president in 1928, will present the Socialist view. Louis Waldman, state chairman of the New York Socialist party, and one of the most stimulating speakers in the movement, will be the chairman.

"Depression prices" will prevail at the dinner, which will be served at \$1.50 a plate. The dinner committee, in deciding on the sharply reduced rate, plans to accommodate the largest crowd that has ever attended a New Leader dinner. The affair will be held Monday evening, March 7th, at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th street. Reservations should be sent immediately to The New Leader, 7 East 15th street.

WAYNESBURG, Pa. (FP).—At least 754 children will require public aid this winter in Greene county, charity officials state.

DEBATES — LECTURES — FORUMS

THE COMMUNITY FORUM OF THE COMMUNITY CHURCH

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SUNDAY, 8 P. M.—GERALD STANLEY LEE

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Dr. Oscar Riddle
Carnegie Station for Experimental Evolution, on
HEREDITY—AND MAN'S CONTROL
OF HIS OWN DEVELOPMENT
Thurs., Feb. 4, at 8:30

A REAL DEBATE

FOR AND AGAINST THE LABOR UNION POLICIES OF THE CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE LABOR ACTION

FOR A. J. Muste

AGAINST

Samuel Beardsley

Fri., Feb. 5, at 8:30

ADMISSION 50c

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FEB. 14—DEBATE—Y. P. S. L. vs. NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
Auspices, Brooklyn Forum

League for Industrial Democracy Luncheon Discussion

127 West 43d St., at Hotel Woodstock
Saturday, Jan. 30th, at 1:00 P. M.

Rural America in Distress

Is There a Way Out for the Farmer?
JOHN PAUL QVALE, Congressman from Minnesota
OSCAR AMERINGER, Editor, "American Guardian"
REXFORD G. TUGWELL, Professor of Economics, Columbia University
McALISTER COLEMAN, Chairman
Tickets \$1.25 Non-members, \$1.50
Undergraduate Students 75c
Make reservations at the office of the L. I. D., 115 East 19th Street

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At Cooper Union
Eight Street and Astor Place
At 8 o'clock

Friday evening, Jan. 29th
DR. RICHARD MCKEON
"Roger Bacon: Science and God"

Sunday evening, Jan. 31st
DR. HOUSTON PETERSON
"Types of Victorian Agnosticism: Herbert Spencer"

Tuesday evening, Feb. 2nd
PROFESSOR SHIRLEY QUIMBY
"Magnetism"

At Muhlenberg Library
200 West 23rd Street
At 8:30 o'clock

Thursday evening, Feb. 4th
PROFESSOR E. G. SPAULDING
"Reason and the Unknowable"

Scott Nearing

FEB. 2nd at 8 P. M.
"Why Are Times Hard?"

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243 EAST 14th STREET
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SYMPOSIUM
IS INDIA READY FOR FREEDOM?
Dr. John Howard Lathrop
Patricia Kendall
Doors Open at 7:30 o'clock

LABOR TEMPLE

14th Street and Second Avenue
DR. EDMUND S. CHAFFET, Director
5:00 P. M.—DR. E. G. BECK—"The Voice of Proletarian Poetry: With Illustrations"
7:45 P. M.—STANLEY A. DAY—Organ Recital
8:00 P. M.—ALFRED KUGEL—"The Appreciation of Music"

INGERSOLL FORUM

Pythian Temple, 135 W 79th St.
Sunday, 8 P. M. Admission 30c.
Jan. 31st: DEBATE
"Which is the Worst, The Old or the New Testament?"
WOOLSEY TELLER vs. CHAS. SMITH
Atheist Tract and Catalog Free
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Delegates meet at the Labor Temple, 243 East 14th Street, New York City, on the last Saturday of every month.

Socialists of Ill. Name Roy Burt For Governor

Membership Conference Draws up Complete Ticket—Policies Are Discussed

By BEN LARKS

CHICAGO.—The Socialist Party of Illinois at an all day membership meeting laid plans for the coming elections, nominated its state ticket as well as its presidential electors; re-elected its State Executive Committee and added four more members to help; voiced its opinions on several matters of party policy and tactics and nominated delegates to the National Convention.

The state ticket as nominated is headed by Roy Burt for the Governorship, with Adolph Dreifuss as Secretary of State, Kellam Foster for Attorney General, Morris Franklin for State Treasurer, I. A. Anderson for Auditor of Public Accounts, Meyer Halushka for Superintendent of Public Instruction, Charles Poporelec as U. S. Senator, Owen Geer and George Koop as Congressmen-at-Large, with Jacob Siegel, Florence C. Hanson and Dr. M. M. McGuire as Trustees of the University of Illinois. A full ticket of presidential electors was also nominated.

The first session was devoted to the national convention with Clarence Senior, national secretary, outlining the problems the convention will face. His talk prompted a vigorous discussion and several resolutions were submitted as a result. (Resolutions follow later.)

Farm-Labor Cooperation

The second session was devoted to state affairs, State Secretary Ben Larks reported. The report showed new activity being carried on throughout the state, new blood coming into the movement and our influence being extended.

The third session was given over to a general discussion of the coming national and state elections. Adolph Dreifuss, secretary of Local Cook County, gave an outline of plans. The membership voted approval of the agreement between the Socialist Party of Cook County and the Farmer-Labor Party of Cook County to the end that there shall be no split labor vote. The Farmer-Labor Party is to have the ticket in Cook County with Socialist Party support and the Socialist Party in the state with the Farmer-Labor support. This will help to overcome the tremendous obstacle of obtaining 25,000 signatures necessary for a state ticket and the 55,000 necessary in Cook County ticket.

Roy Burt, nominee for Governor, then gave a short talk accepting the nomination. He stressed the needs and hopes of the movement and placed himself wholly at the disposal of the state organization in the campaign. He was enthusiastically received and applauded for his short and sincere talk.

A short summary of the resolutions adopted follows:

1. Urging the re-instatement of the preamble of the 1926 constitution.
2. Stressing the necessity for some kind of control over the press affiliated with the party or individual Socialists.
3. Advocating the initiation of co-operatives as one arm of the Socialist movement.
4. Advocating the change in dues system as suggested by the referendum.
5. Urging a new system of votes and voting power in the next Labor and Socialist International Congress. Favoring a more highly centralized body with power to use disciplinary measures.
6. Urging the re-introduction of the "class struggle" reference in the application form.
7. Two resolutions on trade unionism and Soviet Russia were referred to the branches for discussion.

Phila. Mass Meeting For Mooney Monday

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA.—The Tom Mooney Defense Conference of Philadelphia has called a mass meeting for Monday, Feb. 1st, at the Labor Institute, 810 Locust street. Reports will be heard from the delegates to the Mooney Conference on Jan. 24 in Washington, and plans made for future activities.

The delegates to the meeting were Franz Daniel, Elizabeth Hawes and A. Gussakoff. Maynard Krueger and Edmund Ryan, Jr., chairman respectively of the Socialist Party and the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, will address the meeting. Andrew J. Biemiller, chairman of the Tom Mooney Defense Conference, will preside.

Hahn Barred From Entry Into Canada

Socialist Minister Is Termed Communist—Hoffman Is Held Up

BUFFALO.—Rev. Herman J. Hahn, Socialist, and pastor of Salem Evangelical Lutheran Church of Buffalo, recently barred from broadcasting a speech over station WCR of the NBC network—because his speech on "Jesus' Way Out of the Depression" endorsed direct federal relief to the starving unemployed, and urged public ownership, has protested to the State Department because he has been refused admission to Canada. The immigration inspector at Niagara Falls has informed him that he is excluded from the Dominion as being a dangerous radical!

Hahn had frequently gone to Toronto and other Canadian cities, prior to his being shut off the air by the National Broadcasting Company's Buffalo station. He was a welcome speaker at meetings of Canadian labor and Socialist groups. His exclusion occurred when he started to attend a meeting of the Canadian Labor Party at Toronto, to give a talk on "Social Implications of the Teachings of Jesus."

Robert A. Hoffman, Buffalo Socialist, was also barred at the same point of entry about an hour after Hahn had been held up. The authorities had a copy of a letter from Chief of Police Draper of Toronto stating that Hahn was a Communist and that the Labor party, for whom he was to speak, was also Communist. Hoffman and Hahn pointed out, in vain, that the party had several members of the Canadian parliament, and that Hahn was a Socialist going to address a legal meeting.

Hahn was informed he would never be admitted to Canada again except by permission of the prime minister. After an hour's questioning, Hoffman was finally admitted. He later spoke to a peaceful meeting of 1,500 in Toronto. Many were turned away.

pledge asking all constituent parties to the L. S. I. (2) not to support any war; (b) to instruct their representatives in Parliament to vote against any military or naval credits; (c) to make plans whenever and wherever possible with their trade union affiliates for a general strike in case of war.

7. Suggesting more constructive methods of propaganda.

8. Asking the re-introduction of the "class struggle" reference in the application form.

Two resolutions on trade unionism and Soviet Russia were referred to the branches for discussion.

W. Va. Miners Convention to Meet Today

Political Policies Will Be Decided Upon—Socialist Convention March 6th

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—State Secretary Higgins of the Socialist Party of West Virginia announces a state convention is to be held in Clarksburg March 5th and 6th. Each local will have one delegate and one additional delegate for each 20 members or major fraction thereof. An agenda is being drawn up and will include the election of two delegates to the National Convention, the election of a state committee and ways and means of putting a full ticket in the field.

The most active branch in the state is proving to be Fairmont. Under the guidance of J. Snider the branch is extending its activities. National Organizer Amicus Most, who attended the last meeting, urged the local to organize an unemployment demonstration. A committee was elected and is already at work. The date has been set for Feb. 16th. The local unions will be asked to co-operate.

The activities of the organizers continue to bring splendid response. A new local was started at Martinsburg at a meeting held there. Local Clarksburg announces its membership increased to 32, Morgantown to 40, Star City to 30, Fairmont to 53 and other places proportionally.

Higgins announces that there are now 275 members of the party in the state.

Local Charleston has chosen a committee to help establish a local amongst the Negroes. Baltzell and Morris have established valuable contacts among the Negro proletariat.

Debate Challenge Accepted

Local Huntington met with a serious obstacle in obtaining a meeting place. The blindness and conservatism of some so-called labor leaders was evidenced when the Bricklayers Union of Huntington refused to permit the Socialists to continue to hold their meeting on their premises, giving no reasons and threatening prosecution for trespass if the Socialists persisted. Local Huntington will obtain other quarters.

Organizer Murray Baron, pursuant to the published attack on the Socialist national organizers made in a sermon by a colored minister, challenged the Reverend Miles Mark Fisher to a public debate, the challenge being printed in the Huntington papers. Rev. Fisher has accepted the challenge and will set a date for next month.

Plans are completed for the convention of the West Virginia Mine Workers Union and the conference of Socialist party locals to be held in Kanawha County Court House on January 30th, 1 P. M. Local Charleston has prepared a mass meeting for the evening of Jan. 30th in the same court house. Speakers will include Norman Thomas and Dr. M. S. Holt of Weston, veteran Socialist and notable figure in West Virginia.

The Socialist Party of West Virginia is greatly indebted to Frank Keeney, Brant Scott and George Sherer, officials of the West Virginia Mine Workers Union, for their generous and invaluable assistance to the organizers in arranging and advertising party meetings in the various mining camps thus enabling the organizers to distribute thousands of leaflets and address many hundreds of miners.

REMEMBER

THE NEW LEADER
Eighth Annual Dinner
MARCH 7, 1932
Make Reservations Now

Pa. Socialists Build Locals In Organization Drive

Three New County Divisions Expected Within Next Few Weeks

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The Socialist Party has begun a drive that promises three new county locals within a few weeks, and the building of branches in hitherto barren sections. In addition to the regular state organizer, three volunteers have added their services. Fred Gendral of Luzerne has volunteered to aid Sayre in getting into fighting trim in Bradford County. David Rinne of Pittsburgh, local organizer for Allegheny as well as manager of miners relief work, has undertaken to aid county organization work in Fayette. He is responsible for the two new branches at Naomi and Gillespie and hopes to report others to the membership meeting at Uniontown the afternoon of the 31st when Fayette Socialists will nominate legislative candidates and plan organization at the Trades and Labor Hall, Main street. Branch Uniontown will hold a public lecture at the same hall the evening of Thursday, Feb. 4th, with Jane Tait of Pittsburgh as speaker.

Donald Thompson has stationed himself at Strabane, Washington County, the storm center of last spring's coal strike, and will endeavor to have organization sufficient for a county local by the time that Washington County Socialists meet in nominating conference at Strabane the afternoon of Feb. 7th. As soon as a base is completed in Washington, effort will be made to spread into Greene County adjoining. Rinne is co-operating in this section.

NANTY-GLO, Pa.—About 250 attended the meeting at the Strand Theatre, Johnstown, Sunday afternoon. Wm. J. Van Esen of Pittsburgh, fired the opening gun of the campaign to reorganize central Pennsylvania for the Socialist Party. The first Socialist Party meeting in Johnstown in a decade, the gathering gave enthusiastic audience to the address of Van Esen. Four members were signed up. Some forty people handed in cards declaring their interest. The county general membership meeting has been postponed until February 7th or 14th.

Working from Nanty-Glo, the state organizer plans to invade the seven communities of Spangler, Amesbury, Barnesboro, Twin Rocks, Cardiff and Ashville in the next two weeks. If in any way possible, branches will be organized in each community. From Cambria, organizing work will be spread into Somerset, Bedford, Jefferson and Armstrong Counties. The first of these counties to be heard from by the State office, 613 Lyceum Building, Pittsburgh, Pa., will be the first served. Also the state organizer, Arthur G. McDowell, may be addressed direct at Nanty-Glo, Pa.

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Socialists Fight Quick Mobilization

Dutch Party Proposes an Amendment to National Constitution

IN the resolution on militarism and disarmament passed by the Brussels Congress of the Labor and Socialist International in 1928 the demand was put forward in Section VII for: "Parliamentary control over armies and navies; no mobilization, even partial, without consent of Parliament."

The Social-Democratic group in the Second Chamber of the Parliament of the Netherlands brought in a bill to amend the Constitution on Dec. 18, in order to comply with this demand.

Article 187 of the Netherlands Constitution provides that in case of war, a danger of war or other exceptional circumstances, a general or partial mobilization need only be approved by Parliament afterwards.

The bill submitted by Albarda on behalf of the Social-Democratic group provides for an amendment, the effect of which would be that in future a general or partial mobilization could only take place with the previous consent of Parliament.

The bill accordingly claims for Parliament the right to decide whether mobilization shall take place, and whether a mobilization which is ordered should be general or partial.

In order to deprive of its force as far as possible the objection that too much time might be lost through Parliamentary negotiations for mobilization to take place quickly enough the Dutch Social-Democrats propose to allow the decision on a proposal for mobilization to be made at a joint session of the two chambers of the States-General.

It will be remembered that the Dutch Social-Democratic Party had already taken the view two years ago that it rejects any general mobilization in preparation for carrying on a war and could only approve of a partial mobilization in cases where this is unavoidable merely for the maintenance of peace and for fulfilling the duties imposed by neutrality and membership of the League of Nations.

Ameringer and Kvale At L. I. D. Luncheon

Another League for Industrial Democracy luncheon will be held in the Hotel Woodstock, Saturday, Jan. 30th, at 1 P. M. The subject to be discussed will be "Rural America in Distress: Is There a Way Out for the Farmers?" John Paul Kvale, Congressman from Minnesota; Oscar Ameringer, Editor of "The American Guardian," and Rexford G. Tugwell, professor of economics, Columbia University, will speak. McAllister Coleman will be chairman.

Diego Rivera III, Cancels Rand Date

In view of the wide interest that has been aroused by the announcement of a lecture by Diego Rivera, the Rand School asks its friends to broadcast as far as possible the fact that this event has been indefinitely postponed. Mr. Rivera is suffering from an attack of influenza and has been ordered by his physician to cancel all engagements. He expresses deep regret at the disappointment caused to our friends and promises to visit the school when he returns to the city in the Spring.

Women Demand Action at Disarmament Parley



Many thousands of women gathered in Madison Square Park last week on the occasion of the sailing of the American delegation to the Geneva conference on limitation of armaments. Kathleen Norris, novelist (speaking) and Norman Thomas, Socialist leader (first man sitting at right) were among the speakers. Thomas expressed doubt of the sincerity of a delegation which included the big navy advocate, Senator Swanson. He said the main hope for disarmament and peace rests with the masses and urged popular pressure on the Geneva parley.

Forward Photo

Japanese Bombed Rails In China, Observers Say

Asia Today—Items From a Traveling Socialist's Notebook

By RAYMOND T. FULLER

Ceylon, Dec. 22, 1931

THIS is a world depression—no doubt about it. There's probably not a tiny island in the South Seas which has not felt it. The demand for dried coconut falls off, and ten thousand brown Polynesians can't sell their gatherings, even at the pittance copra usually brings them. Tin can manufacture in America slows down, and the tin mines in the Malay Peninsula close. Rubber supplies far exceed the demand, and in the Peninsula vast plantations keep just enough labor to maintain the machinery. From Straits Settlements alone about 40,000 Chinese and India coolies have been "repatriated" at public expense. A million and more Java natives, men and women, are trying to get enough to live on. In Bali, a primitive little isle off the west end of Java, there are hard times. Japan, Burmah, Ceylon, Hawaii, to say nothing of far worse privations in China and India, have their multitudes of jobless families. The Standard Oil and General Motors are returning American managers, salesmen, technicians, their wives and kids, from Batavia and other posts. British interests are doing the same. Not a hotel owner, not a professional man, not a merchant, not a transportation official with whom I have talked, from Honolulu to Colombo, but says that "business is rotten and nothing in sight."

Two men who had every opportunity to see and find out—because they were in Mukden on the night when the South Manchuria Railway tracks were supposed to have been "bombed" by Chinese "bandits," and one of them has been through the Orient several times on large philanthropic missions—told me that they had every reason to believe the whole plot to have been arranged by the Japanese army clique on the spot. Pulled off without the knowledge or connivance of the home political leaders of the majority party. And these two men tell stories backed by a great deal of circumstantial evidence. If what they say is substantially true, the Japanese blame for what has followed is grave indeed.

Even so, the Chinese leaders must bear an almost equal responsibility for obstructing the efforts of the League of Nations to bring about a truce. For Japan was reasonably justified in demanding that Chinese officialdom cease from inciting their people towards war. This the Chinese did—in the strongest way possible—and they cannot escape blame. As I traveled up and down Eastern China I saw everywhere the most lurid placards and posters picturing Japan and the Japanese in the same manner as the "German Huns" were pictured during the Great War. Atrocities of every description were flaunted in these cartoons, and vile epithets and accusations accompanied them. Especially numerous were these cartoons posted on railway cars, stations, police headquarters and army barracks. Since the railroads are government-owned and the police and soldiers under the more or less immediate control of federal and provincial officials, Japan's statement that the Chinese Government (what there is of it!) encouraged the campaign cannot be refuted. No matter what the provocation was, such deliberate incitations toward war weakens China's case at Geneva. And in all such militaristic moves, the common man in the ranks who gets killed is "the goat."

Indian Freedom Ahead

This is a prophecy: I make it at the end of six extended trips about India covering observations over a period of eleven years. India is going to get complete independence, whether the British like it or not, and is going to get it inside of five years at most. All signs out here point that way. Gandhi's "non-violence" campaign, if resolutely adhered to, can defeat any army which Great Britain puts against it. How will the British public look upon the colossal cost involved in a five-year plan of military rule in India? Where are the funds coming from to pay for it? Without the Indians producing it, how will British financial interests in India make money out of their businesses? Who will pay Indian taxes? Who will work the mines, run the railways, grow the cotton, buy foreign goods? If the spirit is there—and I believe it is—non-violent, non-cooperation will win self-government here as it would in any other land.

Pittsburgh to Hear Oneal February 3

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

PITTSBURGH.—James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, will lecture in Pittsburgh on Wednesday, Feb. 3, on his return from the meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in St. Louis. The Squirrel Hill Branch of the Socialist Party is arranging for the lecture in the Taylor-Alderdice High School. The meeting will begin promptly at 8 P. M.

The subject is "The Twilight Days of Capitalism." The speaker is the author of a number of books on American labor and political history and editor of the leading Socialist weekly in the United States. He was for many years a resident of Terre Haute and was intimately acquainted with the late Eugene V. Debs, four times the candidate of the Socialist Party for President.

The Polish Prisons Full to Overflowing

A study of the statistics shows that on September 1st, 1931, there were 33,917 prisoners in the 300 old prisons of Poland. This represents an increase of 5,000 as compared with 1928. The prisons must already be full to overflowing. The increase in the number of prisoners is mainly due to the enormous increase in the number of political prisoners.

Debate on Arms

The New History Society announces a free debate Feb. 8th in Carnegie Hall on "Resolved, continuous preparedness is necessary for the United States." Admiral Bradley Allen Fiske, U. S. N. (retired), and General Amos Alfred Fries (retired), will take the affirmative and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise of the Free Synagogue and Dr. John Haynes Holmes of Community Church the negative. Dr. John Dewey will preside.

Heywood Broun in Bronx

The splendidly conducted West Bronx Forum held under the auspices of the 8th A. D. branch, will have as its speaker this Sunday morning, at 11 A. M., Heywood Broun, famous columnist. He will discuss current events under the familiar head, "It Seems to Me." The Forum meets in the Burnside Manor at Burnside and Harrison avenues, near the Jerome Avenue subway line.

Uruguay Socialists Gain Three Seats

The rumors that the Socialists in Uruguay had improved their position in the elections Nov. 30th are now confirmed by South American papers. Up till now the small Socialist Party in Uruguay, which is bravely struggling under adverse conditions, has had to be content with one member in the Chamber of Representatives. As a result of the recent elections it will now have three.

The three Socialist Deputies are Dr. Emilio Frugoni, who was re-elected; Liber Troitino and Dr. Manuel Seoana. Dr. Frugoni, professor, poet, orator and journalist, is a member of the party executive and manager of the party newspaper, "El Sol." He has had a distinguished parliamentary career and has been responsible for many Socialist bills and resolutions, of which a number have been adopted.

The Communists have also increased their representation from one to three. Their members are Eugenio Gomez, who was elected, Jose Lazarraga and Antonio Mascia.

Coleman at West Side

The West Side Forum, which meets at 100 West 72nd street, will hear McAllister Coleman next Monday night, Feb. 5th. Admission free and the public is invited to hear one of the most entertaining and effective of the Socialist speakers.

They are ill discoverers that there is no land when they are nothing but sea.—Bacon.

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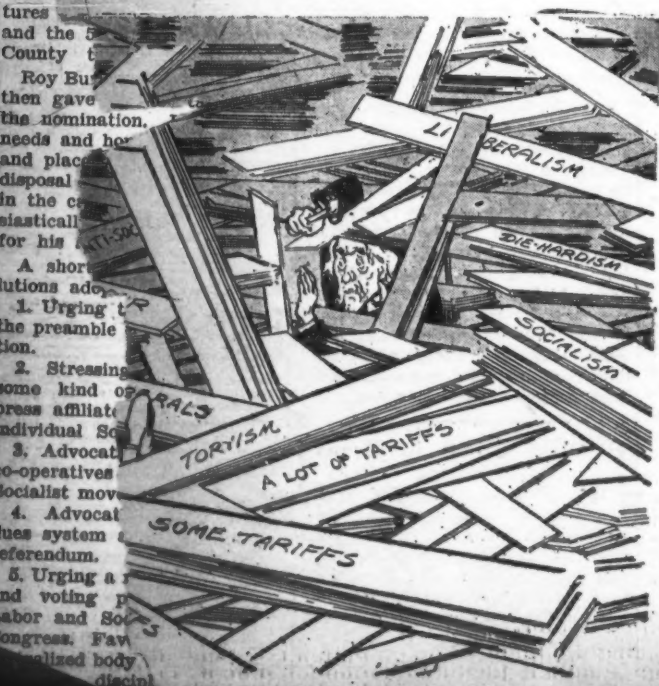
By Fred Henderson

LONDON.

WITH Parliament scattered on a holiday and the new National government free to develop its reactionary tendencies without being criticized in the House of Commons about it, things have gone from bad to worse for the unhappy and embarrassed Ramsay MacDonald premiership. Like the man in the old Eastern fable who thought he had got on to a good thing when he obtained the magic formula which bound a genie to do his bidding, Mr. MacDonald, when he destroyed the Labor government and invoked the nation to give him a National majority to do his bidding, got a great deal more than he bargained for. The man in the fable you will remember, being thirsty, ordered the genie to bring him water, but failed to limit the order; with the result that the genie brought it in such quantity as to drown him. MacDonald asked for a majority and he got it with a vengeance; a majority which put the most hopelessly reactionary forces in Great Britain in such power in Parliament and in the government as to swamp any effective MacDonald leadership and transfer the real authority to the ultra-reactionaries.

Since Parliament adjourned these people have had things pretty much their own way, and on one most vital matter MacDonald has been helpless against them. Nobody believes that MacDonald himself would have committed the folly of the new coercion policy in India. The declaration of war against the Indian people, the attempt to break up the National Congress by ruthless suppression, the wholesale arrests and imprisonments dramatically inaugurated by the arrest of Gandhi within less than a week of his return from the London conference; all this is what has been decried for a long time past by the truculent and swashbuckling Tories who believe that police to a la and prison cells, or preferring rifles, are the only proper way to deal with a self-respecting government. Lower should deal with the decline of subject peoples for self-government. Nobody, as I say, believes that this madness is MacDonald's policy; and the fact that Labor happened, worsening, if in the end rendering impossible, any split in the Indian settlement, adds Labor's proof to the now general in Congress that no real authority is now Party, MacDonald in the government of which he is normally the

help is this the only evidence of obstacles and the 5 County t Roy But then gave the nomination, needs and he and placed disposal in the co-siastically for his A short lutions ad 1. Urging the preamble tion. 2. Stressing some kind of press affiliate individual So 3. Advocating co-operatives Socialist move 4. Advocating dues system referendum. 5. Urging a and voting p Labor and So Congress. Fav gualized body discipl



—Will Dyson in The London Herald
platform builder: "Thank God, that's done."

how the reactionary section of the National government has taken command of the situation. The institution of tariffs has gone on at a great pace; list after list of new import duties has been issued during the past few weeks. The throwing out of armies of workless people from the benefits of unemployment insurance by a ruthless application of the new tests has been grimly intensified; and already, within so short a period since the new government was returned to power on a wave of popular credulity that it had a remedy for our troubles, the general misery and insecurity of the people has been so increased, and in large measure so palpably by the actions of the government, that people who voted for it in that hour of national panic are talking about it as a wash-out and a fraud. One very significant indication of the backwash which is perceptibly setting in against the government is worth noting, slight and even amusing as it is in itself. In the new year list of new titles conferred on government supporters one wealthy member of the House of Commons who had hoped to be elevated to the House of Lords had to be dropped out of the list at the last moment; the reason being that MacDonald was advised by his political agencies that the consequent by-election would result in a victory for Labor and that such a victory would be likely to draw together all the growing feeling of dissatisfaction with the government in a very dangerous way! MacDonald was taking no such risks; and not a single name appears in his honors list in regard to which any risky by-election would have followed on the bestowal of the title.

THE NEED FOR LEADERSHIP

In these circumstances, the crying need for new and more effective leadership for Labor, both in Parliament and in the country, has become very apparent. A great campaigning effort, if carried out with real impetus, might have almost incalculable effect with the country in its present mood of beginning to question whether this new government is worth anything at all. Our own solid vote at the general election has preserved a core of sanity in the nation through the period of hysteria; and the victims of the hysteria are beginning to ask what sort of fools they made of themselves in that panic which set up the most empty-headed House of Commons ever a country had. The time is ripe for a great

effort; and the great effort is not being made with any full effect. The old group of leaders who were associated with the Labor government and its close clinging to office are doing little or nothing. They are still under the shadow of the discredit attaching to that record of futility; and the public is in no mood whatever for taking them as the apostles of a new advance. And the small Parliamentary group to which we have been reduced in the House of Commons has little or no inspirational quality in it. It is so obviously rather afraid of its own position of responsibility as might be expected from a group of back-benchers suddenly deprived of all the spokesmen to whom they had got into the habit of looking for initiative and leadership. A great opportunity of immediate revival seems to be slipping past us without being used as it should and might be.

Once again, however, it has been left to the little Independent Labor party group of five under Maxton's leadership in the House to say the word that needs saying at this moment. They have just addressed an appeal to the Speaker of the House who has authority in this matter if he chooses to exercise it, for an immediate reassembly of Parliament; and I cannot put the present position here better than by quoting from their call to the nation. They say, "The state of industry, which has gone from bad to worse; the unparalleled fear and misery of the great masses of the people owing to unemployment and the harsh administration of the means test and the burden of excessive rents; the creeping paralysis of industry, and the insensate proposals of employers to restore barbarous hours of labor, appear to us to make it imperative that the government should face the House of Commons at once to deal with the present ills. Also the arrests in India make it plain that the government is embarking on a blundering policy which will commit the people of this country to the repression of the 300 million people in India, which can only end in disaster."



James, Maxton. A caricature of the leader of the British Independent Labor Party.

So far as the industrial situation here is concerned, "creeping paralysis" is the only accurate description of what is happening. Steadily and remorselessly our activities in industry are diminishing; and a new general sense of insecurity and terror of what may any day happen is growing throughout the nation, affecting the middle classes as well as the workers. And the government returned to reverse all this process of decline blunders along from day to day without the smallest apparent notion of what to do, or any gleam of foresight and purposefulness except to dicker in tariffs and in attacks on social services to the worse instincts of the very capitalist greed that has created the situation.

To me at any rate, and to very many of us here, the most disconcerting feature of the situation is the lack so far of any really effective Labor lead. It is very much more a need for new leadership than for greater activity from the old staggers. The key fact which explains our temporary impotence is, I repeat, that the group of leaders associated with the late Labor government are too discredited by that

association to be able to make our appeal effective to a nation that still regards them as men who had their chance and failed to respond to it. That is the penalty we are paying for the fatuous two years of clinging to impotent office. And the new leadership, which it has become imperative should emerge, has not yet ripened into any full confidence in itself. The cramp which the late Labor government's ineptitude put upon the movement was that for two years it substituted for the courage of pursuing great purposes with courage and large vision a policy of petty expedients for hanging on to office. I suppose it was not to be expected that we should suddenly recover what we lost by that; and by that loss I do not mean mere loss of numbers, but loss of national confidence in our fitness for great purposes, and more than all loss of the spirit and inspiration of high purposes within the movement itself.

THE LOYAL SEVEN MILLION

But underneath all this there is the splendid reality of our bed-rock strength in the seven million electors who passed fool-proof through the general election hysteria, untouched by it and resolute in their purposes. The movement will produce the necessary new leadership; do not be in any doubt about that. It is not in the nature of things that a movement of such a widespread strength should do otherwise. All this present halting is temporary. Unhappily and deplorable, without doubt; but only a passing phase; understandable when you get your minds down to the facts. No movement can stumble into such error as that of the two years' folly to which we permitted MacDonald to commit us without paying the price for it; and we are now paying the price. But the certainty of recovery is as clear as are the reasons why for the movement we are moving more slowly toward it than we had hoped; and it will be all the more a thorough recovery because of the compulsion which these difficulties put upon us to learn the true lesson which they convey to us and to the Socialist movement everywhere; the lesson that in the end the subservience of our great purposes to mere political expediency is fatal.

The League of Nations and Man

By Alfred Baker Lewis

JAPAN'S invasion of Manchuria has done more to make plain the character of the League of Nations than anything else could possibly have done.

The League of Nations is largely controlled by its council which in turn is composed of five great powers, and four elected by the smaller powers who are entitled to send delegates to the "Assembly" of the League of Nations.

Generally speaking the members of the council are the industrially advanced nations, and because of the fact it possesses a fairly well developed labor movement, and a comparatively high standard of living for their workers at least in normal times together with a wealthy and powerful owning class. The owning class of these industrially advanced nations is constantly seeking to get control over backward lands and backward peoples as a sort of investment preserve for their capitalist class. This attempt to dominate weaker countries where the standard of living is low and labor organization is comparatively rudimentary is modern imperialism. The attraction that backward lands and backward peoples have for the investors of the industrially advanced countries lies in the fact that labor power in such countries is comparatively cheap because the standard of living as

Japan's Imperialism Has Its Way With Geneva "League of Exploiters"

a rule is lower than in the industrially advanced countries, and both labor legislation and trade union organization are largely non-existent. The consequence is that the investors from the industrially advanced countries can buy their labor power cheaply in these undeveloped regions and are anxious to secure political control over them for this purpose.

A LEAGUE OF EXPLOITERS

As far as the Council of the League of Nations is concerned, and that means for practical purposes the League of Nations itself, for the council really controls the league, the League of Nations is a League of International Exploiters. A league of international exploiters can be valuable in preventing war between the exploiters, and to some extent the league has been of service in this respect. After all, all that is necessary for this purpose is to devise some peaceful method of sharing the loot which is the "right" to exploit the backward peoples, and such a task is certainly not beyond the wit of man. But it is absurd to suppose that a league of international exploiters would offer to the nations and peoples of the world who suffer from exploitation a means of getting rid of exploita-

tion. Egypt, India, Syria, Morocco, Nicaragua, Haiti, or the Philippines will have to look elsewhere for a method of gaining their freedom.

Japan's invasion of Manchuria makes this very plain. Although China has been an active member of the League of Nations, she is a backward land judged both by the economic test of low wages for her workers and undeveloped natural resources, and by the military test of the number of airplanes, modern artillery, and submarines that she possesses. When Japan invaded Manchuria and attacked the Chinese troops there, that was a direct breach both of the Covenant of the League of Nations and of the Kellogg Peace Pact.

There have been some "representations" made to Japan by the other nations as a result of Chinese protests. But no vigorous steps have been taken or are likely to be taken to force the Japanese to withdraw by any of the more important countries in the League of Nations or by the United States. The reason is that all of them have done in the past, some of them in the quite recent past, exactly what Japan is doing now in Manchuria. Suppose for

instance patience by England United States and a "Certain Manchuria give up you get out of Signor M free; if you out of H grant ind pines! and will give Morocco, inhabitants Any su would be realism f diplomatic expose at character of the wo except th the League In other Nations is international may prevent plotting co able in an ward land sions of the vanced cou The great the Goliath opinion, an she older a approaches Sir Thomas

Socialist First Principles

**A Declaration of Policies to Be Proposed for Adoption
By the Socialist Party National Convention**

THE purposes and policies of the Socialist Party are not determined by consideration of momentary expediency nor by random experimentation. It is guided by certain basic principles, which are derived from scientific understanding of the process of social evolution. Socialist science originated in and has developed through participation in class struggle. This has kept it in touch with reality and prevented it from degenerating into sterile dogma. Growing out of the experience of the movement, it provides a method of solving its problems as they arise.

Throughout recorded history society has at all times been divided into two or more classes, according to the ways in which men got their livelihood by their own labor or by exploiting others. Property relations and forms of government in each period correspond to the methods by which wealth is produced. Each age has its own social movements, which represent the efforts of various classes to assert their divergent or opposing interests. Profound changes in the method of production from time to time alter the lines of class division and set up new conflicts. With the rise of each new class to power, political and property institutions are radically transformed in accordance with its interest and ideals. It was through such a process of class struggle that the now existing capitalist system was brought into being; through class struggle within this system it will in time be replaced by a new social order.

The dominant class antagonism in capitalist society is between the wage-workers and the capitalists—between those who, not possessing the means to employ themselves, must sell their services in the labor market, and those who, by controlling the principal instrumentalities of production and exchange, are enabled to appropriate the whole surplus of the product over the amount of the workers' wages. These two classes are interdependent in the sense that the capitalists profit only by employing the workers and the latter can

The statement of Socialist principles printed on this page was adopted by the convention of the New York City Socialists and recommended for adoption by the National Convention of the Socialist Party which is to meet in Milwaukee in April.

make a living only by being employed. Yet even their immediate interests are diametrically opposed. The product being divided into wages for the workers and surplus value for the capitalists, neither share can be proportionately increased without diminishing the other. Hence, follows an incessant struggle over wages, hours of labor, conditions of employment, an related issues, waged principally on the industrial field, but also by political action on both sides.

TO END CLASS RULE

Beyond this opposition of immediate interests between the classes, their ultimate interests likewise are irreconcilably opposed.

Where production can in general be carried on with simple and inexpensive tools, private ownership may conduce to individual liberty for the productive workers. Modern industry, however, requires the use of huge and costly aggregates of land, buildings, and machinery operated by the combined labor of great numbers of workers. Under these conditions, private ownership involves control by the few over the opportunities of the many to work and live. It is neither possible nor desirable to go back to the methods of small-scale production. Freedom, equality and plenty for the workers can therefore be obtained only by socializing the ownership and control of the socially operated and socially necessary productive wealth which is now held as capital.

The wage-workers, as fast as they come to understand their position in capitalist society, seek to bring about this socialization, to make the satisfaction of human wants instead of the acquisition of profit the ruling motive of production, and thereby to free themselves from dependence upon the capitalists. The capitalists, as beneficiaries of the existing system, seek to maintain it. Thus the struggle over the division of the product develops into a struggle over the basic institution of property, which can be decided only through the use of political power.

The Socialist movement grows out of this revolutionary class struggle. It is essentially a movement of class-conscious wage-workers, aiming to better the conditions of their class, to develop its powers, and as rapidly as possible to emancipate it from exploitation and class rule. Individuals from other classes may join it from idealistic motives; the wage-workers alone are impelled to do so by conscious class interest. Only when the members and adherents of the Socialist Party are recruited mainly from among the wage-workers, when its propaganda is addressed primarily to them, when their success in class struggle is its chief concern, can it function normally and fulfil its historic mission.

The wage-working class cannot become and does not aspire to become a new ruling and exploiting class. In emancipating itself it will do away with all class rule. Its aims are essentially antagonistic only to those of the classes which benefit by exploitation.

A CONDEMNED SYSTEM

The working farmers, the self-employed mechanics, the professionals, and the petty business men are, through the growth of capitalism, being deprived of op-

portunities they formerly enjoyed and being reduced in ever larger numbers to the status of wage-workers. The Socialist Party may logically appeal to them in the light of their future interests and those of their children. But it makes this appeal from the working-class point of view. It does not promise to restore to them any class advantages they have lost. It invites them to join in the establishment of a classless society.

The more capitalism develops, the more does it demonstrate its unfitness to serve general human interests. Setting up riches instead of moral or mental worth as the standard of success, and throwing individuals into ruthless competition, it disintegrates the family and the community, commercializes art and recreation, corrupts public administration and the courts. It subsidizes falsehood in the press, curbs the free expression of public opinion, tramples on the civil rights of whole peoples, and even enters into alliance with the criminal underworld to break labor organizations and debauch elections. It helps militarism and imperialistic aggression and breeds war on a gigantic scale.

Even as a system of production, it stands condemned. While piling up monstrous fortunes for the few, it does not assure the workers an opportunity to earn the merest livelihood. With every improvement of machinery it throws myriads into unwilling idleness and want. The army of the unemployed grows with the growth of capitalist profits, even in times of industrial activity. At short intervals the system plunges into a crisis of overproduction, during which unemployment is enormously increased, wage rates are beaten down, and the savings of the poorer classes are wiped out, and from which the great capitalists emerge richer than before.

These evils are inherent in the fact that under capitalism production can be carried on only for profit. The more industry is rationalized, the more the capitalist system is perfected, the worse become its resultant evils. It is not by any reform of the existing economic order but only by the substitution of a radically different one that they are to be ended.

The Socialist Party does not await an automatic breakdown of the capitalist system to bring it an opportunity to set up a new economic and social order; nor does it think of its present task as being the negative one of destroying capitalism. The mere collapse or overthrow of the present system would not assure the advent of Socialism. Unless the forces consciously and constructively working for the Socialist ideal are first sufficiently developed, such a cataclysm might result in the ruin of civilization or in the rise of some new form of class rule. The Socialist Party, therefore, devotes its efforts above all to the duty of preparing within capitalist society the conditions necessary for building the cooperative commonwealth.

The Socialist Party explicitly rejects the notion that improvement of the workers' lot is an obstacle to its progress. It rests its hope, not on the workers sinking into such misery as will make them desperate, but on their desire for a better life and their increasing will and power to act intelligently together for their common good. The growth of the power of the working class depends not merely upon its numerical growth, which is assured by the expansion of capitalism, but also upon the raising of its material and cultural standards and the development of its self-confidence and self-respect. Every betterment of their conditions which the workers obtain



"Bless you, my children." The Angel of Capitalism. Drawn by Jerger

through organized struggle is to be welcomed for its own sake and also for its effect upon working-class morale.

The three principal forms of organization necessary for this struggle are the labor union, the political party and workers' cooperative movement. Neither of these can attain its maximum efficiency unless the others are likewise active nor unless harmonious relations exist between them. To promote such harmonious relations is especially the duty and interest of the Socialist Party.

The struggle over wages, hours and conditions of employment is the primary function of the unions. It is primarily a direct conflict between workers and employers, waged upon the industrial field. For this purpose, the unions must strive to organize all workers, regardless of their political opinions. The Party, necessarily, making political opinion a qualification for membership and necessarily admitting many who are not wage-workers, cannot perform this function; but it can and should give whole-hearted sympathy and assistance to the unions in the work for which they are responsible.

A DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

Even in their daily struggle over the division of the product under the capitalist system, the unions cannot safely ignore politics. The power of making, interpreting and administering the laws is used by the capitalists against the workers and against the labor movement. The working-class needs a Party of its own to defend its immediate interests.

Trade unionism alone, moreover, can only limit capitalist exploitation, not abolish it. The basic reorganization of society is necessarily a political task, and can be accomplished only by an independent working-class Party. As the workers come to understand their class problems, they learn to combine political with industrial action, and by both methods at once to improve their present status and to hasten their complete emancipation.

The Socialist Party, accordingly, while keeping its ultimate purpose always in mind and clearly proclaiming it on all occasions, has also its program of immediate demands, which all tend to the strengthening of the working class.

The working-class movement in general, and Socialism in particular, as its most conscious phase, is essentially democratic in aim and method. The future society which it foresees and for whose estab-

lishment it strives will be a classless and therefore a democratic society. This goal cannot be attained by undemocratic means. Neither political nor economic liberty can be imposed upon a people against their will or without their cooperation. The emancipation of the masses must be achieved by the masses, and in order to achieve it they must develop through self-directed struggle the capacity to govern themselves. It is therefore vitally necessary both that their party and their unions should be democratically controlled by their rank and file, and that they should consistently defend whatever measure of political democracy exists and strive for the complete democratization of the state.

Capitalism is confined by no national frontiers. It spreads from country to country, and everywhere it develops in essentially the same way and produces similar results. In those countries where capitalist development has gone farthest, other countries may see the image of their own future.

A WORLD-WIDE STRUGGLE

From this it follows that the interests of the wage-working class in each country are not only opposed to the interests of its own capitalists, but are inseparably connected with those of the wage-workers in every other land. The Socialist movement is therefore international in scope and international in spirit and aim. The duty of the Socialist party in each country is to cooperate with Socialist parties of all other countries in combating imperialism and militarism, in striving for the prevention of war, in promoting international friendship, in resisting all attacks upon democracy upon the rights and interests of the working class.

While national, regional or local differences in economic, social or political conditions may often necessitate differences in the minor details of tactics and procedure the fundamental principles of Socialism as above set forth are not peculiar to any nation, but are valid throughout the world.

The Socialist party in the United States is an integral part of the Labor and Socialist International. It recognizes no such thing as an American Socialism different from the principle or purpose of Socialism in other countries. It is one national division of the world-wide movement of scientific, revolutionary, democratic working-class Socialism, to whose service it pledges the loyal devotion of its membership and its own

Manchuria

instance Japan should lose a little patience when she is gently chided by England, France, Italy, or the United States for what she is doing and should say:

"Certainly I will withdraw from Manchuria if you, John Bull, will give up your loot in Hongkong and get out of India and Egypt; if you, Signor Mussolini, will set Tripoli free; if you, Uncle Sam, will get out of Haiti and Nicaragua and grant independence to the Philippines! and if you, my dear France, will give up Syria, get out of Morocco, and quit oppressing the inhabitants of Indo-China."

Any such statement by Japan would be really letting a little realism into the politeness of diplomatic intercourse, and would expose at once the imperialistic character of the dominant nations of the world, nearly all of whom except the United States are in the League of Nations.

In other words, the League of Nations is plainly a league of international exploiters. As such, it may prevent wars between the exploiting countries but will not be able in any way to protect backward lands against the aggressions of the more industrially advanced countries.

The great enemy of knowledge is the Goliath of authority and received opinion, and the inbred feeling that the older a statement is the nearer it approaches the fountain of Truth.—Sir Thomas Browne (1639).

Something Else to Get A Headache About

LIKE all the rest of you boys and gals, I figured that I had plenty to worry about these unhappy days. But I now find, spread before my astonished eyes in the columns of "The New York Times," the latest resolution of the Executive Committee of the Socialist International, containing something new for us Socialists to get hot and bothered about. According to this resolution we all have to put our shoulders to the wheel and help poor old capitalism out of the mess into which it has plunged us. You don't believe it? Listen to this:

"The depression cannot be overcome without liberating the world's business from the burden of political debts, without allaying tariff discontents and without international cooperation for restoring stable currency."

We Were All Wrong

Here we have been going around in our provincial ignorance telling folks that this was no "depression" as the old-line economists have always used that word, but rather the spectacular and worldwide collapse of the capitalist system. We said that this was the definite end of an era, that Marx's prophecies were coming true with amazing fidelity to the text of "Das Kapital" and that it was up to us to get ready for the transitional phase. But it seems that nothing of the sort is true. That it is our job to apply the sweet waters of Cologne to the stinking corpse of a decaying system and get behind the stabilization boys and rescue business and currency.

I realize that I am rushing in where angels fear to tread and that songs and sermons will shortly rain upon me, pointing out the fact that the problems of the European Socialists are beyond my limited comprehension and that, as we American Socialists are weak and oh so inferior to the Social Democrats abroad, it is incumbent upon us to remain silent while the wise men at Cologne think up ways to salvage the capitalist wreck.

In this column I am spokesman for nobody save myself and I have never set myself up as the last word in international affairs. But if this is the best that the comrades at Cologne can do with such an opportunity as may very well never come our way again in the lifetime of the Party, I want to state in my crude American way that I think the International resolution is one of the most weak-minded, weak-willed and weak-spined utterances that has ever issued from any assemblage of Socialists and that it should be promptly repudiated by those of us who still believe in the abolition, not the stabilization, of capitalism.

For You Outside New York

And I am writing this to you who are outside the debilitating influences of certain forces at work inside the Party in New York City who bump their foreheads on the floor of our conventions whenever anything from overseas arrives in our reverential midst. There is no need in repeating to you that, in many respects, New York City is simply a sort of sounding board for European politics, echoing back in timid tones every repercussion on the Continent. This is true, not only of things Socialist but of all our thinking, social, economic and political. We are, as someone long since pointed out, merely a glorified Hansa Port through which there enter into the real America the thoughts, manners and dead rot from abroad.

Please don't think that I have gone completely haywire and have hitched up with any isolationist group. My gripe is that there is not one hint of international Socialism in the piddling resolution of the International Executive Committee. It is the statement of men who seem scared to death that something may happen to upset the capitalist apple-cart and about as revolutionary as the latest resolutions of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Sooner or later we've got to cut bait or fish with this sort of whining inferiority, for if we go on much longer submitting in silence to this boot-licking of big business and banking, we are forever lost.

Monkey Business

Now that that's off my chest I turn with some relief to the announcement of a book called, "The Social Life of Apes and Monkeys." It is written by S. Zuckerman who for many years has been studying his ancestors, now unhappily confined in Monkey Hill, in the London Zoological Gardens. He reaches the by no means startling conclusion that, "monkey society is based on dominance. The strongest monkey gets the best food and the best of everything. The strongest male gets the most wives. Fear rules the monkey world."

We had gathered this from our limited acquaintance with monkeys but we find it hard to go along with the author when he says that we humans are "worlds apart" from the monkeys, "when the effects of human culture on behavior are considered."

Please tell us about those worlds, Mr. Zuckerman, and just how the effects of human culture on behavior have made human society exempt from fear. We pine to know. "When we think of the number and complexity of things that scare us every day of our lives, awake or asleep, it seems to us that monkeys are as bold as lions and as free from fear as hungry man-eating tigers. If Mr. Zuckerman wants to know just what the effects of human culture on behavior consist of, let him take a look at our labor leaders.

I have labor leaders very much in mind, because as this is written, the ragged remnants of the United Mine Workers of America are meeting in convention at Indianapolis under the over-riding gavel of that great proletarian (at a salary of twelve thousand per) Jawn L. Lewis. For ten dreary days Mr. Lewis will look over all signs of insurgency, strut around the platform telling how he busted the Illinois bunch, blow about the loyalty to his ministrations of the rank and file and denounce the Reds. Then the delegates have spent all their jack, the convention will adjourn after handing over what is left of the various Districts' dependence to as brazen a bunch of racketeers as ever disgraced the name of labor—the International officials of the U. M. W. of A.

We Are Afraid?

You bet your sweet life, we are afraid. Afraid of so many things that a list of them put down here would fill seven columns. We never expected to be told by the leaders of our movement that we should be afraid of the downfall of capitalism. We spent most of our life fighting banks and business, it is no or less of a body blow to be informed that it is now our duty to stabilize said institutions. We hate to intrude anything vulgar as prize-fighting terminology into this refined column but I can't once more to that resolution from Cologne, it sounds to me like the second to a somewhat surprised underdog were told by his man just as the other fellow was sprawled out on the ground: "Don't let him fall. Stabilize him!"

McAllister Coleman.

Soviet Accomplishments

"Socialism in the Making" A Nation Without Unemployment—The Electrification Program—Warring on Illiteracy

By J. B. Matthews

BOTH Socialism and history are in the making in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. A leading contender for the presidency of the United States in 1932 declared the other day, "The American system of economics and government is everlasting." Such is the bid for highest leadership in a world whose chief characteristic is social change. Think again, Mr. Roosevelt! Two million unemployed in New York State alone. Bread lines that stretch for blocks in New York City. Is this an everlasting system? Not unless the will of the American working class has been so broken by exploitation and political ballyhoo that the spark of revolt has been utterly extinguished.

The elimination of unemployment alone is enough to signalize the achievement of a social feat of the first magnitude in the U. S. S. R. While tens of millions starve in the capitalistic nations of the world, the workers of Russia move steadily onward toward higher standards of security.

Throughout the capitalistic world wage cuts drive lower and lower the already depressed standard of living of the workers. In Russia wage increases are the order of the day.

While American farm owners are being steadily liquidated into tenants and our American banking "kulaks" are shivering under their frozen farm mortgage assets, the Soviets have conquered wheat! The traditional individualism of the peasant is disappearing in the mighty collectivization of agriculture. Electric plows now turn the soil of Russia where only a few months ago the wooden plows of antiquity struggled with the earth's surface.

POWER FOR THE PEOPLE

Electrification is soon to become a "fact" in Russia. Lenin's dream is working itself into reality along the Dnieper River. When it is fulfilled it will belong to the people, and not to a few Slavic Insulls who might use it to purchase Senate seats and professorial learning. By the intelligent distribution of electric power throughout the Soviet Union, the terrible problem of urban congestion will be solved.

The Socialism of Russia is not the result of mere planning. Planned economy is no magic formula that any capitalistic witchdoctor may employ. Basic in the question of a planned economy are two other questions: planned economy by whom? and for whom? Ownership and control by the working class are the fundamentals of a planned economy. These questions were settled first in Russia and then the superstructure of a socialized planned economy was erected upon them.

In the year 1931 the capitalistic press of the world announced a drift toward capitalism in the Soviet Union. The slender thread of this hope was the introduction of the piece rate system in Soviet industry. Again it makes a tremendous difference for whom one is working when the effects of the piece rate system are measured. Until the Soviets begin to tamper with the ownership and control of industry, the New York Times makes of itself a pitiful figure extending its loving papal arms to welcome back into the fold of mother capitalism the penitent Russian piece workers.

Perhaps no more common misunderstanding about Russia is found in this country than the idea that the Soviets are wholly occupied with the business of building factories and producing goods. Such an idea overlooks some of the very fundamentals of the new Socialist order.

In the field of education, for



(Federated Pictures)

SUNDAY MARKET IN MOSCOW—Everything from false teeth to doorknobs are traded at the Sunday Public Market in Moscow. Peasants who now live in a system where there is little chance for trading, get their chance at a return to the old days at the market. Here they may haggle to their hearts' content.

example, the achievements of the Soviets are not less than their achievements in industry and agriculture. The drive against illiteracy and superstition has progressed alongside of the industrialization program. Two well known educational principles are embodied in the new education of Russia. First, the child is made aware of his membership in a community. Education is community centered. This is the very heart of civilized social existence. Anti-social individualism, such as characterizes the motives of much of our education, is not to be found. Second, the child is trained in the bearing of real social responsibility from the very beginning of the educational process. This social responsibility is not a "staged" project, but constitutes a real part of the national plans. Success in these two principles of education has given to the Soviet Union a body of many millions of children and youth who know the returns from the industrial and social score-board of the Five-Year Plan as well as millions of American children and youth know the batting averages of Babe Ruth and the standing of the major league

baseball teams on any given day in the baseball season.

Medicine has been socialized on the theory that the public welfare requires community attention to the health of the individual.

Art and literature occupy an increasingly prominent place in the foreground of Soviet interests. Art galleries, museums, books and newspapers have literally come to life for the first time in the history of the working class of the world.

Sports are universal, but not commercial! In no country of the modern world is there less of the idea that man is an industrial automaton. On the contrary, man has been made to play, to dance, to sing, to run, to see, to read, to love, according to the philosophy and plan of the Russian socialists.

Finally, collectivism itself promises to provide for man the values that have been associated with patriotism and religion in other countries and societies of history. "To every man according to his need" is a principle of social organization that promises to make life really worth living for the working class of the world.

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From Our Mailbag

The New Leader Forum

Class Lines—A Basis for a United Front—For a Free Legal Aid Bureau

NO WELL DEFINED CLASS STRUGGLE?

By G. F. Lombard

Although there are inimical interests between employers and employees which become manifest through strikes, etc., there is not a sufficiently well defined class struggle to constitute a basis for the socialist movement. Most strikes are directed against individual concerns for the benefit of the strikers. Other inimical interests cause wage earners to compete for employment and capitalists for markets. In consequence of this competitive state of affairs, millions of wage earners are suffering from unemployment or insufficient wages, and millions of shop keepers and farmers are suffering too.

None of the existing inimical interests which I have mentioned have for their objective a socialist state of society. The only capitalistic process making for socialism is the supplanting of individual production by social. This must constitute the basis for a successful socialist movement.

As a political organization the Socialist Party must be open for votes from all citizens regardless of class. Some of its most active members are not wage earners. It might be questioned if the party has not been supported up to date by a larger percentage of that portion of the people not wage earners. Some wage earners are better off than many who are not wage earners. It is claimed by staunch supporters of capitalism that every wage earner is a potential capitalist and that the industrial field is open for any one to start business. It is even claimed that many wage earners are capitalists because they loan their money indirectly through banks to people doing business with borrowed capital. Some of them have money directly invested in business.

In order to combat capitalism successfully, the Socialist Party must combat it for what it is basically; or claimed to be by its staunchest supporters. For one thing it is claimed that this is a government of, by and for the people. I believe this to be basically true. The people with the franchise in their hands, who have been brought up to believe this from childhood, will not very soon think differently. The people know that they get what they vote for. The main reason they don't vote for socialism is because they don't understand it, and consequently are skeptical of the possibility of jumping from the frying pan into the fire. This idea is fostered by the press and politicians of the old parties. I don't think that people are much interested in the minor issues of the Socialist Party as these are advocated by some republicans and democrats. I believe that the party should come out for public ownership of all the industries and natural resources as a main issue; and stick to that issue and expatiate upon its merits.

As regards "class government" or "class rule," it is claimed that "this

is a government of law and not of men." If this were not basically true we would be likely to have a more chaotic state of affairs. Accordingly, the real thing in power is social law which permits private ownership of industries and natural resources. Universal public ownership with the social right of the people to labor for society and receive from society the social value of their labor will end capitalism and unemployment.

THE UNITED FRONT?

By Irwin Haas

In moments of naive speculation, I've often romantically allied with the thought of a united working class, including both the communists and socialists, against their common enemy, the capitalist system. I realize the deep distrust that socialists have for communists. I also realize the significance, in this connection, of the communist war cry, "the yellow, social-fascist."

As a basis for the united front, I've thought of the following:

(1) Acceptance of legal methods and tactics, so that the existing institutions may be most fully used for propaganda purposes.

(2) Acceptance of principle of revolutionary reformism; recognition that the economic, social, and political betterment of the working class enhance the coming and the building up of the newer society. It is understood that our fundamental purpose is the destruction of the capitalist system and the building up of the cooperative commonwealth.

(3) Recognition that the labor union is primarily the weapon of the workers in their every day struggle against the employers, but that every body of workers must realize that the only hope of the workers is in the cooperative society, and that therefore political action is necessary and that the union may be a powerful political weapon.

(4) Recognition that our struggle take place in America, and that it is mere rhetoric to talk of an international movement, until we are a force in the American community.

(5) Realization of the discussion of the conflicting methods of destroying the capitalist system and building up of the socialist society to party educational forums, for such discussions are purely theoretical until the workers are organized into a real force.

The united front of the anti-capitalist workers would realize that, separately, they have made headway among the American workers, and their purpose would be to make a concerted propaganda drive in the political and labor field, and stop fighting each other, at least until the anti-capitalist workers have been organized into a real force in America. Brooklyn, N. Y.

A LEGAL AID BUREAU

By Leon Weinberg

I wish to offer a suggestion as to what the Socialist party can do in

giving service to the people at large. It seems to me that the party as a defender of the working class, should establish a city, or if possible, a national, free legal aid bureau consisting of our best legal minds. In addition to giving free legal advice, this bureau could find and investigate cases in which workers are involved and where there has been flagrant abuse of their rights. In many cases, workers are imposed upon because of their need for work. Employers disregard law and humanitarian principles in their grab for the dollar. The Socialist party should do something to make public, at least the flagrant cases of such abuse, and if possible to fight them in the courts.

A recent case, which I think can be worked on advantageously by the party, is the one in which young girls were forced to work excessively long hours at Woolworth's during the Christmas rush. A young friend of mine was employed there at the time. Recently, also, I saw a letter in one of the papers on the same subject. These girls were compelled to work 13 hours a day without any extra compensation. This is surely against the law, especially since the firm hires children of fifteen and sixteen.

I would like to see the party work on cases of this sort, give them publicity and win prestige in the eyes of the public by making this effort to serve it. Done right, we would get acclaim, offers of help from liberal lawyers and a chance to interest a greater number of people in the party itself. Work of this nature is in accord with our program of socialism so that there can be no objections from any quarter.

I would like to get the opinion of the editor and other comrades on this plan. I am certain some branches are already doing such work and it would be interesting also to know how they are progressing.

SOCIALIST ART

By Samuel H. Friedman

As one who for some time has been interested in organizing the many artists and art students in the Socialist party into a group for mutual aid and for service to the Socialist movement, I was very much interested in Gan Kolaki's letter in The New Leader. It came at an especially significant time since the party's committee on Cultural Relations, of which I am acting chairman, has made a list of such comrades and had planned to call a meeting within the next week or two to discuss the whole matter of organization.

This decision came as the result of conversations held with Comrade Herman Siegel, of the East Side, and Comrade Theodore Shapiro, of Brooklyn, some time ago. We are glad that other artists, especially newcomers in the party, like Comrade Kolaki, are interested and will lend their aid to the movement for "education through visual art."

In some other parts of the world. Under the title "The New Capitalism and After," Kantorovich discusses the somewhat abnormal prosperity of the years before 1929 and the exceptionally severe but probably quite normal crisis that has ensued, with the theories to which they have given rise, notably that of Henri De Man. Finally, there is an article on "Problems Confronting the Social Democracy" by Albert Lauterbach, translated from the Kampf, our excellent Socialist review in Vienna.

The format, paper, and typography of the magazine are very good—just a little bit modernistic, perhaps, but not enough to hurt my late Victorian eyes.

I hope the new periodical will get enough subscribers (at \$1.00 a year) to enable it to survive and grow. If its initial number is a fair sample, it will be useful to the movement.

A. I.

AT THE LABOR TEMPLE

Dr. E. G. Beck will speak on "The Voice of Proletarian Poetry" (with illustrations), at the Labor Temple, 14th street and Second avenue, Sunday at 5 p. m. At 8 o'clock, Alfred Kugel will speak on "The Appreciation of Music."

The Finest Labor Novels of the Age—Felle The Conqueror, 1,200 pg. \$3.50. Ditto, Daughter of Man, 1,000 pg. \$3.50. by Martin Andersen Nexø, the famous proletarian novelist, are on sale at the Road Bookstore. Every worker should read these stirring books.

The Chatterbox

An Unemployed: Hearing the Sunday Prayer

"O BEAUTIFUL and benevolent God..."

And with these words
I strive to drag my mind
From petty things like rags and hunger,
And think of brightly colored birds
And scented flowers that glorify
Eternal loveliness. I fail—
Outside the wind blows fangs
That snarl like maddened beast
Robbed of their skill.

"... Creator of heaven and earth."
And now, with closed eyes and bowed head,
I breathe ethereal fantasy
Where stars spin silver music
And planets hum.
But my stomach, earthbound,
Throbs and growls to have its say.
It also has a prayer to pray.

Tocsin

With tears and sweat
We have mixed the mortar
For civilization's base. We have riveted
Our souls to girders of empires,
We have coaxed from the earth
The luxury for kings,
Yet want has lashed our bodies
Into lean, hard reality.
But let the spirit cry
When the body is weak. Let us try
Our voices, softly—
"Unity for Freedom!"
Hear its volume moan
A dirge to all oppression,
Feel the pulse of power!
Now... once more... together loudly!

EARL LAWSON SYDNOR.

"Free Born," is a novel by Scott Nearing, just off the press of the Urquhart Company of New York. The book is a strange adventure in reading.

Those of us who have known Scott as a comrade, then as a Communist, and lately as an outcast from both Socialist and Communist regularity, remember him only as an incisive, gloomy, and at times, careless economist.

The years he has spent in research and holding forth on factual and material questions have added nothing to his literary skill. There is a deadening dope in the ink that scientists and sociologists use in their writing that somehow manages to affect the creative faculties. Few escape that mean fate.

In Nearing's novel, there is a vague grief to be felt by any one who reads it critically. He handles the problem of the Southern Negro of our day with depthless passion and understanding. The first three-quarters of his book is storm-swept by irresistible protest. Such trivial impedimenta as copy-book English, outworn phrases and utterly prosy attempts at poetical word-painting are reeds flattened and heedlessly trampled by his tempestuous indignation. His story of the lynching at the edge of Georgia's swampland is the most soul-withering thing I have read in ages. You've got to have chrome-nickel guts to withstand its shocking completeness in horrors.

Jim Rogers, the cotton-picking nigger boy is made to run the gamut of Southern white brutality and injustice. His adulthood finds him in Chicago, hopeless, broken, disillusioned and about to commit suicide. This Negro lad is a sensitive and timid idealist. Hardly in any case a fit exemplary unit for an epic of the black folks of Dixie-land. And yet, just the kind of a neurotic to listen to the soft spoken words, "Comrade, don't take your life," from a little Communist lady who just happens by coincident with his suicidal preparations at the river's edge.

A little editing, a bit of brushing up might have given the literature on the Negro problem a powerful addition in "Free Born" had the novel ended there. You could even allow for the Communist angel at the end and keep her sheltering wings as a figure piece for "Finis." But, to carry on from then in a sort of winded hurrying through Red rallies, labor defense meetings, and general revolutionary functions, with the hero and his newly found heroine dangling on and dragging over the novelist's dash toward the last chapter, is weakening, anti-climactic, and really hurtful to the work.

The last quarter of Nearing's novel has no excuse for being. The most dyed-in-the-wool propagandist who knows anything of effective writing would deplore its existence. Michael Gold, in his "Jews Without Money," found a way out for the rebellious East Side boy on a "soap box" calling to his comrades. The book ends there. And Mike produced a real work of art and propaganda by just such a clipped conclusion.

For the sake of the brutally mistreated Southern Negro, and by the gods who have granted the novelist such capacity for compassion and protest, Scott Nearing should withdraw the book in its present raw state and do the small task in revision of syntax, and the trimming at the story's end, when the tale has been definitely told.

S. A. de Witt.

The laborers cannot own the complex machines of modern industry individually. Each motorman cannot own a car. Each butcher cannot own a brick in a slaughter house. They must own the instruments of production collectively.

To get that ownership they must capture the Government and change the laws of property. When they capture the Government they will use it as a means of procuring and operating the collectively owned means for the production of wealth.

That Government, having been captured by Labor, will be democratically managed in the interest of Labor. That will be Socialism.—Exchange.

The Socialist Quarterly

IT IS a good many years since the International Socialist Review ceased publication. Since then we have had no magazine, and the lack has been sorely felt. Weekly and daily papers, necessarily dealing in the main with current events for the purposes of popular propaganda, cannot fill the place of a scientific review any better than the latter can do the work for which they are designed. I therefore welcome the appearance of the American Socialist Quarterly and only wish it were to come out twelve times a year instead of four.

The new magazine is a private venture, and that is well, at least as matters now stand. Some day the party may undertake to get out a periodical of the sort. It does not seem likely to do so in the near future, and when it does I hope that there will still be room for unofficial publications side by side with the official one.

David P. Berenberg, Anna Berenowitz, and H. Kantorovich are the joint editors and also the owners of the American Socialist Quarterly—if the word "owner" may properly be used in connection with an enterprise which is not at all likely to prove lucrative. In their salutatory editorial they make it clear that they are not going to try to please everybody nor to avoid displeasing anybody. Without being factional or sectarian,

WISDOM OF THE POOR FISH



The Poor Fish says:
"Brains wins. It's all inside of you. Let's boost, not knock."

ian, they intend the quarterly to be—if I may naturalize a convenient German word—distinctly tendentious. That their platform is in at least eight of its ten points quite satisfactory to me, and in the other two nearly so, is not the important point. What is important is that they have a platform and mean to be guided by it.

Besides editorials and book reviews the first issue contains three principal articles. Berenberg's "What of the Class Struggle?" takes as its text some remarks on the subject in Norman Thomas' book "America's Way Out," fully recognizing that these do not embody just one important man's view, but a view which is expressly or tacitly held by a considerable section in the party, here and

Socialist Growth in Many States

New Pamphlet Issued; Locals Forming in Several Cities—Indiana's Idea

National

NEW PAMPHLETS ISSUED—"SOCIALIST Fundamentals." A simply worded but complete statement of Socialist philosophy has just been published by the Rand School. It is "Socialist Fundamentals," by David P. Berenberg. Here is a book for the new party member, or for the inquiring sympathizer who needs just one more argument to win him over to the party. The price is 50 cents each, or 35 cents each in quantities of ten or more.

"Workers' World." This new pamphlet is again available. Each of the first two editions was quickly exhausted, and many comrades have been unable to get copies. A third edition has just been printed. The price is 5 cents each, or \$3 per 100.

All Rand School publications may be purchased from the Rand School Store, 7 East 15th street, New York City, or from national headquarters, Socialist party, 549 Randolph street, Chicago.

Arkansas

J. C. Thompson, until recently president of the Farm Labor Union, has started a mail campaign to organize this state for the Socialist party.

California

PALO ALTO.—A young people's forum is planned by the local here, as the result of the success of a debate between Roger Rush, Gardner Wells and Wilbur Levy, upholding the affirmative, with a team from San Mateo Junior College upholding the negative of the question "Resolved That Socialism Would Solve America's Economic Problems."

Colorado

ECKERT.—"Yours for the social revolution," E. G. Tracy signs himself, writing in to find out how he can help bring it about by building a new local in Delta County.

Kansas

MARYSVILLE.—Charles E. Randall, formerly editor of the Salt Lake City Crisis, writes, "Out here on the prairie we surely need something done." So he is going to help organize a Socialist local.

Michigan

FLINT.—Five Detroit comrades visited this city last week to help at the first meeting of a new local here. Ten comrades signed the charter application. Don A. Getty, 1628 Genesee road, was elected secretary.

Minnesota

MINNEAPOLIS.—A new branch of the Jewish Socialist Verband was formed here last week, during a visit from Meyer Weinrib, midwest organizer for the Verband. M. Lats is secretary. The branch will meet at the Labor Lyceum, 1424 Sixth avenue, north.

Missouri

KANSAS CITY.—Several enthusiastic meetings were held here last week-end with G. A. Hoehn, state secretary, and B. Cohen of the Jewish Daily Forward, as speakers. These meetings were held under the auspices of labor unions, the Jewish Socialist Verband and the Workmen's Circle. A new English branch was formed, of which J. G. Hodges, 2720 Park avenue, is secretary. Meetings are held at 3309 Paseo.

Montana

VANDALIA.—Ezra Ruyle is the latest comrade to join the list in Montana of those who are "free-landing" as organizers in their home communities.

Nebraska

LINCOLN.—Plans are under way for the formation of a new local here. Harry M. Lux, 3626 Sumner street, who is Nebraska organizer for the Public Ownership League, is handling the preliminary arrangements.

West Virginia

CHARLESTON.—A mass convention of workers will be held here Saturday, Jan. 30, at 1 p. m., at the Kanawha County Courthouse, for the organization of a labor party. Norman Thomas and A. J. Muste will be guest speakers.

Wisconsin

HAWKINS.—John A. Mashuda, Skinner Creek Farm, has volunteered a local organizer.

WAUNAKEE.—Mrs. Edna De Cima, elected secretary of the

13th Ward branch. Her address is 2362 North Fifth street.

Indiana

EVANSVILLE.—Ethel M. Davis, industrial secretary of the Y. W. C. A., is taking the initiative in forming a local here, following a visit by Norman Thomas. Letters have been sent out from national headquarters to everyone who is known to be interested in Socialism and several have signed up as party members. Detailed information can be obtained from Comrade Davis, whose address is Apt. 108, Cambridge Arms.

INDIANAPOLIS.—Calling for "a shout of victory." Local Marion County has issued the following resolution to be sent to American Socialists: "Now is the time to talk VICTORY. Therefore, we urge all speakers and writers to speak with a shout of victory. No success can be gained by an admission that we anticipate failure. We are not working now to gain a few more votes, but the hour has struck and we are working now to PUT IT OVER. Make every voter believe that every other voter will vote for Socialism. The bold statement will make it come true. By anticipating victory we will bring it to pass."

Party work is on the upgrade in Indiana. Edward Henry, state secretary, reports several new applications for membership at large and prospects of the formation of locals in a number of places. He has just completed the circularization of several hundred names of former members and sympathizers in Indiana, in which he enclosed an application blank and leaflet. An early meeting of the state executive committee will likely be called by Powers Haggood, state chairman, as all members have expressed themselves favorable to such a meeting. Socialists desiring to get in touch with the party organization in Indiana, get in touch with Edward Henry, state secretary, 545 Warren avenue, Indianapolis, Ind.

Connecticut

NEW BRITAIN.—With the help of comrades from Local Meriden, a new local, with ten charter members, has been formed here, and plans to put a ticket in the spring city elections. John Vaninetti, 118 West street, is secretary.

Local Meriden is making arrangements for a lecture in February by James E. Gorman on "British Labor." Gorman addressed several meetings in Norwalk and also spoke on the 24th in Stamford. He is also to speak for the Fifth District Socialist Club of Bridgeport on Sunday, Feb. 14, at 8 p. m., at 298 Wood avenue.

A new local has been organized in New Britain and from all appearances it will become one of the best locals in the state. Plenty of literature is being distributed and they are holding open meetings. Plans are being made to place a city ticket in the field at the city election in April.

BRIDGEPORT.—The following have been nominated as delegates to the national convention: Fred Cederholm, Jasper McLevy, Minnie Cederholm, Walter Davis, Arnold E. Freese, Ruth Baldwin, John Vaninetti, C. M. Rhodin, S. Schacht, Fred Holdsworth and M. Toworoff. On Sunday, Jan. 31, the Fifth District Socialist Club is holding a housewarming in their clubrooms at 298 Wood avenue. August Claessens is to be the guest of honor. The affair will start at 4 p. m. and lunch will be served. All comrades and friends are invited to attend. No admission is to be charged. At 8 p. m., Comrade Claessens will lecture at the Fifth District club and the public is invited. No admission charge.

The state executive committee will hold its regular meeting on Sunday, Jan. 31, at 1 p. m., in the Workmen's Circle Hall, 72 Legion avenue, New Haven. The new state constitution has been printed and is ready for distribution.

Pennsylvania

PHILADELPHIA local announces organization of two new branches. The South Philadelphia branch completed its organization with the acceptance of nine new members Friday evening, Jan. 22. Emanuel Kline, 1114 South Fifth street, was elected temporary secretary. Meetings will be held every Friday night at 8 p. m., at 1114 South Fifth street. Eight party members living in the vicinity will be assigned thus bringing the membership to 17. The next meeting will be held Friday, Jan. 29, at 8 p. m.

The Central City branch was organized Jan. 23 at a meeting held in the Labor Institute. Jerome S. Winheld was elected as secretary. Oscar Stern and Maynard Krueger were selected delegates to the county central committee. The branch will use as its headquarters a room in the home of Comrade Louisa T. Price, 334 South Camac street. The next meeting will be held Thursday, Feb. 4, at 8 p. m. Committees are work visiting registered voters and sympathizers.

Sunday, Jan. 31, 8 p. m., Paul Blanchard will speak on "Racketeering," at the Strawberry Mansion branch forum, 3009 Ridge avenue. Admission is free, and all are invited.

Philadelphia Socialist calendar: Saturday, Jan. 30, Special meeting of the general membership of Philadelphia local, 2 p. m., at the Labor Institute.

N. Y. Socialists Begin Planning For Campaign

Local Nominations Being Considered—16 A. D., Kings, Names Harry Haskell

VOLUNTEERS WANTED.—Socialists who are able to do typing and are willing to volunteer to assist the New York City party office, are urged to report at once. The new books containing names of 21,000 enrolled Socialists are coming into the office in increasing quantity. Lists of these people have to be typed at once for the spring primary petitions, canvassing, etc. Volunteers can do this work in the office if they desire, or elsewhere.

FORWARD BALL.—This great annual event will be held on Saturday evening, Feb. 20, at the 71st Regiment Armory. Tickets are now on sale at every branch headquarters, labor lyciums and at the city office. Tickets in advance \$1, at the door \$1.50. Attractive program—Rudy Vallee and his orchestra—pageant, costumes, etc.

CITY CENTRAL.—The monthly meeting of the city central committee will be held Wednesday, Feb. 3, in the People's House, 7 East 15th street, at 8:30 p. m.

MANHATTAN

8th A. D.—A Friday evening forum has been established and will meet at 327 East 9th street, at 8:30 p. m. The speakers for the next several weeks include August Claessens, Leon R. Land and Walter E. Peck.

UPPER WEST SIDE.—The branch

Sunday, Jan. 31, Italian branch will meet 10 a. m., 513 West Butler street. A. Blondillio will speak. Strawberry Mansion forum, 8 p. m., 3009 Ridge avenue. Y. P. S. L. open forum, 8 p. m., 4154 Poplar street.

Monday, Feb. 1, Tom Mooney mass meeting, 8 p. m., Labor Institute. Report of the delegates to the national conference, Jan. 24.

Tuesday, Feb. 2, meeting of the Strawberry Mansion branch, 8 p. m., 3009 Ridge avenue.

Tuesday, Feb. 2, meeting of the Central City branch, 8 p. m., 334 South Camac street.

YORK.—A campaign for municipal ownership of local utilities has been organized here, headed by Charles L. Miller, secretary of one of the Socialist branches.

Ohio

Sidney Yellen, state secretary, and Joseph Martinek have been selected to appear Jan. 29 before the committee set up by the Ohio State Legislature to study unemployment insurance. On this date the committee will take up the bill proposed by the party.

CLEVELAND.—A large crowd heard Karl Borders, Chicago secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy, speak on "Facing the Race Question," in the second of the discussion lectures arranged under the auspices of the Cleveland L. I. D. and the Socialist party. Asked if he is a member of the Socialist party, Borders said he realized now he had made a mistake in not joining the party long ago. He plans to do so in the near future. He said he is tired of "drifting."

Joseph Martinek was the main speaker at a youth mass meeting held by the Cleveland Y. P. S. L. at the Workmen's Center last Friday night. Much enthusiasm was shown. Other speakers included Max Whol, Bob Sneed, Rosalee Kodric and Fred Sperling.

New Jersey

NEWARK.—A. N. Weinberg will lecture Sunday, Jan. 31, at St. Regis Hall, 34-36 Park place. "Debunking the Bunk on Unemployment" will be his subject. Morris Gismet's talk last week was a great success. He completely routed a group of Communist hecklers who left the hall crestfallen after they had launched a typical Communist attack on Comrade Hillquit. Oscar Ameringer will speak Feb. 7 at St. Regis Hall, on "Laugh That Off."

New York State

SCHENECTADY.—The party is enthused over the great success of the first lecture of the L. I. D. course. The Old Chapel of Union College was crowded to capacity to hear Paul Blanchard tell "How America Lives." The local plans to capitalize the course in a drive for party members. The unfriendly attitude to organized labor of the present Democrat Mayor should contribute toward the rehabilitation of the movement.

ALBANY.—Robert H. Ritchey, a member of the state executive committee and organizer of Local Albany, was the victim of a serious accident last week. Mr. Ritchey, who is a trainman by occupation, slipped off the top of an icy car and fell between two freight cars fracturing his leg and receiving other injuries. He is confined in a hospital at Rome.

announces a dinner to celebrate the 50th birthday of their organizer, Leon Gubson. It will be held at the Monterey Hotel, 94th street and Broadway, Saturday, Jan. 30, at 7 p. m. All friends and associates are urged to attend. August Claessens, Louis Waldman, McAllister Coleman and others will speak. A good time is assured. Reservations, \$1.50 per plate, are to be mailed to A. Presser, chairman of the Dinner Committee, at 50 West 106th street, New York City, or call Susquehanna 7-8656 Friday evening, between 8 and 11 o'clock.

WASHINGTON HEIGHTS.—Meetings held every second and fourth Thursdays promptly at 8:30 p. m. Class in Socialism at 9:30 p. m. Forum continuing with success every Sunday night. Sunday School every Sunday morning, 10 a. m. Canvassing every Monday night, 7:30 p. m.

MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS.—Don't forget to attend our dance Saturday night, Jan. 30. Admission only 50 cents. The address is 3109 Broadway, the South Hall. Our Sunday evening forum holds its sessions at 8:15 p. m.

BRONX

COUNTY COMMITTEE.—Bronx County Committee will meet Monday evening, Feb. 1, at 8:30 p. m., at 908 Prospect avenue.

4th A. D.—A Sunday school has been opened under the auspices and meets every Sunday morning at 11 a. m. at 908 Prospect avenue.

6th A. D.—A special meeting will be held on Monday evening, Feb. 1, at 8:30 p. m. at 2925 Matthews avenue, in the school room, entrance on Williamsbridge road. All members are urged to attend.

7th A. D.—A very well attended meeting was held. Comrade Charles Kramarsky led a discussion on "Trade Unionism and Socialism." New officers were elected: Organizer, Herman Woskow; recording and corresponding secretary, Dorothy Jaffe; financial secretary and treasurer, A. I. Nissenbaum. Delegates to City Central Committee, Herman Woskow and Raphael Goldstein. Delegates to County Committee, Matthew M. Levy, Rae Owaroff, Louis Weil, Alfred Breslaw. The Executive Committee consists of the branch officers and Comrades Sarah Sapir and Alfred Breslaw.

8th A. D.—A Gypsy Festival will be held Saturday evening, Feb. 13, at the Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison avenues. The forum continues a success, as is the course in Socialism. Last Tuesday evening, August Claessens spoke at the club rooms, 20 East Kingsbridge road, where the course of lectures will be continued by him every Tuesday evening. Miss Sylvia Shore is the chairman of the Social Committee, and Miss Helen Silverstone, the chairman of the House Committee. Both are very efficient workers. The next branch meeting will be held on Thursday evening, Feb. 11. Y. P. S. L. members, both seniors and juniors are growing in numbers and increasing their activity.

AMALGAMATED COOPERATIVE.—A very successful reception and banquet to Dr. Watnick, recently returned from Vienna, took place Saturday evening, Jan. 23, in the auditorium, and was attended by over 250 comrades and friends. Following a brilliant musical and dance program, supper was served which was followed by toasts and speechmaking by active branch comrades. Comrade Watnick's thrilling narration of Socialist Vienna was inspiring. Credit for success of affair must be given to Comrade Kent and Mrs. Spector for superb cooking and to the committee in charge. A special meeting of the branch will take place Monday evening, Feb. 1, in Assembly Room, to discuss report on recent City Convention. Comrades are requested to purchase dues stamps.

WOMEN'S SECTION.—The following meetings have been arranged under the auspices of the Women's Section for their organization of units in different parts of the city. These meetings are held in the afternoon at 2:30 p. m. and housewives particularly are invited. Feb. 1, East Side unit, home of Mrs. Seigel, 746 East Fifth street, New York; speaker, Esther Friedman. Feb. 2, Midwood and Brighton Beach unit, headquarters, Midwood branch, 1637 East 17th street, Brooklyn; speaker, Leonard Bright. Feb. 3, Bensonhurst unit, place and speaker to be announced.

BROOKLYN

COUNTY COMMITTEE.—At the last meeting of the county committee, the following officers were elected: Harry Kritzer, organizer; Elizabeth Smith, treasurer; Jean Cornell, recording secretary. An executive committee was also elected. On Monday evening, Feb. 1, a special meeting of this executive committee and the organizers of the many Kings County branches will be held at 167 Tompkins avenue.

2nd A. D.—A general membership meeting of members in the 2nd A. D. comprising Midwood, Brighton Beach and 2nd A. D. branches, will meet at 1637 East 17th street, the headquarters of the Midwood branch, on Wednesday evening, Feb. 10, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for the Assembly. All members are urged to attend.

16th A. D.—The campaign of the 16th A. D. was officially begun when at a joint meeting of the Bensonhurst and Coney Island branches held on Dec. 21, Harry Haskell was renomin-

ated for the Assembly by acclamation, and amid great enthusiasm. The meeting, one of the most stirring and inspiring in years, was reminiscent of the war-time days when the party had made great strides forward. The entire gathering, with the assistance of the Yipsels (Sadie Sheingold at the piano) joined in the singing of numerous labor and Socialist songs. In his speech of acceptance, Comrade Haskell referred to the critical times in which we are living and declared that it was a race between education and the destructive forces of capitalism. He urged the members to greater activity, reaffirming his conviction that the working class could emancipate itself and society as a whole only by its own efforts along the lines of political and industrial action for the attainment of power. Several selections on the piano were rendered by Miss Seingold. The meeting was brought to a close by a talk on organization and campaign preparations by August Claessens.

MIDWOOD.—On Saturday night, Jan. 30, our regular monthly bridge takes place. Saturday evening, Feb. 13, we will have a Valentine dance and entertainment at our headquarters. Comrades Blackman and Cohen form the committee for this entertainment. The Sunday school is progressing splendidly. It numbers 15 pupils so far who gave an interesting play last Sunday entitled "America for Americans." An enrolled Socialists' meeting will be held Monday evening, Feb. 8. August Claessens and Judge Jacob Panken will speak.

23rd A. D.—At the last meeting new officers were elected. Jack Altman gave a report of the convention. On Feb. 21, the branch will have its Vetcherinka and social at the Labor Lyceum. At the next two Friday meetings the following will be the speakers: Gerhard Fritters, "German Social Democratic Dilemma"; Charles Kramarsky, "Socialism and Trade Unionism." At the Wednesday forum the following is the schedule for February: Feb. 3, Herbert M. Merrill, "Socialism and Inventions"; Feb. 10, A. J. Muste, "A Critical Analysis of the Labor Movement"; Feb. 17, Nathan Fine, "Why There Is No Communist Movement in the United States"; Feb. 24, Leroy Bowman, "The Cooperative Movement."

11th A. D.—The branch continues to meet weekly in the New Hungarian Restaurant at Franklin avenue and Union street. Following a short business meeting there is always a speaker present enhancing the educational work of the branch. Now that the enrollment lists are on hand, canvassing will begin in earnest and it is expected that the branch membership will be increased considerably. Many other activities are being planned. The speakers for the next few Monday evenings include Theodore Shapiro, David Kaplan, Herbert M. Merrill and Bela Low.

QUEENS

COUNTY COMMITTEE.—The regular monthly meeting of the Queens County committee will take place Sunday, Jan. 31, at 3 p. m., at the Queens County Labor Lyceum, Forest avenue, Ridgewood, in conjunction with a special meeting of the Ridgewood branch. There will be a final report of arrangements made for the victory dinner of Queens Socialists to be held Sunday, Feb. 21, at 6 p. m., at the Jamaica Royal Restaurant, 162-17 Jamaica avenue, Jamaica. Tickets which have been put down to a less than cost price, viz. \$1 to ensure a larger attendance will be distributed to branch delegates at this session.

ASTORIA.—The Astoria branch decided to hold its next social gathering on Wednesday evening, Feb. 24, at Bohemian Hall at which bridge, bunco, chess and coffee and cake will be in order. Announcements later. Comrades DeLeon and L. Somlo were elected to represent branch at county committee. Leonard Bright will speak at our next meeting to be held on Feb. 5. Branch meetings are held every first and third Fridays.

SUNNYSIDE.—A committee to establish an unemployment council in the district was elected at the last branch meeting consisting of Naomi Dean, Emily B. Fine, Charles B. Garfinkel, Fanny Farinkel, Ben Jacobson, Grace Matthews, Frank McCallister, Ethel Rogin and A. C. Weinfeld. This committee will work in cooperation with the emergency conference on unemployment. A. C. Weinfeld was elected chairman of the legal aid committee. Ethel Rogin gave an informative talk on prohibition.

FAR ROCKAWAY.—The opening of the new headquarters last Saturday evening of the Far Rockaway branch was a huge success. The crowd that came filled the original room to capacity and also the hall and stairway which made it necessary to obtain another room in the building. Hasty arrangements were made to seat the unexpectedly large crowd and a very enjoyable evening was had under the circumstances. Samuel A. DeWitt and August Claessens spoke briefly and added in the entertainment with many series of humorous incidents in the work of the Socialist organizers and workers. Money made at the affair was used to good advantage in furthering the headquarters and engaged in propaganda activities.

N. Y. Socialists State Views On Unionism

City Convention Adopts Statement to be Sub- mitted to National Parley

SOCIALIST tactics on the trade union issue was among the questions that bulked large in the New York City Socialist convention held Jan. 16th and 17th to draw up recommendations for the national convention of the party. Julius Gerber, executive secretary of the party, offered the report of the majority of the agenda committee. Leonard Bright and Samuel A. DeWitt offered amendments. This was the resolution offered by Gerber, which was eventually adopted:

Trade Unionism

"Considering the less advanced condition of American trade unions in membership, form of organization, political activities and social policies compared with the progressive organizations of the working class in other modern nations, and the lack of satisfactory understanding between the trade unions and the Socialist Party in matters of common concern to both, this convention affirms the need of educational work among trade unionists to effect fruitful cooperation between the two branches of the movement.

"Considering that technical improvement and development of mass production in all large industries are undermining old trade skills and tending to reduce all wage workers to a common level of efficiency; that the working class suffers for lack of legislation protecting workers discarded at the age of 45 and 50; that millions of the unemployed and their families are dependent upon degrading charity doles because we have no system of compulsory unemployment insurance; that 'yellow dog' contracts have received judicial sanction; that the precarious position of trade unions before the courts is evidence of their political weakness, and that effective working class political organization is urgently needed to cope with these problems, this convention declares:

"That the party no more desires to dominate and control the trade unions than it will permit the unions to dominate and control it.

"What is desired is a friendly cooperation based upon mutual understanding, and this cannot be and never has been obtained by any form of coercion, or intrigue, or assertion of power by one over the other.

"In accordance with these views we urge that Socialists in the trade unions, without seeking to dominate them, do their utmost to educate their fellow members to an intelligent understanding of the needs and dangers cited above through discussion and distribution of appropriate Socialist literature. They should seek to obtain the cooperation of their unions with the party in measures and actions that concern the working class and also urge their unions to persuade other unions to take similar action. In all their work in the unions our members should observe the highest ethics and thus set an example of idealism for others to emulate, never striving to drive the workers to policies which they do not understand but to win them by argument and loyal service to the union and its members.

Socialists and Strikes

"Among the immediate measures of vital concern to the trade unions, Socialists should urge the support of the unemployment insurance bill of the party and the 6-hour day, and the 5-day week without reduction in pay as admirably adapted to the purpose of enlisting trade union cooperation. These measures are of prime importance for the following reasons: (1) They center attention upon nationwide issues of importance to the workers; (2) they offer an indictment of the indifference and neglect displayed by the parties of capitalism; (3) no other measure is so adapted to fundamental criticism of the capitalist system of production; (4) no other proposals offer that measure of relief that is possible within the present order.

"Strikes and lockouts also offer opportunities for Socialist service. In every locality where they occur it is the duty of Socialist organizations and their members to assist in these struggles by providing speakers and helping in publicity; by strengthening the picket lines with Socialist volunteers; by establishing machinery of relief and enlisting the support of every agency and organization capable of friendly cooperation in support of such struggles.

"Consolidation and amalgamation of unions and inter-union cooperation wherever practical should be supported by Socialist members of the trade unions to make the unions more effective. Educational work should be based on to convince union members of the advantages of such changes, the ideal being industrial organization

in the great industries where trade skill is being wiped out by the expansion of mass production.

"Socialist Party organizations should also distribute suitable literature among workers in unorganized industries that will awaken their class consciousness and actively encourage and assist in organizing unions in such industries where possible. Where party members are employed in such industries they should be consulted about plans for propaganda and organization.

"Considering the sterile character of 'non-partisan' political action by the trade unions, party members have a special duty to point out the urgent need of independent working class politics on every proper occasion. Our members should also urge their unions to sever relations with the National Civic Federation and from the local chambers of commerce where such relations exist.

"The convention also considers it the duty of Socialist members of trade unions to work for the democratization of their organizations wherever undemocratic practices may exist, inspiring the members with a sense of the importance of maintaining a high standard of labor ethics and democracy in all of the activities of the officers and the members.

"Considering that the weeklies, monthlies and other publications of the trade unions are agencies for reaching the members, the convention considers it important that Socialist members should contribute letters and articles to these publications on the problems of the unions and other topics of an educational character that will contribute to progressive policies."

Amendments Offered

Bright offered five amendments. The first two sought to rephrase the majority statement so that paragraphs three and four would be stricken out and this sentence substituted: "That while the Socialist party desires to achieve a real measure of Socialist influence within the unions it does not attempt to exercise dictation over them." The second substitute urged that the first sentence of paragraph five read as follows: "In accord with this view, we urge that Socialists in the trade unions do their utmost, etc." Bright felt that continuous stressing of the undesirability of Socialist domination of the unions, a principle which he approved, was unnecessary and might give the impression of an unhealthy obsequiousness on the part of the party toward the unions. Both these amendments were voted down.

Believing a more elaborate criticism of craft unionism advisable, Bright also offered the following amendment:

"We believe that the trade union movement is as definitely at the end of an era as is capitalism itself. Craft unionism with its destructive jurisdictional disputes, its possibilities for building up bureaucratic, political machines inside the organizations and its inability to adjust itself to the new conditions and mergers of capital is today well nigh obsolete. Long ago the Socialists pointed out that unions which could hope to survive the successive convulsions of the capitalist disorder must be unions of all the workers in the various industries. Now that craft unionism is failing so signally to organize workers in the basic industries, and that its protests against even such elementary injustices as widespread cuts fall on deaf ears, it is the duty of Socialists everywhere to agitate for a militant industrial unionism in step with the conditions of today. Work of this sort is fully as important as our activities on the political field, as upon the success of our activities among the workers hangs all our genuine political success."

This amendment was also voted down.

The fourth Bright amendment asked that the following be substituted in place of the first sentence of paragraph nine: "The constitution of the Socialist Party should be amended to provide for a Labor Contact Department, which should seek out situations in the industrial field where the services of party representatives can be most useful to the workers in their struggles. It should stimulate and aid in the work of organizing the unorganized, encouraging the youth to serve the labor movement in this and many other fields of labor activity. It should provide speakers and distribute suitable literature, etc." The final amendment offered by Bright was that Socialists submit articles to their trade union journals only "where there is any likelihood that they will be published." Both of these amendments were also voted down. The votes on the Bright amendments were roughly about 80 to 40.

De Witt's substitute held that all existing forms of trade unionism—the A. F. of L., the I. W. W. and the Communist—had failed, and urged that Socialists direct their efforts to founding a new trade unionism along Socialist lines. This resolution received but a few votes.

Discussion on Unions

Discussing these resolutions, Gerber said De Witt's intent would be to set up a new Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, to repeat an adventure in dual unionism would do great damage to trade unions and to Socialism. He said the Socialist job is to educate the trade unionists to a Socialist way of thinking. Such a procedure would naturally bring unionism to a more advanced position. Taking issue with

Bright, Gerber held that industrial unionism is not necessarily a panacea for the ills that beset the labor movement. He pointed to the experience of the United Mine Workers in support of this contention. He vigorously opposed Bright's proposed statement that "unionism is at the end of an era," saying such a statement would be resented, and rightly, by all trade unionists. The work of the Socialists was to, by service and education, convince trade unionists of their sincerity, to help the unions build up and not try and tear them down. Jack Altman wanted provisions for a permanent Socialist relief committee, and the authors of the resolution said that was the intention of the paragraph which called for the creation of a relief machinery.

Bright held the majority resolution was an improvement over previous party declarations, but felt his amendments would strengthen it. He stated that he was not proposing industrial unionism as a panacea, that some form of craft unionism might continue in certain trades, but that it could be shown conclusively that craft unionism could not organize the basic industries. He denied that the unorganized workers were unorganizable, as claimed by Gerber, and called for new forms of organization by labor to meet trustified industry. He instanced the fact that the United Mine Workers, organized on an industrial basis, once had close to 600,000 members, but that the union had since been wrecked by Lewisism. The time had come, he believed, for the party to make an out-and-out declaration in favor of industrial unionism. Bright asked the convention to "keep faith" with the 300 Socialist trade unionists of New York who had met recently and voted in favor of the establishment of a Labor Contact Department. If one was necessary in New York, he said, there was a greater need for such a department in the national office of the Socialist Party. De Witt contended that present day unionism is out of date and ill-fitted to serve the workers' interests.

Oneal said he had heard De Witt's speech made in the party's national convention of 1904 by a delegate from Kansas, an agricultural state where there was then not more than a dozen unions. He drew laughter when he said it was easy for outsiders to come to trade unionists with their tennis racquets and hand out advice. He decried the theory that bad leaders were responsible for labor's backwardness, asserting that post war material and economic conditions undermined all political and economic organizations in the United States. The Socialist Labor Party tried to bury the trade unions but succeeded only in burying itself. Referring to Bright's views on industrial unionism and bureaucracy, Oneal pointed out that even the I. W. W. has since the war been hit by two bitter conflicts on the issues of corruption and bureaucracy. These things were not characteristic of any single form of trade unionism. He opposed the creation of a labor contact department in the national office. Socialists on the ground, he said, could be depended upon to do their duty in local relief and strike situations and had done it.

E. L.

The report of the convention will be completed next week.

A CORRECTION: In last week's report of the convention's discussion on Russia, Norman Thomas was quoted as saying, "It is our Socialist duty to subordinate Socialism to democracy." Thomas really said, "It is not our Socialist duty to subordinate Socialism to democracy."

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Walter Wolff; Manager and Financial Sec-
retary, L. Hekelman; Record Secretary, J.
Mackey.

**AMALGAMATED
LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA**, New
York Local No. 1. Offices, Amalgamated
Bldg., 205 West 14th St.; Phone Wat-
kins 9-7764. Regular meetings every
second and fourth Tuesday at Arlington
Hall, 19 St. Mark's Place. Albert E. Castro,
President; Patrick J. Hanlon, Vice-Pres-
ident; Frank Schell, Fin. Secretary; Emil
Thenen, Rec. Secretary; Joseph J. O'Con-
nor, Treasurer.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local
24. Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery
Workers' International Union. Down-
town office, 640 Broadway, phone Spring
7-4949; uptown office, 39 West 37th Street,
phone Wisconsin 7-1270. Executive Board
meets every Tuesday evening, 8 P.M.
Manager, N. Spector; Sec'y-Treas., Alex
Roe; Organizers, I. H. Goldberg, A. Men-
delowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheimer;
Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Ro-
senblatt; Secretary of Executive Board,
Saul Hodoss.

MILK WAGON DRIVERS' UNION, Local
584, I. U. of T. Office: 259 W. 14th
St., City. Local 584 meets on 3rd
Thursday of the month
at Beethoven Hall, 310
East Fifth St. Executive
Board meets on the 2nd
and 4th Thursdays at
Beethoven Hall, 310 E.
Fifth St. Chas. Rofe,
President and Business
Agent; Max Liebler, Sec-
retary-Treasurer.

NECKWEAR CUTTERS' UNION, Local
6369, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th Street,
Algonquin 4-7678. Regular meetings
second Wednesday of every month at 163
West 23rd Street. Max Shack, President;
A. Weltner, Vice-President; M. Meyer, Rec.
Sec'y; J. Rosenzweig, Fin. Sec'y and Treas.
Wm. R. Chisling, Business Agent.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local
11016, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th Street,
Phone Algonquin 4-7062. Joint Ex-
ecutive Board meets every Tuesday night
at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night
at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottesman, Sec-
retary-Treasurer.

PAINTERS' UNION, Local 499, Brother-
hood of Painters, Decorators and
Paperhangers. Regular Meetings every
Wednesday Evening, at the Labor Temple,
243 East 84th Street. P. Wollensack, Pres-
ident; Fred Wolf, Secretary; Peter Reih-
man, Fin. Sec'y.

**BROTHERHOOD OF
PAINTERS, DECORATORS OF AMERICA**,
District Council No. 9, N. Y. C. Af-
filiated with the American Federation
of Labor and National Building
Trades Council. Meets every Thurs-
day evening. Office
62 East 23rd St.
Tel. GRa mery 5-
4608. C. A. Hol-
man, Sec'y; Robert
Sembroff, Fin.
Sec'y - Treas.; I.
Lefkowitz, Pres.

PAINTERS' UNION, Local 381
Office, 63 East 106th Street.
Tel. Lehigh 4-3141.
Exec. Board meets
every Tuesday at
the office. Regular
meetings every Fri-
day at 210 E. 104th
St. M. Gaff, Fin.
Sec'y - Treas.; M.
Greeninger, Record-
ing Secretary.

PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD of
Greater New York. Amalgamated
Clothing Workers of America. Office:
31 West 15th St.; Tompkins Square 6-5400.
Board meets every Tuesday evening at the
office. All locals meet every Wednesday.
Morris Blumenreich, Manager; Hyman
Novodor, Sec'y-Treas.
JOINT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

**INTERNATIONAL
POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION**.
New York Joint Board, Affiliated with
the American Federation of Labor.
General office, 53 West 21st St., New York.
Phone Gramercy 5-1023. Charles Klein-
man, Chairman; Charles I. Goldman,
Sec'y-Treas.; Philip Lubliner, Manager.

**NEW YORK
TYPING UNION No. 6**. Office
and headquarters, 24 West 16th St.,
N. Y. Meets every 3rd Sunday of
every month at Stuyvesant High School,
15th St., East of 2nd Ave. Phone Tomp-
kins Sq. 6-7470. Austin Newson, Pres-
ident; Daniel McCauley, Vice-President;
James J. McGrath, Secretary-Treasurer;
J. J. Fahey, J. G. Bambrick, John Sullivan,
Organizers.

VEST MAKERS' UNION, Amalgamated
Clothing Workers of America. Peter
Monat, Manager. Office, 31 West 15th
Street; Phone, Tompkins Square 6-5400.
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday
evening.

WAITERS & WAITRESSES UNION.
Local 1, 11 East 28th
St.; Tel. Ashland 4-
3107. Sam Turkel,
Pres.; Louis Rubin-
feld, Sec'y - Treas.
Regular meeting
every 2nd and 4th
Thursday at
Beethoven Hall, 310
East 5th St.

**WATERPROOF GARMENT WORKERS'
UNION**, Local 20, I. L. C. W. U., 3
West 16th St. Phone Chelsea 3-3677.
Executive Board meets every Monday at
7 p.m. D. Oingold, Manager; Saul Ole-
sky, Secretary-Treasurer.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION,
Local 62 of I. L. C. W. U., 3 West
16th Street, New York City. Phone,
Chelsea 3-5756-5757. A. Snyder, Manager.
S. SHORE, Executive Supervisor.

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Everyone 'll Like "Whistling In The Dark"

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

THE "PERFECT MURDER"

"WHISTLING IN THE DARK."
By Laurence Gross and Edward
Childs Carpenter. With Ernest
Truex. At the Ethel Barrymore.

At last we have the "perfect murder," in an almost perfect crime play. Many producers have put forth plays and players who make you "laugh while you cry"; here is a piece that makes you hold your sides for laughter while you hold your seats in tense excitement. And Ernest Truex gives one of his best performances, as the alight, fussy, boastful, almost incompetent author who nonetheless saves the day. Blundering into the den of a gang of racketeers who just must kill the crime commissioner, the author of mystery best-sellers boasts he can plan a "perfect murder." Called upon to make good in real life, he comes through with the perfect plan—yet saves the victim, his sweetheart, and himself. The devious delightfully unexpected turns of the plot it would be impossible to reveal, for the thrills and the fun ripple rapidly along throughout the evening. The dialogue is crisp with up-to-the-moment references, and the direction and acting take advantage of the constant opportunities. Ernest Truex is as a natural, really human being, unchanging in his ways by the startling situation, and—like most of us—seeming almost to muddle into the brilliant success of the finish—effecting a brilliant success of the play.

LIVELY RACKET

"A LITTLE RACKETEER." A musical comedy by Harry Clarke from the German of F. Kalbfuss and R. Wilde. Music by Haskell Brown. Lyrics by Edward Eliscu. At the 4th Street.

The Shubert policy of a \$3 top now places another lively musical comedy where it can be seen and enjoyed. Queenie Smith, who helps carry the plot—and plot seems important in musical comedy these days—dances her way from street

gamine through racketeer to wife-dom, ably assisted by Barbara Newberry (who legs Mr. Ziegfeld properly admires) and the Albertina Rasch girls. Grace Hayes brings a good voice to the tuneful music and William Kent and Lorraine Weimar add to the fun. But it is especially as a dancing show that "The Little Racketeer" shines.

"Thru the Years" at the Manhattan Theatre Is Vincent Youmans' Most Ambitious Venture

"Through the Years," the romantic musical play of Vincent Youmans now current at the Manhattan Theatre, has a book by Brian Hooker, well known for a similar work on "The Vagabond King" and other successes. The music is by Mr. Youmans and the lyrics by Edward Heyman who wrote the verses for Peter Arno's "Here Goes the Bride."

Mr. Youmans has been fortunate enough to employ the services of a staff of technicians who are experts in their respective lines. To Edgar MacGregor he entrusted the staging of the book, while the dances were arranged by Jack Haskell and Max Scheck.

Vincent Youmans himself is one of our most popular composers and has to his record such musical hits as "Hit the Deck," "No, No Nanette," "Wild Flower," "Lollypop," "Two Little Girls in Blue," and "Great Day."

One of the finest singing ensembles of the season is in "Through the Years," while a special augmented orchestra of metropolitan musicians is part of the big company.

Mr. Youmans has assembled a cast for "Through the Years" that has won the unstinted praise of the press and public in every city where the piece has appeared. This is headed by Natalie Hall, Charlie Winninger, Martha Mason, Reginald Owen and Nick Long, Jr.

In Noel Coward's Comedy at the Avon



Constance Collier's work in "Hay Fever," as is the entire cast's, is something to enjoy. Patterson McNutt is reviving the popular Coward comedy at the Avon Theatre.

Alton Jones in Piano Recital February 10

Alton Jones, pianist, includes in his recital at Town Hall Wednesday evening, Feb. 10th, the first New York performances of Bela Bartok's transcription of the Fugue in G minor by Frescobaldi and the Fugue in B flat minor by Carl Heinrich Graun. The program also includes Siciliano by Bach-Hughes, Schumann's F sharp minor sonata, two preludes by Scriabine, Turina's Zapateado, also two preludes by Rachmaninoff and Balakireff's Islamey Fantasy.

IMPERIAL Theatre, 45th St. W. of Broadway, Eves. 8:45
Matinees Wed. and Sat. at 2:45
ANOTHER SMASHING WYNN HIT!!

ED WYNN

(THE PERFECT FOOL) in
The
LAUGH PARADE

with JEANNE AUBERT
LAWRENCE GRAY and others
"By far the best and still funniest
entertainment in town."
—GARLAND, WORLD-TELEGRAM

"THE CAT AND THE FIDDLE"

"The finest music Jerome Kern has ever written, which is the highest praise I can give a score."
—Robert Garland, World-Telegram

A Musical Love Story by
JEROME KERN and
OTTO HARBACH

GLOBE THEATRE, B'way & 46 St.
Evens. 8:30
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

APOLLO THEATRE, 42nd St.
Eves. 8:30; Mats. Wed. and Sat.

George White's 1931 Scandals

with
Rudy VALLEE Ethel MERMAN
Willie & Eugene HOWARD
Everett MARSHALL Ray BOLGER
GALE QUADREPLETS
THE MOST BEAUTIFUL SHOW
GIRLS ON THE STAGE

Pola Negri Returns to Screen at the Mayfair in 'A Woman Commands'

Pola Negri makes her re-debut in filmland today when her first talking picture, "A Woman Commands," is launched on the screen of the Mayfair Theatre.

The picture has its locale in one of the Balkan countries and deals with a fiery romance of a certain member of the nobility. It was this romance which created international attention and Pola Negri portrays the exotic commoner who was wooed and wed by the king after concerted opposition by his cabinet and ministers of State and a threat of revolution by the masses.

Supporting Miss Negri in this RKO-Pathe film are Basil Rathbone, who plays the romantic lead; Roland Young, who lends his sophisticated comedy; May Boley, H. B. Warner, Anthony Bushell

Mischa Elman's Program At Carnegie Hall Sunday

- I
Sonata in A major Handel
Adagio, Allegro, Largo, Allegro
- II
Sonata in B flat major, No. 15...
..... Mozart
Largo-Allegro, Andante, Allegretto
- III
Concerto in A minor... Glazounoff
(in one movement)
- IV
(a) Largo Gluck-Ries
(b) Contredanses
..... Beethoven-Elman
(c) Nocturne ... Chopin-Wilhelmj
(d) Hungarian Dance
..... Brahms-Joachim
- V
Ballade and Polonaise
..... Vieuxtemps
Carroll Hollister at the piano.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents

REUNION in VIENNA

A comedy by ROBERT E. SHERWOOD

Martin Beck Theatre

15th St. and 8th Ave. Penn. 6-6100

Evens. 8:40

Matinees Thurs. and Sat. 2:40

THE THEATRE GUILD presents

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"MOURNING BECOMES ELECTRA"

Composed of 3 plays presented on 1 day

'Homecoming' 'The Hunted'
'The Haunted'
Commencing at 5:30 sharp
Dinner intermission of one hour at 7.
No Matinees.

GUILD THEATRE, 52d Street,
West of Broadway

SAM H. HARRIS presents

"OF THEE I SING"

A NEW MUSICAL COMEDY

Book by GEORGE S. KAUFMAN and MORRIS RYSKIND
Music by GEORGE GERSHWIN Lyrics by IRA GERSHWIN

William GAXTON . . . Lois MORAN . . . Victor MOORE
AND A SINGING ENSEMBLE OF 60 VOICES

MUSIC BOX THEATRE, W. 45th St. Evgs. at 8:30—3 Mats.
Next Week—Wed. Thurs. and Sat.

MOROSCO

THEATRE, 45th St. WEST of B'WAY
"An evocative and moving play . . . literary discriminating and fine . . . splendidly acted."—J. Brooks Atkinson, Times.

Philip Merivale in Cynara

with
Henry Stephenson Phoebe Foster Adrienne Allen

"It's an immediately winning and fascinating play . . . for many future audiences to love, honor and patronize."
—GILBERT W. GABRIEL, American

BEST SEATS Evens. \$3.00
Wed. Mat. \$2.00
Sat. Mat. \$2.50

BENN W. LEVY'S

The Devil Passes

"The interesting persons and insinuating circumstances of Mr. Levy's new play made sound entertainment, acted and manipulated keenly as they are by a discriminating cast at the Selwyn Theatre."
—Percy Hammond, Herald Tribune

Arthur Byron Basil Rathbone
Robert Loraine Mary Nash
Diana Wynard Cecilia Loftus
Ernest Thesiger Ernest Conant

SELWYN West 42nd St.
Mats. Thurs.
\$1 to \$2.50
Nights 7:30—Prices \$1 to \$3—Mats. 2:30

ERLANGER'S

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Matinees Wednesday & Saturday

MILTON ABERN, Director, presents
THE SEASON'S
MOST LAVISH PRODUCTION
Reginald De Koven's
Eternally Favorite Romantic Opera

"ROBIN HOOD"

WITH AN ALL STAR CAST
THRIFT PRICES

Eves. 50c to \$2.50 Wed. Mat. 50c to \$1.50
Sat. Mats. 50c to \$2
Hear: "Oh Promise Me"—"Brown October Ale"—"Tinkers Chorus"

CARNEGIE HALL

Tomorrow (Sun.) at 3:00

Recital by World-Famous Violinist

MISCHA ELMAN

Tickets Now on Sale at Box Office (Steinway Piano)
Management Metropolitan Musical Bureau



VINCENT YOUMANS presents THE ROMANCE MUSICAL PLAY "THROUGH the YEARS"

with a Superb Cast headed by
Natalie HALD - Charles WINNINGER - Reginald OWEN
Nick LONG, Jr. Martha MASON Michael BARTLETT
Symphony Orchestra of 44
Seats for Opening Night and All Performances Now on Sale at Box Office
MANHATTAN THEATRE BROADWAY at 33rd St. Evgs. 8:30
Phone Col. 3-5822 Mats. Wed. & Sat.

QUEENIE SMITH

in the New Musical Hit

A LITTLE RACKETEER

"Is a happy mixture of mirth and music . . . has lightness and gaiety, rhythm and rhyme, beauty, color and grace and a terrific pace . . . is a welcome addition to the Times Square repertory."—American.

4TH ST. THEATRE, W. of B'way
Eves. 8:30
Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

EARL CARROLL VANITIES

9th Edition—All New—with
WILLIAM MITCHELL
MAHONEY DEMAREST & DURANT
Fifty Notable Principals and a
Company of 200 Featuring

75 of the most beautiful girls in the world 75
Nights Entire Orch. \$3. Balc. 50c
Matinees Wednesday and Saturday
Entire Orchestra \$2

SEATS FOR 8 WEEKS AT
BOX OFFICE
EARL CARROLL Theatre, 3 Av.
& 4th St.
Matinees Wednesday and Saturday

Potent Peace Picture at Criterion

AFTER-THOUGHTS OF WAR
"THE MAN I KILLED." An Ernst Lubitsch Film from the play by Maurice Rostand. At the Criterion.

As powerful a story as I have even seen driving home the essential horror of war is beautifully and sincerely screened in "The Man I Killed." It is a simple story, told without ornament, without dressing. A sensitive French musician, Paul, coming face to face with a German soldier he must kill, cannot drive that face from his mind. A year after the war, he is so driven by the sense of crime that he must seek out the dead lad's folks and beg their forgiveness. When he reaches them, and mentions their son's name, their feeling is so deep he cannot speak further.

While the older folk in the lands, who cheered while their sons marched to death, go on hating, the dead lad's family grow to a wider love, which the youth of the world may begin to share, and out of which only, peace can rise.

These scant words can give little idea of the power of the film, which presses its thoughts out of a simple, human story. The characters are genuine, natural persons—Lionel Barrymore as the German father does one of his best pieces of fine portraiture; and a truly sympathetic understanding guided the camera. "The Man I Killed" is not the usual Broadway film; neither is it a typical propaganda picture; it is a dramatic story beautifully shown, embodying a truth mankind must learn to apply.

J. T. S.

English Titles Used in German Film Now at The Little Carnegie

During the past six weeks, since the opening of "Zwei Menschen" (Two Souls) at the Little Carnegie Playhouse, the management of this distinctive foreign film house has had the pleasurable experience of receiving numerous letters from patrons who have praised the institution of super-imposed English translations of the important dialogue on the film. Because of this new idea in German talkies, namely the English titling, "those who never before had seen a German talkie, have been able to thoroughly enjoy "Zwei Menschen."

Produced with deftness, both technically and artistically that has won for it the acclaim of public and press, "Zwei Menschen" is considered one of the really fine motion pictures made in Europe.

SHUBERT Thea. 44th W. of B'way
 Even. 8:30; Mats. Wed. and Saturday at 2:30

EVERYBODY'S WELCOME

FRANCES WILLIAMS
 OSCAR SHAW
 ANN PENNINGTON
 HARRIETTE LAKE

Leslie Banks

Springtime for Henry

A Bright New Farce by Benn W. Levy
 with HELEN CHANDLER
 NIGEL BRUCE FRIEDA INESCORT

BIJOU THEATRE

4th St. West of Broadway
 8:30; Mats. Wed. and Sat. 2:30

"The Road to Life" First Russian Talkie At Cameo Is Story Of Homeless Waifs

The much-heralded Russian film, "The Road to Life," the first Soviet talking film, had its American premiere last Wednesday evening, January 27th, at the RKO-Cameo Theatre before a distinguished audience of invited guests.

G. B. Shaw, Cecil B. DeMille, Karl K. Kitchen, and Dr. John Hayes Holmes were among the first to bring word of this film while it was still showing in Soviet Russia.

"The Road to Life" is the first film effort of Nikolai Ekk, a former assistant of the celebrated stage director, Meyerhold. With the exception of several Moscow Art theatres actors, the entire cast is composed of former homeless waifs, and it is the story of these "wild boys" that is told by this first Russian talkie.

American audiences will have no trouble following the action and dialogue of this film as the producers have worked out a very satisfactory system of super-imposed titles which translate the talk and explain the action. Michael Gold, American author, wrote the titles. Professor Emeritus J. Dewey, of Columbia University, is presented in a talking prologue to this film.

Benefit at the Earl Carroll Theatre

The Fifth annual benefit of the Broadway Saranac Relief Fund has been arranged for at the Earl Carroll Theatre, Sunday night, February 7th, with more than twenty stars now appearing on Broadway already pledged to donate their services. This non-sectarian organization, founded by George Jomerantz, has a cottage in Riverside Drive, Saranac, where many tuberculosis patients are looked after gratis throughout the year.

BROOKLYN

FOX BROOKLYN
 Flatbush Ave. & Nevins St.

By Popular Demand—Held Over 2nd Week!

Ruth Etting

IN PERSON

—On the Screen—
CHARLIE CHAN'S CHANCE

with WARNER OLAND
 —Also on the Stage—
 Fanchon & Marco's "ALL AT SEA"
 Idea with BENARD, BOB WEST
 Willy Stahl and his Orchestra

The Sensational New Star of 1932
POLA NEGRI
 in
A Woman Commands

with ROLAND YOUNG—BASIL RATHBONE
 and RKO Vaudeville
VINCENT LOPEZ
 AND HIS ST. REGIS ORCHESTRA

ALBEE
 ALBEE SQ. B'KLYN TRIS. 2:00
 ALL SEATS TO 1 P. M. 25c

MUSIC

PHILHARMONIC-SYMPHONY
 BRUNO WALTER, Conductor

BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC
 SUNDAY AFT., JAN. 31, at 3:15
 Soloist: PIATIGORSKY, "Cellist"
 BERTHOVEN—HAYDN—BRAHMS
 CARNEGIE HALL

Thurs. Eve., Feb. 4, at 8:45; Fri. Aft., Feb. 5, 3:30; Sat. Eve., Feb. 6, 8:45
 Soloist: JEANNETTE VRELAND, Soprano
 SCHUMANN—MOZART—WAGNER
 REINER—SCHUBERT
 Program Illustrating "Symphonic Poem"
 ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Relayway Piano)

In the Popular German Film at Little Carnegie



Charlotte Susa has the leading feminine role in "Zwei Menschen" ("Two Souls") which goes into its seventh week at the Little Carnegie.

Francine Larrimore to Produce Next Season

Francine Larrimore, star of S. N. Behrman's comedy, "Brief Moment," current at the Cort Theatre, announces that next season she will present at least two plays under her management.

COSMOPOLITAN

BROADWAY and 59TH STREET
 Where Americans Enjoy the Best Continental Pictures
 A Bit of Berlin in New York

"DAS EKE"

with the Great German Comedian

MAX ADALBERT

Continuous 12:30 to 11:30
 Popular Prices

The First Soviet Sound Film—Titles in English

"No superlatives are too high for this picture."—London Observer.

ROAD to LIFE

A DRAMA OF RUSSIA'S WILD CHILDREN

RKO CAMEO 42nd St. and B'way

All Seats to 1 P. M. 25c

ZANE GREY'S "RAINBOW TRAIL"

with GEORGE O'BRIEN ROSCOE ATEES
 —On the Stage—

FRED WARING

and the sensational Sync-Symphonic Orchestra, and Glee Club

Clark and McCullough

A riot of fun, in five magnificent stage scenes

with the ROXYETTES, the Ballet Corps, and the Arnaud Bros.

ROXY 7th Avenue & 50th St.

"One of the most arresting, compelling, dramatic film plots I've viewed in a few cinema seasons."

—Julia Schwell, Graphic

ERNST LUBITSCH'S GREATEST ACHIEVEMENT

"The MAN I KILLED"
 A Paramount Picture with LIONEL BARRYMORE NANCY CARROLL PHILLIPS HOLMES

Twice Daily — 2:45—8:45 P. M.

CRITERION

Broadway 44th Street

Big Bill at Fox B'klyn Has Ruth Etting on the Stage and New Charlie Chan Film on Screen

Mystery on the screen in "Charlie Chan's Chance" at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre is lightened by the stage fare including songs by Ruth Etting and Fanchon & Marco's "All at Sea" Idea.

Earl Derr Biggers, famed for his mystery stories with Oriental backgrounds, wrote the novel on which "Charlie Chan's Chance" is based and depicts the newest adventures of that celebrated Chinese detective in solving a murder that baffled both the New York police and Scotland Yard detectives. Warner Oland is again the suave and self-effacing Chan.

Because of her tremendous popularity at the Fox, Ruth Etting is being held over for a second week.

Hollywood's popular Master of Ceremonies, Ben Bard, star of the stage and screen, heads the troupe of theatrical navigators in Fanchon and Marco's "All at Sea" Idea.

6 WEEKS OF INCREASING POPULARITY!

Zwei Menschen

Superbly Acted Drama. Photography of Haunting Beauty. Minimum Dialogue, as Easy to Follow as a Silent Picture

Truly One of the Finest Offerings of the Season!

LITTLE CARNEGIE

146 West 57th Street | 35c till Cont. noon to midnight | 1 P. M.

"TWO SOULS"

with the Great German Comedian

MAX ADALBERT

Continuous 12:30 to 11:30
 Popular Prices

ROAD to LIFE

A DRAMA OF RUSSIA'S WILD CHILDREN

RKO CAMEO 42nd St. and B'way

All Seats to 1 P. M. 25c

RAINBOW TRAIL

with GEORGE O'BRIEN ROSCOE ATEES
 —On the Stage—

FRED WARING

and the sensational Sync-Symphonic Orchestra, and Glee Club

Clark and McCullough

A riot of fun, in five magnificent stage scenes

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"The MAN I KILLED"
 A Paramount Picture with LIONEL BARRYMORE NANCY CARROLL PHILLIPS HOLMES

Twice Daily — 2:45—8:45 P. M.

CRITERION

Broadway 44th Street

"Panama Flo" on "Hip" Screen — Diversified Vaude Acts Complete Bill

Vaudeville's famous Diamond Boys, Hughie, Tom and Harold, whose nimble feet and flexible bodies do such marvelous things, tersely speaking head the eight-act vaudeville program at the RKO Hippodrome this week. Another stage feature is Pepito, the famous Spanish clown, assisted by Juanita and Bombo. George Givot, Broadway comedy star, also contributes a goodly share of laughs.

Helen Twelvetees' latest starring vehicle, "Panama Flo," is the screen feature. "Panama Flo" tells the story of a beautiful girl outlawed to a jungle post with a love-crazed maniac. Robert Armstrong, Charles Bickford, Marjorie in support of the star.

"A NEW HIT!" —World Telegram

"UNION DEPOT"

It screens the Human Heart!
 Starring DOUG FAIRBANKS, JR. and JOAN BLONDELL

Winter Garden

Broadway & 50th Street
 Continuous—Pop. Prices

Did this high pressure salesman get YOU for a SUCKER too? ...

WILLIAM POWELL

in "HIGH PRESSURE"

with EVELYN BRENT
 EVELYN KNAPP

STRAND

B'WAY & 43rd St.
 Continuous—Popular Prices

JAMES CAGNEY in "TAXI"

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8 RKO ACTS

including DIAMOND BOYS

HELEN TWELVETREES "PANAMA FLO"

ON THE SCREEN

HIPPODROME 8th Ave. & 43rd St.

25c

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Party Branches and sympathetic organizations are requested when planning theatre parties to do so through the Theatrical Department of the NEW LEADER. Phone Algonquin 4623 or write to Bernard Feinman, Manager New Leader Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th St., New York.

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

**Two Billions to Help Private Business—
Senate Delays for the Jobless—A
Farm Program—Baker Drops
the League**

THE GOVERNMENT IN BUSINESS

NOW that Congress has given Charlie Dawes and his boy friends a two billion dollar corporation to save the bankers and business men of America, let us all rise and sing that ancient Republican hymn: "Take the Government Out of Business." Never did the capitalist system so completely write the measure of its own hypocrisy and its own essential unsoundness as in this ambitious financing bill. When times are prosperous and banks are making money, the government must keep out. The government Postal Savings Bank is all hedged about by restrictions in the interest of private bankers. It is only allowed to pay 2 per cent interest. But when by their own greed and folly at home and abroad and by the essential unsoundness of the capitalist system even the strongest banks come near to grief and some 10 per cent of the banks fail altogether, Uncle Sam must rush to their aid. For the sake of banks and business enterprises which have overplayed their own hand in the good years the government must go into business with a vengeance committing dictatorial power to give or withhold aid to a commission headed by Dawes and Eugene Meyer. The plain truth is that private banking and private business can't run without the government and that they get first claim on help from the government that has been indifferent to the sufferings of millions of unemployed.



NORMAN THOMAS

A FREE HAND TO DAWES

SOME sort of help probably had to be given to banks and business to prevent wholesale collapse. The sort of help Hoover and Congress have given them is not only hypocritical to a ludicrous degree but it is unsound. Socialists will welcome the proof that capitalists don't and can't mean what they say about keeping government out of business. But if there had been any Socialists in Congress they would have at least demanded some protection for the interests of workers both as producers and consumers in the administration of this two billion dollar corporation. We have no guarantees now of any sort that Dawes and his friends will not lend money to help maintain overcapitalized enterprises out of which the watered stock ought to be wrung. We can be sure that they will not require a half-way decent labor policy as a condition of help and, as I have previously pointed out, there is nothing in the law to say that if government must help banks and business enterprises with assets politely called "frozen," then there should be some sort of public representation on the board of directors of the corporation thus helped.

WHAT OF THE 10 MILLION?

NOW that the principal planks in Hoover's platform for helping business are out of the way maybe Congress can get its collective mind down to the problem of the sufferings of ten million unemployed and their families! The LaFollette-Costigan bill for 375 million dollars federal aid is inadequate even as a beginning, but it is a beginning which should be made at once. Every labor group ought to tell this to Congress in no uncertain terms. The next step on LaFollette's program is his public works bill. It is far from satisfactory. The public works bill we want will make housing its chief and direct concern. It will, moreover, seek to stimulate productive enterprises like the electrification of farm areas.

THE FARMERS' UNION PROGRAM

SPEAKING of farm areas and the farmers who live on them, I haven't said much about the troubles of the farmers lately but I have been diligently reading suggestions that some friends whom I have met personally and others whom I know only by correspondence have been sending me. I am more and more coming to the conclusion that the best immediate step is that proposed by the Farmers' Union. This involves the erection of a public corporation to buy the amount of a given commodity, let us say, wheat, which is required by the American market and fix a reasonable price for it. The government would thus become the sole marketing agency in America for wheat and could maintain the price. Any surplus held by the farmers could be marketed by them abroad at what price they could get. The government itself would not aid "dumping" which would create hate in foreign countries.

There are difficulties in the way of administering such a bill fairly. Those difficulties are not necessarily insuperable. They are not essentially worse than those that were met after some fashion in the war. The greatest difficulty that I see is the danger that in fixing a price another boom should be given to unsound land speculation and hence to the landowner rather than to the working farmer. It is outrageously unfair not only to the city workers but to the sorrowful army of tenant farmers that the chief benefit of any farm relief plan should go to the landowner. Very often nowadays the landowners are insurance companies which have already foreclosed on mortgages or will foreclose as soon as it is profitable to do so. To

some extent this situation might be met by a proper form of taxation in the various states. If, however, there are to be federal grain or cotton corporations there ought logically to be a federal land taxation policy which like so many other good things would be unconstitutional.

Another difficulty in the situation as I see it is that the big banking companies who now buy flour at practically their own price and who have never reflected the fall in the price of wheat by a similar fall in the price of bread would make an excuse of a fixed price of wheat to run up the price of bread to a level fixed not by any public corporation in the light of expert testimony but by themselves in the light of what they hope they can get away with.

NO PIECEMEAL SOLUTION

THE truth is that these problems I have raised in connection with help to the farmers through government price fixing and grain selling corporations show how difficult it is to treat one problem by itself. There is no really satisfactory piecemeal socialization. You can't fairly save the farmers by themselves. The same principle applies to coal. The socialization of coal mines would have mighty hard sledding unless there was socialization of oil and electric power. The parts of any effective plan of socialization must fit together. Circumstances may force us to take one part ahead of another but we must always be on the job to put the next part of the system into its place and above all we must insist that behind every plan must be a new determination to substitute production for use in the place of production for profit. This and this alone will make a plan possible. Without this new purpose, this new loyalty to the great brotherhood of workers, this new vision from which poverty and class lines will be abolished nothing will be done either by so-called democracy or by dictatorship; either by war or by peace. Sometimes we are in danger of forgetting that fact in our debates about method and tactics. Meanwhile—to go back to the farmers' problem—I shall welcome correspondence on the subject of the Farmers' Union plan which I have briefly discussed. I am looking for all the light I can get.

AN IDEALIST SEEKS THE PRESIDENCY

LORD ROBERT CECIL of England is no Socialist's ideal of an internationalist and builder of peace. Nevertheless, it is a bad omen for the Disarmament Conference at Geneva that even he is too advanced in his views on disarmament for the British delegation. Ramsay MacDonald will nominally be the head of a delegation of reactionaries and British imperialists. That man's position daily becomes more contemptible and more of a warning of how not to be an idealist. In like manner day by day the need increases for aggressive working class organization to prevent war. Look, for instance, at our own best pocket edition of Woodrow Wilson, the alleged idealist, Newton D. Baker. The one principle he seemed to stand by, his loyalty to the League of Nations, he has now scrapped or rather postponed in order to help his chances for the Presidency. I am not very enthusiastic about the League of Nations, at any rate not Uewton D. Baker's kind of League of Nations, but I am interested in his statement as showing how lightly an idealist can hold his opinions when he sees a chance for office.

"THE MAN I KILLED"

THERE is a picture called "The Man I Killed" which is remarkably successful in giving one the emotional feeling of the horror and folly of war, which sets comrades in interests, in work, and in tastes to the task of killing each other. It's a whole lot better picture to take your children and your friends to see than most of the stuff that's on the films. It ought to help to build up a state of mind which means business when it talks of peace.

THE NEGRO SOCIALISTS' HOME

SOCIALISTS living in New York and visiting in New York ought to call in at the splendid headquarters our colored comrades, under the vigorous leadership of Frank Crosswaith, have opened at 2005 Seventh avenue, in Harlem. What these comrades are doing in Harlem is parallel to the fine work the comrades have done in Detroit. Both cases show what attractive headquarters can do for a party and in both cases it looks as if the financial problems were solved on sound lines by cooperation with unions needing space and by the contribution of work by the comrades who want good headquarters.

CONGRATULATIONS to the railroad brotherhoods on their fine analysis of the financial set-up of the railroads and their proof that financing is the chief cause of the demand for wage reductions.

Bringing Science Up-To-Date

"Neither Song
Nor Sermon"

I DON'T take stock in that proverb which says you can't teach an old dog new tricks. Professor Thorndike is right. I'm by no means so young a dog as I was a given number of years ago, and yet about once in so often I learn of something whose existence I had never before suspected.

The latest addition to my stock of knowledge is nothing less than a scientific law. I needn't be condemned of not having known about it before, for I'm credibly informed that it is the very latest thing in scientific laws—not only the latest thing, I should say, but even the last word. It is called the Law of Exceptionality.

It hasn't got into print yet, but by sheer good luck I was told about it in advance of publication. This is how it happened:

I was sitting with two or three other comrades discussing something or other—let's say Russia, that is what is discussed these days—and in the conversation I re-

ferred to one of those broad generalizations which have been accepted in the Socialist movement from the beginning and which we like to speak of—quite correctly, I think—as scientific laws.

Very gently, with the respectful courtesy which we felt was due to my—no, not to my white hairs, but let us say to the upward extension of my forehead—my friend said: "Oh pardon me, but aren't you neglecting to apply the Law of Exceptionality?"

That hit me right on the solar plexus. I took the count. When I'd recovered I humbly confessed that I'd never heard of this law. Wouldn't he explain it to me.

He would, and he did.

Our academic critics have complained all along that the Marxian system was too rigid. So long as it was only the college professors who said so, of course we didn't mind. But quite recently, it appears, some of our own good comrades have found this rigidity very inconvenient. With

terprise, they put their heads together and sought a remedy. They didn't think it prudent, in a time of depression like this, to scrap any of the scientific laws in question, which anyhow hang together so firmly that it is difficult to throw one away and keep the rest.

At length one of them—I think he must have been a lawyer—had the brilliant idea of inventing a new law which would modify all the others. It works. Apply this great Law of Exceptionality, and the hitherto rigid system of Marxism becomes as flexible as a wet dishrag.

I think he must have been a lawyer, for he seems to have taken his cue from the Supreme Court of the United States. Some thirty years ago, you may remember, the Supreme Court found itself in a dilemma. It wished to give the Northern Securities Company a clean bill of health. But there was the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, which it could not afford to wipe out, because then what would be-

come of the Danbury Hatters' case and the Bucks Stove decision. To maintain the statute in all its vigor for use against the trade unions, and yet to make it quite harmless to Wall Street—that was the problem.

The august tribunal solved it by devising what became known as the Rule of Reason. It is a most potent rule. Ever since then, a law means just what it says, unless the Supreme Court applies the Rule of Reason—which it does very discreetly of course—and then the law means something entirely different.

So with the Law of Exceptionality. The prevailing mode of production determines the political, legal, ethical and other features of society—except when these are determined by independent psychological factors. Human history is the record of class struggles—except when it is the record of things achieved by the uncaused effort of some great man's will. The prolet-

tarian movement is self-conscious independent movement of the immense majority—except when it is the movement of a resolute minority. The working class cannot emancipate itself without emancipating all other subject classes—except when it emancipates itself by using military force to hold such classes in subjection.

And so on, to the end of the chapter. You can see for yourself what a wonderful gadget it is—this Law of Exceptionality.

The only difficulty its inventors will have, I think, is to keep other folk from using it for all sorts of counter-revolutionary purposes. That's the fine thing about being a Supreme Court—your rules are your own, and nobody else can apply them.

Or maybe I'm wrong in thinking my friends got the idea from the Supreme Court. Maybe they've been reading the works of James Jeans.

But that's another story.