

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

VOL. XIII.—No. 6

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1932

Price Five Cents

CAPITALISM—THE WAR-MAKER



Demonstrate for Peace!... Two Great Rallies!

In The
New Leader
This Week:

■
"The Crisis in the Far East"
By Norman Thomas Page 16

■
"China and the Powers"
By Paul Porter Page 8

■
"The Japanese Socialists Jailed
For Peace" Page 2

Sunday Afternoon, 2 P. M.
Brooklyn Academy of Music, Lafayette Ave., nr. Flatbush Ave., B'klyn

S P E A K E R S

ALGERNON LEE

MORRIS HILLQUIT

B. C. VLADECK

CHIH MENG •

HEYWOOD BROWN

J. B. MATTHEWS

T. S. MIYAKAWA

Saturday Noon, 12.30 P. M.
Madison Square Park, 23rd Street and Fifth Avenue

S P E A K E R S :

Frederick V. Field

Mary Hillyer

Francis A. Henson

Norman Thomas

Fania Cohn

Reinhold Neibuhr

Paul Porter

Stephen S. Wise

McAlister Coleman

Julius Umansky

Edward Murrow

NEW LEADER

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

James Oneal Editor Edward Levinson Assistant Editor

Contributing Editors:

Morris Hillquit, Abraham Cahan, Algernon Lee, Harry W. Laidler, Norman Thomas, Joseph E. Cohen, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Wm. M. Feigenbaum, John M. Work, McAllister Coleman, Joseph T. Shipley, Louis Stanley, Louis Waldman.



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

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1932

Capitalistic Absurdities

IT IS a sorry world in which we live and workers should expect no solution of the industrial panic by the politicians of capitalism and those who, like Governor Roosevelt, consider the "American system everlasting." If we consent to a class owning the mines, railroads and industries that assures that there will be no final and satisfactory solution.

Consider the situation. We produce wealth in vast abundance with the aid of power-driven and automatic machinery. There is no difference of opinion about this fact. We can produce plenty for all. Then why not pass it around at least to satisfy bare needs?

There's the rub. Two words express the whole difficulty. One is "sell" and the other is "buy." Those who have the commodities cannot sell them and those who want them cannot buy them. Those who cannot sell them keep them and close the plants of production. Those who want them and cannot buy them are locked out of the plants. Vast quantities of goods are available but they remain in the hands of those who cannot use them and out of the hands of those who can use them.

This is the essence of the capitalist system of production and distribution. The absurdity has occurred over and over again. The capitalist owners are not interested in the goods being used; they are only interested in the gains they can make by selling the goods. On the other hand, the masses are vitally interested in using the things produced. The interest of the masses lies in use and of the capitalist owners in profitable sales. The two interests are in conflict and they cannot be harmonized.

It is therefore absurd for various intellectuals to talk of "planning" capitalism into something that will not break down. It is impossible to stabilize anything when two fundamental forces are pulling in opposite directions. Production and distribution must be socialized and this can only be accomplished by discharging the capitalist owners. We can then produce for use, our use, not for the profit gains of a privileged class. And that is Socialism.

Party Slogans

WE DO not know what the next slogans will be in the coming campaign but the two-party brokers will not be at a loss to coin something for the entertainment of the voters. "Turn the Rascals Out" served the Democrats in 1876 in their war against the swarm of thieves that gathered about President Grant but the smell of Tammany in New York neutralized this slogan.

The "Full Dinner Pail" in 1896 had an irresistible lure for millions who passed through the fearful industrial panic of 1894-95. Even a can of food seemed a prize to many who had been living on short rations for a year or two and it was a howling success. Another variation of this was the advertisement of McKinley as the "Advance Agent of Prosperity."

Within four years after the election of 1896 the United States had raked in a lot of overseas loot and in 1900 the Republicans wanted to know if any voter was so unpatriotic as to want to "Haul Down the Flag" then flying over this loot. Millions who knew no more about the Philippines than they did about Abyssinia, became very much concerned about it and decided that the flag should remain where it was. Meantime they remained where they were, too.

Nothing of importance in the line of slogans then came till the Princeton professor was nominated in 1912. Roosevelt had coined

one of his own the year before which he called "The New Nationalism" and the professor was badly in need of one to offset the Loud Noise. Wilson hit upon "The New Freedom" and, with the G. O. P., divided between Roosevelt and Bill Taft, the professor rode the escalator into the White House.

Before four years had passed Europe had collapsed into a bloody pit and the year 1916 was a crucial one for the Princeton professor. "He kept us out of War" returned him to his job for another four years and in April after taking the oath of office for the second time, we were in the war and he kept us in it to its end.

Then came Harding with "Back to Normalcy" followed by Coolidge in 1924 with the slogan of "Keep Cool With Coolidge." Hoover, however, had a whole collection of slogans. He represented the "New Liberalism." He was the "Great Engineer." He was identified with a "Chicken in Every Pot" and a "Car in Every Garage." In the meantime Al Smith had captured about as many bankers and big capitalist magnates as Hoover had but those who floated his campaign were unable to hit on any striking slogan.

What's the next one, gentlemen? Hoover will have to store all his in the garret with moth balls and his backers will sweat blood while thinking of something else. Franklin D. Roosevelt's backers haven't produced anything yet but "The Everlasting American System" may be useful providing the system does not go completely to pieces before November. Or they may be able to make a selection from his speech in Butte, Montana, late in August, 1920, when he was reported as having said that he rammed a constitution down the throat of Haiti when he was an underling in the Department of State. Perhaps "Big Brother to Our Latin Brothers" may be worth considering.

At any rate, let's have your slogans, gentlemen. You are all in an awful mess and the plight of your blessed "order" will test your wits as they have never been tested before.

The Liberty Party

FROM a number of sources we learn that the Liberal Party, founded by "Coin" Harvey last year, is active in some sections of the West. That it will get some support is certain as its vague, incoherent, and amateur economics will appeal to many of the uninformed who are in distress. "We believe that the money subject is the paramount issue," the party declares in its platform. Nearly forty years ago that slogan aroused over a million farmers and other discontented voters and is repeated today.

Since the days of the Populist upheaval there has been a profound revolution in the capitalist system. While the financial magnates play a leading role in the modern system it is absurd to say that "the money subject is the paramount issue." If the parasitic character of capitalist finance were completely wiped out, if banking became an exclusive government function, the capitalist class would still rule and exploit working farmers and wage workers.

The trouble with this new-style Populism is that it still thinks in terms of the middle-stage capitalism of 1896 and the political crusade led by the child-like Bryan of that year. What is required is a political movement that comprehends the whole system of capitalism and that seeks its complete reorganization, not a one-plank party that reverts back to lower middle class striving of forty years ago.

A whole-hearted Socialist movement recruiting the working masses for an attack upon every fortress of capitalism is essential. Financial palliatives seek relief for debtors within the capitalist system and they generally fail of realization while the debtors themselves sink to a lower level. A Socialist movement devoted to the overthrow of capitalism will at the same time, in the period of rising to power, bring what relief it can to debtors and wage workers but it will also keep in mind the necessity of abolishing capitalism itself.

The Cause Goes Marching On

We have seen the reaper toiling in the heat of summer sun,

We have seen the children needy when the harvesting was done;

We have seen a mighty army, dying helpless one by one,

While their flag went marching on!

Oh, the army of the wretched, how they swarm the city street,

We have seen them in the midnight, where the Goths and Vandals meet;

We have shuddered in the darkness at the noise of their feet—

But their cause goes marching on!

But no longer shall the children bend above the whizzing wheel,

We will free the weary women from their bondage under steel,

In the mines and in the forest, worn and hopeless, man shall feel

His cause is marching on!

Then lift your eyes, ye toilers, in the desert hot and drear,

Catch the cool wind from the mountains; Hark! the river's voice is near!

Soon we'll rest beside the fountains and the dream-land will be here!

As we go marching on!

—EXCHANGE.

Japan's Socialists Jailed For Opposition to War

JAPAN'S war against China has met with determined opposition from Japanese Socialists, who are now being subjected to severe persecution by the militarists and capitalist clique that dominates the government. Advices from Tokyo report the imprisonment of Toyohiko Kagawa, internationally known Socialist leader, and many of his associates. Scores of laborers and peasants, leaders and radical students have been arrested. Many of them have received cruel and inhumane treatment in the attempt of the government to break the morale of the Socialist opposition.

Despite the repression the resistance to imperialist war gains strength daily. Workers and students have demonstrated before the Mitsui banks in Tokyo and Osaka. The Mitsui companies, which have an influence in Japanese economic life comparable to the dominance of the House of Morgan in America, have been the chief beneficiaries of Japan's seizure of Manchuria. Peasant riots directed against the great landowners are frequent occurrences.

Loans Great Need

The military adventure has proved far more costly than the imperialists had calculated. Japan is rapidly approaching a financial crisis, and unless loans can be obtained from France or the United States, the whole capitalist structure of Japan—which has long rested on shaky foundations—may topple.

In recent months the Japanese Socialists have made considerable progress toward a united front. A year ago there were five labor par-

ties in the political field, plus several small local ones. In July a merger was effected that narrowed the field to three—the Shakai Minshuto (Social-Democratic), the Zenkoku Rono Taishuto (All-Japan Farmer-Labor Mass party), and the Ronoto (Farmer-Labor party). It is now reported that these have merged into a United Labor party, although definite confirmation is lacking at this time. All have sprung into existence since 1926 when universal male suffrage was granted after vigorous agitation by the workers. In the election of 1930 the proletarian parties polled a combined vote of about 5 per cent of the total vote cast. Their present strength is conceded to be considerably greater.

Kagawa's recent imprisonment is not his first. In 1921 he was a leader of the dramatic strike of shipbuilding workers in Kobe, which was crushed only after violent action by two battalions of soldiers and 4,000 police. Kagawa with 120 other strikers was jailed at that time. He has been imprisoned six times since. He was the organizer of the Peasants' Union and of many industrial workers' unions and has taken a leading role in the organization of the consumers co-operative movement and Labor's political parties. He is a prolific writer of great popularity, having written some forty novels, works on labor problems, and translations of English and German Socialist classics. Along with Upton Sinclair he is one of the best-selling authors in Japan.

The fate of two other well-known Socialist leaders, Hasachi Aso and Ikuro Oyama, a member of the Diet, is unknown, but it is believed that they, too, have been jailed.—P. P.

1932

—A Symposium

JOHN DEWEY

Chairman, League for Independent Political Action

MORRIS HILLQUIT

National Chairman, the Socialist Party

DUDLEY FIELD MALONE

Progressive Democrat; Noted Orator

NORMAN THOMAS

Socialist Candidate for President, 1928

LOUIS WALDMAN, Chairman

Will Discuss

"A POLITICAL POLICY AND PROGRAM FOR 1932"

AT THE EIGHTH ANNUAL

NEW LEADER DINNER

MONDAY, MARCH 7th, 6:30 P. M.

BEETHOVEN HALL

210 East 5th Street

New York City

RESERVATIONS \$1.50 PER PERSON

Use This Blank Today

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

A Call TO THE SOCIALISTS OF AMERICA Starvation of Masses of Workers Summons Party to Action—N.E.C. Manifesto

TO LOCALS AND WORKERS OF THE
SOCIALIST PARTY

Comrades:

We are in the third year of the industrial depression and there are no indications of recovery. On the contrary, more workers are being discharged. The bread lines are increasing. Millions of workers and their families face a bleak future of privation and many today actually face starvation.

Still more ominous is the increasing breakdown of the so-called "American" system of relief by local communities. Some of the large cities approach bankruptcy. Chicago and St. Louis already announce that even the meager charity doles given to thousands of families have been abandoned and that starving men, women and children will have to shift for themselves. Not only are cities giving up their inadequate relief systems. An increasing number are unable to pay their own employees. While industry is becoming more paralyzed the city governments and private relief agencies consign the working masses to lower levels of destitution.

The Bankers' Government

At Washington an administration servile to bankers and great capitalists arranges a two billion dollar corporation to relieve bankers, railroad capitalists and other exploiters of labor. While the governing powers are mobilized to assist the super-rich whose economic system has collapsed, the administration advises the starving millions to seek relief from those very local agencies that are turning these jobless workers adrift to obtain food and shelter as best they can.

Not only has the capitalist system of production broken down. The politics of capitalism is bankrupt in the presence of the greatest industrial disaster that has ever afflicted the toilers of this nation. The politicians of the capitalist class are not only bankrupt. They are heartless in dealing with this terrible catastrophe. They are chiefly concerned with the interests of the reigning business and banking classes.

While our industrial life is paralyzed there is no effort made by the leaders of the reigning parties to meet the problems of the jobless and the starving. Both the parties and responsible government officials stand self-convicted of inability or unwillingness or both to deal with the greatest calamity in our history.

The Socialist Party declares that the socialization of our great industries, natural resources and railroads is more than ever essential to end the capitalist anarchy and economic chaos that now plunged millions of workers into misery.

Fight Starvation

As measures of immediate relief we demand that Congress appropriate five billion dollars to be spent in part for direct relief of the unemployed and in part for the expansion of public improvements and that this relief be financed by increased taxation of large incomes. We also urge the immediate enactment of a comprehensive system of unemployment insurance, the progressive reduction of the hours of labor, raising of the school age and abolition of child labor, and opposition to wage reductions.

It is obvious that a solemn duty faces the Socialist Party, the party of the laboring millions. It is our duty to awaken the masses to the tragic drift of millions to starvation. We must turn with renewed efforts to organization of the jobless and the homeless into councils to formulate measures of immediate relief. We must demand the free use of public schools and other public buildings as shelters for the homeless and as assemblies where the councils can hold their sessions.

Socialists Must Lead

Socialists must take the initiative by calling preliminary conferences of sympathetic organizations that are capable of cooperation. Our comrades in a number of cities have already taken action with good results.

We therefore urge our local organizations to undertake this work without delay. The emergency becomes more grave each day as capitalism sinks to a lower level and the "American" system of doles becomes bankrupt.

Suggestive programs of action by these councils of the unemployed may be obtained from the national office of the party.

With Socialist greetings to the members we bid them to rise to this, one of the greatest responsibilities that have ever faced the Socialist Party of the United States.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

Morris Hillquit, *Chairman*
Alfred Baker Lewis
Daniel W. Hoan
Joseph W. Sharts
Lilith Wilson

Mrs. Meta L. Berger
Jasper McLevy
James Oneal
James H. Maurer
Clarence Senior, *Secretary*

St. Louis, Jan. 31, 1932.

International Denounces The Japanese Adventure

World Socialists Send Greetings to Workers In Both Countries

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

ZURICH.—The bureau of the Socialist and Labor International on Jan. 25th adopted a resolution calling on the workers of Japan and China to make common cause against their imperialist and exploiting elements. The resolution says:

"The Bureau of the L. S. I. declares that the situation in Manchuria has been considerably aggravated since the adoption of the resolution of the bureau condemning the occupation by the Japanese of an important part of the territory of Manchuria in flagrant violation of international treaties. Neither the intervention of the Council of the League of Nations nor the representations of the United States have prevented the Japanese government, which is a member of the League of Nations, a permanent member of the council and a signatory of the Pact of Paris (Kellogg Pact) and the Treaty of Washington, from extending its illegal occupation, from indulging in acts of war and from favoring in every possible way the constitution of a state which is alleged to be free but which would simply be an instrument of domi-

nation in the hands of Japan.

"The Bureau of the L. S. I. denounces before the workers the danger which results for the peace of the world from these attacks on the right of free determination of a people, from this shameful violation of international treaties, and from the resulting discredit for the institutions whose aim is to assure the pacific solution of disputes.

"It declares that the presence of representatives of the Japanese Government at the Disarmament Conference will appear as a derision and a defiance as long as it occupies Manchuria.

"It sends the organized workers of China who have appealed for its help the expression of the solidarity of all the Socialist workers; it relies upon the workers of the two countries concerned to make common cause against an imperialist policy which is equally harmful to both of them; it pledges the workers in all the parties affiliated to the L. S. I. to take every opportunity of denouncing the attacks committed against international law by Japanese militarism."

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

Alfred Baker Lewis At Cleveland Meeting

CLEVELAND.—A large crowd packed the lecture room of the Slovenian National Auditorium Jan. 27 to hear Alfred Baker Lewis, national committeeman of the Socialist Party. Lewis told of Socialist work all over the country to remedy existing evils, pointing out that most of the Labor legislation we have today is the result of constant Socialist agitation.

A large number of Communists employed their usual tactics in an unsuccessful attempt to break up the meeting. After asking questions about MacDonald and Germany, etc., they refused to allow Comrade Lewis to answer, but drowned him out with their heckling and booing. Sidney Yellen and Joseph Martinek outlined the program of unemployment relief to be demanded by Ohio Socialists this year. Max Wohl, candidate for Secretary of State, presided.

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.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
1 Year in the United States \$2.00
6 Months in the United States \$1.00
1 Year to Foreign Countries \$3.00

Entered as Second Class Matter, January 19, 1924, at the Post Office at New York, New York, under act of March 3, 1879.

Socialist N.E.C. Demands Peaceful Solution in China

Resolution Sends Greetings to Japan Socialists for Fighting Imperialism

[The text of the resolution of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party on the Sino-Japanese situation follows:]

WHILE the world is still acutely suffering from the physical, economic and moral ravages of the late war, a new conflict is developing in the Far East which threatens once more to engulf mankind in a savage and suicidal holocaust and to destroy the poor remnants of modern civilization.

The capitalist system with its inevitable national rivalries for markets and the capitalist governments with their inevitable policies of imperialism and militarism are proving as impotent of maintaining peace among the nations as they have proved incapable to provide the means of life for the people within each nation.

Capitalism is daily becoming more bankrupt and a greater menace to the peace, prosperity and very existence of the people.

Before the new crime against the human race is irretrievably committed, before the people of this country are dragged into a new and devastating world war

the Socialist party raises its voice of solemn protest and warning against the mischievous and nefarious war propaganda which is already beginning to be subtly spread in this country by our munition-making, profiteering and militant enemies from within.

We demand that the government of the United States take an active and determined part in all efforts to end the China-Japanese conflict through diplomatic, moral and economic measures, but that it abstain from all acts, policies and threats which may in any way tend to draw this country into the conflict.

To the Socialists and workers of Japan we send fraternal greetings and urge them to combat the policies of imperialism and international lawlessness of their government as uncompromisingly and vigorously as we are determined to resist all similar policies of our own governments.

With the Socialist and labor armies of the world we join in the cry: "Down with wars and bloodshed. Long live social justice and international peace."

Why is it that in the richest nation of the world those who produce the wealth should alone be poor? What help can you expect from those who believe they can only be kept rich in proportion as you are kept poor?—Kear Hardie.

Socialist Party Warns of War Danger

N.E.C. Urges Steadfast Peace Stand

St. Louis Meeting Stresses Jobless Crisis — Moves Convention to May 7th

By JAMES ONEAL

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Meeting in this city the last two days in January, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party transacted its business with the knowledge that the situation in Manchuria has all the possibilities of another imperialist war. Many Socialists recalled the fact that it was nearly fifteen years ago that the Socialist party met in St. Louis in an emergency convention and adopted its anti-war program on the eve of the entry of the United States into the war.

Appropriately enough, in accord with the party's anti-war record, the committee adopted a ringing statement regarding the Japanese-Chinese conflict and pointed out that in this country the jingoes are already active. They are beating the drums, rattling sabers, and the press is creating an "enemy" for the masses while in the heart of the nation a real enemy has not only levied its contributions but has stripped millions of the means to live. Perhaps a holy war, they figure, will divert attention from the real enemy.

Just as important was the adoption of an appeal to the members of the party regarding the economic crisis which is getting worse and the imperative need of Socialists to employ all their resources to organize the jobless and the starving for action in their own behalf. One cannot travel without becoming aware of the fact that the depression is the greatest disaster that has ever afflicted this country. It is no exaggeration to say that millions of workers are facing actual starvation.

In "Hooverville"

I give elsewhere my observations to readers of The New Leader which are based upon information gathered in a number of cities and conversations with strangers on trains. Today St. Louis turns adrift 60,000 human beings who have been kept from starvation by doles and there are about 300,000 unemployed in the city. Wages are being slashed.

On the banks of the Mississippi a village which is satirically called "Hooverville" has been built in the past year or two. It is a collection of shanties built of old boards, tin, leather and boxes. Here hundreds of the starving vegetate—they do not live—in filth and cold near the outlet of a big sewer. It is a hideous monument to the "rugged individualism" of the fat-head who drives hokum while human beings waste away of hunger.

All the more reason why local Socialist organizations should go direct to the masses and organize them into councils and as pressure groups to compel governing politicians to meet this grave situation. That is why the National Executive Committee again appeals to the members to take up this work. It is already being done in a number of cities with good results and it can be done in other cities.

Report Shows Progress

The report of Executive Secretary Senior largely covered the year 1931 and it shows 96 new locals organized in 28 states. Of course, some of them may not have survived but that there is a net gain in membership for the year is certain. On the basis of

dues stamps sold the increase in membership is 653. This is not large but it indicates an upward trend which is also confirmed by the large and increasing number of inquiries received by the national office for literature and for information as to how to organize Socialist locals.

Moreover, some local elections in Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Connecticut in 1931 show local successes or a large increase in the Socialist vote. In Reading we were defeated but comrades will be interested to know that since the defeat of the Reading Socialists by a combination of the bourgeois parties 800 new members have joined the party in that city. The local now has 1,900 members. The increase points to a defeat of the capitalist coalition in that city in the next election.

The decision of West Virginia miners for independent political action with possible cooperation with the Socialist party is another healthful sign. The fact that Socialist and workers' education in Seattle, San Francisco, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh is on the upgrade and that the Rand School of Social Science finds it difficult to provide rooms for its students is also significant of the current trend.

Convention Date Set

An important action of the National Executive Committee was to postpone the date of the national convention from April 16 to May 7. This was due to urgent requests from the West where bad roads would make it difficult for delegates to travel in machines. The later date will also make it possible to take advantage of lower railroad rates.

As the West Virginia miners were meeting to make their decision regarding the cooperation with the Socialist party at the Saturday session the committee sent the following telegram to the miners:

"The National Executive Committee of the Socialist party greets with joy the news of efforts to organize West Virginia workers for political action independent of the Republican and Democratic parties which betray the workers and sell them to the exploiters. We urge union with our now rapidly growing organization and a united front in national and state fights for social justice and workers' rights."

The exclusion of Herman J. Hahn from station WGY at Buffalo because he would not permit his radio addresses to be censored was the occasion for a protest being sent to the station. The executive secretary was also instructed to get in touch with the Labor party members of the Canadian Parliament regarding the exclusion of Hahn from Canada who was to speak for the Labor party in Toronto. An effort will also be made to send an inquiry to the Canadian government through American diplomatic channels regarding this incident.

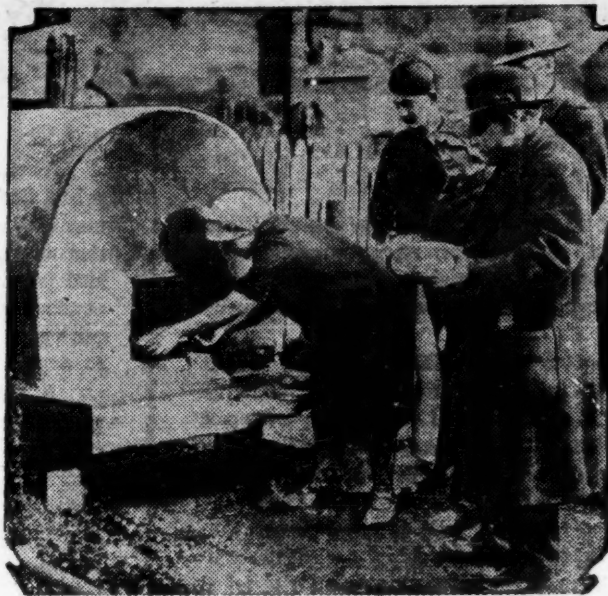
An invitation to send a delegate to an informal conference on relations between North and South and Central America in March resulted in the selection of Morris Hillquit to write to the sponsors of the conference rather than send a delegate.

Fraternal Delegates

After mature deliberation the committee decided not to invite fraternal delegates from sympathetic organizations to attend the national convention. Much of the time of the convention will be taken up with the discussion of party problems and principles and it is desirable that discussions should be confined to party members.

Both the Jewish Socialist Verband and the Poale Zion were represented at the committee in relation to the latter's application for affiliation with the party. Both or-

Socialist Relief Feeds Pennsylvania Miners



An oven maintained by the Socialist Miners Relief Committee of Pittsburgh which daily supplies hundreds of miners and their families with bread free of cost.

ganizations were heard and much time was taken in ascertaining both points of view. A sub-committee consisting of Algernon Lee, Norman Thomas and James Oneal had met with representatives of both organizations in New York City and the committee's report was adverse to the application of the Poale Zion at the present time. Considering the wide diversity of views between the two organizations and that this conflict would likely find expression in the various party divisions if both groups were integral parts of the party, it was decided to recommit the problem to the sub-committee to see if the cooperation between the party and the Poale Zion cannot be continued and more fraternal relations be worked out between the two organizations.

The local in the District of Columbia asked that it be given representation in the national convention and it was given one delegate. With the growth of the party in Missouri the party organization requested that its delegation be increased from two to five and the committee voted to increase it to four. Virginia had been given one delegate and two alternates and was later assigned two delegates and two alternates after the action taken in relation to the request of Missouri.

Y. P. S. L. Problems

A tangle in the Young People's Socialist League took some time of the committee. Certain members of the National Executive Committee of the league had failed to function, the remaining members declared their seats vacant, temporarily filled them, transferred the headquarters to the national office of the party in Chicago, and issued a referendum to league

members. The proceedings were irregular although a deadlock had occurred in the league executive because of inactivity of a majority and the minority felt that something had to be done to get a functioning executive.

The whole situation is largely due to the fact that the league has drifted in the post-war years and has not had that degree of cooperation and direction provided for by the national constitution of the party which makes the party executive responsible for the guidance of the league. Executive Secretary Senior was instructed to take over the national work of the league and conduct such work upon the understanding that the league is primarily a training school for Socialist party activities and is not concerned with questions of party policies.

The committee revised the party's Workers' Rights Amendment to the federal constitution to make it a more inclusive Socialist proposal. As it now reads it would empower the federal government to take over a variety of capitalist enterprises as well as validate various forms of social legislation. The revised amendment is as follows:

ARTICLE XX

Section 1. The Congress shall have power to establish uniform laws throughout the United States to regulate, limit and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age; to limit the work time and establish minimum compensation of wage earners; to provide for the relief of aged, invalidated, sick and unemployed wage earners and employees in the form of periodical grants, pensions, benefits, compensation or indemnities from the public treasury, from

contributions of employers, wage earners and employees, or from one or more of such sources; to establish and take over national resources, properties and enterprises in manufacture, mining, commerce, transportation, banking, public utilities and other business to be owned and operated by the government of the United States or agencies thereof for the benefit of the people, and generally for the social and economic welfare of the workers, farmers and consumers.

Section 2. The power of the several states to enact social welfare legislation is unimpaired by this article, but no such legislation shall abridge or conflict with any act of Congress under this article.

The committee authorized the executive secretary to publish a primer on organization for Socialists and decided that Marx Lewis of Washington, D. C., be consulted with the view of undertaking a drive for party funds. A proposal to publish a quarterly propaganda magazine was referred to the convention for consideration. The proposal included the suggestion that a pre-convention number be issued but the committee decided that it was in no position to undertake the venture.

200 at Banquet

At the national convention a conference of state secretaries and of representatives of the Socialist press will be arranged if possible and a big affair is planned in Chicago on May 11 with the candidates for President and Vice President and members of the new executive in attendance.

The speakers were Clarence Senior, James Oneal, Morris Hillquit, Joseph W. Sharts, Alfred Baker Lewis and James H. Maurer. The latter was the last speaker and kept the audience in roars of laughter with his witty reminiscences of party adventures when on the road as a soap-boxer.

The feature of the evening however, was the installation of a circle of the Young People's Socialist League with twenty members. They are a band of young enthusiasts and were the center of attention. Israel Landau spoke for the group and said that its members would look for the guidance of party in the class struggle and in Socialist activities.

Hillquit responded for the committee in one of the most moving addresses he has ever delivered. At its conclusion he delivered the charter to Comrade Landau amid a round of applause. Later each member of the executive committee was requested to sign the charter. About \$200 was contributed by the audience and there is little doubt that the St. Louis movement is on the road to an increasing membership, influence and power.

Nearing-Solomon

Debate to Draw

A Record Audience

All indications point to a record-breaking crowd when Scott Nearing and Charles Solomon meet in the Brooklyn Academy of Music Sunday morning, Feb. 7th, to debate "Communism or Socialism?" Both debaters are thorough students of political and economic subjects and are considered masters of debate. Dr. J. Howard Melish will preside.

Other important events scheduled by the Brooklyn Forum include a debate between the Young People's Socialist League and a team from the New York University on Feb. 14th. The week following, B. Charney Vladek and Rabbi Alexander Lyons will debate on religion. Feb. 28th, Morris Hillquit and Matthew Wolf will thresh out the question, "Should Organized Labor Foster Its Own Political Party?"

1,500 Cheer Socialists At St. Louis Mass Rally

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—About 1,500 persons attended the Socialist mass meeting here addressed by Morris Hillquit, James H. Maurer and James Oneal. It was the first big Socialist meeting held in this city for years and both the attendance and the enthusiasm show that St. Louis is "coming back" into the Socialist fold. Due to the fine work by Socialists of the pre-war period in recent months a growing local organization has been established which has established a forum of Sunday lectures and the membership is increasing. G. A. Hoehn, a veteran Socialist

of more than forty years, in cooperation with the Jewish Socialist Verband has assumed the direction of the state organization. Two locals were recently organized, one in Kansas City and the other at Joplin, and several more will soon be organized.

Local St. Louis is certain to go forward rapidly. At the mass meeting Oneal emphasized the need of joining the Socialist Party and fifteen men and women signed application cards. Much literature was also sold and distributed and although many in the audience were jobless workers a collection of over forty dollars was taken.

Two Huge Peace Rallies Called in N. Y. C.

Chinese and Japanese at B'klyn Meet

Madison Square Saturday and Academy of Music Sunday to Witness Meetings

THE Socialist party of New York has taken steps to set in motion a peace movement to combat any threatened danger of the involvement of the United States in a Far Eastern war. A call is being prepared to peace, labor and Socialist groups to join in a conference to create a concerted peace movement. Two public mass meetings to be addressed by leaders of the party are to be held Saturday at noon in Madison Square Park and Sunday afternoon in the Brooklyn Academy of Music.

A resolution was adopted by the executive committee of the New York City organization which called on the United States "to use all possible pressure, in concert with other governments, to bring about a peaceful settlement between Japan and China." The Socialist resolution made it clear that it opposes any forcible means, adding, "we insist that no 'incident' shall be permitted to involve our country in war."

Asks Ban On Munitions Sales

The Socialist resolution declared the "great powers are primarily concerned not with preventing war, but with protecting their own vested interests in China." The statement suggests that if the powers wanted to end war they might do so, "without recourse to warlike measures, by refusal to grant loans or to supply Japan with munitions and war materials."

The executive committee appointed a committee consisting of Julius Gerber, executive secretary; Edward Levinson, Paul Porter, Harry Kritzer, Theodore Shapiro and Jessie Wallace Hughan to issue a call to labor and peace groups for the creation of a peace council which will act during the life of the current crisis to create popular pressure for peace in the event of any war threat.

The committee also authorized the immediate staging of two peace demonstrations. One is to be held Saturday at 12:30 noon near the Peace Light in Madison Square Park. Police permission for the meeting has been granted. The plans for the meeting include a parade with peace banners after the meeting. The speakers at the Saturday meeting will be: Norman Thomas, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, J. B. Matthews, Heywood Brown, Francis A. Henson, Paul Porter, Frederick V. Field, Mary Hillyer, Fania Cohn, Reinhold Neibuhr, Julius Umansky and Edward Murrow.

The second demonstration will be held the following day with a

Phila. to Continue Fight for Mooney Along Labor Lines

PHILADELPHIA.—Philadelphia labor will continue the fight for Tom Mooney's freedom on class lines. These were the conclusions reached by a mass meeting held by the Mooney Defense Conference of Philadelphia last Monday.

Franz Daniel, Elizabeth Hawes and A. Gussakoff, delegates to the national Mooney Defense Conference, voiced dissatisfaction with the middle class character of the conference and the lack of labor control. It was their opinion that many "Progressive" Senators and Congressmen were using Mooney as a political football. The meeting was addressed by Edmund Ryan of the C. P. L. A., and Maynard Krueger of the Socialist Party.

The Executive Committee of the Conference has announced that strenuous efforts will be made to place speakers before every union in Philadelphia and vicinity and rally labor support to a gigantic outdoor mass meeting during the spring.

speaking list including Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the party, and its International Secretary; Algernon Lee, B. C. Vlodeck, J. B. Matthews and Heywood Brown. The Sunday rally will be held at 2:30 P. M. in the Brooklyn Academy of Music, Lafayette avenue near Flatbush avenue, Brooklyn. Two other speakers will be "Chih Meng of China and T. S. Miyokawa of Japan."

Text of Resolution

The resolution of the N. Y. Socialists says:

"War, although not officially declared, is raging between Japan and China. By occupying Manchuria and setting up her own puppet government, Japan is consolidating and expanding her commercial and financial interests in that country. By carrying the war into the heart of China, Japan is trying to break the last resistance of a weak nation, its boycott of Japanese goods, and to establish herself as the dominating power in the Far East. The bombing of unfortified cities and the slaughter of civilians, are but the outgrowth of a ruthless imperialist policy. Only the Japanese capitalists and those associated with them can benefit by this policy. The Japanese workers and peasants are being sacrificed to the banking and commercial interests of their rulers, and the masses in both China and Japan will be the chief sufferers."

"The peace of the world is seriously threatened, as other nations may become involved. The mere danger of international war aggravates the economic depression. All the agencies which have been set up with the avowed purpose of preventing just such a situation, have woefully failed. The meek demands of the League of Nations remained unheeded, the Kellogg peace pact has proved utterly ineffective. The great powers are primarily concerned not with preventing war, but with protecting their own vested interests in China. If they earnestly desired to call a halt to Japan's military aggression, they could do so, without recourse to warlike measures, by refusal to grant loans or to supply Japan with munitions and war material. Such action, however, can be expected from them only if strong pressure is brought to bear upon them by the working classes in the various countries. In the last analysis, the hope of averting war danger and of assuring world peace rests upon powerful organized action by the workers throughout the world."

"The Socialist Party, therefore, calls on the Government of the United States to use all possible pressure, in concert with other governments, to bring about a peaceful settlement between Japan and China. At the same time, we insist that no 'incident' shall be permitted to involve our country in war. We call upon the workers and all peace-loving citizens to join in our emphatic demand for preserving the peace of the world. We send our fraternal greetings to the Socialists of Japan, whose brave resistance to the imperialist policy of their government, in face of cruel persecution, sets a good example to the workers of all countries."

No longer talk at all about the kind of man that a good man ought to be, but be such.—Marcus Aurelius

Yipsels Called To Take Part in Peace Rallies

ALL members of the N. Y. Young People's Socialist League will participate in the two large anti-war demonstrations called by the Party at the Madison Square Park Saturday. Sunday afternoon at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. All Yipsels are to report at the Academy of Music, 30 Lafayette avenue, Brooklyn. Those circles which meet Sunday afternoon are requested to call off their meetings.

Thousands of organization leaflets have been distributed by the League for the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, which is preparing for a general dress strike. The Yipsels have volunteered to serve in any capacity desired.

Sunday, February 7th, will be the last day for voting for N. Y. P. S. L. League officers. Circles are to send in the ballots immediately after voting.

Dr. William E. Bohn will address Circle 1 Sr. of 639 Hendrix street Brooklyn, on "History of Hard Times," Utica, N. Y.—A reorganization meeting of the Utica Yipsels will be held on Wednesday, February 10, at 8:30 P. M. at the Workmen's Circle Hall.

Syracuse, N. Y.—The next meeting of the Syracuse Yipsels will be held on Thursday, February 11, at 8:30 P. M. at the Workmen's Circle Hall. The organization of a Speaker's Training class and a Dramatic group are underway, and literature distribution at homes, factories and schools is being planned.

Albany, N. Y.—All readers of the New Leader who are interested in the formation of a Y. P. S. L. circle in Albany are urged to get in touch with Florence Swire, 3 South Dove street.

Reading, Pa.—The January 31st membership meeting of the Reading comrades was addressed by Comrade Dancis of New York. His subject was the National Organization. The three Senior and one Junior circles work together through a central committee, and a fifth circle (Junior) will be chartered in a few weeks. A resolution was passed urging the State Board to release Alfred Hoffman of the Hosiery Workers Union, who is now serving a two-year jail sentence at Stroudsburg, Pa.

At the Rand School

Oneal and Muste Debate

A change is announced with regard to the debate to be held Friday evening, February 5th. James Oneal will oppose A. J. Muste in the place of Sam Beardsley, who is compelled by union business to leave town. The question is whether the policy of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action is the right one for all radicals. The whole matter of the Socialist attitude towards the unions and the different ways of attempting to improve conditions in the unions will be thoroughly discussed.

The course of lectures on "Contemporary Psychology" drew so large a crowd last week that it has been decided to hold the succeeding lectures in the auditorium. On February 11th, the speaker will be Arnold Gesell of Yale University. His subject will be "Early Growth" of Behavior Patterns.

The Saturday evening entertainments in the studio promise to be very successful. At the first one, on the 6th, August Claessens will entertain with monologues and pantomimes. On the 13th David P. Berenberg will give readings from his own poems. There will be tea and cakes and dancing to music furnished by the new radio set.

The winter term has brought to the School 180 new students. The Workers Training Course has passed the two hundred mark and is considerably larger than ever before in its history. A new section in the class in the Principles of Socialism, taught by Abraham Shiplacoff, starts with 48 members. The class in the Program of Socialism, taught by David P. Berenberg, has 55 members. Eighteen new party members have accepted the offer of a course in a Social Science free of charge.

Here's Your Chance to Help!

WANTED

Yipsels and other Comrades to sell copies of The New Leader at Madison Square Park Anti-War meeting, Saturday noon and at Brooklyn Academy of Music meeting Sunday afternoon. Report to The New Leader office Friday and Saturday morning.

Let hairs fear, let cowards shrink,
Let traitors turn away,
Whatever we have dared to think
That dare we also say.
—James Russell Lowell

Malone Added to Speakers At 8th New Leader Dinner

DUDLEY FIELD MALONE has been added to the list of speakers who will take part in the symposium on the 1932 presidential election at the annual New Leader dinner Monday, March 7th, at Beethoven Hall, N. Y. C. It is probable that a prominent "progressive Republican" will also be among the speakers.

The subject, "A Political Policy and Program for 1932," will be discussed from various viewpoints.

Morris Hillquit and Norman Thomas will present the Socialist view. Prof. John Dewey, chairman of the League for Independent Political Action, will talk for the unattached progressives who are now working for a "third party." Mr. Malone will represent the opinions of a progressive Democrat.

Mr. Malone was collector of the port of New York under the Wilson regime. He resigned his post in protest against the administration policy toward the women's suffrage movement. During the war he gave valuable service in the fight for civil liberties, peace and sanity. Later he became a

leader of the Farmer-Labor party. Of late, Mr. Malone has been a staunch defender of the Walker administration in New York City.

The dinner will mark the 8th birthday of The New Leader. Socialists and other readers are expected from New York and all nearby cities and towns to attend the affair. Reservations at \$1.50 a plate may be made at the New Leader, 7 East 15th street, by mail or in person.

THE FREE THINKERS' LECTURES

"The Priests and the Prophets of Israel" will be the subject of a talk by Major Joseph Wheeler, Sunday, Feb. 7th, at 2:30, in the Steinway Building, 113 W. 57th street. At 3:30 P. M., Forest Bailey of the Civil Liberties Bureau, will speak on "The Right of Atheists to Testify in Court." Both speakers will appear under the auspices of the Freethinkers of America.

NEARING AT LABOR TEMPLE

"Prosperity and Depression" will be the subject of the second lecture in the course being delivered by Scott Nearing Tuesday, Feb. 9th, at 8 P. M., in the Labor Temple, 14th street and Second avenue.

DEBATES — LECTURES — FORUMS

DEBATE

"Should Divorce in America Be Made Easier?"

MORRIS L. ERNST says "YES"

REV. WM. SHEAFE CHASE, D.D., says "NO"

TUESDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 9th, at 8:30 P. M.

Admission: Members 50c — Non-Members 75c

A Clearing House Of Opinion

THE GROUP

Meets at Auditorium

150 West 85th St.

THE COMMUNITY FORUM OF THE COMMUNITY CHURCH

Now meeting at Temple Beth-El, Fifth Avenue and 76th Street

SUNDAY, 3 P. M.—MAURICE SAMUEL

"The Future of Marriage"

11 A. M.—LON RAY CALL

"THE CRIMES WE COMMIT AGAINST OUR MINDS"

ADMISSION FREE

ALL WELCOME

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At Cooper Union

Eighth Street and Astor Place

At 8 o'clock

Friday Evening, Feb. 5th

DR. RICHARD McKEON

"Duns Scotus: Axioms and Ideas"

Sunday Evening, Feb. 7th

DR. HOUSTON PETERSON

"Types of Victorian Agnosticism"

Thomas H. Huxley

Tuesday Evening, Feb. 9th

PROFESSOR SHIRLEY QUIMBY

"Light"

At Muhlenberg Library

200 West 23rd Street

At 8:30 o'clock

Thursday Evening, Feb. 11th

DR. E. G. SPAULDING

"The Indivisible Divided"

The New History Society

PRESENTS

A FREE DEBATE

on "Preparedness vs. Disarmament"

Speakers:

ADMIRAL BRADLEY ALLEN FISKE

RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE

GENERAL AMOS A. FRIES

DR. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Monday, Feb. 8, 8:30 P. M. Promptly

Carnegie Hall, 7th Ave and 57th St.

1500 UNRESERVED SEATS AVAILABLE

in Dress Circle and Balcony

Doors Open 7:30 P. M.

No Lecture at the Park Lane Tomorrow

Scott Nearing

FEB. 9th at 8 P. M.

"Prosperity and Depression"

LABOR TEMPLE

242 EAST 14th STREET

25 and 30 cents.

REMEMBER

THE NEW LEADER

Eighth Annual Dinner

MARCH 7, 1932

Make Reservations Now

A Debate You'll Never Forget!

Communism or Socialism

For Communism

SCOTT

NEARING

For Socialism

CHARLES

SOLOMON

SUN., FEB. 7th, 8:30 P. M.

Brooklyn Academy of Music

30 Lafayette Ave.

Tickets 25c, 50c, \$1 at Box Office and

Rand Book Store, 7 E. 10th St., N.Y.C.

FEB. 14—DEBATE—Y. P. S. L. vs.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Auspices, Brooklyn Forum

FREETHINKERS OF AMERICA

Sunday, February 7th

Steinway Bldg., 6th Fl. 113 W. 57th St.

Bible Class: 2:30 P. M.—MAJOR

JOSEPH WHEELER—"The Priests

and Prophets of Israel"

Lecture: 3:30 P. M.—MR. FOREST

BAILEY—"The Right of Atheists to

Testify in Court"

ADMISSION FREE

Questions and Discussion

LABOR TEMPLE

14th Street and Second Avenue

DR. EDMUND B. CHAFFEE, Director

5 P. M.—DR. E. G. BECK, "Modernism

For Orthodoxy."

7:45 P. M.—STANLEY A. DAY, Organ

Recital.

8 P. M.—DR. EDMUND B. CHAFFEE,

"The Disarmament Conference at

Geneva."

Admission Free

Music

Admission Free

Admission Free

Admission Free

Admission Free

Admission Free

Admission Free

Admission Free

Admission Free

Admission Free

Admission Free

Admission Free

Admission Free

Admission Free

Admission Free

Admission Free

Admission Free

Admission Free

THE Workmen's Circle

The Largest Radical Working-Men's Fraternal Order in Existence

75,000 MEMBERS

\$5,000,000 ASSETS

700 Branches All Over the United States and Canada

Insurance from \$100 to \$3,000

Sick benefit, 15 weeks per year, at \$8, \$18, \$23 and \$28 per week. Many branches pay additional benefit from \$3 to \$5 per week. Consumption benefit \$400 and \$600 or nine months in our own sanatorium, located in the most beautiful region of the Catskill Mountains—besides the regular weekly benefit.

For information apply to THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE 175 East Broadway, N. Y. City Telephone Orchard 6-0000

W. Va. Miners Organize a Labor Party

Convention Votes 'Harmonious Action' With Socialists on State Ticket

By AMICUS MOST
(Special New Leader Correspondent)

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — The convention of the West Virginia Mine Workers Union held at Charleston Jan. 30th resulted in a decision to start an independent labor party in direct opposition to the Republican and Democratic parties in the five counties in which the union is strong.

The convention elected as its chairman Frank Keeney, president of the union. Delegates were present from every local of the union and from Socialist party locals throughout the state. The convention was addressed by Harold Houston, local attorney and former Socialist candidate for Governor, by Norman Thomas and Murray Baron of the Socialist party, and by Tom Tippet and A. J. Muste of the Brookwood Labor College.

Policy Is Outlined

The following resolution was adopted unanimously:

"1. That the West Virginia Mine Workers Union reiterates their allegiance to independent political action, which means no barter or intrigue with the Democratic and Republican parties. To this end it establishes the Independent Labor Party of West Virginia in the counties of Boone, Kanawha, Raleigh and Putnam.

"2. That the Independent Labor Party leaves open the question of national affiliation. It instructs its continuation committee to study the best methods of building up a strong national working class party. It permits its members to join the Socialist party with the understanding that within the five counties named no rival Socialist party locals are to be formed.

"3. That the Independent Labor Party invites the Socialist Party of West Virginia to a joint conference for harmonious action on the state ticket and platform and that friendly labor unions and farmers organizations in sympathy with these purposes be included in that conference."

It also adopted resolutions for unemployment insurance, socialization of the coal industry, demanding the abolition of the state police, calling upon the federal government to adopt the LaFollette bill for a large bond issue and for immediate cash relief, calling upon the government to declare illegal the "yellow-dog" contract, and to abolish anti-labor injunctions. It also sent greetings to the miners of Harlan County, Kentucky, in their fight against the coal operators.

The convention was adjourned until March 26, 1932.

The Charleston Socialists held a large mass meeting that night which was addressed by Norman Thomas, Murray Baron and Amicus Most. The court house was crowded and as a result of the meeting the branch increased its membership by 20, giving it a total of 60 members.

At the regular meeting of the party it was decided to hold a demonstration in Charleston against war and unemployment in the near future. This is particularly important in view of a front page article carried by the Charleston "Daily Mail" stating that Charleston was getting war-minded.

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

Cleveland Campaign To Aid Harlan Miners

(By A New Leader Correspondent)
CLEVELAND. — The Cleveland Young Socialists will hold a tag-day for the Harlan, Kentucky, miners Saturday, Feb. 6, and the week of Feb. 7th. The local General Defense Committee, the Workmen's Circle, and the Socialist Party are expected to cooperate. The tag-day is preliminary to a campaign to raise money for the defense and relief of the Harlan miners.

The Miners' Defense Committee, a liberal group organized by Sidney Yellen, state secretary of the Socialist Party, is collecting contributions for the miners. The committee which is cooperating with the General Defense Committee has as its chairman, Rabbi A. H. Silver. The General Defense Committee is planning a gigantic mass-meeting concert to be held early in March.

Ohio Ministers Vow Opposition To Future War

400 Pastors Hit Capitalist System—Sharts Addresses Conference

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

CLEVELAND. — A militant stand against wars and a denunciation of the capitalist system was resolved by over 400 Ohio ministers at their annual convention here.

The pastors pledged themselves never again "to sanction or participate in any war," nor to "give our moral or financial support to any war." Stating that "we do not believe in the principle of socially irresponsible individualism as it operates in economic affairs," the convention urged the adoption of more social control of economic activities, of more equitable distribution of wealth, and of economic planning on an international scale. Specifically the ministers demanded the passing of an unemployment insurance bill, creation of a national planning board, and an investigation of the stock markets.

The resolution pledging abstention from war was the most hotly contested. The vote on this resolution showed clearly the dividing line between the younger and the older ministers. The latter did their best to take the teeth out of this resolution. In their resolution condemning war, the following is the most important paragraph:

"We are convinced that war is unchristian, futile and suicidal, and we renounce completely the whole war system. We will never again sanction or participate in any war. We will not use our pulpits or class rooms as recruiting stations. We set ourselves to educate and lead youth in the principles and practice of good will, justice, understanding, brotherhood and peace. We will not give our financial or moral support to any war. We will seek security and justice by pacific means."

Sharts Makes Address
One session was addressed by Joseph Sharts, Socialist candidate for governor. His talk had much to do with influencing the pastors in their radical economic demands. The Socialist State Executive Committee plans to test the sincerity of the ministers by offering them the opportunity to do practical work for Socialism. They will be asked to circulate petitions nominating the state candidates.

BERLIN. — The workers of the Dutch East Indies, "Persatoean Vakhbond Pegawai Negri" (Center for Native Workers), which has a membership of about 32,000, has applied for affiliation to the International Federation of Trade Unions.

N. Y. Labor Asks For Seat On Board of Education

Central Trades Votes to Forward Request to Mayor Walker

PROBLEMS with a political coloring occupied most of the time of the delegates at the last meeting of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity. Of major importance was the demand that a representative of labor be placed upon the New York City Board of Education to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Arthur Somers. Chairman Peabody of the Education Committee asked for the appointment of a committee to consider the question. He explained that the last time a vacancy on the board had occurred it was necessary to find an appointee of the Jewish faith. He declared that organized labor did not care what the faith of the new member would be but merely wanted him to be a choice of the trade union movement. He urged candidates or their friends to make known the names of those seeking appointment so that the Central Trades could get behind a definite candidacy. Delegate Betty Hawley of the Waiters and Waitresses called attention to the fact that at the last convention of the New York State Federation of Labor a resolution was adopted requesting that labor representatives should be appointed to local school boards. The present Board of Education in New York City was mostly made up of bankers and real estate men. Fania Cohen of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union argued that it was especially urgent at the present juncture to secure the appointment of a labor man or woman. The city authorities are talking of retrenchment and may turn the city's free institutions of higher learning into fee-paying colleges in order to please the bankers who are calling for economy. A delegate of the Electrical Linemen pointed out that much of the vocational training of the young was at the mercy of the school system and suggested that the principle of labor representation be extended to the local school boards in the different districts of the city.

Vice President Munholland, who was acting as chairman, believed that asking for a labor representative on the Board of Education was one of the most progressive steps taken by the Central Trades in years and urged that each affiliated union send a letter to Mayor Walker asking for the selection of such a person. Delegate Kelley of Local 3 of the Electrical Workers suggested that a suitable resolution be sent to the affiliated bodies for their adoption. It was decided that the secretary be instructed to write the mayor and that a committee be appointed to visit Walker and place before him the wishes of trade unions.

Firemen Defended

Delegate Boettjer arose to take exception to criticism of the uniformed forces of the City of New York that had been made at the last meeting. Several unions, the Machinists, Electricians, Boiler-makers, Blacksmiths and Horse-shoers had complained that policemen and firemen were doing their work and depriving them of jobs. The policemen were especially condemned for installing and maintaining the traffic light system of the city, while the firemen were particularly found at fault for assisting in the painting of fire houses. Delegate Boettjer declared that the uniformed men were not willing to do the craftsmen's work but that they were under orders. The high officials were to blame. He asked that specific charges be made. In the case of the firemen their union had obtained a definite

ruling that the men were not required to do any work that belonged to craftsmen. When officials demand such labor, the fire commissioner should be informed. He told stories of how he had had work by firemen in firehouses stopped. The firemen wanted to cooperate with the other trades just as they expected the help of the other unions in winning their demands. Several delegates assured Boettjer that their criticism was not leveled against the individual firemen and policemen but against city officials for permitting the conditions complained of to exist.

Annual Banquet Feb. 12

The Machinists' delegates also brought in complaints against public officials for depriving members of their union of work through the use of the funds appropriated by the State for emergency unemployment relief. Men had been taken on in the 16th Street repair shop of the Department of Sanitation and a stagger system established. The union representatives had complained about this situation in vain.

Delegate Larsen of the Painters' informed the body that painters were being employed on the Empire State Building below the union scale of wages. Secretary Quinn announced that he had had

a message from ex-Governor Smith's secretary that a conference would be held with the representatives of the Painters' Union on the question in dispute. Secretary Quinn also announced that the City Comptroller had called a conference on the prevailing rate of wages for iron riveters for last Tuesday but that the meeting had been postponed for a week.

One of the most curious reports was made by Delegate Mackey of the Laundry Workers. He appealed to the delegates and their friends to patronize laundries conducted by whites and not those by Chinamen. He did not even demand doing business with union-controlled laundries unless one could afford and wanted better work done. The Chinese laundries were a menace to health and business, he said.

The delegates from Printing Pressmen Assistants' Union No. 23 reported that his union had paid out \$400,000 in unemployment benefits during the depression, the delegate from Lithographers Local No. 1 reported an expenditure of \$147,000 and the representative of Electrical Workers' Local No. 3 reported payments of \$500,000.

The annual banquet of the Central Trades is taking place on Feb. 12 at \$4 a plate, a reduction in prices from previous years.

L. S.

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

Nervous and irritable? It's a warning . . .

that elimination is delayed—that you're absorbing intestinal poisons. Ex-Lax acts safely and gently to rid the body of unhealthful wastes.

Ex-Lax has been the family laxative for nearly a quarter of a century and its popularity is constantly increasing as the years go by. Ex-Lax is prescribed by numerous physicians and is recommended by millions of users, because it is the most pleasant and the most dependable laxative known to science. It is eagerly taken by children as well as grown-ups.

Keep "regular" with
EX-LAX
The Chocolate Laxative

Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society, Inc.

ESTABLISHED 1872

Main Office:

227 EAST 84th STREET . NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

A cooperative fire insurance society for working people. Sixty branches throughout the United States. Membership \$4.00. Assets \$900,000. Insurance in force \$70,000,000.

No Profits or Dividends for Stockholders!

A yearly assessment of 10¢ for each \$100 insurance covers all expenses.

A deposit of \$1.00 for every \$100 is required which is refundable in case of removal.

Workingmen and women, protect your homes in case of fire. Join the insurance society of your own class.

No members at large admitted. Business transacted only through branches.

For further information apply at 227 East 84th Street

WORKMEN'S SICK AND DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Organized 1884

Incorporated 1899

Main Office: 714 SENECA AVENUE

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Telephone—HEgeman 3-4058

Over 60,000 Members in 350 Branches

Reserves on December 31, 1930: \$3,383,000

Benefits paid since its existence:

Death Benefit: \$4,635,677.04 Sickness Benefit: \$11,453,774.93

Total: \$16,089,000.00

WORKERS! PROTECT YOURSELVES!

In Case of Sickness, Accident, or Death!

Death Benefit according to age at time of initiation in one or both classes: Class A: 40 cents per month—Death Benefit \$395 at the age of 16 to \$175 at the age of 44.

Class B: 60 cents per month—Death Benefit \$550 to \$230.

Parents may insure their children in case of death up to the age of 18.

Death Benefit according to age \$20 to \$200.

Sickness Benefit paid from the first day of filing the doctor's certificate.

\$9 and \$15 respectively per week, for the first forty weeks, half of the amount for another forty weeks.

Sickness Benefits for women: \$9 per week for the first forty weeks; \$4.50 each for another forty weeks.

For further information apply to Main Office, William Spuhr, National Secretary, or to the Financial Secretaries of the Branches.

Workers Pay For Railroad Mismanagement

210 Million Pay Cut Goes To Owners

Slash Again Reveals Need for Government Owning the Roads

By HENRY J. ROSNER

THE railroad employees have taken a ten per cent wage-cut "to save the railroads from bankruptcy." Again the workers are asked to bear the brunt of the depression while property gets governmental relief. The fact is that unsound financial management is responsible for the precarious condition of many of the roads.

The workers have already borne more than their share. Since 1929, payrolls of Class I steam railroads have declined \$791,000,000—a decrease in total wage payments of 27 per cent. This, of course, is chiefly the result of unemployment.

But that is not sufficient. In the next 12 months another 210 million dollars will be transferred from their pockets to the pockets of the bondholders who otherwise would not receive their usual interest payments.

Figures of the Interstate Commerce Commission show that the original cost less depreciation of Class I railroad capital was at the beginning of 1931, \$19,600,000,000. In that year, the net income of the railroads was \$934,000,000. This was sufficient to pay a 4.76 per cent return on the physical capital of the railroads. The average interest on their bonded indebtedness is 4.70 per cent. These facts are conclusive evidence that the railroads earned sufficient in 1931 to pay an annual capital charge of 4.76 per cent. Yet all over the country the railroads have been defaulting on both the principal and interest on their bonds. The primary purpose of the wage cut is to prevent further defaults.

Much Watered Stock

The reason is that a great many railroads are over-capitalized. The obligations on which they must pay interest are in excess of the actual physical capital. If their stocks and bonds were equal or

N. Y. Teachers Union Demands the Gov't Care for Jobless

The Teachers Union of New York City has formally condemned a 5 per cent "levy" on their salaries asked by Superintendent of Schools William J. O'Shea and, in a resolution, declared that it would refuse to comply with any request to donate any part of their monthly salaries in the future.

The teachers particularly attacked alleged coercion by principals and district superintendents in obtaining money from them for relief and called upon the government of the city, rather than the teachers, to "assume full responsibility for family relief and for the feeding and clothing of children during this emergency."

less than the cost of the original investment, there would be no difficulty in paying 4 3-4 per cent on all of the securities.

Although the big New York City savings banks are today paying 3½ per cent interest, 1931 witnessed an increase in deposits. Surely railroad investors ought to be satisfied with a rate of interest 1½ per cent higher than that enjoyed by savings bank depositors. That would be possible if the railroads' watered securities were squeezed out.

The total volume of stocks and bonds of all the Class I steam railroads is, however, not in excess of the \$19,600,000,000 cost of the physical capital. This indicates that not all of the roads are over-capitalized. Some of them have been soundly managed and have reduced their outstanding obligations in more prosperous years out of surplus. These good roads which are under-capitalized counterbalance in the totals the effects of the inflated and watered capitalization of the badly managed roads. It is the latter who are defaulting on their bonds, not the former.

It is true that net income in 1931 would not have permitted payments on the principal. Certainly it would not have been too much for the railroad bond holders to postpone principal payments for the duration of the depression. That should have been their contribution.

Receivership Threats

Some express the fear that unless bond payments are met the bondholders will foreclose and place the roads in the hands of a receiver. Receivership is held up as a bogeyman. As a matter of fact, receivership might be a good thing. It would mean squeezing out the water through a financial reorganization while the railroads continued to run.

These facts strengthen the case for government ownership and operation of the railroads. A governmental enterprise would have no water in its capitalization and would not have to pay more than 4 per cent for its money so that the 4.76 per cent return on the physical capital in 1931 would have been more than sufficient to meet interest payments without cutting the wages of the railroad workers.

After the war the railroad workers were heartily in favor of government ownership and operation. In recent years they have accepted the status quo of private ownership and operation. Surely recent events at Chicago should have convinced the brotherhoods that it is time to resume a militant fight for public ownership and operation of the railroads.

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

Building Trades Will Resist 25 Per Cent Wage Slash

Bosses' Announcement Follows Attempt at Negotiations With Unions

By LOUIS STANLEY

THE announcement of the N. Y. C. building trades employers, in the largest building trades center in the United States to cut wages 25 per cent when the present agreement expires at the end of April bring into the open the rather quiet negotiations between the unions and the contractors that have been going on for more than two months. Christian G. Norman, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Building Trades Employers' Association of the City of New York, gave publicity to the employers' demands when he addressed the annual convention of the New York State Association of Builders on January 27. To make his declaration more sensational he declared that,

"We do not know whether or not we will have strife on May 1 but it is certain that members of our association will stand together as a unit to carry out the proposals. Plenty of skilled labor is available here today in some classifications at \$7 or \$8 a day, and employers who have sought to uphold the existing wage contracts have been underbid constantly by competitors paying less than the schedule."

The 25 per cent wage reduction proposal had been placed before the Building Trades Council in November. The officials of the Council said they desired to present it to the affiliated unions for discussion. In the meantime they sounded out the employers on a compromise cut of ten per cent. When Norman made his public announcement on January 27th, the Building Trades Council refrained from commenting. Norman let it be known through the press that he was open to compromise. The unions refused to be smoked out. It was not until February 3, just before the members of the Building Trades Employers' Association were to meet to give formal approval to the request for the 25 per cent reduction that the representatives of the Building Trades Council were scheduled to go into official conference with the employers again.

Little Work Going On

That the employers are not anxious to bring a breach in contractual relations between them and the unions is indicated not only by Norman's statements, blowing now hot, now cold, but also by an estimate of the situation by Allen E. Beals in the Dow Service Reports which are extensively used by the building industry. Beals explains: "Wages, like materials, can become too cheap. Nobody knows that better than the members of the Building Trades Employers' Association of New York City or wherever building help is hired. If wages go too low strife occurs which easily can cost a great deal more than wages and salaries fairly paid."

It is true that because of the severe unemployment many building trades craftsmen are working below the union scale of wages, giving the employers an advantage in pressing a hard bargain with the unions. But the contractors also realize that very little construction is now going on, that when times are good it is most important to have a reliable supply of labor that will bring a job to completion in satisfaction of the time requirements of a contract and that the cost of labor can be

passed on to the builder, the landlord and the tenant. In New York City the relations between the unions and the employers have been comparatively peaceful since the famous lockout of 1903 that united the employers into the present Building Trades Employers' Association. The lockout was a rebellion against the encroachments of the union upon the control of the employers often taking the form of what we have come to call racketeering. At the end of this struggle an arbitration agreement was signed by both sides which in principle has survived to this day. At no time has it been the dominant sentiment of the contractors that the open shop should be established in New York City. The strength of the unions made such an idea visionary, the resulting disturbances would not be worth the price and besides the leaders of both sides have in the main worked together harmoniously for better or for worse.

The Building Trades Employers' Association was established in 1903 as a well knit organization of what are now thirty trade associations of employers operating in as many branches of the building industry. The Association handles the labor relations of its members, each of whom must forfeit a bond in case of non-compliance with the rules of the parent body.

The agreement with the Building Trades Council which is now expiring came into existence as a result of a dispute between the B. T. E. A. and one of its constituents over the relationship which existed between this member and the central organization. In January, 1929, shortly before the building boom was to come to an end, the Electrical Contractors' Association and Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers announced that they had agreed to institute the five-day week with a ten per cent wage increase to make up for the lost income. The other building trades unions immediately put in a demand for the same terms. The Building Trades Employers' Association held that the Electrical Contractors' Association had violated its agreement but the latter claimed that when it had rejoined the B. T. E. A. after having withdrawn for several years it had been with the proviso that it might make separate agreements with its employees. The whole matter became very complicated, law suits, threatened lockouts and strikes following.

In the end the Building Trades Employers' Association agreed to inaugurate the five-day week on August 24, 1929, with a compensating increase of 10 per cent, the agreement to expire April 30, 1932. This gave most of the building trades workers a day rate of \$13.20. The bricklayers received as high as \$15.40. The present demands of the Building Trades Employers' Association do not disturb the five-day week. It has probably become a permanent gain for the workers. The 25 per cent decrease, however, would bring wages down to the 1923 level. This the unions would resist.

Socialists Speakers' Guide on Armaments

The General Council of the Belgian Labor Party has published a pamphlet of 32 pages entitled "Le Désarmement. Vade-Mecum pour les Militants socialistes" (Disarmament. Vade-Mecum for Militant Socialists.) In addition to an introduction by Emile Vandervelde the pamphlet contains a valuable selection of documents, prepared by Auguste Dewinne.

Dressmakers' Voting Favors General Strike

Mecca Temple Meeting Rallies Vanguard of 30,000 New York Workers

A REFERENDUM vote taken by members of the Joint Board of Dress and Waistmakers Union of New York appears to be overwhelmingly in support of the general strike recommended by the union leaders.

As a forerunner to the strike of some 30,000 workers, a mobilization meeting of dressmakers was held Thursday afternoon in Mecca Temple. The referendum vote was taken after the workers had cheered addresses by union leaders stressing the need for a strike to win decent conditions in the industry.

Benjamin Sclesinger, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, was among the speakers, who also included David Dubinsky, secretary-treasurer; Julius Hochman, general manager of the dress joint board; Morris Hillquit, Jacob Panken, Luigi Antoni, and I. Vasileffsky, who presided. Edward F. McGrady brought word of the support of the American Federation of Labor.

The manufacturers and contractors in the industry had demanded wage reductions and working conditions far below any decent standards. The union is demanding a wage increase, unemployment insurance and enforcement of the 44-hour week.

War to many women is a form of excitement, in which the primitive worship of the warrior destroys their power of reason.—Arthur Ponsonby.

"Filtered" Sound RELIEVES DEAFNESS!

NOW—Teutonophone produces an expensive pocket HEARING AID THAT "FILTERS" SOUND—prevents injurious, rasping noises from harming the 3 delicate "control" bones in your ear that bring you hearing. Only Teutonophone filters sound, because it is scientifically constructed—contains a genuine microphone disc, no loose moving parts—and has a gold button ear piece smaller than a dime. It is made in Germany by the largest, oldest, exclusive makers of hearing aids in the world! A qualified expert will demonstrate Teutonophone FREE—in your own home or in our private audition rooms. Write or call for FREE test.

TEUTONOPHONE

25 W. 43 St., N.Y.C., Dept. No. L-6
BR 0-9817

If unable to call, use this coupon

TEUTONOPHONE, Inc., Dept. L-6
Please send me Teutonophone literature FREE.
I am interested in FREE home demonstration.

Name
Address

MAX WOLF
OPTOMETRIST and OPTICIAN
381 W. 125th Street New York City

DR. A. D. ANDERSON
DENTAL SURGEON
Formerly 1736 Pitkin now at
1831 Douglass St.
Phone: Dickens 2812—Brooklyn

J. TORCH
ARTISTS' MATERIALS
Manufacturer of Decorative Paper
Stencils
145 WEST 14th STREET
Near 7th Ave. Chelsea 3-3331

"Patronize our advertisers.
Mention The New Leader."

PIANOS

To Be Perfect Must Be Tuned
At Every Change of Season
PIANOS TUNED BY EXPERT \$3.00
Minor Repairs and Cleaning of Parts
Free. Distance No Objection.
FRANK PALMER
4386 17th Ave. Brooklyn, N. Y.
Phone Windsor 6-2735

Fred Spitz, Inc. Florist

Now at
74 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY
Telephone Dry Dock 4-0355-4-8880
Not connected with any
other store in New York

J. J. Goldin, Inc.

OPTOMETRISTS - OPTICIANS
Eyes carefully examined and glasses
scientifically fitted—Moderate Prices.
Office open 9 a. m. to 9 p. m.
1690 Lexington Ave., cor. 106 St.
1378 St. Nicholas Ave. cor. 179 St.

Let Me Tell You

HOW TO GET RID OF YOUR
CORN IN THE SIMPLEST,
SUREST AND EASIEST WAY
EVER DISCOVERED.
Send five cents and self-addressed envelope.

VIOLA MAY
BOX 712
LYNCHBURG, NEV.

China and the World Powers

Imperialism Makes Nation the Prey of Invaders

By Paul Porter

AT the close of the last century China barely escaped territorial division. Now, once again the integrity of her land is threatened.

The imperialist nations of Europe were the aggressors in the first instance. Chiefly they were England, France, Germany and Russia, with Belgium, Holland, Italy and Portugal edging near to pick up the scraps. Two circumstances saved China from the fate of Africa. First, the imperialist nations could not agree among themselves as to how the loot should be divided. Secondly, America, which had been engaged in developing her own frontier West and had entered the imperialist rivalry too late to carve out a definite sphere of commercial interests, insisted upon an "open door" policy. Which is another way of saying that she wanted to trade with all of China.

In three decades the imperialist line-up has shifted. The lesser nations have dropped behind in the struggle. A new empire has emerged from her military defeat of two others. In 1904-1905 Japan crippled Russia, but did not destroy the latter's imperialist ambitions. It took the Bolshevik revolution to do that by creating a new goal and a new social system. During the World War, Germany was driven out of the Far East. In each instance Japan inherited their privileges and their spheres of interest.

The Fight for Spoils

The struggle has grown narrower and more intense. Japanese profit-seekers compete chiefly with British and American profit-seekers. They also compete to a considerable degree with Chinese capitalists in the Yangtze Valley. Particularly is this true in the cotton goods market, where Chinese-owned mills have made rapid gains in the past decade.

There is virtually no economic clash with France, whose commercial and financial interests are limited mainly to French Indo-China, the territory she stole 35 years ago. Japan is concerned chiefly with (a) South Manchuria, which she dominated commercially even before she assumed military control; (b) North China, in the Tientsin area, and in Shantung, which she attempted to control absolutely after ousting the Germans (she was curbed by the jealous European nations, America, Canada and Australia at the Washington Arms Conference in 1922); (c) Central China, of which Shanghai is the port.

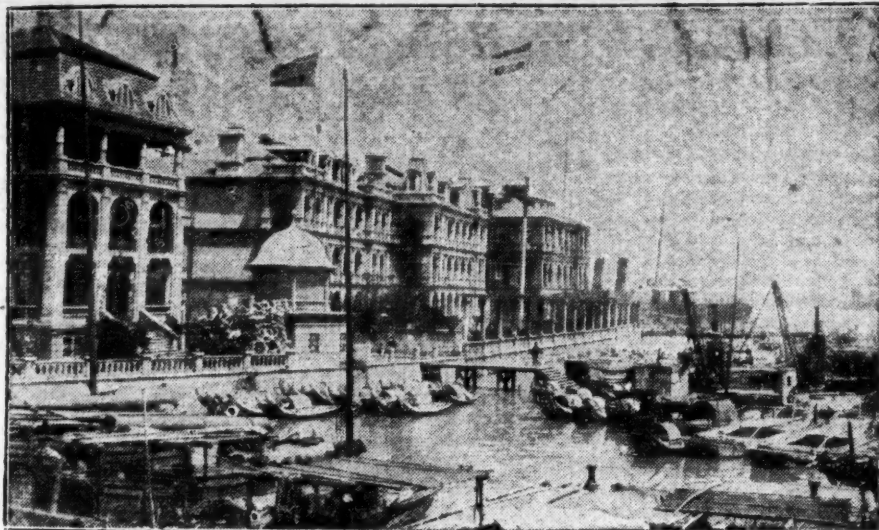
Study that line-up with care. Japan has no imperialist competitors in South Manchuria. While she was driving out the Chinese rulers, France, England, and to a lesser degree, the United States, looked on with indifference.

When she invades Shanghai it is a different story. British and American capitalists are frightened. First, Russia is driven out of China. Then Germany. Who is next?

United States and Japan

Will it be the United States? The Japanese would like to curb American influence. But the conflict is sharpest with England. America, receiving 40 per cent of her total export trade, is Japan's best customer. In return Japan is a heavy buyer of American raw cotton, which is fabricated into cloth and sold chiefly to China. In this enterprise the competition with the British, and lately Chinese, cotton manufacturers is keen.

As long as Japan does not go too far not even the British will object. Chinese nationalism has been threatening imperialist privileges, and the foreign aggressors want



Consulate Row on Soochow Creek, Shanghai, the heart of the International Settlement, which now threatens to become first scene of a new war.

to see the Chinese "put in their place." Let Japan do the policing and receive the odium. If she is boycotted, the British, in particular, will gain.

But, when Japanese militarists run wild in Shanghai the other imperialists protest. A wave of anti-foreignism might sweep all aggressors into the sea. If the militarists should succeed in their ambition to subjugate China, the British and perhaps the Americans might be squeezed out of the lucrative market of Central China. It is at this moment that the threat of imperialist war looms.

What will America do? Our militarists, no less than the Japanese, thirst for a good scrap. They fear

Japanese domination of the Pacific. British, French and Italian capitalists would not weep if America were drawn into a war which would inevitably weaken all participants.

The probable policy of the Japanese militarists is difficult to gauge. Japan, it must be remembered, is in a desperate economic situation. She has an inelastic native food supply, wholly inadequate reserves of coal, iron ore and petroleum, but a rapidly growing population. In an imperialist world she must expand or fall back. At the moment her psychology is that of a cornered nation. The militarists, inheriting the old samurai spirit of "pull down the heavens upon us if necessary," will shoot their way

out of the corner, if hard-pressed.

The Role of the French

Japan must have financial backing, and that soon. She has never recovered from the financial panic of 1927. Her gold reserves lately have dwindled to almost nothing. There are only two banker nations from whom she can borrow—the United States and France. Since there is virtually no economic rivalry between France and Japan, and for other reasons which I cannot analyze in this short article, she is most likely to borrow from the latter. Despite the disclaimers of the French government there is a good basis for suspecting a secret understanding between the two, which might eventually lead to the

French Influence Is Seen Behind the Japanese

partitioning of China among them. French financiers, who seek to dominate Europe, would welcome a badly crippled England. The British Empire has already entered the shadows. India seethes. English workers are steadily being pushed further into degradation by a mortally sick capitalism. Shut off British markets in Central China, and England as a great power reels off the stage.

In their mad quest for profits the imperialists prepare to cut their own throats. The present conflict may possibly be checked before it leads to international war. The other imperialist nations will then join with Japan in new exploitation of the Chinese. But eventually they will fight among themselves for monopoly privileges.

Nationalist prejudices have become a smokescreen for the essential class character of the imperialist struggle. Workers of all warring nations will be the sufferers. They will sacrifice their lives for the dollars, the yen, pounds or taels of their respective exploiters.

At the time when our own militarists prepare for war and Wall street bankers brazenly remark that "steel will again declare a dividend," American workers must be educated in the necessity for international working class solidarity, which alone will end war and the imperialism from which it springs.

Notes On A Socialist Speaking Trip

By James Oneal

ASHTABULA, OHIO.

THIS industrial city of 23,000 population is typical of what is happening in many other cities in the Central States. Whole masses of workers are jobless and poverty-stricken, the city government follows the relief methods of President Hoover, and workers paying for homes have either lost them or they are losing them.

Ashtabula has a city manager government such as our "reformers" in New York desire to give us. It is an admirable example of "business government." It co-operates with the community fund in "relieving" the distress of the jobless and that "relief" passes all comprehension.

A few items indicate how Hoover's freemen are living as a result of the "local initiative" which the President recommends. A man and wife with no children is given the princely sum of \$1.54 per week to live on, which is supplemented with a basket of questionable food once each week. Families of six or more receive \$4 per week, with the basket of food thrown in.

The first basket received by one jobless worker contained a squash, half of it too rotten to eat. There were also some ancient string beans that must have come down from the stone age as it was almost impossible to masticate them. One ton of coal a month is allowed the jobless worker and there are days when there is discomfort as the supply is exhausted.

In Ashtabula and other cities the oil lamp of our fathers is also coming into use because jobless workers cannot pay electric light bills. The kindly city fathers agree to provide the kerosene. One was inquired whether the pine torch of the colonial period would not eventually displace the oil lamp if the downward slope of employment continues.

Throughout this section many interurban trolley lines have been

Mid-Western Cities Scenes of Misery; Socialists Making Valiant Efforts

discontinued and the steam railroads have also economized by reducing the number of trains. Moreover, the interurban cars still in use do not carry the passengers carried a few years ago.

In Ashtabula the Socialists have started something that is promising. About six weeks ago they took their initiative in calling a conference to organize the unemployed. Only eleven responded but they persevered. The day before I arrived one canvasser brought in 200 applications for membership!

The Unemployed Union, as it is called, has 500 members. A number of local unions are affiliated, including the Bricklayers, Carpenters, Car Repairers and Electricians and there is little doubt that more will affiliate. The plight of the jobless is so desperate and their treatment by the professional dolers is so shabby that the Unemployment Union is appealing to the workers.

What is building the union is the fact that about 60 members are canvassing the entire city, taking a census of the unemployed, ascertaining the needs of each family, and also obtaining applications for membership in the union which is now rapidly growing. George Rouberg, himself unemployed and an active Socialist, has become so conspicuous in this work that jobless men now call on him at his home.

The union has obtained the high school for meetings each week and it pays no rent. When the membership roll is much larger the union will formulate its demands for more decent treatment of the workers and it is planned to open a community kitchen where more wholesome food can be served at even a less cost than that incurred by the official dolers. Eventually it is expected that a large demon-

stration will be arranged and it is expected that the workers will attempt to capture the city government in the next local election.

About a hundred people turned out at my meeting in the high school although only two days were given to advertise it. All indications are that this movement of the Ashtabula jobless will prove a big affair and the success thus far realized shows what can be done in other cities if a few devoted Socialists will take up the work. Canvassing the jobless is essential and it brings results.

MARION, IND.

Here in an industrial city of nearly 25,000 inhabitants and with a strong Socialist movement down to 1921, the working class on the whole face the same conditions that workers in Ashtabula endure. All information confirms the view that every city in the Central States has the same problems and the workers are stewing in the same misery. Everywhere one observes workers garbed in the overalls or the shabby clothing of the unfortunates of the Bowery.

Here as elsewhere Hoover's dole is the chief source of relief for the jobless and the rations are so small that the health of the masses is slowly being undermined. A year or two more of Hoover's method of relief is likely to bring an epidemic of ills that will tax the resources of physicians.

About 400 people came to the Socialist meeting in the City Hall. It was a typical audience of workmen and women such as the Socialist Party must reach if it is to be the kind of movement that Socialists desire to build. An appeal for applications for membership brought in fifteen signed application cards and a supply of cards was taken back to Fairmount, a nearby city, by a few

comrades who assured us that a party branch will be organized there.

The Marion movement already has over forty members and there is little doubt that the local will continue to grow and that the city will be carried by the Socialists in the next city election. For years before the World War, John W. Kelly, a veteran Socialist, was a member of the city council. In 1921 the Socialists actually carried the city but they miscalculated in one ward where they were very strong. When the capitalist politicians observed the rising Socialist tide they carefully planned to steal the election in this ward. They succeeded when the votes were counted and reaction triumphed by a small majority.

The Socialists were so disappointed that they lost hope. The local declined and the veterans ceased their activity, awaiting a favorable opportunity. It came with the industrial depression. The old and experienced Socialists turned to the job of rebuilding and now they can see victory ahead. Their movement is almost exclusively working class and it is not troubled with that confusion of ideas that comes of the admission of intellectuals and professionals with a liberal or progressive complex. The class feeling of workers guarantees a proletarian outlook however much the new members may lack in Socialist understanding.

The veteran Socialists are openly boasting that they will take the city from the enemy in the next trial of strength. They may overestimate their own possibilities but it is certain that with their experience and knowledge they will either carry the city or be defeated by a narrow margin. In any event, the working class is returning with its old fighting idealism and that is a big encouragement.

REMEMBER
THE NEW LEADER
Eighth Annual Dinner
MARCH 7, 1933

Unemployment in Soviet Russia

Boast of Abolition of Jobless Armies Disputed—Shortage of Skilled Workers Admitted, but Problem of Enforced Idleness Is Held Far From Solved

By David Shub

WHAT is the truth concerning unemployment in Russia? Has Soviet Russia solved this complex problem facing every government? Russia suffers from a great dearth of skilled workers. But the unemployment problem is far from solved in Soviet Russia.

On May 1, 1929, there were registered in the labor exchanges of Soviet Russia, 1,700,000 unemployed, according to official statistics compiled by the Soviet government. Actually the number of unemployed was even then much larger. In order to reduce its subventions to the unemployed, the government labor exchanges registered on the lists of unemployed only those workers with a record of several years continuous employment. Workers who had been employed for only a short period in the factories, those who were seeking their first jobs, and the so-called "declassified" (former traders, shop-keepers and clergy) as well as their children, were not registered in the labor exchanges at all. The number of unregistered unemployed was more than double that of the registered. Soviet statisticians estimated that in 1929 the actual number of unemployed in the cities totaled between four and five million.

In addition to the urban unemployed, there were some eight to ten million "excess mouths" in the villages, who could not find sustenance. The unemployed army in the town and village was so tremendous that even the most sanguine Bolshevik leaders did not look for a solution of the problem through the Five Year Plan. Indeed, according to the original Five Year Plan, the number of unemployed was scheduled to increase 10 per cent in 1930. (See "Control Figures of the 'Gosplan,' State Planning Committee for the years 1929-1930. Moscow, page 240). But Stalin suddenly waved his magic wand and millions of unemployed disappeared. Instead of a scarcity of jobs, there suddenly developed a scarcity of workers.

"In the Soviet Union," wrote the Moscow *Izvestia* of Feb. 25, 1931, "unemployment no longer exists. The unexampled sweep of Socialist construction has brought about the final disappearance of unemployment in the U. S. R. R. and the liquidation of the surplus labor forces in the villages, whose number only a short time ago totaled millions, who were unable to find place for themselves."

Solution Is Claimed

Another Moscow paper, "Za Industrializatsiyu," official organ of the Supreme Economic Council, declared: "In 1929, we spoke of an agrarian overpopulation, of a tremendous number of surplus population in the villages. At the beginning of 1930 the number of unemployed (registered in the labor exchanges) reached a total of 1,300,000. A year has passed and the exchanges have been closed. For we no longer have need of them. There was no longer a single unemployed person in the country."

In one year, it therefore appears, not only the problem of the unemployed in the cities had been solved, but even the eight or ten million agrarian unemployed had found a means of livelihood. The dearth of workers had become so acute that many factories were often forced to stop production for lack of fifteen to twenty skilled workers. What occurred in 1930 to change the situation so radically?

The year 1930 witnessed the wholesale "collectivization of the village." In his speech of June 30, 1931, Stalin pointed out that until very recently the Russian village represented an inexhaustible reservoir from which industry drew its workers. Hundreds of thousands of "hands" annually came to the cities from the millions of peasant farms remaining either permanently or

engaging in seasonal work. This steady stream ceased completely in 1930, when the Bolsheviks inaugurated their collectivization program. Furthermore, many thousands of workers employed in factories rushed back to their villages as soon as Stalin launched his "100 per cent collectivization." In 1930 there transpired in the Russian factories the same phenomenon that was manifested in the Russian army in 1917. Stalin was as helpless in 1930 to prevent workers rushing back to their villages as was Kerensky in 1917, who, with all his eloquence, was unable to keep the peasant soldiers from deserting the trenches when the provisional government decided to divide the big landed estates among the peasants. The Russian worker has always been and still is more peasant than worker, being bound to the village by a thousand ties. This fact was accentuated by the enormous losses in skilled workers who lost their lives during the war and civil war. Later, the Soviet regime, an even greater proportion of skilled workers left the factories to become officials of the Communist party, the trade unions or government administration. In the well known Kolomensky plant, for example, the old skilled workers, even in 1925, represented 55 per cent of the entire labor force. In 1931, less than 15 per cent of these old workers remained. The rest became government officials. The same condition obtains in other factories. "Only a small group of 10 to 15 per cent, rarely 20 per cent of the skilled workers remained in each factory," complained the correspondent of "Za Industrializatsiyu" in the issue of Feb. 19, 1931.

The Labor Shortage

This, incidentally, is one of the chief reasons for the great dearth of skilled workers in Russia. But this also caused the vacant places to be filled by the peasants newly-come from the villages to which they were still united by so many bonds.

A survey conducted in the Soviet factories several years ago established that practically one-half of all Russian metal workers still owned parcels of land in the villages. Since then the percentage of peasants employed in the factories has greatly increased. According to the "Za Industrializatsiyu" of Nov. 7, 1931, more than 63.6 per cent of the workers employed in the Moscow metal factory, "Sickle and

Hammer," are between the ages of 18 and 29. In the Moscow auto plant, "Amo," 70 per cent of the workers are of this age. More than half of all the "Amo" workers have been employed in industry less than five years. Almost one-half of the "Sickle and Hammer" workers (49 per cent) never before worked in any industry whatsoever. Fully 87.9 per cent of the workers hired between Jan. 1, 1930 and Jan. 1, 1931, in the "Sickle and Hammer" factories came direct from the villages. The present factory worker lives with his heart and mind in the village, where reside his parents, his brothers and sisters, and frequently his wife and children. When the collectivization of the village began, it was only natural for the worker to speedily return to his village, in order to be on the spot where his land and the home of his family were at stake. This explains in part the great shortage of workers that arise in the factories.

A second reason is that the so-called "Kolkhozy," the forcibly established "collectives," prevent their members from going to the city to work. In his aforementioned address, Stalin sought to explain that the peasants have ceased to stream to the city because the situation in the village has improved, thanks to the collectivization and the introduction of tractors and other modern farm machinery. "The village has now ceased to be stepmother to the peasant," Stalin declared.

That assertion is not correct, however. Machinery reduces human labor and, therefore, the introduction of tractors and other farm machinery automatically decreases the number of individuals required to run the farm. The number of "excess mouths" has in reality never been as large in the villages as it is today.

"The Kolkhozy," wrote the Moscow *Izvestia* of July 11, 1931, "restrain their members from going to the city, or permit them to go only under stipulated conditions which render their acceptance impossible."

The "Excess" Workers

According to the Moscow "Economic Life" of Oct. 4, 1931, the "excess labor forces" in the middle Volga region are at present approximately 1,200,000; in the lower Volga region, 164,000; in northern Caucasus, about 582,000. With the number of unemployed reaching 2,000,000 in these most fertile re-

gions, one can imagine the proportions unemployment has reached in other sections, in Central Russia, White Russia, and in some parts of Ukraine, where there have always been great numbers of "excess mouths." Despite the overpopulation in these regions, the peasants prefer to remain at home in their villages rather than seek work in the city. If the vast numbers of peasants were to make their way to the cities to work in the factories, as in previous years, Russia's unemployed today would vastly surpass those of any other country of the world.

The Russian peasants, both those who belong to the collectives and those who still maintain their individual farms, remain in the villages—some in order to save their possessions from collectivization—others in order to appropriate for themselves as much as possible of the property of the Kulaks who are constantly undergoing the process of "de-kulakization."

The Soviet press is replete with reports of the "sabotaging" activities of the collectives, which do not permit their members to go to the cities to work. "The first investigation of the collectives," declares the Moscow *Izvestia* of Feb. 25, 1931, "has already shown that there are enormous reserves of unutilized labor."

A month earlier, we find Yurkin, chairman of the central organization, which directs the work of the collectives, saying that "in the collectives there are still millions of unemployed." (*Izvestia*, Jan. 18, 1931).

The Soviet government hoped that it would be able to transfer the millions of unemployed in the collectives from the villages to the city factories and the mines. The executives of the collectives refuse, however, to supply the necessary labor forces to the factories.

"The members of the collectives," said the Moscow "Za Industrializatsiyu" of Oct. 12, 1931, "will under no circumstances whatsoever, leave their villages in order to work in the cities. In the regions where there are peasants willing to leave, the leaders of the collectives impose difficulties, because they do not wish to relinquish the working forces, which ostensibly they require in order to conduct the work of the collectives."

The collectives prohibit their members from going to the city for various reasons. First, because their members who remain behind

may have to do the work of those who leave, the so-called "otkhodniki." Second, because members cannot tolerate the thought that one should have more than the other. On the other hand, there are peasants who fear to go to the city, lest in their absence advantage be taken of their families. For this reason, the government, several months ago, issued a decree ordering that members of families of the "otkhodniki," who remain in the village, should receive an equal share of the collective earnings, even if their actual work should merit less. The "otkhodniki," therefore, may proceed to the city to work without being haunted by the fear that the family he leaves behind him in the collective will starve. This decree, however, only served to strengthen the opposition of the collectives to having individual members leave for work in the city.

The Balking Peasants

The Soviet press also explains the unwillingness of the peasants to go to the cities to work by the fact that the impression prevails in the villages that working and living conditions in the factories and particularly in the mines of the Donbas (Donetz basin) are exceptionally difficult. It is a matter of record that the peasants who come to the mines from the collectives soon desert after their arrival. The "Paris Commune" mines, for example, employed 8,227 new laborers from Jan. 1, 1931, to Aug. 1, 1931. During the same period, however, 7,662 laborers deserted the mines. Stalin, himself, complained of this fact in his aforementioned address.

"I have just spoken," said Stalin, "of the need of recruiting workers in organized fashion from the collectives for the factories. Recruiting workers is not sufficient, however. In order to assure enterprises of sufficient labor power, it is necessary to tie the workers to the industry and to create a more or less permanent working force in each establishment. But what is happening in our factories? Can we say that the working forces in our enterprises are more or less permanent? No! Regrettably we cannot say that. On the contrary, there is a dissipation of working forces in our enterprises. Furthermore, this dissipation of our working forces in a whole series of enterprises is becoming not smaller, but larger. In any event, you will find few enterprises where the working staff in the course of six months or even three months, does not change at least 30 or 40 per cent of its personnel." (*Pravda*, July 5, 1931).

(To be concluded next week)

Pilsudski's Justice

In Thorn, Poland, a judicial enquiry has been held into the ill-treatment of a Socialist named Rusinek while he was in custody awaiting trial—an everyday occurrence, however, is the request that the prosecuting counsel, Wisniewski, had the courage to make: "Please note in the records that the examination, at which I was personally present, showed that Rusinek bore traces of physical violence." The prosecuting counsel was made to pay for this declaration by being placed on the retired list, whilst the police official responsible for Rusinek's ill-treatment was acquitted by the district court. The victim's counsel has lodged an appeal against this verdict.

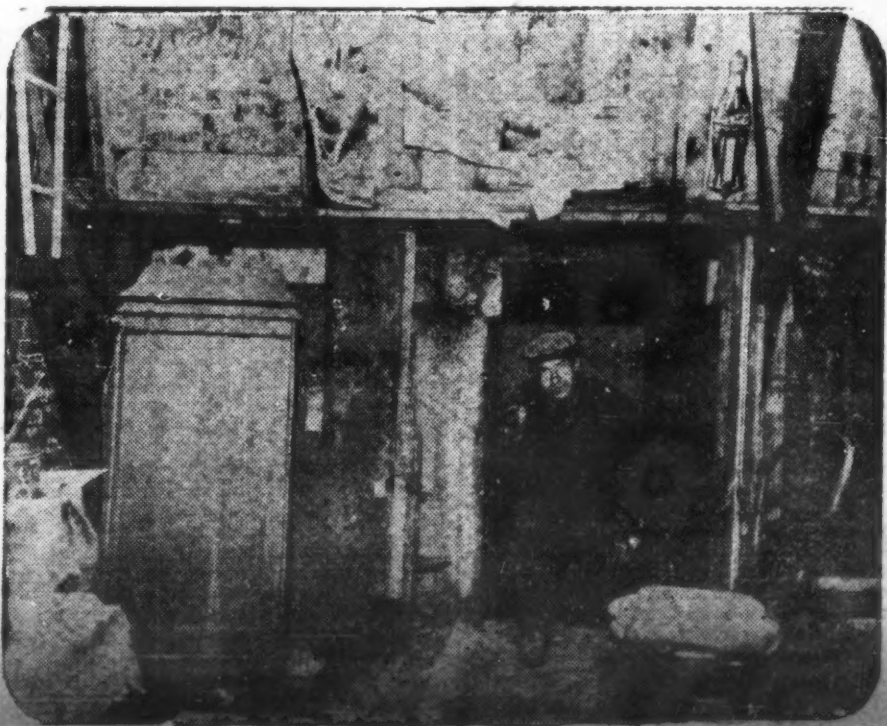
CINQUAIN

Hell is
Just across the
Unpaved street in the cheap
Cottage where a child is crying
For milk.
—William Allen Ward.

REMEMBER
THE NEW LEADER
Eighth Annual Dinner
MARCH 2, 1932



THE UNEMPLOYED in Chicago as well as in other American cities are today living in packing boxes, deserted shacks and any other make-shift that gives some shelter from the wind. Here is a Chicago "residence" of a jobless worker.



Radio Ramblings

I HAVE been wandering around the country this past week talking on "Freedom of the Air" on the League for Industrial Democracy's lecture circuit which, by the way, seems to be making a hit in the thirty cities that have contracted for speakers.

Of course, when I told an old-time radical friend of mine what was the subject of my trips, he threw back his head and laughed. Here you are, he said in effect, at a most terrifyingly crucial time in world affairs, with revolutionary fires glowing over Central and South America, over Spain and India, with ten million people in these United States tottering on the verge of enforced starvation in the midst of plenty and finally, with the black clouds of a new world war bearing down upon the Oriental horizon. And you go around shooting off your mouth about censorship of such a fantastic toy as the radio.

Naturally this subject was selected as part of a survey of the current economic set-up long before the martial Shanghai gestures ever began. And the interesting thing about radio censorship is that the more you dig into its sinister implications, the more you see how monopoly of the air carries with it a very real threat of war. For all too soon now the microphones will be carrying the new blood and thunder chorus of our roaring rear admirals and our moaning major generals bewailing the fact that we are not now on our way to knock the Japs out of their socks, or whatever Japanese wear.

A New Public Enemy

Figure out that fourteen million families in the United States have radio sets. To be sure they don't all tune in at once. Otherwise we would all have been more ga-ga than we are. But at some time this quarter of our population does listen in and at some time they listen in to the bow-wows of the military clique who now dominate the ninety air bands over which broadcasting goes. Figure out the radio investment of over a half billion dollars and the fact that the Radio Corporation of America, which constitutes the back-bone of the radio trust, has behind it about six billion dollars, when you tote up the assets of the big utility companies that have come together to make R. C. A. the mammoth thing that it is, and you begin to realize that here is no toy but a mighty potent instrument for the most vicious sort of propaganda.

And now go on and add to the pressures that were put upon the average man before the last war, pressures from press and platform and pulpit, the new pressure of radio propaganda and I think that you will agree with me that here is something to get a bit lathered up about. More and more, all dissenting voices (even that of the mildly liberal Father Cox of the late unemployment march) are being strangled by the simple expedient of cutting them off at the mikes.

Headlines are screaming again from every paper in every town which I visited in much the same hysterical tones that were used in those black days before we were plunged into the last great war. I feel that the time is desperately short and I hope that the Socialists the country over will be first on the field in organized protest against the bloody thing which threatens. We all know that for many of the unemployed workers the prospects of three squares a day and being clothed and sheltered even in an army barracks do not look so bad right now. Notice how the "war baby" stocks are booming and realize that it would be no great trick for our financial and industrial interests once again to cajole the workers of America into bayonetting their fellow workers of other countries, with the hope of another period of "prosperity" at the end of the mess. Let's get busy, my comrades in the great industrial centers, whence we can spread our stand to the nation, and start right now an effective protest against anything that might mean a repetition of 1914.

Before I left New York I was immensely heartened by listening to the speech of my dear comrade and ex-boss Oscar Ameringer in which he urged the complete wiping away of the present system. I don't know whether or not that speech which came extemporaneously from Oscar's great heart was taken down. I wish I could repeat here the wise words he spoke about the real values of life. We don't live to make a living, he said, but we live for the sake of life itself. Or rather that's what intelligent folk should be doing. And here we are caught up in a cruel system which has for its only end the making of money, rather than the making of men and women.

Long since I learned that it is impossible to catch in cold print the warm flavor of everything that Oscar says. You must be in the same room with the man when he is talking to get the living gist of him. He has a way of taking you straight to the philosophical heart of any subject that he touches and he is more of a menace to the money bags than a whole battery of statistical indictments of capitalist. And the best thing about him is that he never grows old or stale or tired, but gets to be more of a real revolutionist every crowded day of his life.

Fighting Days Are Here Again

From where I am writing this, the one big fact that overshadows everything else is the fact that now we are all of us called upon to stand up and meet this crisis like men. It's fighting time, friends and comrades, time to fight for everything that we hold most dear. And I don't mean the sort of fighting that is going on in war-swept China. I mean the fighting that the pioneer Socialists knew. The fighting that the great hater of war, Eugene Victor Debs, was in the thick of, from the time the Party was founded thirty-two years ago. The fight that we have enlisted in is the fight against war itself, against the abominable system that makes war possible, against the shoddy stuff that a capitalist civilization (laughter and applause for that word) is made of.

Don't let's fool ourselves. Before long there is every chance that "The New Leader," all our meetings, all our attempts to make a better world for the workers will be ground out under the iron heels of our dictators. Now is the time, when to be a Socialist means something. It's no longer a matter of hair-splitting over the interpretations of Marx. It's no longer a question of schismatic bickering. We must here and now close ranks, and, young and old, put teeth into our message of revolutionary Socialism. For the love of everything Socialistic let us rouse ourselves to be ready for the bitter struggle that is ahead, the struggle of the exploited against their exploiters, know very clearly where our enemies are and then be marching shoulder to shoulder against them. Once more I beg those in authority in the Party who have had experience in such matters instantly to bestir themselves to let the whole world of workers know that we Socialists will have no truck with any struggle save the class struggle and that we are ready and eager to stand up and be counted as die-hard opponents to the awful thing that looms above Shanghai today.

McAlister Coleman.

Scanning the New Books

The Meaning of Hitlerism

An Anonymous Author Indicts the Leaders of Germany's Fascist Movement

By Lawrence Rogin

THE resurgence of German nationalism and its transformation into a German Fascism under the leadership of Adolph Hitler has become one of the most important political effects of the deepening crisis which started in the fall of 1929. As such, ever since the astounding vote received by the National Socialist party in the elections of 1930, the press has been full of stories about Hitler and Hitlerism. It was only to be expected that this feeling of "news value" would soon spread to the publishers of books and that they would take advantage of it. The first publisher to do so is one of our newest firms, the Hohawk Press, who present the book "Hitlerism," by "Nordicus" (\$3).

The anonymous author has chosen to do the easier of the two tasks that need to be done in order that the "Nazi" movement may be properly understood. He has chosen to tell us of the personalities of its leaders, its methods and its program rather than the reasons for its success. He has picked the less important task even if it be the more exciting one. To properly understand the "Nazis" it is necessary to understand the economic conditions in Germany today. For only in the light of the economic bankruptcy of German capitalism do the slogans of Hitlerism have any meaning. The causes of this failure of German capitalism, some of its effects on the people of Germany, must be analyzed.

A Bitter Critic

It is not my purpose here to do more than point out the need for this study and say that in "Hitlerism" it has not yet been attempted. Perhaps a more popular book has been the result, surely a more impassioned one. For a study of Hitler and his pronouncements does not lend itself to the use of cool reason. This is probably because the man himself does not appeal to the reasoning powers of those whom he wishes to impress. Thus one becomes either an impassioned partisan or a bitter enemy. "Nordicus" would seem to be the latter, although he hides his bitterness, and I for one cannot blame him. Nor do I see how any one who reads the evidence that is offered in this book can hold him at fault. For to any one who is not suffering under and is not blinded by the hardships that press down upon the masses of the German people the platform and method of Hitlerism must appear as a mass of incongruities, built up out of lies and duplicity. Who else claims to be a Socialist and yet is financed almost exclusively by the big industrialists? In what other revolutionary party are such sacrifices demanded of the rank and file while the leaders roll in wealth? Even the capitalist parties of our own United States, adept as they are at making unfulfillable promises, could learn much from the "Nazis."

The main planks in the "Nazi" program are well known. First and foremost is the guilt of the Jew for everything that is wrong in Germany from the reparations settlement and the Versailles Treaty to the present unemployment. Therefore, get rid of the Jew, both the rich one and the Socialist. Other evils to be gotten rid of are the Young Plan, the guarantees of the Versailles Treaty, interest on money, the parliamentary system, Marxian Socialism and Communism. In other words anything that is quite impossible of fulfillment and yet appeals to any great mass

of Germans. A special program was gotten out for the farmers which promised them more than any other party ever had and in many respects contradicted other parts of the Hitler platform. To the workers Hitler promises the abolition of capitalism and to the capitalists, security and control over the workers. To all he promises whatever will make them happiest.

In reality what tendency does Hitlerism represent? Unquestionably it is of the farthest right. The big industrialists no longer fear Hitler and may by this time control him. The monarchists have adopted him as one of their own. His promises to the workers are but camouflage and when pinned down he will admit it as he did to one of his lieutenants. And the workers are not fooled by it. It is important to note that the gains of the "Nazis" have been at the expense of the bourgeois parties and not the working class parties. What the "Nazis" have done, however, is to attract those elements of the former middle class, who are now in reality members of the toiling class. These who would ordinarily become proletarianized have become the mainstay of the Hitler movement. Thus the progress of the workers' parties has been retarded until this class realizes that it can gain nothing by supporting capitalism or its twin, Fascism. It is the business of the Social Democratic party of Germany to educate this class as it educated the masses of workers during Germany's industrialization.

An Outline Of Socialism

THE Rand School of Social Science, in addition to its wide scope of educational and cultural activities, opened this year's work by the publication of a much-needed and long-felt want—an up-to-date elementary exposition of basic principles of Socialism ("Socialist Fundamentals," by David P. Berenberg, Rand School Press, 118 pages, 50 cents; in bundle orders of ten copies, or more, 35 cents). The author's native ability, with fifteen years of experience as a teacher in the school, as writer and lecturer, have enabled him to expound modern Socialism, in a compact form, with an ease of style and simplicity of presentation readily grasped and understood by all. He covers a variety of topics for which many an author would require a voluminous book.

The problems confronting the masses of the capitalist world are lucidly stated, outlining the main characteristics of capitalism and the machine age, and showing how widely these have influenced our social institutions.

Capitalist society has profit as the great motive-spring for its diverse economic activities; competition gives way to concentration and centralization, and the policy of non-interference yields to the necessity of public control and regulation in the use of capitalist property; the complexity of modern economic life and the growing cost of machinery have divorced the workers from the ownership of machinery, who, as a class, must depend for a livelihood upon the owners thereof.

In analyzing the economics of capitalism, the author considers the factors which determine value, prices, wages and, in simple terms, shows the mysterious source of capitalist enrichment—surplus value, and its division among different capitalist groups. In referring to the commodity, labor power, the author often uses the term, "labor," and thus fails to elucidate that it is not labor, but labor

power that the laborer sells, and the capitalist buys; that, as Engels already pointed out, it was this difference which distinguished the Marxian theory of value from that of the classical economists. We may add here, in passing, that there is another fundamental difference, in that Marx's method in economic research was purely historical, while that of the individualist economists was based upon the theory of natural rights. In social science, the first method is the scientific, and the two do not always go well together. Again, in using the term, labor power, the author fails to emphasize that what is meant, is average, social labor power, which leads to the concept that value is a social product; and this is Marx's original and specific contribution to the general theory of value held by the classical economists (Smith, Ricardo, McCullough, et al.).

The arguments often used in justification of capitalism, that capital is entitled to a share in the workers' product, because of the inventions, the ability and skill, risk and thrift of the capitalists are effectively refuted by the author.

The nature of the class struggle, and the various forms it assumes, on the part of the working, and the capitalist classes are then unfolded; and an attempt is then made to elucidate the materialistic conception of history. Here, our author is somewhat weak; the attempted exposition of the doctrine is a confusion of natural materialism and historical materialism; nor is the interrelation of the latter with the class struggle, and how the last operates as a dynamic principle in history, even attempted.

The beauty flowers sprouting from capitalism at work, are then pointed out, and the effects of poverty, crime, industrial depressions, unemployment, waste, etc., are clearly described. Finally the meaning of Socialism and the methods of achieving it are briefly analyzed and discussed. A considerable bibliography for further studies is annexed.

Considering the vast number of topics covered, the large volume of material well utilized, the inherent difficulty of some of the subjects lucidly expounded, finally, that it rarely fails to the lot of any one individual to bend the bow of a Ulysses, the author has, on a whole, well acquitted himself. Every worker reading this book is sure to be influenced in his or her outlook upon life and acquire a better understanding of the ills afflicting modern civilization and the remedies therefore.

All Socialist party members and branches throughout the country can effectively aid in building up our Socialist movement, by spreading this book from house to house. By its publication, the Rand School has rendered a valuable service to the cause of Socialism in our country; the school is giving instruction each year to upwards of a thousand men and women at nominal fees, and should receive material aid, if it is to carry on much more and better work, in spreading light where darkness now prevails.

JACOB BERNSTEIN.

HITLERISM

THE IRON FIST IN GERMANY

HITLER! Hailed by six frenzied millions as Germany's man of the hour! A timely, engrossing study of Hitler and Hitlerism by "Nordicus" (a pen-name used for obvious reasons). \$3.00



MOHAWK PRESS, INC. NEW YORK

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

From Our Mailbag

The New Leader Forum

Literature Wanted—The "Militant Menace"—What Kind of Party?—Breshkovsky

LITERATURE WANTED

By J. Hayden Moore

I want to make appeal to Socialists and readers of The New Leader to mail me any old copies of Socialist papers they may have for distribution among the unemployed and others. Also any pamphlets or leaflets on Socialism they can spare for distribution. I never saw the people as willing to read Socialist literature in my life. Eighteen years ago I could hardly get people to read it when I gave it to them but now they are willing to read but have no money. I have tried selling Socialist literature but it is a slow go.

If we only had the money to get literature to the people and speakers to talk to the people I feel sure we would make a wonderful showing in November and perhaps elect many officials, but I realize how badly handicapped we are from the standpoint of finances. I expect to do my part by distributing literature and making talks whenever I can secure an audience.

Another suggestion. I think it is time for Socialists to quit advocating temporary relief and palliatives, such as unemployment insurance, old age pensions, and building programs, etc. Of course, we have always advocated them only as temporary measures but their results in Europe have injured our cause. They are a failure under capitalism because capitalism is a failure. We have spent so much time on these measures that we are not explaining Socialism to the people. I would advocate the immediate nationalization of as many industries as possible or practical and social control and social planning for the balance. The formation of labor brigades and the establishment of co-operative farms for the unemployed. Also aiding the farmers in the formation of co-operative farms and markets. Financial aid to the cities for the collective ownership of the utilities and other industries. In other words Socialism.

Some will say, the people are not ready for this; perhaps so, but collectivism and co-operation are the only remedy. Why waste time and energy on things that will do little good, or why try to bring about socialism through the back door as is being done in Europe today?

The U. S. A. should be the easiest country in the world to socialize, because of its size and resources, and the fact that our industries are already collectively operated and in large units.

627 Eugenia St., Dallas, Texas.

SHIBBOLETHS AND REFORMISTS

By Francis A. Henson

I have watched with great interest the recent discussion about the menace inherent in the activity of the "Militants." It seems to me to be indicative of a revival of revolutionary spirit in the Socialist Party and, therefore, deserves to be welcomed by all who advocate the building of a collectivist society. As Lassalle wrote to Marx, "Party struggles... give a party strength and life... The best proof of the weakness of a party is its diffuseness and its blurring of clear-cut differences... A party becomes stronger by purging itself."

One of the most disheartening facts about institutions or movements is the way they treat the distinctive idea of the person most responsible, historically, for their existence. Either they lose vitalizing contact with his method by failing to utilize it in practice or they accept the judgment of his critics and seek to disassociate themselves, as effectively as possible, from him and that for which he stood. The former group generally pose as orthodox by mouthing the phrases used by the leader but they are merely shibboleths, consciously or unconsciously, used as a defence against the rigorous application of the principles to contemporary situations. The latter reformists, partly out of disgust at the inconsistency and dogmatism of the traditionalists, tend to throw the baby out of the window with the bath. If these two tendencies are not checked by an ever recurring group to which the potency of the original idea has given birth, the movement may go the way of thousands of others that have lacked the necessary virility. If the idea is rooted in the processes of historical development and fundamentally sound, it is not lost but new forms must be found to bring it to fruition. The crux of the whole matter, when such hours strike in history, is whether the institution or movement has sufficient intelligence, resiliency and spirit of its early leaders to welcome the criticisms of this militant minority and harness their energies to creative tasks.

In my judgment this analysis of institutional behavior is strikingly demonstrated by the present status of the Socialist Party. In the next National Convention the comrades now in control will be required to show by their actions whether they welcome these militant ideas. As a militant, I understand that among the

planks we would like to see in the next platform are: a reassertion of the fact of the class struggle; a call to rediscover the significance of Marxism for contemporary conditions; an appreciative statement regarding the advance of collectivism in the U. S. S. R.; a declaration which will lead to aggressive action among trade-unions and on the whole labor front; a reaffirmation of the revolutionary goal and method of the Socialist Party. Naturally the militants are doing and will do all that they can to have these views accepted by the Party as a whole. Is not this justifiable? If there is a split in the Party, I dare say it will come because the old guard do more than state their own positions in order to hold back and keep out of positions of influence and power persons who represent these new viewpoints.

New York City.

WHAT KIND OF A PARTY?

By W. R. Snow

From the numerous articles appearing in the Mail Bag it appears, that some Socialists are not certain as to whether we are a party, or some strange disease baffles the best political diagnosticians. Well, anyway, our political baby shows signs of colic and growing pains and this would indicate we are at least alive.

The Socialist party as today organized is just about 31 years and six months old, having come into existence on July 30, 1901, the 21st birthday of the writer.

Political parties do not get old and grouchy as quickly as individuals. A political party only 31 years old is just out of the kindergarten stage; perhaps this is why we act so childish at times. If we live to grow up the writer predicts a rather hectic adolescence, followed by a useful, mature, and a prolonged old age.

Right now the youngster shows signs of colic, whooping, bad colds and scarlet fever. As various doctors have prescribed in the Mail Bag for the ailments of the kid, here goes Dr. Snow, D. S. B. O. (Dr. of Soap Box Oratory) 25 years a practitioner on anybody that would listen (most people wouldn't, but they still live).

For several years past a number of our Doctors thought the main reason for the rather poor physical and mental showing of the kid was its name. Seemed to think that if the "Baby" had been called Lucy, instead of Kate, it never would have had the belly-ache, hence numerous proposals to change the name to something more attractive, something less scary, than the dreadful word SOCIALISM. Laboring under this delusion we have spent a lot of time wandering through various political pastures trying to find a better name. So far our labor has been in vain.

Others have tried to make the kid more respectable by dressing her up in the various roles of a reformer, thinking thereby to attract the attention of Mr. Average American to her political virtues. This too has seemed wasted effort. Now along comes (Dr.) Snow, with a prescription that he has as much right to offer as others who have prescribed.

What the kid needs is a good lasting diet of the late Dr. Marx, Class Struggle "vitamins" to make her grow. Then a scenic environment of "Historical Materialism" so the kid won't

wander into the wrong pasture and thereby get shot or captured by some "lame duck" or quack political reformer. With the above two things properly attended to and guaranteed by the watchers, teachers, defenders, parents and guardians of the Socialist Party, all other things will right themselves.

The writer has had an opportunity to meet many of the old-time Socialists of the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain states in the past year. Has soap boxed his way over 25,000 miles and heard all kinds of complaints about the Socialist movement, all kinds of reasons for not coming back into the party, and the predominant reason given is that our party is tending too much toward social reform, too much toward liberalism and away from the working class, away from the class struggle and correct working class political philosophy.

Many old time workers have said to me in many states, "When the Socialist Party gets back to the fundamentals taught by Eugene V. Debs, and by the founder of the Socialist movement, we will come back to the party, but not till then." Comrades, as I view it, we must get back to fundamentals, or the Socialist party will pass out of existence as a political factor and that before long. Capitalism is following its historical tendency straight for the breakers, just as Marx predicted it would. Then why throw overboard "Captain Class Struggle" and his valuable pilot, "Historical Materialism," and take on a new captain and a new pilot? As Ben Hanford once said, "The working class may it ever be right, but right or wrong the working class."

Everett, Wash.

CATHERINE BRESHKOVSKY

By Alice Stone Blackwell

Catherine Breshkovsky, "The Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution," is nearing her 88th birthday. Every year her American friends send her letters of birthday greeting, and when possible, enclose a gift for the schools for poor children that she has founded in Russian Carpathia. Her address is Catherine Breshkovsky, Care of Madame Archangelsky, Drubczarna, P. Horny Pocerne, U. Praha, Prague, Czechoslovakia. Or I will forward any contributions.

3 Monadnock St., Boston, Mass.

Preparedness Debate To Be Held on Monday

The most important feature of the current series of Peace Lectures arranged by the New History Society is the free debate scheduled for Feb. 6 in Carnegie Hall. The subject to be debated is: "Resolved, That Continuous Preparedness is Necessary for the United States"

Admiral Bradley Allen Fiske, S. N. (retired), and General Amos Alfred Fries, retired Army officer, will take the affirmative and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise of the Free Synagogue and Dr. John Haynes Holmes of Community Church the negative.

Distance

Is No Barrier

You can be present at The New Leader Dinner March 7th at Beethoven Hall by sending your greetings on our 8th birthday in the best form possible. Write, don't wire, a

New Subscription to THE NEW LEADER

FILL THIS OUT TODAY:

THE NEW LEADER,
7 East 15th Street, N. Y. C.

Happy birthday. Here is a greeting in the form of a new subscription for (one year) (six months). Enclosed find \$.....
Send paper to:

Name

Address

Name of Sender

N. B. Subscription rates are \$2 a year, \$1 for six months. Greetings will be read at NEW LEADER dinner.

The Chatterbox

In Favor of War!

One can get a swell kick out of a whacking oath like "God damn all wars." Even strutting generals on cocky steeds have said something like "War is hell," and profit-hungry munitioneers have been known to drip hot tears over the horrors shown in a picture like "All Quiet."

Credit me with just enough humaneness to agree that all wars ought to be damned on the general principle that all wars are Hell. But here my pacifistic streak ends in common with militarist and profiteer goodheartedness. I can find virtue and a welcome for war under certain circumstances.

My bedrock objection to most wars that have been fought to date is that the workers fight and bear the brunt of the suffering entailed. I would have no particular horror of blood or mutilated flesh after the conflict, provided the dead or the wounded were brokers, bankers, bosses, captains of industry, generals, admirals, owners of munition factories and the like.

There would be a biblical as well as a poetic justice in having those who live and profit by the sword, to perish by it. Register me in favor of war to the death between the Stock Exchange of New York, the Bourse of Paris, or the Silk Market of Jokio. Any worker who joins in with the high-hat open front shirt battalion as it marches forth to battle for God and fatherland is just a big bragging bumpkin uselessly trying to muscle into society.

The silent tacit understanding that the metropolitan police have about gangsters killing themselves off without too much official action or punishment should exist among the workers of all lands, only with less silence and more understanding. Let the big boys bump themselves off merrily, plentifully, and soon. How's that for an up-to-date war formula for th: workers and farmers?

Fight for Your Homes and Hearthsides

Socialists are often asked by blustering patriots... "Do mean to say you wouldn't fight the enemy when your homes and families are threatened by the invader?"... Silly question—stupid questioners!

What else are we trying to do, year in and year out, but fight the invaders of our homes, and the destroyers of our family life? Does it matter then if a landlord comes with an eviction notice, or a mortgage company with foreclosure proceedings, or a Jap with his bombing plane? As far as losing your home is concerned, each of these methods is utterly effective. In fairness to the Jap bomber I wish to say that he at least takes a chance of being shot down by guns from below. The landlord or the Mortgagee is immune from any physical danger.

And as far as breaking family ties, statistics will show that more lives are being shattered, more bodies and souls are being wrecked, more family morale is being undermined during this economic disaster of peace, than even the World War created during its four horrible years.

I would have to take a soul census of those of us who would prefer the quick exit via poison gas to the slow rotting of body and mind on the breadline.

Even now, there is a perking up of spirit in the army of the humiliated. The prospect of war brings with it the mirage of work, a job, something respectable and self-respecting to do. Even killing or getting killed by Chinamen or Japs at thirty dollars a month and board would be preferable to private charity and public insult. There is enough irony and despair in this situation to daunt even the spirit of a Socialist.

Amazons Were Ladies Too

Of course, you cannot discuss war without bringing in the womenfolks. On war, ladies are divided into a number of classes. The big navy D. A. R., and the big army D. A. R., the ones who think they look romantic in white uniforms and red crosses; good hearted rich women who take to peace societies as a sort of conscience ease for the money their husbands have made out of the last war; sincere social workers who see in war only its bestiality and suffering, and believe they can cure the ulcers with Gileadean balm. The mothers of men are never articulate or organized. Their job is to breed live targets and sob at the war talkies.

Of all these groups, I respect the Daughters of the American Revolution most. They are frankly carnivorous, they love the army and navy, and war is just glorious to them. And when they root and cheer on the sidelines for God and fatherland, they've got a God and a country to fuss about. Logic is all on their side, and so are the army and navy.

The sentimental exhibitionists who like to have themselves seen in vast field hospitals before innumerable wounded and visitors as they flit and gumshoe about from bed to bed dispensing bandage and badinage to suffering heroes, are inane ornamental. They furnish the heavy perfume of romance that sometimes mitigates the stench of organized butchery.

Women's Peace societies are very commendable agencies for the prevention of the inevitable. To talk about ending war without removing the causes of war first, remains talk.

I have heard social workers inveigh against the slums, and even propose seriously for the state to take over the rebuilding of these districts in the interest of public decency and health. Yet I have heard these self-same, kind people shudder at the word confiscation, when used in the Socialist plan of dealing with greedy landlords and owners of slum properties. Private ownership, rent, interest and profit stand in the way of such a highly necessary public improvement. And will continue to prevent any action, for all of the well meant plans and idealistic utterances of liberal minded folks.

Nice ladies, kind ladies, all your love of peace and hatred of war, all your sobbing for the sons of mothers and your grief for mothers who lose their sons in battle may sound intense and sincere enough. But it is sound at best.

Take this little lesson in fundamental economics back for home work. All wars are fought for profit. Take the profit motif out of international investments such as we have in Shanghai, and the Sino-Japan conflict would stir nothing more than academic interest among our cafeteria strategists. Take the profit motif out of Japan's investments in China, and you would have no war to worry about now. If our bankers hadn't loaned eight billion dollars to the allies before we entered the World War... Why proceed on what is all too obvious. Learn your lesson well ladies, until you know as we do—the way to end war is to bring about a Socialist form of living and life, wherein none shall profit for himself and all shall share happiness and plenty in peace.

S. A. De WITT.

California Socialists to Meet Feb. 13

Convention Will Show Party's Growth—Activities in Many States

LOS ANGELES.—Culminating a year of activity and planning for a new year of greater activity, with a state wide organization tour and opening of a campaign for the California State Unemployment Insurance Initiative Petitions, the Socialist state convention will be held February 13 and 14 in Los Angeles.

The convention promises to be one of the biggest and finest ever planned for California. Delegates representing locals in every part of the state will attend. To welcome the delegates a banquet will be held Saturday night at 8:30 at Boos Bros. Cafeteria, 436 Hill street. Speakers will include R. W. Henderson, blind Socialist attorney from Bakersfield, an outstanding labor lawyer noted for his work against the state criminal syndicalism act; Fred W. Jackson, editor of the Pasadena Labor News, and Cameron King, of San Francisco. Upton Sinclair will very likely attend.

Other convention events include a two-day business session at the Socialist Center, 126 North St. Louis street, and a mass meeting protesting the recent orders to state militia to slaughter the unemployed in case of riot. The protest meeting will be held in the Labor Temple Sunday evening at 8 p. m.

Connecticut

NEW HAVEN.—Local New Haven will hold a special meeting at Fraternal Hall, 19 Elm street, Monday evening, Feb. 8th. Special committee will make reports on plans to secure permanent headquarters.

HAMDEN.—An entertainment and social has been arranged to be held at the home of Walter E. Davis, 48 Belmont street, on Saturday evening, March 5.

STATE EXECUTIVE.—Members of the State Executive attended the grand opening of the 5th District Socialist Club of Bridgeport Sunday evening, Jan. 31, and listened to an address by August Claessens.

NORWALK.—Local Norwalk will observe the first anniversary of its organization, at headquarters, 60 Main street, Norwalk, on Feb. 4, with a program suitable to the occasion. Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport will be the guest of honor.

Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union will address our Sunday forum on February 7th. James Gorman, Fred Schwarzkopf and Arnold Freese have addressed the forum during the past few weeks. Through the medium of these forums and our program for municipal government, we have secured about 10,000 words of publicity in our local papers during the past month.

At our January 28th meeting the following resolution on Soviet Russia was adopted and sent to the Agenda Committee for the national convention:

"The Socialist Party of America, while urging that a greater degree of political democracy be granted Russian workers in line with the spirit of Socialist philosophy, heartily rejoices in the large measure of success attained by Soviet Russia, in a comparatively short period of time and despite serious obstacles and opposition, in its attempt to establish a Socialist Commonwealth and sends to the U. S. S. R. its sincere and fraternal greetings."

This resolution was also adopted by the State Executive Committee of Connecticut to be forwarded to the agenda committee. Norwalk Socialists have prepared a resolution to be presented to the city council at its next meeting with the request that it be adopted and forwarded to Washington. The resolution admits the inability of the city of Norwalk to satisfactorily cope with its unemployment problem and urges congress to adopt the program submitted by Norman Thomas.

Illinois

ELMHURST.—Following a speech at the Elmhurst College auditorium by James H. Maurer of the national executive committee, a new local was formed here. George Chant, 230 S. Michigan avenue, is temporary secretary.

Missouri

ST. JOSEPH.—Cliff L. MacNeil, 2711 Seneca street, goes through the local free public library every week and picks out books criticizing the present system and favoring Socialism, which he has placed on special display shelves carrying such captions as "Books for Thinking People," "Books on Timely Topics" and "New Books." Socialist books are now getting ten times the circulation they

used to. "Perhaps," he says, "this could not be done in some libraries because their systems are different, but I think many places it would work."

Maine

PORTLAND.—The Farmer Labor Party local here has joined the Socialist Party in a body. Similar action is contemplated by the local at Thomaston.

Virginia

NORFOLK.—The local has elected officials for 1932: John C. Davis, chairman; F. Henry Vanderherchen, vice-chairman; Jack S. Jelaza, financial and corresponding secretary; Ralph L. Knapp, recording secretary. The officers together with the following compose the executive committee of nine members: Charles J. Walsh, Samuel Wilmer, Geo. Rohlsen, James Burrell and J. Jones. J. E. Miller is organizer. The seven delegates to the State Convention are: Davis, Vanderherchen, Jelaza, Knapp, Walsh, Wilmer and A. E. Rapoport. Day-time headquarters in Norfolk is Jack Jelaza's store at 647 Church street. Communications should be addressed to him.

W. C. Branch 212 of Norfolk has taken a hall at 708 East Freemason street, beginning Jan. 1st, and redecorated it so that it is one of the most beautiful headquarters in the country. The branch has given the party exclusive use of the hall on Thursday nights, as well as free use at any other time necessary. A library has been started. The local meets in this hall every Thursday night at 8 o'clock. Attendance has grown steadily. The last three meetings have attracted from 40 to 75 people. State Secretary George addressed about 50 comrades and visitors at the last meeting. State Chairman Ansell will speak on February 11. Preparations were going forward at this writing, for a monster meeting with Morris Hillquit, Feb. 2.

RICHMOND.—A good attendance and program made the last meeting successful. The local meets every Thursday at 8 p. m., in the W. C. Center, at Broad and Laurel streets. At the next meeting we will elect our 14 delegates to the state convention. Our membership increased from 18 on Jan. 1, 1931, to 119 on Jan. 1 of this year.

HOPEWELL.—The local meets every Wednesday at 7:30 p. m. at 116 North 6th street. At the next meeting we will elect our 16 delegates to the State Convention.

STATE CONVENTION.—The annual convention will meet in Richmond March 11, 12 and 13. Delegates are apportioned as follows: Hopewell 16, Richmond 14, Norfolk 7, Monroe 2. At large 3. Workmen's Circle Branches will send 12 fraternal delegates.

REFERENDUM.—Referendum ballots for election of our delegates to the National Convention will be mailed out this week. The candidates are: Herman R. Ansell, Winston F. Dawson and Mrs. Emma Ansell of Richmond; Richard L. Johnson of Chesterfield; Joe C. Morgan of Fairfax, and James P. Rice, W. F. Billings, George M. Eavey, William P. McKay and David G. George of Hopewell. Three are to be elected.

Pennsylvania

PHILADELPHIA.—Philadelphia Socialists have nominated Franz Daniel and Joseph Schwartz as their delegates to the national convention in Milwaukee in April. David Felix and Isaac Lindset were nominated as alternates.

The forums which the Strawberry Mansion Branch have been holding every Sunday evening have proved to be very successful. Sunday, Feb. 7, David Felix, secretary of the party in Philadelphia, will speak on "Militarism and Disarmament," 8 o'clock, at 3009 Ridge avenue. Admission free.

ERIE COUNTY.—The annual general membership meeting of all members of the Socialist Party in Erie County was held in Workmen's Circle Hall, 133 E. 23d street, Sunday afternoon, at 2 o'clock, January 31.

PORT ALLEGANY.—The Rev. Herman J. Hahn, Buffalo Socialist Minister, will speak in the Auditorium Fri-

SOCIALIST WOMEN'S MEETINGS

Tuesday, Feb. 9, 2 p. m., Brownsville Unit, home of Minnie Deisberg, 10 Hegeman avenue, Brooklyn. Speaker, Esther Friedman, "Women in Politics."

Wednesday, Feb. 10, 2 p. m., West Bronx Unit, 20 East Kingsbridge road, Speaker, Mrs. Fannie Berlin, "Women and Socialism."

Thursday, Feb. 11, 2 p. m., Coney Island-Boro Park Unit, home of Anna Fox, 939 47th street, Brooklyn. Speaker, Esther Friedman, "Women in Europe."

Friday, Feb. 12, 2 p. m., Flatbush Unit, 55 Snyder avenue, Brooklyn. Speaker, Esther Friedman, "A Trip to Vienna."

day evening, February 19th. Robert J. Pelling of Rural Route 2 is in charge of arrangements.

Indiana

MARION.—We had a fine meeting with James O Neal. The crowd did not leave after he had finished. Thirteen applications were taken after the address and several more have blanks they intend to sign. At our Sunday meeting a committee was appointed to arrange to open up an unemployed council headquarters in South Marion, a general headquarters for unemployed to gather any hour of the day and any day of the week.

New Jersey

BRIDGETON.—R. E. Schreiber, 122 York street, has volunteered as a local organizer.

NEWARK.—The social gathering last Saturday was a success. Dr. Louis Reiss presided and about 50 Socialists present gave \$25. Sunday, Feb. 7, Oscar Ameringer will speak at the open forum, 34-36 Park place, on "Laugh That Off." At the luncheon to be held Feb. 14th, the speakers will be Morris Hillquit, Jasper McLevy and McAllister Coleman. The national convention will be discussed. County Organizer Rosenkranz urges reservations be made at once.

LINDEN.—Oscar Ameringer, probably the greatest humorist in the American labor movement, has been secured for a lecture at the Labor Lyceum, at Frank and Grand streets, Roselle, Feb. 7, at 4 p. m. There will be a small admission charge. The title of Comrade Ameringer's lecture has been announced as "Laugh That Off."

The Y. P. S. L. have organized a debating team. They are willing and eager to meet any other group in a discussion of economic and political questions.

New York State

JAMESTOWN.—The meeting Feb. 14th, where the Rev. Herman J. Hahn of Buffalo was to have spoken, has been postponed to Sunday, Feb. 21. Comrade E. J. Squires of 200 Summit avenue, is in charge of arrangements.

BUFFALO.—Local Buffalo will meet Thursday, Feb. 11, at Carpenters Hall, 475 Franklin street. A short business meeting will be followed by a talk by an interesting speaker and a discussion. Many strangers are attending the meetings, showing a real revival of interest. Morris Fox and Emmanuel Lerkowitz are organizing a Ypsil group. For information concerning Local Buffalo, write Robert A. Hoffman, secretary, 64 Ruspin avenue.

NATIONAL CONVENTION DELEGATES.—Party members in all parts of the state are receiving referendum ballots for voting for delegates and alternates to the 1932 National Convention. Candidates in the field outside New York City are as follows: In Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Niagara, Onondaga and St. Lawrence District, Wm. H. Hilsdorf and R. M. Briggs of Rochester for delegate; Henry Hotzo of Cicero, and R. M. Briggs of Rochester for alternate; in Chemung, Cortland, Steuben, Tioga and Tompkins District, Monroe M. Sweetland, Jr., for delegate and J. G. Roth for alternate, both of whom are from Ithaca; in the County of Oneida, Ray Newkirk for delegate and Louis Lison for alternate, both of Utica; in the Capitol District, Robert H. Ritchey of Albany and Theresa B. Wiley of Schenectady for delegate; Arthur H. Jacobson of Albany for alternate; in the Dutchess, Orange, Rockland, Sullivan and Ulster District, Samuel Schieb of Poughkeepsie and Carl P. Svenssen of Nanuet for delegate; August G. H. Batten of New City and Edward L. Woldorf of Poughkeepsie for alternate; in Westchester County, Morris Berman of Pleasantville for delegate, Carl Parsons of New Rochelle for alternate; in the district composed of the Counties of Nassau, Richmond and Suffolk, G. August Gerber of Staten Island, and Joseph L. Sugar of the Cedarhurst and Vicinity Branch for delegate, Sofus W. Christensen of Valley Stream and May Mirin of Woodmere for alternate. Party members will also vote for two delegates and two alternates at large to represent the state as a whole. Candidates accepting the nomination for delegate-at-large are Herman J. Hahn of Buffalo, Wm. H. Hilsdorf of Rochester, Vladimir Karapetoff of Ithaca, Herbert M. Merrill of Schenectady, and Robert H. Ritchey of Albany. Erie County has already completed the election of its delegate and alternate, R. A. Hoffman and Mrs. Elizabeth C. Roth being chosen.

ROCKLAND COUNTY.—Local Rockland County will hold its second forum at the home of Carl P. Svensson, Palmer avenue, Nanuet, at 3 p. m., Sunday, Feb. 7. The speaker will be S. A. DeWitt, on "Civilization or Chaos?" A brief business meeting will be held.

A study and discussion group meets Tuesday evenings at the homes of different comrades, assembling last week at the home of Julie Sauter of Upper Nyack. Formation of a young people's group is under way in charge of William Wesel of Nyack. At a meeting of the County Committee, Augustus Batten of New York City, was elected county chairman to fill the vacancy made by the death of Otto A. Keyser of Nanuet. Comrade Batten is pastor of the Germano P. E. Church.

Forward Ball To Be Held on February 20th

N. Y. Branches to Make Annual Affair a Success—Typists Needed

VOLUNTEERS FOR TYPING ARE WANTED.—Socialists who are able to type and are willing to assist the Socialist city office are urged to report at once. The books containing the list of 21,000 enrolled Socialists are now in the office. Lists 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 annual event will be held on Saturday evening, Feb. 20, at the 71st Regiment Armory. Tickets are now on sale at branch headquarters, labor lyceums, the city office, and the following agencies: Downtown, New York: Forward, 175 East Broadway; Rand Book Store, 7 East 15th street; J. & L. Saffran, 52 2d avenue; Stark's Cigar Store, 91 Avenue C, Harlem; Finnish Book Store, 2056 5th avenue; Chavkin's Drug Store, 2358 2d avenue. Bronx: M. Tulman, 481 Claremont parkway; Dr. H. Hurwitz, 1330 Wilkins avenue; Samuel J. Rosen, 860 Longwood avenue; United Cigar Agency, 29 West Mt. Eden avenue, Williamsburg; Herstein's Drug Store, 353 South 3d street, Brownsville; Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street; J. Kaplowitz, 1800 Pitkin avenue, Midwood; S. Botwinik, 494 Avenue P, Borough Park; Labor Lyceum, 1377 42d street.

MANHATTAN

CHELSEA.—A committee has been elected to establish a weekly forum which will meet in the Greenwich House, Barrow street and 7th avenue. The branch is also arranging for an outdoor unemployment meeting in connection with organizing of unemployment councils. The tentative date is Feb. 12 on the corner of Carmine and Bleeker streets.

3-5 A. D.—The new branch in the territory of the Chelsea district has been granted a charter by the City Executive Committee. It will be known as the 3-5th A. D. With two branches functioning there should be increased activity on the lower west side.

6TH A. D.—A meeting will be held Monday evening, Feb. 8, at 8:30 p. m., at 96 Avenue C. The branch is also arranging a card party and social evening for Saturday, Feb. 13.

UPPER WEST SIDE.—An executive committee meeting will be held Tuesday, Feb. 9, at 8:15 p. m. All members are urged to be present. Thursday evening, Feb. 11, the organization committee will meet, and all members residing in the 7th A. D. are requested to be present. We must start canvassing the enrolled voters in all the districts, and will begin with the 7th.

19-21ST A. D.—The first dance and social evening in the new headquarters at 2005 7th avenue near 121st street, will be held Saturday evening, Feb. 20. The branch meets every Saturday evening. New members are being admitted every week. Announcement will be made shortly of the opening of a forum.

YORKVILLE.—A meeting will be held Thursday evening, Feb. 11, at 241 East 84th street. Immediately following the brief business meeting the branch members will listen to Jacob Bernstein, well-known Bronx Socialist and lawyer.

WASHINGTON HEIGHTS.—A meeting will be held Thursday, Feb. 11, at 600 W. 181st street. The Sunday evening forum continues to draw capacity audiences. The program includes the following speakers for the next several weeks: Dr. H. Van Dusen, Sidney Goldstein, Jacob Panken, Tyrell Wilson, Meyer Goldman.

MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS.—Meetings will be held on the second Mondays and fourth Tuesdays of each month hereafter. Next meeting, Monday, Feb. 8. Bob Delson will speak after the business meeting.

BRONX. 2D A. D.—A meeting will be held Tuesday evening, Feb. 9, in the Paradise Manor, Mt. Eden and Jerome avenues. Ballots for the election of delegates to the national convention will be on hand. The Friday evening forum in the same hall continues its splendid success in attendance.

5TH A. D.—A meeting will be held Tuesday evening, Feb. 9, at 908 Prospect avenue. Voting will take place on delegates to the national convention. The Friday evening forum in the Hollywood Gardens is making splendid progress. Friday evening, Feb. 12, there will be a symposium on Abraham Lincoln. The speakers for the several weeks to come include: Morris Hillquit, A. I. Shipiloff, Harry Rogoff, Prof. Walter E. Peck, Forrest Bailey, Norman Thomas, Heywood Brown.

7TH A. D.—The branch will hold a very important business meeting Tuesday, Feb. 9, at the Workmen's Circle School, 789 Elmsmere place. Business of importance will be taken up for consideration and action.

8TH A. D.—Between 540 and 560 people attended the forum of the 8th

A. D., Bronx, last Sunday morning in the Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison avenues. A gypsy festival will be held Saturday evening, Feb. 13, at Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison avenues. A fine time is promised. The branch is rapidly becoming the largest in the city. The Y. P. S. L. is growing rapidly also. The special lecture course in Socialist Fundamentals conducted at 20 East Kingsbridge road Tuesday evenings will continue with August Claessens as lecturer for the next couple of weeks.

AMALGAMATED COOPERATIVE HOUSES.—About 75 members present at the last meeting listened intently to report and discussion on the recent city convention. The general consensus of opinion was favorable to the majority resolutions. Among other matters was included action on Mooney defense, unemployment conference for near future, and a lecture for our next meeting, Feb. 15. The Executive Committee meets this Saturday evening in Comrade Volovick's apartment. A new feature of our coming lecture meetings will be the introduction and sale of timely literature.

BROOKLYN

DOWNTOWN.—The next regular business meeting will be held Friday evening, Feb. 5, at 122 Pierrepont street, at 8:30 p. m. All members are urged to attend the bridge party to be held at the Penny Bridge Inn, 108 Montague street, Saturday evening, Feb. 13, at 9 p. m. Tickets can be secured at the meeting Friday evening.

11TH A. D.—The card party to be held this Sunday, Feb. 7, has been postponed because of the anti-war mass meeting. Branch meetings are held every Monday evening in the New Hungarian Restaurant at Franklin avenue and Union street. At every one of these meetings a well-known speaker and interesting topic is offered.

18TH A. D. BRANCH 2.—Branch meetings are held every Monday evening at 3820 Church avenue. There will be no lecture at the meeting of Feb. 8. The time will be devoted to business solely. The next Monday, Feb. 15, August Claessens will lecture.

21ST A. D.—The branch meets Friday evening at 55 Snyder avenue. On Feb. 12, there will be no meeting on account of the holiday. At the meeting of Feb. 19, a debate will be held between two of the members of the branch on an interesting and timely topic.

23D A. D.—The Brownsville comrades have filled up the month of February with activity. They will again have one of their now famous "Vetcherinkas" on Sunday evening, Feb. 21, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. Admission 50 cents. Food, dancing, entertainment will be on the evening's program. The Friday night branch meetings are being "spiced-up" with talks on important topics by well informed comrades. At the last meeting, Paul Porter thrilled an audience of about 75 with a talk on the Japanese-China question. On Friday, Feb. 5, Gerhard Fritters, a member of the German Social Democratic Party will discuss "The German Social Democratic Dilemma." The week following, Charles Kramarsky will speak on "Socialism and Trade Unionism," and on Feb. 19, "Tendencies Within the Socialist Party in the U. S." will be analyzed by James O'Neal. A. J. Muste will be the speaker at the Wednesday Forum of Feb. 10. Nathan Fine, editor of the American Labor Year Book, will speak on Feb. 17. Prof. LeRoy Bowman of Columbia, will close the February schedule with a talk on "The Cooperative Movement."

MIDWOOD.—Our regular monthly bridge last Saturday night was a splendid success. Tickets for the Valentine dance and entertainment of Saturday evening, Feb. 13, can be obtained from Comrades Blackman and Cahan, the committee for this affair. Our enrolled voters' meeting takes place Monday night, August Claessens and Jacob Panken will be the speakers. On Tuesday we will have our regular meeting and lecture. Distribution of literature and canvassing of enrolled voters who number over 1,500 in our district will continue every Sunday morning from now on. Our chief educational weapon will be the New Leader.

BORO PARK.—Charles Kanowitz nominated as candidate for Assembly, 9th A. D. Feb. 10, lecture on "The Dance as Part of Life," by Sara Milled Strauss of the Strauss School of the dance; Feb. 19, Joint Congressional meeting of all branches.

QUEENS

QUEENS COUNTY DINNER.—All seven Queens branches are uniting in holding a Victory Dinner to celebrate the constant gain in voting strength and prestige in this fastest growing borough of New York. The dinner will be held Sunday, Feb. 21, at 6 p. m., at the Jamaica Royal Restaurant, 162-17 Jamaica avenue. There will be an excellent dinner, music, entertainment and dancing. Tickets can be obtained at every branch either from the organizer or from some comrade assigned to promote the sale.

SUNNYSIDE.—A meeting will be held on Tuesday evening, Feb. 9, in the Monroe Court Committee room, 13-13 Carolin street, at 8:30 p. m.

JAMAICA.—A meeting will be held on Thursday evening, Feb. 11, in the Workmen's Circle Center, 9218 New York boulevard (163d street). James O'Neal will lecture on "Abraham Lincoln and Labor."

N. Y. Socialists Outline Fight To Combat War

Resolution on Tactics Drawn Up for National Convention in Milwaukee

IN its closing sessions the New York City convention of the Socialist party which met Jan. 16th and 17th at the Rand School took up the report of its resolutions committee and acted on a number of proposed changes in the national Socialist party constitution as well as on local organization questions.

Class Struggle Issue

The first resolution reported by the resolutions committee produced a short but sharp debate. The committee unanimously recommended that the reference to the class struggle, deleted from the application card by the 1928 national convention, be reinserted. It offered the following resolution:

"Resolved, that the application for membership be changed read:

"I, the undersigned, recognize that there is a struggle between the capitalist class and the working class for possession of the political power, and that it is necessary for the working class to organize in a political party independent from the parties of the capitalist class in order to achieve the collective ownership and democratic administration and operation of the collectively used and socially necessary means of wealth production and distribution, hereby apply for membership in the Socialist Party."

"In all my political actions while a member of the Socialist Party, I agree to be guided by the Constitution, Declaration of Principles and Platform of the Party."

Hillquit voiced opposition to the proposed change. He held that some members could render valuable service to the party who might be barred out by insistence on their signing the proposed pledge. As long as new members accepted the platform and prescribed policies of the party, belief in the existence of the class struggle should not be made a requisite for membership, he declared. The phrase has no place in the application card, Hillquit asserted. He felt that 75 per cent of new members signing the blank would not know what the class struggle meant. While he accepted the principle of the class struggle, Hillquit said, to pass the proposed resolution was to give in to a slogan which, he charged, had been raised only as a political maneuver. Shapiro defended the resolution. The inclusion of the proposed membership pledge was needed to state the principal belief of the party. To be consistent with the declaration of principles adopted on Saturday, the class struggle reference should be reinserted in the application, he said. A motion to table the resolution was lost. It was then put to the house and approved.

Constitutional Changes

The convention then considered changes in the national constitution. It approved resolutions calling for abolition of the national committee, for increasing membership of the national executive committee from 9 to 11, and for the filling of vacancies by the N. E. C. from a list of alternates to be elected by the national convention. Suggested changes in methods of electing delegates to the international congress brought a short debate. The resolutions committee proposed that the N. E. C. by closed ballot elect the delegates from a list to be nominated by state organizations. It also proposed that the party's international secretary and member of the Bureau of the Socialist and Labor International be elected by the N. E. C.

Men and Women Wanted

REQUIRING DENTAL WORK, as Bridge Work, Filling, Plates, Etc.

who cannot pay the regular dental price should call
Friday, 9 A. M. to 6 P. M.
Saturday, 9 A. M. to 8 P. M.
Sunday, 9 A. M. to 2 P. M.

At the Office of
DR. J. LUNENFELD
80 Delancey St., N. Y. C.
Between Allen & Orchard Sts.
Prices Charged as at Clinics
Ex-Ray and Extractions FREE
When Necessary

A minority report by Shapiro called for the election of delegates by a referendum vote of the membership. Edward Levinson spoke in favor of the minority report. He said that the present system of having the N. E. C. elect delegates had deprived the membership of any direct connection or interest in the congresses. Delegates elected in the present manner were frequently tourists who happened to be able to afford the trip but who were not necessarily representatives of the views of the membership. Election by the membership, as was the rule a decade ago, would create an excellent educational opportunity for the members to discuss international problems. Gerber defended the majority report, which was approved. He contended that the provision of a secret ballot would enable the N. E. C. to select only capable and representative comrades to act as members of the American delegations. Another change in the constitution proposed by the convention would have national conventions held every two years instead of every four at present. The resolution would have the convention consist of 300 delegates in presidential years and of 150 at other times. Under the proposed resolution delegates to the national conventions would be apportioned as follows: "One delegate to each organized state and the District of Columbia; the remainder to be apportioned by dividing the total membership of the party by the number left after deducting the delegates allotted to the respective states."

War Resolutions

Two resolutions on militarism and armaments produced a discussion with James O'neal speaking for a majority pronouncement and J. B. Matthews for a minority statement. The chief difference was the direct endorsement of the idea of a general strike to prevent war, made in the minority resolution. The majority resolution said:

"Militarism and Disarmament"
"The Socialist Party affirms that armaments constitute the force by which the ruling classes of the capitalist-imperialist nations seek to extend their dominion and that modern wars serve this aim. The working classes are sacrificed in such wars. They die as conscripts and those who survive are compelled to pay the staggering bills. Moreover, war is accompanied by reactionary measures which restrict the freedom of action of the working class in its fight for emancipation from capitalistic exploitation."

"Considering these facts the Socialist Party declares that the fight for the reduction of armaments is a leading task of Socialists, the working class in general, and all who sympathize with the ideal of a disarmed world. However, the Socialist Party realizes that the ideal cannot be realized until capitalism itself is overthrown by an intelligent organized working class inspired by the philosophy and program of the Socialist movement."

"Therefore, the fight for reduction of armaments must go hand in hand with the fight for the overthrow of capitalism itself. It is this latter aspect of the struggle against militarism and armaments that distinguishes the aims of the working class from pacifism, liberalism and many of the sentimental peace movements. It is, therefore, the duty of Socialists, while cooperating with peace organizations, to emphasize our program of the complete conquest of capitalism in our struggle against war and militarism and for the abolition of armaments."

"As a means to advance our program we urge that lectures, mass meetings and demonstrations be held on every opportune occasion. The working people have most to lose and nothing to gain in imperialist wars and as their interests correlate with the overthrow of capitalism itself, our primary purpose should be to reach the workers with our agitation. The distribution of literature, agitation in labor and farmer organizations, adoption of anti-militarist resolutions and obtaining publicity for our work are essential in the fight against war, armaments and militarism."

"Just as important is our opposition to military and industrial conscription, resistance to reactionary measures, such as censorship of the press and mails, restriction of the rights of free speech, assemblage, and of the right to strike. We call upon the workers to organize into strong, class conscious, and closely unified political and industrial organizations so that they may be able to offer effective organized resistance to conscription and war."

"The danger of the recurrence of war will exist as long as the capitalist system of industry remains. The end of armaments and war will come only with the establishment of socialized industry and the Socialist ideal throughout the world."

As against this, the minority of the resolutions committee proposed the following:

"Resolution in Regard to War"

"The Socialist Party of America has an honorable tradition of opposition to all imperialist wars. At the outbreak of the World War the Socialist Party at its national convention in St. Louis in April, 1917, refused to support the war and adopted a program of opposition."

"War again threatens. Japan's invasion of Chinese territory is nothing less than imperialist war. The stubborn refusal of the American and other governments to recognize this fact has blinded workers to the dangerous consequences of Japan's ag-

gression. But the Manchurian crisis is only one symptom of the steady drift toward war occasioned by a collapsing capitalism. Imperialist rivalries are growing more intense; the obstinate refusal of the British government to grant freedom to the people of India is a direct incitation to violence; the enemies of Soviet Russia, frightened by her remarkable progress toward Socialism, seek a pretext for war against her; and in many countries capitalism, fearing working class revolt, would welcome a war to divert the growing unrest of the unemployed. War is in the bloodstream of capitalism, and the Socialist Party must be alive to this danger."

"The New York City Socialist convention, therefore, reaffirms our traditional policy of war resistance. We warn against placing hope in a Disarmament Conference under the League of Nations, which in practice is nothing more than a League of Imperialist Nations trying to prop up a collapsing economic system. We call upon the Labor and Socialist International, with and through its affiliated bodies, to strengthen the existing agencies for war resistance and to create such new methods as the present situation may require. This convention goes on record as favoring the general strike as the most effective weapon in the hands of the workers."

"And finally, this resolution is urgently pressed upon the Socialist Party of America, in the hope that the disaster which befell the Second International in 1914 shall not occur again."

Matthews declared the minority resolution was more definite and more timely in its references. Challenged from the floor on the efficacy of the general strike as an anti-war weapon, Matthews cited general strikes as having been successful in halting a war between Norway and Sweden on the boundary issue, in halting Italian occupation of Albania, and in preventing a British war on Russia in 1920. It also succeeded, he said, in making a fizzle of the Kapp putsch in Berlin. Matthews said a demand for a reduction of armaments was insufficient. The Socialist position should be for abolition of armaments. There was real danger of war in several sore spots in the world today. A war on Russia was a distinct danger. The Geneva conference was not to be permitted to give the workers false hope. These things the minority resolution stressed, Matthews declared.

O'neal said no Socialist objected to the use of the general strike to halt war, but asserted that such strikes could be undertaken only by trained and disciplined labor groups. No such organizations exist in the United States. The abolition of armaments, O'neal said, would come only with the end of capitalism and this was so stated in the majority resolution. He took issue with the minority declaration that some reactionary governments would welcome war to divert the unrest of the unemployed. This stated only a half truth. It is also a fact that some reactionary forces fear a war because it might bring working class revolts. Returning to the theme of the general strike, O'neal said such a movement must be prepared and planned. He hoped to see the time when the American workers would be ready for such a move, but added that patient and constructive Socialist work was necessary to bring such a state of mind into being. When the vote was taken, 59 votes were given the majority report and 36 to the minority.

Ovation to Berlin

Under the heading of organization problems, Harry Kritzer of Brooklyn made a plea for a return to the system of autonomous county locals. He was opposed by Gerber whose position was upheld by the convention. The "Proposed Plan and Budget" submitted by the agenda committee, was subjected to vigorous criticism by David Kaplan and Levinson. They maintained the report contained neither a plan nor a budget. By an unopposed vote, the report was sent back to a special committee consisting of Kaplan, Louis Schaeffer and George Steinhardt which is to report its findings to the City Central Committee.

Other resolutions adopted by the convention dealt with the economic depression; protested against the frame-up of certain members of the New York Tidewater Boatmen's Union; asked the lifting of legal restriction on the dissemination of birth control information; urged support of the cooperative movement; stressed the importance of labor cultural activities and urged that they be encouraged within the party; urged the identity of interests of Negro workers with whites and called for the setting aside for intensive propaganda purposes of a "Red Week."

The convention had 158 delegates elected by the branches, of whom 147 attended the various sessions. The visitors totaled several times that number. Fifty-six delegates came from Manhattan, 44 from Brooklyn, 31 from the Bronx, 14 from Queens and 2 from Richmond. One of the unique features of the convention was the ovation given Chairman Simon Berlin when he left the convention early Sunday evening after having spent two exhausting days in successfully steering the convention along the lines of vigorous, yet good-tempered and constructive discussion.

UNION DIRECTORY

BONNAE, SINGER EMBROIDERERS, TUCKERS, STITCHERS AND PLEATERS' UNION, Local 66, I.L.G.W.U., 7 East 15th St., Phone Algonquin 4-3657. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union, 2 L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattab, Manager; Morris Fishman, Secretary-Treasurer.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION, Local No. 9 Office and headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone Stagg 3-4621. Office open daily except Saturday from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening. Charles Phau, Fin. Sec'y; Frank F. Lutz, Treasurer; Andrew Streit, Bus. Agent; William Weingert, President; Al Bayre, Vice-President; Milton Rowcroft, Rec., Corresponding Sec'y.

BUTCHERS' UNION Local 234, A.M.O. & B.W. of N.A., 1 East 15th Street, Phone Tompkins Sq. 6-7234-7235-7236. Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday, Samuel Sussman, Isidore Leff, Business Agents; J. Belsky, Secretary.

BUTCHERS' UNION, Local 174, A.M.O. & B.W. of N.A. Office and Headquarters: Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St., Room 12. Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Sunday at 10 A.M. Employment Bureau open every day at 6 p.m.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th Street, New York, N. Y. Phone Tompkins Square 4-5400. Hyman Blumberg, Sidney Resman, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, Amalgamated Bank Bldg., 11-15 Union Square, 3rd floor. Telephone Algonquin 4-5400-1-2-3-4-5. Sidney Hillman, Gen. President; Joseph Schlossberg, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL of Millinery Workers International Union, Office, 133 Second Ave., Phone Orchard 4-3960-1-2. The council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday, S. Herszkowitz, Sec'y-Treas. Operators, Local 1-Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, 9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunter's Point 6-9988. Morris Kaufman, Gen. Pres. and Sec.

FURRIERS' JOINT COUNCIL OF N. Y. LOCAL 101, 105, 110 and 115 of THE INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS OF U. S. and C., 38 West 31st Street. Phone Penn. 6-7922. Meets every Tuesday at 8:00 P. M. M. Merkin, Manager.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers Union, Office and headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn; Stagg 2-6798. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, I. B. Hertzberg; Vice President, Sam Groll; Business Agent, D. Kalmikoff; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, H. Helb.

HEBREW TRADES, 175 East Broadway; Phone Drydock 4-8610. Meets 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board same day, 8:30 P. M. M. Tigel, Chairman; M. Brown, Vice-Chairman; M. Feinstein, Secretary-Treasurer.

LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U. Office, 109 W. 38th St.; Phone Wis. 7-8011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union. Maurice W. Jacobs, Pres.; Samuel Perlmutter, Mgr.-Sec.; Morris W. Jacobs, Chairman of Exec. Board; Philip Oretsky, Asst. Mgr.

LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, 3 West 16th Street, New York City. Phone Chelsea 3-2148. Benjamin Schlesinger, President; David Dubinsky, Secretary-Treasurer.

LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to protect the legal rights of the Unions and their members. S. John Block, Attorney and Counsel, 225 E. W. Ave., Rooms 2700-10, New York. Board of Delegates meets at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street, New York City, on the last Saturday of each month at 8:00 n. m.

BROOKLYN LABOR LYCEUM 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn Large and small hall suitable for all occasions and meetings at reasonable rentals. STAGG 3643

Labor Temple 243-247 EAST 84th ST. NEW YORK Workmen's Educational Association Free Library open from 1 to 10 p. m. Halls for Meetings, Entertainments and Balls. Telephone REGent 10038

QUEENS COUNTY COMMITTEE.—Harry Smith of Jamaica acted as chairman at the January meeting. Delegates for 1932 were seated. Resolutions were adopted favoring the Norris anti-injunction bill, the Davis-Kelly bill to establish a commission to regulate the coal industry, reducing the national budget for the army, navy and citizens training camps and urging that the savings which accrue be devoted to the relief of the unemployed. The committee also opposed the Goss bill calling for the private operation of the Muscle Shoals plant. The secretary was instructed to communicate with the branches regarding the formation of unemployment councils in Queens.

LAUNDRY WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION, No. 280, Office 62 E. 106th St. Phone Lehigh 4-2421. Meetings 2nd and 4th Mondays, 10 A.M. President, Walter Wolff; Manager and Financial Secretary, L. Heikelman; Record Secretary, J. Mackey.

AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA, New York Local No. 1, Office, Amalgamated Bldg., 205 West 14th St.; Phone Watkins 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-President; Frank Schel, Fin. Secretary; Emil Thenen, Rec. Secretary; Joseph J. O'Connor, Treasurer.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, Downtown office, 640 Broadway, phone Spring 7-4548; uptown office, 30 West 37th Street, phone Wisconsin 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 P.M. Manager, N. Spector; Sec'y-Treas., Alton Rose; Organizers, I. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodos.

MILK WAGON DRIVERS' UNION, Local 584, I. U. of T. Office: 259 W. 14th St., City. Local 534 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th St. Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at Beethoven Hall, 210 E. 5th St. Chas. Hofer, President and Business Agent; Max Lieble, Secretary-Treasurer.

NECKWEAR CUTTERS' UNION, UNITED 6169, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th Street, Algonquin 4-7878. Regular meetings second Wednesday of every month at 183 West 23rd Street. Max Shack, President; A. Weltner, Vice-President; E. Meyer, Sec. 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 4-7082. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer.

PAINTERS' UNION, Local 496, GERMAN Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers. Regular Meetings every Wednesday Evening, at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street. P. Wollensack, President; Fred Wolf, Secretary; Peter Rothman, Fin. Sec'y.

PAINTERS, DECORATORS OF AMERICA, District Council No. 9, N. Y. C. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Trades Union Congress. Meets every Thursday evening. Office 63 East 3rd St. Tel. Gramercy 8-0400. J. A. Hoffmann, Sec'y; Robert Sembroni, Fin. Sec'y - Treas.; L. Lefkowitz, Pres.

PAINTERS UNION, Local 961 Office, 62 East 106th Street. Tel. Lehigh 4-3141. Exec. Board meets every Tuesday at the office. Regular meetings every Friday at 210 E. 104th St. M. Galt, Fin. Sec'y - Treas.; M. Greeninger, Recording 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.

POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION, New York Joint Board, Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. General office, 53 West 21st St., New York. Phone Gramercy 6-1023. Charles Kleinman, Chairman; Charles I. Goldman, Sec'y-Treas.; Philip Lubliner, Manager.

TYPOGRAPHICAL 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 Tompkins Sq. 6-7470. Austin Hewson, President; Daniel McCauley, Vice-President; James J. McGrath, Secretary-Treasurer; J. J. Fahey, J. J. 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 23rd St.; Tel. Ashland 4-3107. Sam Turkel, Pres.; Louis Rubinfeld, Sec'y - Treas. Regular meeting every 2nd and 4th Thursday at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th St. Always Look for This Label Workers: Eat Only in Restaurants That Employ Union Workers

WATERPROOF GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U., 5 West 16th St. Phone, Chelsea 3-3677. Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p.m. D. Gindgold, Manager; Saul Oleisky, Secretary-Treasurer.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 63 of I. L. G. W. U., 3 West 16th Street, New York City. Phone, Chelsea 3-5756-5757. A. Snyder, Manager. S. SHORE, Executive Supervisor.

Rich, Rollicking Revival of "Robin Hood" At Erlanger's

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

AMERICA'S FAVORITE

"ROBIN HOOD." By Reginald De Koven. Libretto by Harry B. Smith. All-star revival by Milton Aborn's Civic Light Opera Company at the Erlanger.

Not only is Robin Hood a favorite figure among young readers, but the operetta that tells his story has long been a favorite among American lovers of light music. Many of the lyrics are sung in our schools, and probably thousands who can hum the tune of "Oh, Promise Me" or the Tinkers' song, do not know their source. The present resplendent production of "Robin Hood" proves that de Koven's melodies well stand the lapse of time; and the whole play is merry as a wedding-bell. Peacock's "Maid Marian" is the best person telling of Robin's story; but de Koven naturally takes the happy ending—to the great discomfort of the Sheriff of Nottingham. Only our sense of geography differs from that of the man who chose the bridesmaids' costumes.

Our old friend William Danforth, always a delight to see, brings a rich comic sense to the role of the sheriff, who captures Robin Hood the bandit—after having driven him forth as Robert of Huntington—only to be (of course) foiled at the end. Gnashing of teeth! Gritting of grated glamour! And dear maid Marian is the just reward—which Charlotte Lansing makes doubly desired. Howard Marsh is a stalwart, as well as a melodious, hero; and Fred Patton (as Will Scarlet) digs delightfully deep for the bass tones of "Brown October Ale" and "The Armourer's Song," to the stout antics of Frank Lator as Friar Tuck. Altogether "Robin Hood," in the current presentation, is an engaging revival of pleasant memories—or a new and most enjoyable experience.

Movie Ball Feb. 20

With all the pageantry of Hollywood, the Motion Picture Club of New York will conduct a mammoth Movie Ball at the Waldorf-Astoria's grand ball room on the night of February 20th. This function, which promises to be an unusually elaborate event attended by a long list of notables in civic and motion picture life, will be open to the public.

MUSIC

PHILHARMONIC-SYMPHONY

BRUNO WALTER, Conductor
Carnegie Hall, THIS AFT., at 3:00
Soloist: HAROLD HAUER, Pianist
WEBER—BEETHOVEN—WAGNER
Carnegie Hall, Thurs. Eve., Feb. 11, at 8:45
Friday Aft., Feb. 12, at 2:30
SCHUBERT: Symphony in B minor ("Unfinished")
MAHLER: Symphony No. 5
ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

In His Last New York Recital of Season



Yehudi Menuhin, who will be heard in a violin recital at Carnegie Hall Sunday evening, February 14th.

Lou Holtz to Offer Big Revue at the Hollywood At Popular Prices

With a galaxy of celebrated stage stars that is said to rival anything assembled for a musical production in the legitimate theatre, Lou Holtz, the comedian who established the first long-run record for the Palace Theatre last summer, will soon take possession of the Warner Brothers' Hollywood Theatre, where he will sponsor his own vaudeville-revue. Under the guiding hand of Holtz, the forthcoming project, scheduled to open on Monday evening, February 15th, will emerge as a novel entertainment for Broadway, combining the variety and revue form of stage show.

In addition to Lou Holtz, who will act as master of ceremonies, the cast includes Bobby Clark and Paul McCullough, Vincent Lopez and his St. Regis Hotel Orchestra, the Boswell Sisters, Venita Gould, Jay Brennan, Earl (Snakehips) Tucker and Bessie Dudley and Three Little Words. The addition of other names will be made before the end of the week.

CARNEGIE HALL

Sunday Eve., Feb. 14
Last N. Y. Recital This Season
YEHUDI

Menuhin

Mgt. Evans & Salter (Mason & Hamlin)

"When the Bough Breaks" Due Feb. 16

Arthur Lubin announces that "When the Bough Breaks," in which Pauline Frederick is starred, will open at the Forty-eighth Street Theatre on Monday, February 16. "When the Bough Breaks" is the work of Jerome Sackheim. Mr. Lubin is directing.

The complete cast of "When the Bough Breaks" is as follows: Pauline Frederick, Malcolm Duncan, Dorothy Libaire, William Post, Jr., Louis Jean Heydt, Maud Durant, Clyde Franklin, Carl Benton Ried, Joan Hathaway, Margaret Main and Jack Daniels.

The settings have been designed by Alexander Wyckoff.

Concert by Choral School of Metropolitan Opera Feb. 21

Among other items on the program of the Choral School of the Metropolitan Opera House, which will give its first public concert in the Engineering Auditorium on Sunday evening, Feb. 21, will be an initial hearing of "Quand mon Mari," a madrigal by Orlando di Lasso. Di Lasso, a Frenchman despite his name, was born in Mons in 1532 and died in Munich June 14, 1594.

He was one of the most famous musicians of his time and came to equal Palestrina in eminence. Edoardo Petri, director of the School, will conduct the chorus of 75 voices.

"Strange Interlude" Miss Shearer's Next

A casting announcement from Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer reports that Norma Shearer's next picture will be "Strange Interlude." Clark Gable will have the principal male role in this adaptation of Eugene O'Neill's stage success.

IMPERIAL Theatre, 45th St. W. of B'way

Thurs. 8:30; Fri. 8:45
Mats. Saturday and Lincoln's Birthday
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

MAX GORDON'S MUSICAL TRIUMPH

"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.
Evenings at 8:30
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

APOLLO THEATRE, 42nd St. West of B'way

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 QUADRUPLES
THE MOST BEAUTIFUL SHOW
GIRLS ON THE STAGE

"Collision" Due at the Gaiety February 16

Lewis E. Gensler announces the New York opening of "Collision," a comedy by John Anderson adapted from the German of Rudolf Lothar and Erno Sebesi, at the Gaiety Theatre on Tuesday evening, February 16th.

June Walker and Geoffrey Kerr head a distinguished company including Lennox Pavoni, Eva Condon, Ralph Nairn, Victor Kilian, Porter Hall, Frances Dade, Joann Castle, Anita Murray, George Fairchild, Patsy Klein, Tom Fadden, Richard Hemingway, James Hagan, M. Charles Palazzi and Franklin Munnell. "Collision" is being directed by Melville Burke and Lee Simonson has designed the settings.

REMEMBER

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

Leslie Howard

in PHILIP BARRY'S New Comedy

THE ANIMAL KINGDOM

"The Season's Most Gratifying Adventure." — Percy Hammond, Herald-Tribune.

STAGED BY GILBERT MILLER

BROADHURST Theatre, 44 St. W. of B'way
Eves. 8:40; Matinee Wed. & Sat. 2:30

GILBERT MILLER presents

HELEN HAYES

in MOLNAI'S New Comedy

The GOOD FAIRY

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

Gilbert Gabriel N. Y. American

HENRY MILLER'S
Theatre, 124 W. 43rd St.
Eves. 8:30; Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2:40

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

with
William GAXTON . . . Lois MORAN . . . Victor MOORE
AND A SINGING ENSEMBLE OF 60 VOICES
West 45th St. Eves. at 8:30
Mats. This Week—Thurs., Fri., Sat.

MUSIC BOX THEATRE.

QUEENIE SMITH

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 diversions." —American.

44TH ST. THEATRE, W. of B'way
Eves. 8:30
Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2:30

"Singin' Sam," Daphne Pollard Headline Big Stage Bill at the Albee

"Singin' Sam," favorite of the air, comes to the RKO Albee Theatre today, Saturday, to distribute his melodic menu in person from the stage. "Singin' Sam," will include in his repertoire, many of the songs familiar to his radio audiences. Co-headlining with "Sam," is a heroine of a battery of talking shorts, Daphne Pollard, the diminutive madcap of comedy. A past master in the art of writing lyrics and music, Neville Flessen will present his "Musical Episodes," featuring Helene Denison, Gloria Grafton and Marie Kingston. The Lander Bros. and Phyllis Rae and Her Ambassadors, with the Three Gates Bros. complete the bill.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents

REUNION in VIENNA

A comedy by ROBERT F. SHERWOOD

Martin Beck Theatre

45th St., and 5th Ave. PEnn. 6-6100

Evenings 8:40

Matinee Thurs. and Sat., 2:40

THE THEATRE GUILD presents

EUGENE O'NEILL'S Trilogy

"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

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 Lorraine Mary Nash
Diana Wynard Cecilia Loftus
Ernest Thesiger Ernest Cossart

SELWYN Theatre, 42nd St.
Mats. Thurs.
Eves. 8:30
Nights 8:30—Prices \$1 to \$3—Mats. 2:30

ERLANGER'S Theatre, W. 44th St. PEnn. 6-7963

Matinees Wednesday & Saturday

MILTON ABORN, 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. 8:30 to 10:30. Wed. Mat. 5:00 to 8:00.
Sat. Mats. 5:00 to 8:00.
Hear: "Oh Promise Me" — "Brown October Ale" — "Tinkers' Chorus"

NEW YORK OPERA COMIQUE, Inc.

PRESENTS FOR ONE WEEK ONLY

Beginning Monday Night, Feb. 8th

OSCAR STRAUS' THE

CHOCOLATE SOLDIER

HECKSCHER THEATRE
4TH AVE. AT 104TH ST.

Eves. at 8:30. Saturday Mat. at 2:30
Prices \$1 to \$5. Reservations at
N. Y. Opera Comique Offices, 113
W. 57th St. Circle 7-4241 or at
Theat. League 4-3641, after 3 P. M.

EARL CARROLL VANITIES

5th 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. Bal. 50c
Matinee Wednesday and Saturday
Entire Orchestra \$2

SEATS FOR 8 WEEKS AT
BOX OFFICE
EARL CARROLL Theatre, 1 Av.
A 56th St.

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

The Crisis in the Far East—Roosevelt and Foreign Affairs—The War Debts—An Imperialist Incident—Our High Court Judges

THE NEED FOR SANE ACTION

THE Disarmament Conference at Geneva opened to the horrible tune of Japanese bombs and guns in Shanghai. Disarmament must succeed if there is to be peace in the world, but disarmament cannot succeed while such cruel imperialism as the Japanese military clique has forced upon the Far East stalks abroad in the world.

What the Japanese government or the military party in control of the government has done is a worse and more deliberate blow to decent international relations than anything done by Germany. It is an aggression committed in the face of all the bitter experience of the world and of all Japan's own promises. Yet mere indiscriminate hate and condemnation of Japan will only pave the way to new war. Here are things to remember:

1. The crime of this aggression rests less on the desires of the Japanese people than upon the dominant militarists who gamble for desperate stakes in a country near the edge of bankruptcy and perhaps revolution. Apparently they now have the Japanese farmers and workers temporarily drunk with patriotism. But it must be remembered that every radical labor leader of any importance is in jail. Foreign declaration of war on Japan would only serve to consolidate the nation. Economic pressure would not have the same result.

2. Bad as what the Japanese government has done, it differs only in degree and not in kind from the imperialism of Western nations, including our own. In condemning Japan, to be effective, we must abandon our own imperialism in Latin-America.

3. If the United States weeks ago had deliberately sought cooperation with the nations in the League of Nations and with Russia in economic pressure on Japan almost certainly the present crisis would have been avoided. Instead Ambassador Dawes played the clown at Paris, refused even to see the Chinese for more than a few minutes, and refused even to consider any effective cooperation with the nations in the League.

4. While the United States lost an opportunity that will not come again, whatever hope there is lies in the substitution by the nation of effective economic pressure. This requires cooperation with the nations in the League and with Russia.

5. If we are to keep the peace we must not let some untoward incident like firing on the flag or even shooting some marines in Shanghai force us into the ancient folly of war. It is a stupid and barbaric conception of honor that would compel us to pour out money and blood in the indiscriminate slaughter of war to avenge some wrong. Our hope is in economic pressure and in the awakening of Japanese workers. We got nothing out of the last World War; we will get nothing out of the new World War. The temporary prosperity that war might bring only makes the disease of the sick acquisitive society ten times worse in the end. Let labor and the Socialist party take the lead in the struggle for sanity and for peace. These ends will be furthered by avoiding great display of American force at Shanghai.

ROOSEVELT'S APOLOGY FOR A PROGRAM

SPEAKING on the day when the Disarmament Conference opened and the peace of the world hung in the balance in the Far East; a day when the problems of unemployment grew steadily worse, and even the conservatives in Congress were admitting the need of direct federal aid, Franklin D. Roosevelt, leading contender for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency and hope of the so-called liberals and progressives, made his first declaration on national issues. And what did he say? Simply this: there ought to be an international conference on reduction of tariffs; the United States ought not to join the League of Nations which Roosevelt once campaigned for; there must be no cancellation of debts although there ought to be a conference of our debtors in the United States about the date of payment. In other words, Mr. Roosevelt has no real program and 80 per cent of the little he did say was catering to American prejudices against the League and against the cancellation of debts. Whatever Mr. Roosevelt's charm as a gentleman, by this speech as well as by his relations with Tammany, he proves that he is first of all a political office seeker with no deep principles and no adequate program, a fit candidate for a party whose slogan is: "Hee, haw, we're coming back!"

DEBTS AND DISARMAMENT

IF by refusing to cancel war debts we should primarily hurt the international bankers, then, of course, we ought to refuse to cancel the debts. But it is not primarily the bankers but the workers of Germany, France, Italy, England, yes, and of our own country, who pay the costs of debts and reparations in lowered wages, in the intensi-



NORMAN THOMAS

fication of depression and the blocking of ordinary channels of trade. They pay an even deeper cost in the increase of hatred and suspicion. The sensible thing is to use these old war debts which we never can collect as a lever to promote disarmament and to increase good-will. Then let's take care of the bankers. Let's tax their incomes. Let's proceed to socialize banking.

CASE RECORD IN IMPERIALISM

THE worst sins of our bankers are not connected with the war debts but with the flotation of phoney loans, foreign and domestic, since the war. Supposedly respectable bankers paid a bribe of half a million dollars to the son of a former president of Peru in order to get a loan which time has defaulted. It is estimated that the bankers made around 120 million dollars profit on floating foreign loans which have cost the American people around two billion dollars in losses—unless an unexpected amount of the loans should be made good. Senator Johnston has brought up testimony showing that little banks on Main street were forced under pressure to take some of these phoney foreign loans from the big banks. The same pressure doubtless compelled them to take phoney domestic loan securities. Perhaps the worst thing of all is the fact that apparently the State Department brought pressure on Columbia to grant an oil concession as the price of an insecure loan. That's what economic imperialism means.

PACKING OUR JUDGES

WHY does President Hoover take so long to appoint a successor to Judge Holmes on the Supreme Court? Doubtless Judge Cardozo is nearest like Judge Holmes in his view of the law, his mastery of English, and his general humanity. If Hoover does not appoint him it will be because Hoover fears such men. Great as was Judge Holmes, he was no economic radical and some of his decisions, as Louis P. Goldberg has pointed out, were from every Socialist point of view on the wrong side. Not the greatest liberal can make the Supreme Court an agency of progress rather than reaction, but at the very least labor's position will be helped by having a Cardozo in Holmes' place instead of some such scandalous reactionary as Hoover has recently appointed to lower courts.

For instance, it would be hard to imagine more disgraceful appointments than the promotion of Judges Mackintosh and Wilkerson to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. Wilkerson awarded one of the worst injunctions in our history at the request of Attorney General Dougherty to break the railway shopmen's strike in 1922. Kenneth Mackintosh, a classmate of Hoover's, while a judge of the Supreme Court of Washington, congratulated the Centralia mob on its attack on the I. W. W.'s in 1919. A year and a half later he had the impudence to sit with his fellow judges and concur in their decision upholding the conviction of the I. W. W. prisoners for murder. Labor must defeat these men by its pressure on the Senate.

I SEE BY THE PAPERS

LATELY I have been the victim of some newspaper mistakes rather than deliberate errors. For instance, a New York Times headline made it appear that in some mysterious way I was connected with the Dewey group in urging a third party. On the contrary I think no "third party" is possible except as the Socialist party builds its strength in this campaign. The New York Sun and some other papers editorially had me at a League of Nations Association Convention in Philadelphia. I was not there and had nothing to do with it. I accept the Socialist position that under proper conditions the United States should join the League which might be made an agency of internationalism. That is not, however, our first and most immediate demand in foreign affairs. Nor will the League be very effective save as the international labor and Socialist movement can make it effective. This is different from the attitude of enthusiasts for the much harrassed League of Nations.

In Lima, Ohio, I ran across a newspaper attack on me and a letter circulated against me which were not innocent mistakes but apparently the deliberate results of power trust propaganda and Reserve Officers Association attacks on me personally, and on the Socialist party. If I can get certain facts I may have more to say on this matter. It was painfully evident in Lima that the power trust and other business interests have the city in the grip of a kind of fear. Lima is not much different from other similar industrial cities except that it has a rattling good forum which many of them lack.

My space is more than filled. For West Virginia news you will have to see some other column of the paper.

WAR AS A WAY OUT OF THE DEPRESSION

JAPAN has found a way out of the depression—WAR!

Jobs for everybody, in munition and supply factories—in the army. Instead of the cold ashes of discontent, the flames and forges of patriotic zeal and loyal hatred. And money pouring into the land. Even the United States' millionaires, unable (or unwilling) to lift this country out of hard times, can send a hundred million dollars to Japan. Because Japan—more frankly imperialist than western nations today—is taking Manchuria. And China. And the eastern Soviet?

For almost a year Soviet Russia has been protesting that Japan is trying to provoke her into war. The seizing of the Russian railway is an overt act; it is unlikely that Russian patience can hold the peace. War with Russia is a clever stroke on the part of Japan, for the capitalist world is thus won over. But if Russia keeps out of war, Japan sees the United States as the next best victim. The world owes us money, and hates us. England will probably stay neutral—for a price; at least the canceling of the debts. That France is leagued with Japan is so open a secret that even the United States Senators are beginning to find it out; money and munitions will go east from France, and French Indo-China will play into Japanese hands. (Already the French have allowed the Japanese to use French Shanghai territory, and have refused to join us in diplomatic notes). Japan is readier than this country for a war; and would dearly like to have the Philippines. Her swift defeat of Russia in 1906 showed her that western countries are not always trium-

phant; reports from Shanghai show that her airplane bombers have remarkably good aim.

But wait a moment. Perhaps our impoverished millionaires should welcome war. Perhaps a good long war is just what capitalistic United States needs to set it back on its capitalistic feet. Consider. The unemployed get jobs at once, as soldiers, or munition workers, or as Liberty Bonds minute-men, making those great speeches on how to make the world safe for democra—no, this time, it's to save China from the yellow peril! Contracts are let for army clothes and food, for all supplies; great graft; everybody happy; factories hum. That moral fervor which, Hoover tells us, the depression has deepened, will grow still more intense. Speaking of Hoover, war would ensure his re-election. (That alone should be almost worth the price!) The pesky question of debts from the last war (the "war to end war") would be settled, for whatever was left uncanceled by international bargaining in the scramble for sides, we could take out in trade. This'll be a long war, too; for the Pacific is a wide ocean, and our biggest ships won't fit through the Panama Canal locks. Good times should last for a number of years. A lot of excess population should be rapidly cleared away. (The Japs seem to be blowing to bits about a thousand civilians a day. Remember that Swift suggested, as a cure for the Irish famine, that the Irish babies be killed for the English tables. We're taking our slaughtering at a ripper age; but that only strengthens the argument). And if we win the war, China will love us so that maybe she'll give us big concessions in Man-

churia. (And if she doesn't, maybe we'll take them—just to protect that valuable land, of course, from the encroaching Japanese!) And if we lose the war—but no true capitalistic American would want to push the inquiry that far.

And when the war is over, boys! Well—we're not optimists, and we haven't much faith in this best of all possible worlds. But the high times, the rich, prosperous times, of the wars soon to come will be followed in their turn by deeper depressions, until this civilization blinks out like those before it—or desperate need wakes mankind to thrust aside the viper capitalism (now at the breast of humankind, and poisoning all peoples) for some wholesome system of distribution of the fruits of nature and of human toil, for an adequate Socialist commonwealth.

ENROLLED SOCIALIST VOTERS
Midwood Section, Brooklyn
ARE INVITED TO A
SOCIALIST RALLY
Monday, Feb. 8, 8 P. M. at 1637 East 17th St.
Speakers:
JACOB PANKEN --- AUGUST CLAESSENS