

# NEW LEADER

With Which  
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by  
Eugene V. Debs

VOL. XIII.—No. 9

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1932

Price Five Cents

## WAR MEANS DESTRUCTION!

**Japan's Imperialist Madness a Product of World Capitalism  
But a New World War Is Not the Way Out of the Crisis!**

### WHAT WAR MEANS—A PICTURE FROM SHANGHAI TELLS THE STORY

*Japanese soldiers killed in battle. The lifeless bodies of workers and peasants taken from their homes to battle for the glory and profit of their capitalists' investments in China.*

*They killed Chinese workers whom they never saw before—and in turn were killed themselves. . . That is what war means.*

*Why should the workers of one nation fight the workers of another?*



By REINHOLD NIEBUHR

NOTHING which has happened since the World War justifies the Socialist interpretation of modern history so much as the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and China and the attitude of the world powers to this venture in pure imperialism.

Both the outbreak of hostilities and the inability or unwillingness of the powers to stop the hell-bent Japanese imperialists give us an interesting glimpse of the whole structure and weakness of our present civilization.

First of all it shows us how inevitably a capitalistic industrialism, organized on a nationalistic basis, seeks to preserve and extend its power by military ventures. Japan needs the raw materials of Manchuria and the markets of both China and Manchuria. It might secure both to a considerable degree by peaceful economic penetration but not to a degree sufficient to satisfy the ambitions of a feudalistic nationalism or the needs created by its rapidly developing individualistic capitalism. As in the case of Germany the old feudal, militaristic aristocracy partly supports and partly surpasses the lust for power of the industrial overlords. The result is military aggression.

### Why the League Fails

What Japan is doing is not a new thing in the history of nations. One might have imagined however that after all the pious protestations incorporated in the Kellogg pact and all the pious wishes for peace incarnate in the League of Nations that the nations of the world would be ready to put a stop to the flagrant aggression upon which Japan has embarked.

*But while the League speaks with the voice of Jacob and pleads for peace one senses that the hands of Esau are somewhere underneath. The hands of Esau are the ambitions and the fears of the other capitalistic nations which hesitate to endow the league with a policy adequate for the situation which Japan has created.*

Why is the League of Nations so curiously lame in this crisis? Why does it not initiate the non-violent sanctions which its covenant provides and which might, if they had the full support of all powers, stop the aggression of Japan without the use of military force?

The answer is that each one of the great powers is thinking of special interests of its own rather than the peace of the world. France is mindful of her imperialist interest in Indo-China. Britain thinks of Japan as a bulwark against Bolshevism in the Orient and her interests in India prevent her from taking a too rigorous action against a nation which has the hegemony in the Orient.

### Japan Follows the Style

All the nations have done what Japan has done in times past and might consider similar policies necessary to their imperial interests in the future. American economic interests prompt a strong action against Japan but it would create rather than stop a war if America acted without international support. As a result there is every indication that Japan will continue her aggression until the Chinese boycott proves to her that a weapon has been developed which may frustrate the fondest ambitions of imperialists.

The most obvious lesson to be drawn from the whole sorry tale of imperialist aggression and league inaction is that all the instruments of internationalism and peace which liberalism has built up since the World War are ineffective when confronted with a major crisis. League, World Court, Kellogg pact, they are "each idle and all ill" and fail to make an appreciable impression

upon the self-will and interests of the capitalistic nations.

An international boycott either diplomatic or economic or both would undoubtedly be able to stop Japan. There is still a small possibility that the league assembly, in which the small nations outweigh the great powers will initiate such a boycott. A voluntary boycott, as proposed by many left-wing organizations, probably would be ineffective and the propaganda necessary to make it even partially effective might easily sow the seeds of war with Japan.

### No Progress Through Destruction

The line which all Socialist and labor organizations ought to take is to agitate for a boycott. If such a boycott is impossible we may regard it as a foregone conclusion that no effective action against an aggressor nation is possible and give ourselves to the dismal conclusion that another world war is inevitable.

Our civilization was drifting toward such a disaster even before the Japanese militarists began their venture and it may be unavoidable no matter what policies are attempted. Some Socialists will be inclined to believe that the drift toward disaster is so inevitable and the possibility of creating a Socialist society through disaster is so much more promising than any other alternative that they will be inclined to let events take their course. But their romantic hopes are probably resting upon oversimplifications of history. There is no more guarantee that the next war will produce an ideal Socialist commonwealth of nations than that the last war did. It may usher in an age of unrelieved barbarism.

*We had better stop the war if we can and meanwhile lay the foundations of a Socialist society so that, if disaster destroys the old world, a new one will be in the making to take its place. If it is not in the making it will not spring automatically out of the ashes of the old.*



# 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, Al-gernon Lee, Harry W. Laidler, Norman Thomas, Joseph E. Cohen, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Wm. M. Feigenbaum, John M. Work, McAlister Coleman, Joseph T. Shipley, Louis Stanley, Louis Waldman



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

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1932

## Pilots Going to School

THE tendency of capitalism to reduce workers in the professions to wage workers is evident in the strike of pilots on commercial air lines. Here is a new industry that has been nursed by mail contracts that amount to a government subsidy and within a decade or two a struggle begins between two corporations for control. In the war for control the wages of pilots are reduced and they go on strike.

The pilots are organized and their occupation is one of special skill that requires much careful training. The pilots ask whether they are to be "professional men" or "glorified truck drivers." Their question is significant. They do not want to be considered truck drivers and yet truck drivers have often made good fighters for their class. The class conflict has come to the pilots and they will learn that thinking in terms of a profession may be permissible but their real status ranges them with truck drivers. The pilots belong to the working class and they are now going to school and learning this lesson.

## Virtue Rewarded!

WHO says that our capitalist system does not reward virtue and relieve distress. Let him read this news item, from the New York Times:

Henry Gilling, aged 30, an airplane mechanic, has been unemployed for three months. His savings all gone, he has had to stand in the breadline at Times Square every night to get a morsel of food. Yesterday, on his way there, he found a valuable watch. Instead of trying to pawn it, he turned it over to the police. In recognition of his honesty orders have been given to the officer in charge of the breadline that, no matter what time Gilling arrives, he is to be put at the head of the line, instead of having to wait his turn!

The Japanese War Minister is said to have told Theodore Roosevelt in Tokyo that the latter's father had secretly approved Japan's annexation of Korea. It will be recalled that this raid by Japan was accompanied with a series of murders of high Korean officials. The War Minister recalled the fact that to make good his approval, Roosevelt withdrew the United States Legation from Seoul before any other nation took similar steps. All of which indicates that a triumphant working class at Washington would reveal some dirty secrets when it gains access to the diplomatic archives.

With "Alfalfa Bill" Murray in the race for the nomination for President and Roosevelt being challenged for the place by Al Smith, all that is required to make the Democratic circus fine vaudeville this year is for the admirers of Andy Gump, Ph.B. (Professor of Bunk) to enter him as a contestant for the honor.

## Doctoring the Capitalist System

A SURVEY of the foreign tariff situation made by the Department of Commerce reveals the anarchy that dominates the policies of the ruling classes of the world. The capitalist system is like an old watch. It works fairly well when it is new but eventually it goes to pieces. Based upon increasing exploitation of workers capitalism heaves up more values than the masses can buy. A crisis follows. But in addition to this there are the stupid policies of the ruling politicians of the various capitalist countries.

The department report points out that the ruling clique in each nation strives to export as much as possible and to import as little as possible. It increases import duties, establishes quota limitations, import restrictions, gold embargoes and exchange controls and the report forecasts further barriers and restrictions for this year. The very life of capitalism depends upon trade yet each inflow is checked and each outgo is stimulated but the first policy nullifies the second!

All this is like the physician who is called to dress a gaping wound but instead of doing this he rubs salt into it. For the capitalist system an industrial crisis is the wound and our doctors at Washington have the honor of having set the pace in this stupidity.

The obvious conclusion is that the ruling politicians of the world do not have sufficient intelligence to take care of the capitalist interests entrusted to them. The system is industrially sick while its doctors are mentally incompetent. Socialist specialists are urgently needed to reorganize it on an intelligent basis.

## De Valera Obtains Power in Ireland

DE VALERA has a majority in Ireland and will head the new government. The Irish Republicans with their Labor allies have 77 seats, the standing of the parties being as follows: Republicans, 68; Cosgrave's party, 53; Labor 7; Independent Labor, 2; Independents and Farmers, 15. Labor gained two seats and lost five. Jim Larkin, Communist, was defeated.

While the Laborites are for the Republicanism of de Valera, they will support the Anglo-Irish treaty, maintain their independence as a parliamentary group, refuse to give de Valera a blank check, and will act on his proposals independently as they are presented. One casualty of the election will no doubt be the repeal of the Public Safety Act which gave arbitrary power to the former government to suppress publications and organizations. This power was lodged in a small military tribunal, an oligarchy never contemplated by the thousands who gave their lives in the Irish struggle.

## Party Lines in the German Election

A DOLPH HITLER, whose backers recently denied that he would become a candidate for President of Germany, has been proclaimed a candidate of his Fascists. Theodore Dueterberg has been selected as the joint candidate of Alfred Hugenberg's Nationalist party and the Steel Helmets. For two weeks the Hitlerites had been negotiating with the other two organizations for a single candidate but the parleys collapsed because Hitler demanded the complete subordination of his allies. This division of the reactionary bands is all to the good. It is estimated that President Hindenburg is assured of 18,000,000 votes on

the basis of the returns at the last election which will assure his election on the second ballot. It is probable that with four candidates in the field there will be no election on the first ballot which requires a majority but that Hindenburg cannot be defeated on the second ballot as a plurality will then decide.

Of the eligible 41,000,000 voters in 1930, about 35,000,000 votes were cast and it is estimated that 3,000,000 more voters will go to the polls on March 13. By some Hitler is conceded 10,000,000 votes and others claim that his support will decline compared with the vote of 1930. In any event, the election is the most important held since the end of the World War. Should reaction be successful with Hitler heading it, it may have its repercussions throughout Europe with hell popping to the march of Fascist boots.

## Trotsky Condemned, Russia Wants No War

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the announcement that the Soviet government has deprived Leon Trotsky and 36 others of citizenship and has forbidden them to ever return to Russia, Trotsky has an article in "Liberty" in which he declares that the triumph of Hitlerism in Germany would be a menace to Russia. This is what we have emphasized in these columns. It is an anti-climax that Trotsky, the military genius of the revolution and one of the foremost theoreticians of the Communist party should be branded as a "counter-revolutionist." The first volume of his history of the revolution has been brought out by an American publisher.

It is Trotsky's opinion that Russia desires no war with Japan and he makes the interesting forecast that "Japan will become more and more deeply involved in Manchuria; discontent will inevitably follow; and Manchuria may well prove the Morocco of the Japanese monarchy." Duranty of the New York Times confirms this view of the peaceful policy of the Soviets. The Soviet press prints only brief dispatches regarding the war and editorials are lacking. No hostility is displayed toward the Japanese in Moscow. "The older people," writes Duranty, "remember the years of privation and disease and they do not want any wars."

## The Injunction Bill Before Congress

THE Norris anti-injunction bill is before the Senate and it may pass that body and go to the House. Senator Herbert of Rhode Island, supports a minority report which would preserve the yellow dog contract. Senator Norris appears to have made a good fight for the bill. He denounced the yellow dog contract, reviewed the history of class-biased judges, and raised the question as to whether we should tolerate life terms for judges. He recited some interesting incidents of spies of the employing class who encouraged violence in labor struggles only to have an injunction introduced to "restrain" strikers from committing violence.

Another interesting type of strategy employed by exploiters in the class war was related by Norris. Unorganized strikers applied to the Street and Electric Railway Workers for two organizers and when they arrived to take up their work they were arrested on trumped-up charges. After paying fees to bondsmen they were arrested on new accusations until the union funds were exhausted. Meantime strikers were being convicted for contempt of an injunction, "when it seemed on the face of the evidence that the men convicted were not only inno-

cent of a violation of the court order, illegal as it probably was, but that they had done their best to prevent the men from taking any action which would in any way violate the injunctive order."

Forty years have passed since the struggle of the organized workers began against the injunctive power of the robed oligarchs of the bench. Will this bill pass the House, or be gutted, or pass the Presidential hurdle? If it reaches the Supreme Court with sound teeth will the judges turn dentists and extract them? We wonder.

## Japanese Elections And a Manchu Dummy

IF Gilbert and Sullivan were living what a screaming comic opera they would make of the "government" set up by Japan in Manchuria. It appears that Henry Pu Yi, former boy Emperor of China, will be the dummy used by Japan to govern this vast region. American imperialism has been clever in this role in Latin-America and some underlings in the State Department must be admiring the Japanese job.

In the general elections in Japan the government party has a big majority. Quite a number of the members of the Social Democratic party recently left the party to support the "patriotic" line which may be considered a service to the party. There was also some joker-voting. A few votes were registered for a Chinese general, some wrote accusations of corruption against the two leading parties, and one wrote, "Give us rice." A labor rally in Tokyo was attended by about 5,000 and 300 police who silenced almost every speaker and took some to jail. Isoo Abe, a proletarian leader, was elected together with Bunji Suzuki, said to be "Japan's outstanding labor leader." In the general election in February, 1930, the various proletarian parties elected five deputies as against eight in the previous election. It is obvious that the war has swept some of the workers into the capitalistic camp.

## The Labor Struggle in the New Spain

THE political set-up in Spain is complicated with three Communist groups, the powerful Socialist party, and the semi-anarchist National Confederation of Labor which the Trotsky section of Communists are attempting to capture. Two weeks ago Joaquin Maurin, leader of the Trotskyists, accused Stalin of "un-Leninism." Stalin apparently replied in an article which El Sol, the Republican daily in Madrid, reprinted from a French magazine. Maurin heads the strongest of the three Communist organizations which, with the anarcho-syndicalists, oppose the Socialists. However, the Socialist General Union of Workers has doubled its membership the past year and to the opposition which Socialists face in the groups mentioned above they have to fight the Clericals, big land owners and big capitalists in the cities.

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 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.

## New Leader Supporters to Celebrate Paper's Seventh Birthday Record Attendance to Gather on Monday, March Seventh

PRACTICALLY every Socialist party branch in and near New York City will be represented at the seventh annual New Leader dinner Monday evening, March 7th, at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th street.

As The New Leader goes to press, the number of reservations

are nearing the 100 mark and all indications point to fulfillment of the hope that this will be the largest of the seven dinners which have marked the birthdays of the national organ of the Socialist party.

In keeping with its policy of making the dinners of The New Leader an intellectual treat as well

as an occasion for a demonstration of support for the paper, The New Leader board of directors has fixed the engrossing and all-important presidential campaign of this year as the topic for discussion.

Morris Hillquit, Socialist national chairman, and Norman Thomas

will present the plans of the Socialist party. The discussion will not be one-sided. Dudley Field Malone will speak from the viewpoint of a Democrat, while Prof. John Dewey will tell of the proposals of organized liberal opinion outside of the two old parties. Louis W. Waldman, state chairman of the N. Y. Socialist party, will preside.

Though reservations have been coming in heavier than for any previous New Leader dinner, the capacity of the dining hall will allow for some hundred more reservations. The should be sent immediately with remittances at \$1.50 per person to The New Leader at 7 East 15th Street.



# THE RETURN TO BARBARISM

## Capitalism Produces An Army of Outcasts—Homeless, Cold and Hungry Amid Plenty

**M**ORE and more capitalism becomes a criminal absurdity. A child afflicted with a fatal disease may grow to manhood. As it approaches maturity the malady returns from time to time. There are periods of prostration, sometimes mild, sometimes acute, but on the whole the disease becomes more dangerous and death is the end.

So it is with capitalism. Its first severe collapse was in 1837. In a few years it recovered and in 1857 the crisis was repeated. The Civil War with its stimulation of production brought "prosperity." The victors had not yet consolidated the conquest of Northern capitalism when there was the terrific convulsion of 1873.

Within almost a decade, 1885, there was another relapse and in a few years recovery, but nine years later, 1894, the worst industrial collapse of the century was in full swing and armies of jobless men were marching on Washington.

In 1907-8 there was a milder relapse, a more speedy recovery than before, and by 1914 general stagnation had again set in. Capitalism was getting ready for a hospital bed when the World War broke out. *It wasn't intelligence but criminal lunacy that saved the system.*

### A Three Years Relapse

Within a few years the nations turned to the job of destroying wealth on an enormous scale and to international mass murder. Having destroyed all that we could, we buried the dead and proceeded to rebuild what we had destroyed. Having largely accomplished this job the whole capitalist world plunged into the greatest industrial disaster in all history in 1929!

It will soon be three years since capitalism collapsed. Its fatal disease eats its vitals as fever does a stricken man. Its tempo is lower than in any other period of relapse.

In 1847 the leading founders of the Socialist movement, Marx and Engels, diagnosed the disease. Capitalist society, they wrote, "with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells."

### The Socialist Prediction

That is, instead of the ruling classes controlling the system it is a wild thing that hurls them into the air.

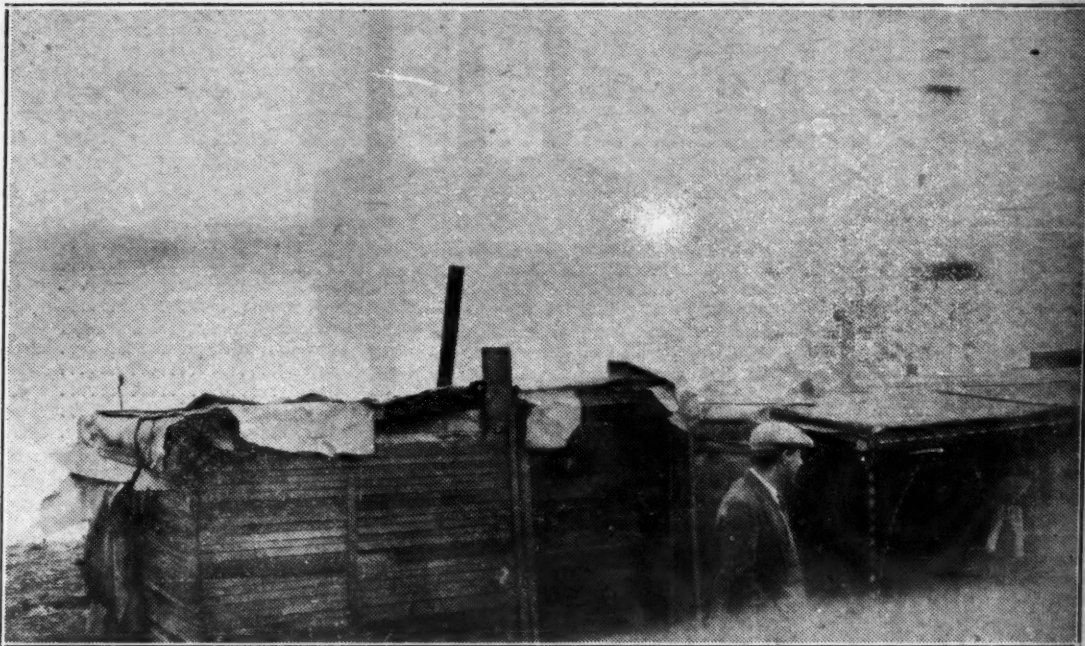
"It is enough," said these Socialists, "to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put on its trial, each time more threateningly, the existence of the entire bourgeois society. In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed."

"In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity—the epidemic of over-production. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed."

"And why?" Because there is too much civilization, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce."

Written eighty-five years ago, these passages read like a current description of the present industrial hell into which millions are plunged.

Members of our ruling classes, "like the sorcerer," dither about "planning" and "stabilizing" the mon-



**MODERN CAVE DWELLERS**—Wind-swept shacks of pieces of wood, rags and mud—these are the homes to which unemployed workers are being forced to revert. Here is another view of St. Louis "Hooverville." N. Y. police solved the problem of that city's "Hooverville" this week by burning down the unemployed settlement.

strous thing. The system is "on its trial" even more than at any other time. The crisis threatens "the existence of the entire bourgeois society." Its collapse has thrust us back "into a state of momentary barbarism."

Barbarism was largely a society of barter and in many rural sections today money has almost disappeared and farmers are turning to barter. Rude huts and caves were dwellings of our barbarous ancestors and these "homes" are appearing in cities by the side of mountains of wealth. In the barbarous period life was often precarious and uncertain and this is the fate of millions of workers today.

And all because there is too much wheat and bread; too much shoes and clothings; too much of all sorts of commodities. *We have a surplus of everything but brains!*

A small section of the hideous picture is revealed in a report of the Emergency Work and Relief Bureau of New York City from information gathered by 491 agents who visited 6,304 urgent cases:

### Hunger and Cold; Smashed Homes

Food was lacking in 5,122, or 81 per cent, of the "homes" visited. In most of these "homes" families were in debt from \$50 to \$500 or more. About 74 per cent had borrowed from friends or relatives. Some manage to exist upon small loans made by friends.

About 5,516 families, or 88 per cent, were in arrears for rent and in practically all mortgage cases foreclosure was imminent.

In approximately 3,976 cases, or 63 per cent, the families were in arrears on life insurance premiums. More than 25 per cent showed bank passbooks with accounts closed.

Lack of winter clothing was revealed in 2,387 families and many children remained home from school for lack of clothing. Children were found with playing cards in shoes to reinforce worn-out soles.

At least 25 per cent of these "homes" were in need of fuel to keep warm and many families collected bits of wood in the streets for fuel. In more than 1,500 "homes" furniture had been pawned or sold to buy food!

In nearly 40 per cent of the "homes" the agents reported discouragement and bitterness, aggravated by the

breaking up of homes because of inability to provide for the children.

It is a hideous indictment of the whole capitalist system. The percentages on each of the items mentioned above will probably hold good for the whole number of the disinherited in New York City and a survey of other cities would reveal similar conditions.

### The Workers Must Rule

*Socialist philosophy interprets the disease and points out the road to deliverance from this economic hell.*

The raw materials and the great industries are owned by a class. They are money-making enterprises for that class. When they want our labor power they hire us and when they do not want it they fire us.

We are fired. The gates of employment are slammed in our faces. The will of the owners is law. We cannot appeal from their decision when they lock us out. Their power in industry is enforced by state and federal laws. That is, they rule industry and through their politicians they rule the government.

*So we are outcasts and many of us are thrust into the life that was lived by our shaggy ancestors thousands of years ago!*

But we are many and they are few. When we know the secret of our strength we will end this black night of capitalism. We will have power in industry and government and there will be no small class to thwart our will.

*We, the disinherited, must become the government.* With its powers in our hands we can at the same time take over the industries, discharge the owners, and operate industry for our purposes, our interests, our welfare.

*So we will build a Socialist Commonwealth to replace the capitalistic anarchy of today.* We will halt the march back to barbarism and move forward to security, guaranteed human welfare, equality of opportunity, and the emancipation of the working masses from the rule of a stupid and mercenary clique of labor exploiters.

## Demonstration of Unemployed Against Failure of Congress to Vote For Relief Measures Is Called for Next Saturday in New York City

**T**O VOICE its protest against the failure of the local, state and federal government agencies adequately to meet the problems created by the unemployment situation, the Socialist Party of New York City has arranged an open air mass meeting on Saturday, March 5, at 2 P.M., either at

Bryant Park or at Madison Square Park, depending upon the permit obtained from the Park Department.

Besides declaring this protest, speakers will demand the immediate enactment of unemployment insurance legislation by the state legislature, a federal bond issue of five billion dollars, and the appro-

priation of \$30,000,000 more by the City of New York for unemployment relief. The importance also of imposing upon industry a six-hour day, and five-day week will be stressed.

Preparatory to the holding of this large jobless demonstration the committee in charge has arranged a series of noon-day meet-

ings to be held Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays until March 5, at 40th street and Sixth avenue, Madison avenue and 24th street, and Court and Remsen streets, Brooklyn.

The speakers who will address the rally include Jennie Lee, Frank R. Crosswaith, Julius Hochman, Aaron Levenstein and Mc-

Alister Coleman. Max Delson will preside.

The Emergency Conference on Unemployment is cooperating with the Socialist Party in the arrangements for the demonstration.

Branch organizers are urged to call at the office of the Socialist Party, 7 East 15th street, for leaflets to advertise the meeting.



# The Case for the Thirty-hour Work Week

By Louis Waldman

The Socialist six-hour day and five-day week bill to relieve unemployment has been introduced by Senator Baxter in the New York State Legislature, "by request." It is known as introductory No. 374; print No. 385. Those interested in obtaining copies should refer to the bill by number.

The American Federation of Labor and unaffiliated trade unions are committed to the proposal of a six-hour day and five-day week. It has also been one of the demands of the Emergency Unemployment Conference consisting of the Socialist Party, Workmen's Circle, and many progressive labor organizations in New York City as well as of the Joint Emergency Unemployment Conference, a country-wide organization representing liberal and progressive groups. The joint efforts of all these bodies should be thrown behind the bill and an impressive hearing held in support of it. Demands for such hearing should be made upon the Committee of Labor and Industry of the New York State Legislature by all interested.

If the Stock Exchange can on short notice pack the Assembly Chamber with its delegates at a hearing on a bill affecting the interest of brokers, there is no reason why the Socialist Party, organized labor, the progressive, liberal and civic groups cannot fill the Assembly Chamber with their representatives voicing a united and insistent demand for the enactment of the six-hour day and five-day week bill into law, to meet the present unemployment crisis.

## DIVIDE UP THE WORK

"The existence of unemployment," declares the opening section of the bill, "its resulting poverty, social and industrial waste, widespread distress, the long hours of labor of those employed, the physical and mental strain imposed upon them, the unequal distribution of available work, the enforced undesirable leisure on the unemployed and the denial of necessary leisure for rest, recreation and cultural development on those employed are all matters of public interest and proper subject for regulation and control by the state to the end that unemployment be eliminated, the available work distributed among all of the employable population, the enforced leisure of the unemployed be distributed beneficially among all employees, their health be protected, their energies conserved and distress relieved."

This declaration ought no longer to be open to question. By now it should be clear to all that the causes of unemployment are rooted in our economic institutions and in the ravages of the present crisis are a social, not an individual, responsibility. Reactionaries and outside the Government still refuse to acknowledge this fact. A truth will have to be forced upon them by public opinion, backed as it now is, by stern necessity.

After setting forth the State's responsibility for unemployment and its widespread distress as well as the State's duty to protect those who are employed inhumanly long hours, the bill makes its provisions weeping, designed to cover all workers of hand and brain, of both sexes. It defines "employee" to mean "a mechanic, workman or laborer of either sex, working for hire, for wages and/or for salaries." An "employer" is defined as being a person employing any such mechanic, workman or laborer, whether the owner, proprietor, agent, superintendent, foreman or other subordinate; and a "person" means an individual, corporation, partnership, unincorporated association, and 1 or joint stock company.

## To Enforce the Law

An "establishment" is defined as being "any place within the State of New York where employees are employed." From this definition are excluded domestic and agricul-

## Socialist Bill in New York State Legislature Aims to Put Jobless to Work

tural places where four or less employees are employed.

Section 3 of the bill provides:

"No employee shall be employed or permitted to work in any establishment of this state more than six consecutive hours in any one day, exclusive of one hour for lunch, nor more than five days in any one week, nor more than thirty hours in any one week."

The next section prescribes the penalty for violating the "provisions of this act." It imposes a fine of not more than \$500, imprisonment of not more than one year, or both. The employment of each employee in violation of the act is made a separate offense.

Penal provisions in the Labor Law are often nullified because no adequate means for enforcement are provided. This bill will not fail on that account. Machinery for prosecuting offenders has been set up. "In case of violation of any of the provisions of this act," provides Section 6, "a prosecution may be instituted on the complaint of any employee in the employer's establishment, an organization of the employees, and or the commissioner of labor. It shall be the duty of the commissioner of labor whenever a complaint is filed with such commissioner of the violations of the provisions of this act, to immediately commence a prosecution therefor."

The adoption of the six-hour day and five-day week is the only immediate effective relief in sight. That is not saying that we should not push the demand for the appropriation of public funds to alleviate distress, or that we should not emphasize the demand for increased public works, or for the enactment of unemployment insurance legislation. All of these are extremely important. The greatest of all needs, however, is to give the people work, useful and permanent work. The one sure way of accomplishing this result is to spread the available work among the widest area of the employable population by drastically cutting the hours of labor—but not at the expense of the workers. Because of the tremendous increase of productivity in the last decade alone, industry can well afford such cut in the hours.

## Productivity of Labor

A study of eleven industries shows that the average productivity in those industries increased, from 1919 to 1927—the latest date for which available figures could be found, was close to 60 per cent,

while the number of hours remained substantially the same; in some cases showing even a slight increase. The following table tells its own story:

| Industry                      | Productivity Per Worker |      | Hours of Labor for Full-time Work-week |      |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|------|--|------|
|                               | 1919                    | 1927 | 1919                                   | 1927 |
| Iron and steel                | 100                     | 155  | 55.1                                   | 54.4 |
| Boots and shoes               | 100                     | 115  | 48.7                                   | 49.1 |
| Leather tanning               | 100                     | 138  | 50.4                                   | 50.8 |
| Slaughtering and meat packing | 100                     | 128  | 49.0                                   | 49.3 |
| Petroleum refining            | 100                     | 187  | 51.2                                   | 51.1 |
| Paper and pulp                | 100                     | 134  | 51.7                                   | 51.7 |
| Cement manufacturing          | 100                     | 152  | —                                      | 60.8 |
| Automobiles                   | 100                     | 146  | 49.6                                   | 49.4 |
| Rubber tires                  | 100                     | 262  | 49.3                                   | 49.5 |
| Flour milling                 | 100                     | 167  | 55.1                                   | 54.5 |
| Cane sugar refining           | 100                     | 160  | —                                      | 58.8 |

In most of the other industries the hours of labor have equally remained stationary while productivity has increased at a tremendous rate.

A drastic cut in the hours of labor will have to be made by legislation, for industry will not do it voluntarily. The labor organizations are too weak numerically or too ineffective, or both, to do it.

This demand for a reduction in hours of labor is not a new one. Its need is now more urgent and apparent, that is all. In part we are paying the price today for not having adjusted the hours of labor downward in accordance with the increased productivity.

The principle of regulating the hours of labor by law has been recognized in our country and even by our courts for some time—though somewhat grudgingly. More than 30 American states have enacted laws prohibiting, in one degree or another, the employment of women more than a specified number of hours. Twenty-four states limit the hours of labor of women in manufacturing establishments. Nineteen states limit the hours of labor of women in mercantile establishments. Twenty-three states limit hours of labor of women in laundries; ten states in telephone and telegraph service; eleven states in restaurants; seven states, in hotels.

There is also precedent for the limitation of hours of labor by law for men. There are laws in 13 states restricting the hours of labor in mines, on railroads, etc.

## Three Objections Answered

Three questions are often raised in connection with the proposed bill, even by its friends. The first

concerns its constitutionality; the second is, whether such drastic reduction in hours is really necessary; the third is whether such a

| Industry                      | Productivity Per Worker |      | Hours of Labor for Full-time Work-week |      |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|------|--|------|
|                               | 1919                    | 1927 | 1919                                   | 1927 |
| Iron and steel                | 100                     | 155  | 55.1                                   | 54.4 |
| Boots and shoes               | 100                     | 115  | 48.7                                   | 49.1 |
| Leather tanning               | 100                     | 138  | 50.4                                   | 50.8 |
| Slaughtering and meat packing | 100                     | 128  | 49.0                                   | 49.3 |
| Petroleum refining            | 100                     | 187  | 51.2                                   | 51.1 |
| Paper and pulp                | 100                     | 134  | 51.7                                   | 51.7 |
| Cement manufacturing          | 100                     | 152  | —                                      | 60.8 |
| Automobiles                   | 100                     | 146  | 49.6                                   | 49.4 |
| Rubber tires                  | 100                     | 262  | 49.3                                   | 49.5 |
| Flour milling                 | 100                     | 167  | 55.1                                   | 54.5 |
| Cane sugar refining           | 100                     | 160  | —                                      | 58.8 |

bill would not result in reductions in wages, thus lowering the standard of living.

1. The first question cannot be answered categorically. No one knows whether a proposed bill is or is not constitutional until the courts have spoken. One thing we do know: All social legislation has to fight its way through the constitutional barrier. In doubtful fields, great social need, not constitutional precedents, usually determine the issue. "Wholesale disaster," declared the highest court of New York State in sustaining the 1920—Emergency—rent laws, "financial panic, the aftermath of war . . . earthquake, pestilence, famine and fire, a combination of men or the force or circumstances may, as the alternative to confusion and chaos, demand the enactment of laws that would be thought arbitrary under normal conditions." Thus the court foreshadowed the line of reasoning by which an emergency six-hour day and five-day week bill is to be sustained.

"The proposition is equally fundamental," continued the court, "that the state may establish regulations reasonably necessary to secure the general welfare of the community by the exercise of its police power although the rights of private property are thereby curtailed and freedom of contract is abridged . . . The legislative or police power is a dynamic agency, vague and undefined in its scope, it takes private property or limits its use when great public need requires, uncontrolled by the constitutional requirements of due process. Either the rights of property and contract must yield to public convenience, advantage and welfare or it must be found that the state has surrendered one of its attributes of sovereignty for which governments are founded and prove

itself powerless to secure to its citizens the blessings of freedom and to promote the general welfare."

A refusal to act in this great crisis on the supposed excuse that the proposed bill would be unconstitutional would amount to the states' shameful surrender of "one of its attributes of sovereignty for which governments are founded."

## Judge Cardozo's Opinion

The laws limiting the hours of labor for men on railroads and in telegraph service were declared constitutional on the ground of public safety; in mines and smelters on the ground of public health. Most regulations limiting the hours of labor of women in industries such as laundries have been sustained on the ground of health; others on the ground of public safety; still others on the ground of public morals. The Sabbath laws, or the one day rest in seven for both men and women, was held constitutional on the ground of public morals. The New York Emergency rent laws were held constitutional on the ground of economic necessity.

The proposed bill, if properly presented to the court, in my opinion, will be constitutional, on all four grounds—public safety, health, morals and great economic necessity.

"Courts know today," writes Judge Benjamin Cardozo in his book *The Nature of the Judicial Process* (p. 81.) "that statutes are to be viewed, not in isolation or in vacuo, as pronouncements of abstract principles for the guidance of an ideal community, but in the setting and the framework of present-day conditions as revealed by the labors of economists and students of the social sciences in our country and abroad."

If this is too sanguine a view of what the courts do there is satisfaction in knowing that this is the view of the Chief Judge of the State of New York, who has been now elevated to the United States Supreme Court.

## Too Drastic a Cut?

2. Is the 30-hour week too drastic a reduction in hours? There are today approximately 10 million unemployed. Other millions are working part time, at part time wages. It is safe to say that at least 25 per cent, or one out of every four of the unemployable population, are totally out of work. For the country the average work hour week is probably 54; for New York State the average is somewhat lower.

To place all of the totally unemployed to work the present hours of labor should be cut only to about 25 per cent. But two additional factors must be taken into consideration: First, the large number of workers now employed part time; second, the well recognized economic fact that where hours of labor are appreciably cut the productivity of the workers immediately increases. A universal reduction to 30 hours a week is, therefore, necessary to place all workers at full time employment and keep them at work.

3. Would not the establishment of a 30 hour week result in wage cuts? This question raises a problem more apparent than real. Wages are generally reduced in a glutted labor market. Where there are many more men than jobs wages will go down unless resisted by powerful and aggressive trade unions. Even these are often helpless. And conversely, wage standards are maintained, generally speaking, not by the "enlightenment" of the employers or by the long hours of work, but rather by the scarcity of labor. As a matter of fact, industries that pay low wages also force upon their workers long hours. The economic power which imposes one also imposes the other.

Paradoxically enough, the shorter the hours of labor the higher are the wages. With the establishment of a 30-hour week, labor will automatically be protected from wage slashes.

## Your PAPER'S BIRTHDAY IS YOUR HOLIDAY

### 7th Annual New Leader Dinner

#### THE PLACE:

Beethoven Hall, 1210 E. 5th St., N. Y. C.

#### THE DATE:

Monday, March 7th, 6:30 P. M.

#### SUBJECT:

"A Political Program and Policy for 1932"

#### SPEAKERS:

John Dewey, Morris Hillquit, Dudley Field Malone, Norman Thomas, Louis Waldman, Chairman.

Reservations \$1.50 Per Person at The New Leader Office  
7 East 25th Street, New York City



# The Charity Dole in California

## Fingerprinting Ordered for the Jobless

STOCKTON, CAL.

**I**MMEDIATE surrender of their automobiles, submission like common criminals or suspects to an utterly obnoxious system of espionage, are the conditions which must be met by any and all of the unfortunate victims of the capitalist system in San Joaquin County before they will receive any further help from the county—provided there is any money available for such aid to any one.

This is the substance of new regulations just put into effect by the County Board of Supervisors.

This is the form of answer given to the cry of distress in a city of 50,000 inhabitants which prides itself, as the radio announcer says, on being "California's valley port," and is now spending around six millions of dollars, in collaboration with the Federal and State governments, to convert forty miles of the San Joaquin River between the city and the gulf into a deep-water channel for ocean going vessels.

A couple of days ago the complacent public was startled by the statement in the evening paper that the County Welfare Department has exhausted its funds and that the 10,000 residents of this county whom this department has been caring for faced dire straits unless additional funds were provided. Where this money is coming from nobody seems to know, least of all the supervisors.

### Fingerprinting Ordered

It hasn't yet been explained why no advance warning of this deplorable situation was given. It came like a bombshell, with a subsequent statement in the morning paper of Jan. 20 that "the division opened its doors yesterday morning with only 68 cents of available funds." That those in county government, fully aware of colossal relief problem confronting them—knowing that 10,000 American citizens have for weeks past been dependent upon the County Welfare Department for their very lives—should permit this crisis to materialize without general warning, is ascribed in current comment to "crass stupidity and heartless indifference."

Then, about the proposed stimulation of the used-car market: It was first announced in plain words in the local press that every indigent would be forced to sell his car, regardless of price considera-

tion, and to use the proceeds from the sale, if any, for necessities of life until such sum was used up. Then, and not till then, the aforesaid indigent might apply to the County Welfare Department for aid—which he may receive IF there is any money in the treasury, whose balance now stands at 68 cents.

This drastic order has since been modified to the effect that the indigent need not actually sell his car, but must quit using it altogether. In order to make this ruling effective, the chairman of the Board of Supervisors has addressed a communication to every department head, stating in unqualified language that no person possessing an automobile (with no distinction as to its vintage) is to receive any sort of county aid unless and until he surrenders his license plates.

The climax of indecency and degradation seemed to have been reached in the adoption of an espionage system, which involved two particular phases: First, the board chairman's letter already referred to further instructs department heads that hereafter no CITIZEN (God save the mark!) shall receive county aid until he first submits to being fingerprinted; second, the appointment of two "inspectors" has been made for the purpose of examining into every case before any assistance will be forthcoming. Under aroused public pressure the fingerprinting order was recalled. The reason given was that the deputy sheriff was "too busy." The rest of the order stands.

### The California Law

The ostensible reason for these moves is that persons not entitled

to receive aid have been taking advantage of the county. The fingerprinting business was particularly designed to make certain the differentiation between "bona fide residents" and transients—for be it known that, under the California "law," you must live in this "Golden State" for two years and within the county for one year before you are entitled to be saved from starvation. Some say this isn't really the law, but it is being called the law and is the principle which now governs.

The state, however, has been forced to consider the transient problem. California's many years of "sunshine advertising" is now bearing the kind of fruit the boosters don't want and never dreamed of. The jobless, believing they can at least keep from freezing in this

## Labor Stirrings Is Only Hopeful Sign

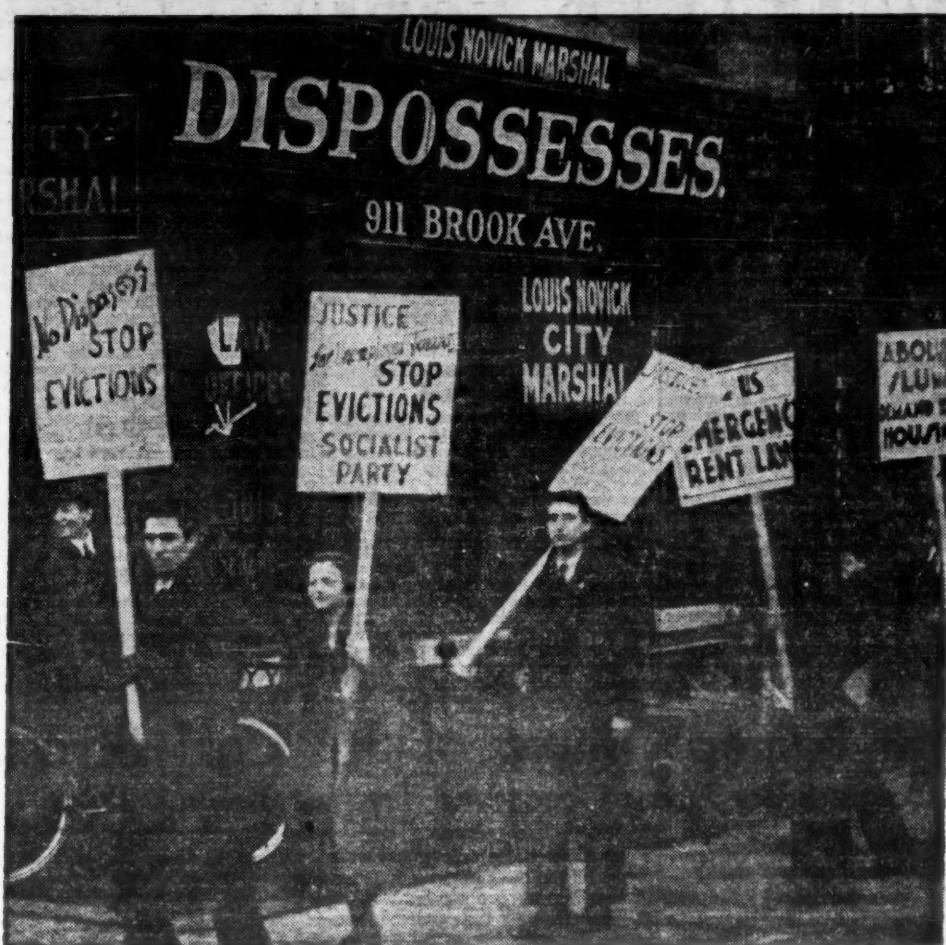
state, even if they can't eat, have been coming in at the stated rate of 1,200 per day. "Prominent citizens" have urged Governor Rolph to mobilize the National Guard at the state border in order to turn back this tide of misery and destitution: "Sunny Jim," who has to study a few months in order to decide whether he will pardon Tom Mooney, couldn't quite bring himself to the point of confronting these thousands of destitute Americans with machine guns and fixed bayonets. As an alternative he ordered the establishment of a number of "state labor camps" where the jobless are compelled to work for board and room.

Organized labor generally is beginning to see the handwriting on the wall. It is clearly recognized that if labor can be compelled to work for "board and keep" under any given set of circumstances there is being established a precedent very agreeable to the crowd which Teddy Roosevelt referred to as "malefactors of great wealth." So the State Federation of Labor, the Los Angeles Central Labor Council and other similar bodies have protested the infamy of these "labor camps," but without result. Likewise, the Governor has turned a deaf ear to appeals from the same sources for a special session of the California Legislature to provide adequate unemployment relief.

### A Restive People

In the light of California's particular immigration problem, sentiment is growing in this state for a vigorous demand upon the Federal government for action, but the politicians are loath to embarrass their dear fellow Californian, Herbert Hoover, by urging him to act in behalf of the "dear peepul" in preference to his plutocratic pals.

And so it goes on—a free people robbed of their means of subsistence, the hands of government paralyzed or at least inert, the vicious "dole" of private charity found utterly inadequate to meet the greatest crisis in world history. The only bright spot is evidence of the fact that the sleeping giant, labor, is beginning to stir a little, and may awaken in time to take over the political power and forestall the cataclysmic consequences attending the imminent doom of capitalism.



THEY WANT EVICTIONS STOPPED—Young Socialists picketing a city marshal's office in New York City. They don't seem to like that threatening sign of "DISPOSSESSES" below marshal's name.

## "ART IS A WEAPON"—SOCIALIST ARTISTS ORGANIZE

By Samuel H. Friedman

**T**HAT "Art is a Weapon" has been recognized and followed for many years by the forces fighting for the maintenance of the capitalist system. The working class, in whose interests Marx forged that slogan, has only just begun to awake to its implications. Consciously or unconsciously, but steadily, the allied arts of the world have been weapons in the hands of those who would hold in bondage the disunited workers of the world. Here and there the dark history of the workers' struggles has been gloriously lit by the flash of genius in graphic or in literary art, blazing out the slogan "Workers of the World, Unite!" and illuminating the pathway toward that goal.

Recently it has been found that some artists, robbed, through the lack of Socialist mediums of expression, of the chance to depict truthfully the manifestation of the class struggle in America, have begun to stray into "innocent clubs": organizations which proclaim their allegiance to the work-

ing class, but support only a small section of the workers. The artist who wanted to fight in the ranks of the working class found himself in a dilemma: the only medium for expression seemed to be organizations which lent themselves to vilification of Socialism and of all branches of the labor movement not completely under their control. Thus artists and poets, almost before they knew it and often unwittingly, found themselves fighting not capitalism but Socialism; not the exploiters, but the workers themselves.

At the same time the labor and Socialist movement, particularly in the United States, has had in recent years few ways whereby the services of painters, photographers, letterers, poster creators, poets, playwrights and other artists could be invited and made use of. Art Young was ill; where was the cartoonist to take the place of this dean of American radical artists? Who could pick up the pen dropped by Jack London and Charles Edward Russell? Where were the

revolutionists of pen and brush who could draw the American industrial scene with an eye single to the interests of the working class. Men like the giants of the old masses, who wouldn't have considered it the acme of proletarian art to caricature a Norman Thomas always in preacher's garb "betraying de workers" or comforting capitalism; or Heywood Brown always in a clown's costume waving a bottle of gin; who didn't think revolutionary art and revolutionary ardor connoted never stooping to tell the truth about those battlers against capitalism who weren't in their particular sect.

But with the present revival in the Socialist movement, a new organization is in process of formation: REBEL ARTS, composed of practitioners of the varied arts who are sympathetic to the Socialist movement. Led by Art Young, representing the graphic arts, and Heywood Brown and McAlister Coleman, representing the host of writers, REBEL ARTS has been launched to serve as an

auxiliary force to the Socialist movement and the cause of the working class, and as a headquarters and clearing house for artists in all fields who want to join the fight on capitalism.

On Friday night, March 4, at the Peoples House, 7 East Fifteenth street, REBEL ARTS will hold its first mass meeting, starting promptly at eight o'clock. All artists sympathetic to the Socialist movement are urged to attend and to bring their friends and fellow-craftsmen. Norman Thomas will speak, and as he will have to get away immediately to address another meeting, it is requested that members be on time. Among the other speakers will be Heywood Brown, McAlister Coleman, Art Young and Gan Kolski, who is chairman of the executive committee of REBEL ARTS. An exhibition of Comrade Kolski's work may now be seen at the New School for Social Research.

In its formative stages, the organization has not been idle. Posters are being drawn for labor unions on strike and for Socialist

and labor demonstrations, including the great outpouring expected for the mass meeting on Saturday, March 5, demanding government relief for the unemployed and denouncing the failure of the government to give direct relief to the jobless. It is planned further to open headquarters for the club, to hold meetings of representatives of the various sections, to start an art class for students, and to help always in work activities for the Socialist movement. REBEL ARTS is functioning under the Committee on Cultural Relations of the Socialist Party. All who are interested should communicate with Gan Kolski, 76 Horatio street.

Art is a weapon. Let's use it for the working class. Let's use it for the Socialism movement! Artists of America, unite! JOIN REBEL ARTS. Come to next Friday's mass meeting!

### REMEMBER

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



## From Our Mailbag

## THE NEW LEADER FORUM

Socialist Planning—The Class  
Struggle Phrase—Party  
CandidatesPLANNING THE FUTURE  
By Leonard M. Jones

I am persuaded there is but one thing needful to assure the general triumph of the Socialist Party in the near future, both locally and nationally, and that is for the party to become truly one behind some definite program for the application of the one foundation principle on which is built the whole temple of socialism. Believing this I submit for the consideration of your readers the following plan:

I would have the President of the United States appoint a Secretary for Nationalized Industries who will have general supervision over all industries owned and operated by the government of the United States. The Secretary for Nationalized Industries will organize the industries in his control into related groups such as, automobile industries, coal mines, railroads, etc., and place over each group a secretary who in turn will have general supervision over the industries of his group and appoint a president for each of the various corporations. Each corporation president will have full and absolute authority and responsibility for the management of his own particular corporation. In general each secretary or corporation president will have full and exclusive authority to perform the duties of the office to which he has been appointed subject only to the power of the secretary immediately above him to remove him from office at any time without previous notice. The one exception is the Secretary for Nationalized Industries who may be removed at any time without previous notice by a two-thirds vote of both houses of congress. No secretary can invade the province of the group secretary or corporation president appointed by him and perform any duty pertaining to the inferior office, nor can the President of the United States overreach the Secretary for Nationalized Industries and appoint, remove, or direct the activities of, group secretaries. Each corporation president, group secretary, or Secretary for Nationalized Industries must make all necessary reports and financial and other statements to his immediate superior officer as provided by law and such data must be all forwarded to the President of the United States and to both houses of congress.

This plan would require no unnecessary change in the present methods of production. It simply provides the harness in which the mighty industrial forces of our country can pull together. Be the revolution sudden or gradual no working man need lose a day's employment. Under this plan I believe socialism retains every advantage ever claimed for capitalism. This plan provides for no additional elective officers. There can be no great menace to popular government from increasing the presidential patronage by one secretary. Red tape is, I think, fully eliminated. There will be one person only responsible for any error of industrial administration. Authorities and responsibilities do not overlap. Under the system I have outlined the relation between the employee and employer remains the same as now in any modern corporation. Labor will be hired and fired as now. Socialism never has and never will guarantee wages to the morally incompetent. The government will never become the only employer of labor but it will employ enough to take up any slack in employment. Promotion in the service of the government will depend on personal merit. Wages in all responsible positions and in trades and professions will be only sufficient to attract to those positions a great enough number of competent workmen. I would have the government adopt the policy of passing on industrial profits in the form of higher wages rather than lower prices or more public improvements or shorter work week.

Columbus, Kans.

THAT APPLICATION CARD  
By Alfred Baker Lewis

I plead guilty to the charge that I failed to object in the 1928 convention to the report of Comrade Hillquit omitting all recognition of the class struggle by name from our application card. When the report was presented no mention was made that the phrase was being omitted, and in common with most of the other delegates with whom I have talked since I never dreamed that our National Chairman would recommend such a course, and consequently did not scan the report with as critical an eye as I should have. The Boston local has put on the agenda for the coming national convention a resolution to put back in our application card specific recognition of the class struggle by name. We will look forward to having Comrades Hillquit and yourself as exponents of the class struggle join the so-called militants in supporting that proposal.

I suggest that I favor to Soviet Russia by such articles as

those of Kautsky in The New Leader and such resolutions as those of our National Executive Committee at Newark, because liberals favor such friendliness. I favor greater friendliness towards Soviet Russia because it seems to me that this is obviously the task of a party standing on the workers' side of the class struggle, since Soviet Russia is destroying capitalism, is running her government in the interest of the workers, and is trying to build Socialism even though by means of which we disapprove for this country. When I quoted the fact that our somewhat critical attitude towards Soviet Russia builds a breach between us and certain liberal groups it is only as a sort of additional argument.

Finally, may I say, that criticism by name or implication of comrades like Norman Thomas, Paul Porter and others of the L. E. D. group in the Socialist Party for their alleged lack of clarity on the issue of the class struggle and their alleged liberalism is viewed with suspicion by some comrades—not because we have any sacred cows who are exempt from criticism—but because those criticized for their mere liberalism have been participating in strikes and have been actually arrested in labor struggles more recently than have their critics. I realize that it may not be wise for generals to go to the front but I do not

feel that that applies to the generals of the Socialist army who must inspire and command their followers. Some of us feel accordingly that "exponenting" the class struggle and recommending the omission of all reference to it by name from our application card as comrade Hillquit has done is less satisfactory from a Socialist viewpoint than participating in class struggles and being arrested on the picket line as Comrade Thomas and others of the so-called liberals have done within very recent times.

Boston, Mass.

THE MYSTERY DEEPENS  
By James Oneal

We face a deep mystery in the letter of Alfred Baker Lewis. The stenographic record of the 1928 convention shows him speaking frequently on constitutional changes. The report was read clause by clause and the delegates did not suspect that we were omitting the class struggle from the constitution. More than three years have passed. Lewis as a state secretary has been handling application cards all these years and he never suspected the crime of 1928! It is difficult to forgive his frightful neglect. Perhaps he was too busy trying to avoid "widening the breach between Socialists and liberals" to understand

what had happened. Now that we are electing delegates to the national convention he makes the discovery and there are those who wonder whether that "discovery" is not a liberal maneuver.

In discussing Russia Comrade Lewis has never gone beyond use of the word "unfriendly." It is fatuous reasoning and relieves one of the need of any fundamental thinking. On the same score the writer of this letter could be said to be "unfriendly" to trade unions because occasionally in editorial and signed article, regarding labor organizations, he strikes a critical note. Matt Woll would certainly take this fatuous view. Despite his disclaimer, Comrade Lewis sets up a "sacred cow" and his sociology with respect to Russia becomes primitive in its simplicity. It certainly is accepted by his Boston liberal friends whom he again placates in his letter. It is insufferable egotism for him to assert that his group participates in strikes and we do not. In the Paterson strike some months ago, to mention only one struggle, twelve Socialists responded to the request to speak. Whether this meant arrest no speaker could know. Accepting the Lewis classification of party groupings, ten of these twelve comrades who "went to the front" are not of his group. They received no publicity and

they asked none. They do not think it necessary to send in a fire alarm when they serve in strikes. What they do they have done for many years. They so act as a matter of Socialist duty and the writer was one of the obscure ten. In this matter Comrade Lewis made a "discovery" that is no more valid than the other one mentioned above.

PARTY NOMINATIONS  
By Albert Streiff

There seems to be a continual widening of the rift between Eastern and Western comrades over policy, which of course is the result of their economic status. I notice by The New Leader where Philadelphia Socialists affirmed their working class basis by adopting a resolution urging the National Convention "to adopt as a national policy a rule forbidding the nomination for public office of any party member who is an exploiter of labor for private profit." To be consistent they should have demanded that the party expel and reject any exploiter of labor for private profit, as a member of the party. If they are not good enough to nominate they certainly are not good enough to be members of the organization. This absurdity is on a par with the intelligence of the Communists in Russia who shot and exiled all their technicians, and then combed the capitalistic countries for others; finally admitting their colossal blunder by offering the few who escaped their fury, all day suckers and a snug bonus if they would only come back into industry and help the helpless, groping working man out of his mess.

If this policy is adopted in this country let us see how it is going to work out. In the West there are thousands of farmers, who have been life-long, active Socialists and who have contributed freely to the movement, but who occasionally hire seasonal and sometimes steady labor. If this policy is adopted it will drive this class out of the party. Imagine our predicament if and when we tell him he is no longer eligible as a nominee, regardless of his or her qualifications, because of party policy. The absurdity becomes all the more glaring when we compare the economic status of a poor farmer who has to hire labor to help save his crop, and that of a well paid craftsman or city artisan.

Since this involves the financial status of some of our comrades I do not care to broadcast it, but nevertheless it is the truth. One of them, head of a hard working family wearing overalls, from five in the morning until as late as nine and ten at night trying to save their farm and dilapidated shanty from foreclosure, still sacrificed enough to keep the lone Socialist local in Oregon when all the rest of them flopped over to the Communists, or quit the fight. I have stopped in the homes of these farmer comrades and witnessed with my own eyes their heart-breaking struggle against annihilation, and I am frank to confess that I am not so sure that I would contribute so liberally of my time and depleted funds to the party, if I found myself in their predicament. Still our state records show that they contributed much more liberally than their city cousins who could have afforded it much better.

Portland, Ore.

Hillquit to Debate  
Woll This Sunday  
On Labor's Politics

Two of the outstanding exponents of Socialism and of the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor will meet in debate this Sunday night at the Brooklyn forum when Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the Socialist party, and Matthew Woll, vice-president of the A. F. of L., will discuss the political tactics of labor. B. C. Viadeck will preside.

"Should the American Workers Form a Political Party of Their Own?" will be the subject of the debate. The Brooklyn Forum, organized by the Socialist party of Brooklyn, meets at the Academy of Music, Lafayette near Flatbush avenues, Brooklyn. This will be the last session of the forum. Seats are now on sale at the Rand Book Store and at the boxoffice.

THE NEW LEADER  
Eighth Annual Dinner  
MARCH 7, 1932

The Balance Sheet of the Coal Strike  
Communists Leave Chaos and Despair Behind ThemBy Maurice Schnierov  
(Concluded from last week)

THE Socialist Party, was, no less, "the betrayer of the working class." From the beginning, the Socialists were no inconsiderable factor, because, in pursuance of their traditional policy of aiding the cause of striking workers, no matter how led, they organized a Miners' Relief Fund, and arranged an efficient distribution of food and clothing. In many of the coal towns, there were Socialist branches whose members were more informed than the majority of miners. They recognized the inopportune of the strike, and the dangers of N. M. U. leadership. Yet they went on strike under the banners of the N. M. U. rather than scab. Nevertheless, the N. M. U. General Staff conducted a virulent attack on the Socialists, spreading outright falsifications and misrepresentations concerning them and the Relief Fund. The relief funds of the Penn-Ohio Relief Committee, the N. M. U. affiliate, was pitifully inadequate. Relief was the backbone of the strike. Yet, when the Socialists offered to operate in distributing relief the Penn-Ohio Committee refused, unless all the money and clothing was turned over to them to be administered as they pleased. "Remember," said their spokesman, "relief also has a political significance." This was a political strike. Communists Unmask

In August, when the strike enthusiasm and spirit was waning, when the attacks on the U. M. W. seemed rather to be on the point of reacting to the extent of infusing life into the dying corpse of the old union, with the coal operators still presenting a solid front, the N. M. U. threw off the mask. The whole machinery of the new union was turned over to the Communist Party, who called upon the miners to protest against war, and defend the Soviet Union. The first actual admission of the Communist affiliation came during the hearing of the Wildwood injunction. The papers now appealed to the operators to make wage agreements with the U. M. W. to avoid the possibility of the miners turning Communist. One company, the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Co., did so, and the U. M. W. brought men from other districts to work.

The August 1st demonstrations marked the turning point of the strike. The signs of its failure had been apparent long before, but

from that time defections were rapid, and mines found no difficulty in keeping up production. N. M. U. relief fell off tremendously; instead, huge stacks of Daily Workers comprised most of the cargo of the cars going to the coal camps.

By September, even the Daily Worker admitted the strike was over. Relief came only in dribbles, and then ceased altogether. Talk of "cells" and "units" preserving the N. M. U. nuclei persisted, but the fact of the matter was that the majority of leaders of the strike who remained, and who were now blacklisted, were being fed by the Socialists. Throughout the field, representatives of the Miners' Relief Fund reported that they found increasing bitterness against the N. M. U. Nowhere was there any evidence of a stable organization left. It may be folly to expect a functioning, loyal organization where even many of those miners working are forced to depend on charity to maintain health. Yet, wherever the Socialists went with relief they were asked why they did not establish local, section, and district committees. This was no "orderly retreat." This was a rout.

The Communists justify their tactics in Pennsylvania on the ground that the day of the old order of narrow unionism has passed, and the future belongs to revolutionary trade unions, under the banner of a militant revolutionary political party. Perhaps. Surely the mass demonstrations and hunger marches were admirable and effective tactics. But even a revolutionary trade-union strike must be something more than noisy braggadocio and an impudent thumbing of the nose followed by precipitate flight. There must be responsibility and planning for permanency. To stir up a strike in order to add confusion and turmoil may be good tactics in the ultimate crisis, but no reasonable person sees any such crisis in the United States today. And the frothing attacks against the Socialists and all working party groups, remain evidences of a psychopathic obsession that makes it plain that the possibility of a sound, intelligent, indigenously American working-class movement does not lie with the Communist of today. A Communist wrote:

"The preparation for and the development of the miners' strikes prove completely the correctness of the decisions of the last Plenum of the Comintern, of the Fourth and Fifth Congresses of the Red Inter-

national of Labor Unions, on the perspectives and tasks of the revolutionary trade union movement in America."

No criticism of sacrosanct ukases from Moscow there! No castigating mood of self-criticism can, for the Communist, go to such lengths. Comintern orders are Ex-Cathedra, holy revelation from the proletarian Vatican in Moscow. But he may criticize the Communist Party Branch in Pittsburgh because:

"It showed the greatest resistance to politicalizing the strike. Instead of giving a foundation of widespread political propaganda to the effective economic demands, upon the basis of which the strike was developed and spread, it prevented the mention of the Party, its methods of work, and its campaign in strike meetings, etc., for a long time. The comrades were afraid that the mention of the Party and its campaigns would break the united front of the strikers."

Mayhap the "comrades" were right in their fears. After the August 1st demonstrations, it was clear that the strike was lost.

Industrial unions and class-conscious solidarity are not built around a workers' paradise, thousands of miles away. Miners in the United States want better working conditions and higher wages. They are class-conscious enough to warrant the belief that some day they will form the keystone of a workers' movement for a Socialist commonwealth, even as they were for so long the cornerstone of the American Federation of Labor. But the militant trade unions of the country cannot be continually led into disastrous strikes without losing the organization and spirit that made them the bulwark of the American labor movement, the theory of Marxism-Leninism to the contrary notwithstanding. It is the duty of far-seeing elements among Socialists to look towards the development of a responsible trade-union movement along industrial lines, as part and parcel of the Socialist political philosophy. The worker today is between the Scylla of reactionary old-time unionism and the Charybdis of irresponsible, desperate, so-called revolutionary unionism. There is a sane ground between, and Socialists must point the way.

Those who would lead such a movement must realize that the time is rotten ripe now; that this is the moment for broad-based tactics; for the ruthless leveling of internal disputes, and petty bickering. We are ready for large "Seven-League" strides, instead of small-like crawling in the dust of a crumbling capitalist economy.



CITY LIGHTS—  
AND SHADOWSThanatopsis,  
Bryant ParkBy IRWIN D.  
HOFFMAN

## To Debs

O DEBS! Courageous leader, man of trust,  
Friend of the masses, fallen martyr, thou  
Shouldst be with us—our voice and champion now!  
The steel of industry has turn'd to rust;  
The rabble shouts for bread, is glad for crust;  
Hope robs itself of hope; and strong men bow;  
Despair flirts with despair; the knitted brow  
Becomes the sickened symbol of disgust.  
Soft prayers float through the night, I wait the dawn.  
The sun will rise, and with its rising Right  
Will come; Right and a noble blessing's grain,  
All gain'd in peace—of God! The brutish brawn  
Of war shall be no more. Great Truth's own light  
Shall shine—Debs, thou shalt not have died in vain.

—JOHN HAND

## Mrs. Kelley's Anti-War Strike

A last dramatic struggle in a life of dramatic struggles was being planned by Mrs. Florence Kelley of the National Consumers League just before she was laid low with the illness which was to end in death Feb. 17, friends here recall. At the age of 72 and with a painful disease, she was preparing to go to jail for her beliefs.

Disarmament, at least some large measures of it, was vital this year, she felt, to the future of all humanity. She also felt that the time for words and resolutions had passed—that strong pressure was needed. She therefore planned to initiate a new kind of strike—refusal to pay income taxes so long as over 70 per cent of government revenue goes for past, present and future wars. If fined, she was ready to go to jail rather than contribute any more to the gods of war.

Mrs. Kelley was in Philadelphia reconnoitering for others who might join her in making such a campaign something for statesmen to sit up and think about, when she was taken ill.

## The Material Is Here

The men of Earth have here the stuff  
Of Paradise. 'We have enough!  
We need no other stones to build  
The Temple of the Unfulfilled—  
No other ivory for the doors—  
No other marble for the floors—  
No other cedar for the beam  
And dome of man's immortal dream.  
Here on the paths of every day—  
Here on the common human way  
Is all the stuff the gods would take  
To build a heaven, to mould and make  
New Edens. Ours the stuff sublime  
To build eternity in time!

EDWIN MARKHAM.

## A Lynch Law Enthusiast

Enthusiasm for lynching may cost Kenneth Mackintosh a seat on the United States Court of Appeals.

When the now famous attack had been made on the Centralia I. W. W. hall and Wesley Everett, an ex-serviceman logger, had been lynched, Mackintosh wrote a letter while a member of the State Supreme Court bench praising the work of the mob. Now that he has been nominated by President Hoover for a federal job, this letter is being printed to show the kind of man who is being touted to write federal decisions. Here's the letter:

"George Dysart, Esq.,  
Centralia, Wash.

"My Dear Dysart:

"I want to express to you my appreciation of the high character of citizenship displayed by the people of Centralia in their agonizing calamity. We are all shocked by the manifestation of barbarity on the part of the outlaws and are proud of the calm control and loyalty to American ideals demonstrated by the returned soldiers and citizens. I am proud to be an inhabitant of a state which contains a city with the record which has been made for Centralia by its law-abiding citizens.

"Sincerely,  
"KENNETH MACKINTOSH."

## Clarence Darrow's Story

Pity, Irony Distinguish Autobiography  
of Great Libertarian Fighter

By Ben Blumenberg

WERE it not that the term humanism has been monopolized by a school of literary un-touchables, the word would be a fitting one with which to classify "The Story of My Life," by Clarence Darrow (N. Y. Scribners.)

Few men in public life have uttered so many pessimistic opinions as Darrow. Fewer have been the men whose work has been on so high a plane of practical idealism. For many years the famous attorney has declared from the debating platform "that life is not worth living," yet during the same period he engaged in memorable battles for victims of hate, persecution and mob stupidity. He is an individualist pleading for a saner social vision in economics, sociology, criminology and religion. Neither in the capitalist nor in the working class is there a monopoly of "virtues" or "vices," yet Darrow stresses the fact that it is from the ranks of the latter that prisons are filled. Always a Democrat, he has "no illusions about the Democratic Party." For years a disciple of Tolstoy, he urged participation of the United States in the world war. An evolutionist, yet a tireless propagandist for prison reform, civil liberties, rationalism and repeal of the Volstead Act. Never claiming to be a reformer, he has seen former colleagues in "causes" during the past two generations sink into the ranks of the tired radicals while he continued to fight the battles for the underdog, the oppressed, the victims of injustice.

## Darrow As a Lawyer

Darrow's cases have been won not by legal tricks but because of his understanding of human nature and the forces which shape it. His sympathy, his tolerant "even as you and I attitude" and his magnificently rounded knowledge imparted with crystal-clear simplicity, made him the outstanding pleader and educator whom we know. He believes that to merely judge is to find guilt; to understand is to be in sympathy with the accused. Conceptions of criminality are thousands of years old. Lives and fortunes are squandered under the archaic forms of the law. "Law and its administration has made no advance in fifty years." "Guilt and moral wrong are little more than words." Workers are up against terrific odds when in conflict with the law. To be sure, as Anatole France observed, "millionaires and tramps are subject to arrest for sleeping under bridges." "Honest government," says Darrow, "is unthinkable as long as glaring economic class divisions prevail." It is only the poor who commit anti-social crimes.

Conspiracy laws have been powerful weapons in the hands of the

reactionaries. The viciousness of their application during and since the world war calls forth Darrow's anger and scorn. By the way, the Espionage Laws were passed not after the war, as the author states, but within ten weeks after this country entered the conflict. Undoubtedly this slip will be corrected in future editions of the Story of My Life.

The almost instant popularity of participation of the U. S. in the World War aroused the suspicions of Darrow. Experience had taught him that the first preparations consist in organizing the "liars' brigade." "After the war things did not look so good to me. In America it brought an era of tyranny, brutality and despotism." He believes that in a great measure the so-called crime waves were the inevitable results of war. Hate begets hate; force begets force. Only after forts and arsenals disappear can peace and good will prevail.

## A Dramatic Story

The book of Clarence Darrow has the qualities that have been termed the most precious in literature, pity and irony. It is written in a style that bespeaks the man, simple, direct, persuasive. Long after ghost-written autobiographies of business leaders and their political and military representatives are forgotten, The Story of My Life will be read as a striking record of a truly great figure and the influence he exerted on his time.

In dramatic vividness it would be difficult to find the equal of the accounts given of the famous labor trials during the past forty years. Of Eugene Debs, the author says, "The kindest and most fearless man I ever knew."

The record of Clarence Darrow's life brings to mind Louis Untermeyer's "Prayer."

Ever insurgent let me be,  
Make me more daring than devout;  
From sleek contentment keep me free,  
And fill me with a buoyant doubt.

The old warrior has retired, so he says. This is to be doubted while he lives and a good fight has to be fought in a good cause.

## Miss Lee to Lecture

The Women's section of the Socialist Party is sponsoring a lecture by Jennie Lee, British laborite, Tuesday, 8 P. M., March 8, at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street. Miss Lee will talk on "British Labor's Return to Power." Admission will be 25 cents.

## AT THE LABOR TEMPLE

Dr. E. G. Beck will speak on "Theosophy and the Oriental Cults," Sunday at 5 P. M., in the Labor Temple, 14th street and Second avenue, at 8 o'clock, Chester Tsau will speak on "The Crisis in China."

A Circuit-Riding  
Socialist

I HAVE been wandering about upper New York State urging the Socialization of the power industry. I'm one of the "circuit-riders" for the lecture tours of the League for Industrial Democracy. Oscar Ameringer is just ahead of me and I get repercussions from his pungent speeches wherever I head in. They certainly adore to hear Oscar, East West, North and South.

This is territory over which I've been, talking Socialism, a great many times. I've run here for trains and U. S. Senator and I've gotten to be an old story for a lot of up-State New Yorkers. What impresses me on this trip is the presence of so many new faces in all my audiences and the eagerness with which they listen even to criticism of that most sacred of all their sacred cows, "private initiative." Nowadays you can even get them to snicker a bit at the holiness idea, i.e. that private property is something, set apart by Divine Providence for the enjoyment of an anointed few. And that's a mighty healthy sign. These people, white collars for the most part, are harboring thoughts about our industrial "leaders" that would have sent them to the calaboose before the Big Blowout in 1929. They want to know nowadays. They are standing up and asking questions where before they sat and batted their tonsils at Socialist speakers. To be sure they are not all alike. I asked the chairman of one forum if the audience were not exceptionally reactionary. He looked at me in surprise. "Hell no," said he, "They haven't even worked up to the point of reacting." On the whole however, there is a very different feel to things and thinking up here than there was four years ago. Then a handful of devoted comrades were grimly holding the fort, almost isolated from their communities. Now more and more men and women—especially the youngsters—are coming around to find out about Socialism. They keep you long after the regular meetings plying you with questions as to what a Socialist United States would be like and just how you would go to work to take over the utilities and—but you know the sort of questions.

The Communists, of course, like the poor, we have with us always. Last night in Troy, for example, three of them in an audience of about 150 tried to peddle their "revolutionary wares" by asking trick questions devised to get one in a hole. Trust these bully boys of the barricades to alienate any decent American audience. And to so muddle up their auditors as to make the latter distrustful of the most elementary sort of radicalism. The naive Communist idea that you can make converts to your cause by informing white collar workers that you are going to destroy them utterly, could not be improved upon by the most bitter foe of Communism. Wherever they go, they push ordinarily neutral folks clear over in to the ranks of the American Legion, the National Security League and the Black Guard generally. I wish some of our "liberal" professionals who have so recently discovered Karl Marx and are on their knees before the Muscovites could see this gang in actual operation. I would like to have had Edmund Wilson, for example, beside me on the platform last night. Or at the forum run by Herman Hahn at Buffalo where the Communists sucked around begging to be allowed to show pictures of Soviet Russia. Then after solemnly promising that they would confine themselves to Russia, they threw on the screen pictures of the Socialist May Day celebration in Union Square and loudly announced that we were "the real foes of the American workers." As a result, Hahn's working class audience holds its collective nose every time Communism is mentioned.

Since Hahn was thrown off static WGR in Buffalo for making remarks critical of the present system, his up-State following has increased enormously. He and Bob Hoffman are doing a magnificent job for Socialism and are bustling about at one meeting after another seven days a week.

There are a few places up here which have not yet comprehended the gravity of the unemployment situation. Sure, they say, times are bad but they can't be as bad as you say. This attitude is reflected by the up-State legislators at Albany. All the more reason then to press forward with all the energy that is in us in our unemployment demonstrations, such as the one planned for March 5th. We must show the State and the Country as a whole, again and again, that here is a calamity beside which war is well-nigh trivial. Make the March 5th demonstration the most effective in the history of the Party.

McAlister Coleman.

## Old School Teacher

Thus Death decreed that she must leave  
Her well paid job with no disputes;  
Full well she served, yet do not grieve—  
General—  
as economic on which, as B. KRANTZOR,  
rock, the Labor Party, A. A. N.



# WORKERS WILL NEVER TAKE ARMS

## Vandervelde Gives Parley at Geneva Labor's Peace Ultimatum

By Emile Vandervelde  
President of the Labor and Socialist International  
(An Address at the Plenary Session of the Disarmament Conference in Geneva)

I SPEAK here on behalf of the Labor and Socialist International which has over six million members in 35 countries, and whose members in the various Parliaments represent over 25 million electors. The International has conducted a campaign in favor of disarmament in close collaboration with the International Federation of Trade Unions which has a membership of 14 million workers in 28 countries and which, when it joins with us in demanding complete disarmament, is in full communion with the ideas of millions of other workers in the United States of America, in India, and in the Far East.

We may state without exaggeration that it is the common will of the vast majority of workers throughout the world which is expressed in our petition. I do not propose to read it in its entirety. I will simply quote the concluding passage:

"... the patience of the peoples is strained to the utmost. It therefore calls upon the governments represented at the Disarmament Conference to take some positive action. A convention should be concluded which will ensure an immediate and substantial reduction of effective and all forms of war material and expenditure and lead to complete, universal and controlled disarmament at the earliest possible moment."

### DEMANDS, NOT HOPES

You are, perhaps, somewhat surprised at the imperious tone of this petition. But to have spoken otherwise would have been to betray the thought of those who voted for or signed it. To be quite frank, we are not here to ask for favors or to express hopes but to formulate demands.

Not that we have any illusions that under the present circumstances there is any possibility of these demands being realized immediately and in full.

It is an achievement that this conference has met at last. It is certainly something too, to see at its head, like a living symbol of the growing power of the working class, a man who formerly worked with his hands, who possesses the entire confidence of his former comrades, who was president of our International during the most difficult years of the post-war period, and later Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Great Britain, and who, steadfastly faithful to the convictions which he has held throughout his life, declared only a few days ago with fearless frankness that the world demands disarmament and that the peoples desire to be freed from the lasting menace to peace which results from national armaments on a large scale, and who refused to contemplate even the possibility of failure because of the disastrous consequences which might ensue.

But how, on the other hand—you will not object to my saying so—can the Socialist working class expect decisive results at the present juncture from an assembly in which, side by side with the very small number of governments which represent the working masses to some extent, there are others whose will to power rests on the armaments which they are increasing and still others who are



THE JAPANESE FIRING LINE AT CHAPEI—No war has been declared but Japan has instituted the "largest-scale military battle since the World War" in its effort to take Shanghai from the Chinese. The attack having failed, Japan will soon have additional troops—which will bring the total to 50,000—concentrated in the attack on Shanghai.

atives are sitting here side by side, while far away violence is raging and in flagrant violation of treaties and pacts but recently signed, the right of the strongest is being enforced by fire and sword.

### A Reminder of Pledges

We are here, however, and you are good enough to grant us audience. We are here to remind you of the pledges taken and to state exactly what is desired by the politically organized workers in France and Belgium as well as in Germany, Great Britain and other countries, in full agreement with each other.

When, at Versailles in May, 1919, the German Government expressed its agreement with the abolition of compulsory military service on condition that this should be "the beginning of a general reduction in the armaments of all countries" Georges Clemenceau, the president of the Conference, stated that:

"The allied and associated powers desire to state specifically that their conditions with regard to the armaments of Germany were not intended solely to make it impossible for Germany to resume its policy of military aggression. This also represents the first step towards that reduction and that general limitation of armaments which the said powers seek to realize as one of the best means of preventing war."

We do not propose to go into the question whether or to what extent this promise, which M. Paul Boncour recently called a "moral and legal pledge," has been kept.

The glaring fact remains that there is an enormous discrepancy between the armaments allowed to the vanquished and those maintained by the victors of 1918.

The joint resolution of the L. S. I. and the I. F. T. U. has as its main object the abolition of this discrepancy.

### The Socialist Demands

I will not read the whole of this resolution but will simply quote the essential paragraphs:

1. The system of disarmament will only be complete and durable if it is based on equality of rights and duties. "Nothing would be more fatal to peace than to claim that the victorious and the vanquished nations can be kept indefinitely under different systems.

2. There shall be no idea of obtaining equality by the re-armament of the countries which have been disarmed by the peace treaties. The Treaty of Disarmament shall not be used as an excuse for increasing arma-

ments in any of its forms.

And further on:

4. In order to guarantee the observance of the general convention which is to be concluded, a system of strict international control over expenditure, armaments, the public and private manufacture of munitions and the international traffic in arms should be introduced without fail, independently of the national control in the various countries, which democracy alone makes possible.

The abolition of the distinction between victors and vanquished; the maintenance, but also the generalization of the disarmament already imposed, and finally, international control, without which the best of conventions would remain a dangerous illusion and, by reason of that fact, unacceptable; such are the main ideas which inspire the campaign in favor of disarmament of international Socialist democracy.

That is what we ask. Or, rather—I will use the word which was used at your own first session—that is what we demand. We demand it on behalf of the peoples who are tired of paying collectively the fabulous sum of 100 milliards per annum for the international war budget; on behalf of the Socialist workers of all countries who refuse to march once again towards the abyss, like blind led by the blind.

After the terrible suffering which they have experienced they see clearly today, and the multitudes are beginning to see clearly too.

Your president, with all the authority which international confidence confers upon him, addressed the other day a severe warning to those who do not wish to see, who do not wish to understand, who refuse to realize that in all countries the mass of the workers are opposed to war and

to everything which prepares and leads to war.

This is an hour at which fates are decided. From your deliberations may issue peace or war. We know to what competition in armaments leads. We know, moreover, how wars between the peoples end. If a new catastrophe overtook the world it would inevitably lead to that which took place throughout half Europe after the World War.

After the terrible sufferings which have plunged them into a common misery the Socialist workers are firmly resolved to do everything possible to prevent this from beginning again. But if this were to begin again they have the firm intention, if not to lay down their arms at any rate never to use them against one another again.

That is what the International has instructed us to say.

It is for your perspicacity and wisdom to draw the conclusions.

## The Geneva Censorship Defied

### Vandervelde Scorns Plea to Change Speech

THE petitions addressed to the Geneva Disarmament Conference by numerous international organizations were received at a special session Feb. 6, which was presided over by Arthur Henderson. Emile Vandervelde, President of the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International, spoke on behalf of this body. In a splendid speech, frequently interrupted by loud applause, he put forward the demands made by the workers of the world to the governments represented in Geneva.

Vandervelde's reference to censorship of his speech caused a sensation. The Disarmament Conference had set up a special commission, presided over by the French Minister for the Colonies, Reynaud, to examine the texts of the speeches made in connection with the presentation of the petitions. This commission objected to not less than three passages in Vandervelde's speech as submitted in writing, namely, to the quotation from a speech by Clemenceau, the quotation from Paul-Boncour, and a reference to Japan's ruffianly attack on China. Apparently the famous Geneva atmosphere cannot even stand the repetition of official documents and declarations by Clemenceau and Paul-Boncour.

### The Censor Defied

Vandervelde did not allow the censorship—which was all the more ridiculous as the original text of the speech had already been

issued to the press—to prevent him from reading Clemenceau's declaration. In addition Vandervelde ridiculed the over-cautious censor in the following words:

"Permit me to say that we do not expect any great results from this conference. Why? I had written it down, in deference to the request which had been made to us to communicate the text of our speeches to the Petitions Commission—our text has, by the way, already been communicated to the press but there are objections from the chair to my reading it. We had expressed doubts as to the possibility of obtaining decisive results from this assembly. There are very few present here who directly represent in the present governments the desires of the great masses of the workers. Not all the governments represented at the conference are governments based upon democracy.

"Finally, and it is here that I touch upon the point which is so delicate that our President does not desire to have it raised, events are taking place on the other side of the world which would constitute war if war were not forbidden by the Pact of Paris, and in regard to which I had expressed in my text an opinion which I hold more strongly now than ever, and which I will merely sum up in the following words: It would be regrettable if at present and in the future the treaties should lose all moral

value before the affirmation of the right of might by fire and sword."

### A Great Ovation

Loud applause from the galleries and even from many parts of the hall had punctuated the most important parts of Vandervelde's speech. The scorn poured upon the censorship carried out in the interests of the military powers and especially of Japan called forth applause and protest. Agreement with this outspoken and relentless speech increased and at the close moved the majority of the present, including numerous delegates, to a storm of applause which seemed as if it would never stop.

The last speaker was Jouhaux, who spoke on behalf of the International Federation of Trade Unions and whose speech was likewise received with loud applause.

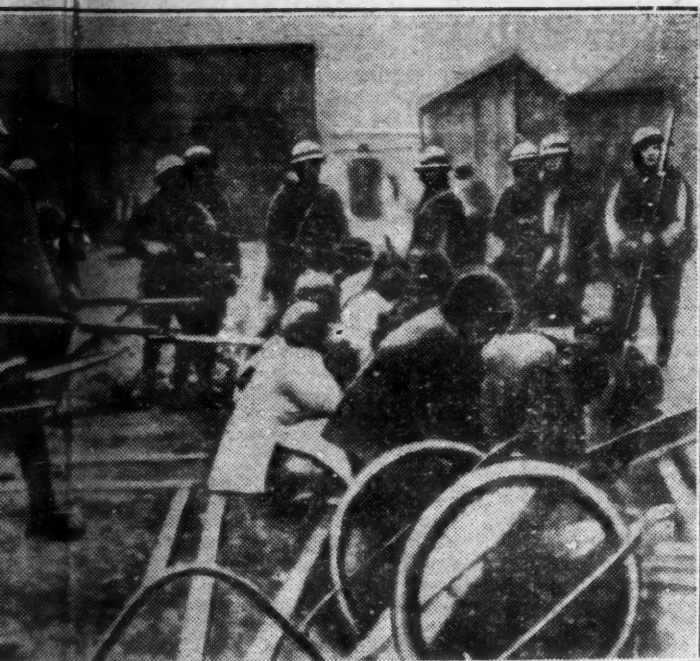
Jouhaux demanded disarmament with special reference to the misery of mass unemployment, stigmatized the contradictions between the pacifist speeches and the militarist deeds of the governments and declared that disarmament was the first essential for the security of all the peoples. The workers' organizations would co-operate without reserve in the control of the observation of the disarmament convention, without which disarmament would be an empty word, and perhaps even a danger.



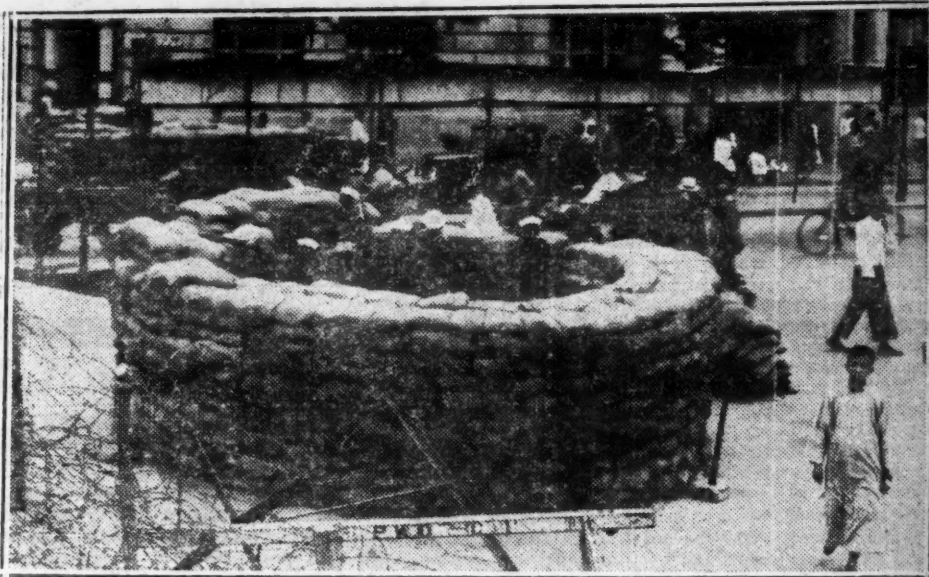
OFF TO THE FIRING SQUAD—Germans, several Chinese prisoners of war, Shanghai.



# WARMS AGAINST ONE ANOTHER AGAIN



NG SQUAD—Guilty of defending their native city against Japanese invaders, these prisoners of war are shown being led to a drum head court in Shanghai where the usual penalty is death.



Federated Pictures

THE UNITED STATES MAKING READY?—U. S. sailors are prepared for war in Shanghai. This is a small fort they have built on the border of the International Settlement, made of sandbags and protected by barbed wire entanglements. It is at such a spot as this that a new world war may break out. The Socialist International has warned against any attempt to involve the nations in such a war. It has urged the exertion of "financial and economic pressure" on the Japanese government to bring an end to its mad Imperialist venture.

## British Labor Begins Its Task of Rebuilding

By Fred Henderson  
LONDON.

MacDonald's Difficulties with National Government Aids  
Opposition—The I. L. D. Debates Tactics

THE political situation in Great Britain, tragical as its background of the social industrial life of the nation is, has suddenly become sheer comedy so far as the position of the new National Government is concerned. You will have heard something of the split which has taken place in the government; but, seen here at close quarters, the farce of the thing is almost incredible.

The key fact to the situation, which I pointed out in my letter to The New World, immediately after the general election, is that the extreme reactionary Conservatives, when the results were known, found themselves not only in a majority in the so-called "National Party," but in a commanding majority in Parliament itself. Their disgust at having been persuaded by MacDonald to fight the election on the National compact, when, as the results made them believe, they could easily have won by fighting on their own, was rather comic during the first few weeks, when they still had a feeling of being bound in honor to stand by the compact. But that soon wore off; and in an increasing degree they began to ask why, being a majority in Parliament, they should allow any other policy than their own to be put forward by the government. The screw was therefore put upon MacDonald and the Liberal Ministers with increasing pressure; and when Parliament reassembled after its Christmas holiday it was evident that the Conservative majority had come back quite resolved to get 100 per cent of their own way; and that if MacDonald and the Liberals did not like it, they could get out. But they reckoned without the enacity with which MacDonald holds by the opinion that so long as he can retain the Prime Ministership all things are for the best, and that the policy of the government is a quite minor matter. When, therefore, the first big measure of Conservative policy, the changeover from free trade to tariffs, was forced upon the Cabinet, and the Cabinet was seen to be hopelessly split about it, MacDonald met the situation by asking that the real national need be to keep the national government intact and that inability to agree on a policy need not break it. Let each member of the

government be free to support or oppose the government policy as he pleased, and still keep his post.

On the introduction of the proposals we were accordingly treated to a dog-fight on the floor of the House of Commons between the sections of the government itself; violently opposed to one another on the National policy put up for adoption, but remaining a National government because of the supreme importance of retaining unity of national spirit and purpose! There has been nothing quite like it since we had the inspiring spectacle of a Europe so united in the sacred cause of justice and righteousness—every combatant, you will remember, drew the sword for justice and righteousness—as to make four years of bloody war necessary because the constituent nations in this holy unity of fundamental purpose had different opinions as to how the thing should be done.

Comic as are the incidents of the affair, it is, from the Socialist point of view, wholly encouraging, for it shows that the colossal Parliamentary majority piled up against us at the general election is a thing essentially unstable; already beginning to dissolve by its own inherent foolishness. We have only to fight on steadfastly to ensure a recovery of national sanity which may, and I think will, be much speedier than most people imagine. Our real difficulty is not in this bloated bulk of essential weakness. If we had our own real strength available against it, its overthrow would be quite a simple matter. Already it is a derision to many of the people who helped to set it up. Our real difficulty is the continued impairment of our own power of appeal to the nation by the distrust in us created by the two years of fatuous office holding. The error no doubt originated in MacDonald's mere vanity of office-holding; but the other ministers and the majority of the Parliamentary group, against their own better judgment, allowed themselves to condone and support it. And that is what sticks in people's minds today when, looking for possible alternatives to the present ridiculous government, they consider what the Labor Party is likely to do.

Inside the British movement, everyone knows the situation. The lesson has been learned. But to win back full public confidence is another matter. We shall do it; the spectacle of the present government in office is already helping us to do it; but it will take a little longer time than we thought when first the majority of the then Labor Government saved their souls by breaking with MacDonald. They saved their souls, which may be done by a swift dramatic decision; but the restoration of their political efficiency is a much slower accomplishment. The Labor Party is today on the road to that accomplishment; and the rebuilding now going on within the party is on sound lines that will, I am convinced, never permit the old error to recur.

Since the general election, and as a result of the debacle, there

have, as is perhaps natural enough in such circumstances, been many suggestions for coming out from the Labor Party and building up a new party which shall be clear of the heritage of damning association with the two years' farce of futile office. These suggestions are namely in connection with the I. L. P., and to me much the most significant thing which has happened within the party during the past month, in its bearing upon the rebuilding of the general movement, is the evidence which has been forthcoming that the I. L. P. itself is not likely to be drawn into that false move. For organization purposes, there are eight or nine British divisional areas of the I. L. P., and these divisional areas have been holding their conferences to discuss the question of disaffiliating from the Labor Party. Strongly and unmistakably

the set of opinion has been against disaffiliation. What may happen when the I. L. P. holds its national conference at Easter is another matter; but so far a strong majority of the divisions have stood for holding on with the Labor Party.

You have to remember when you are studying the possible recovery of the British movement from the general election setback, that in one quite vital respect it differs in form from the Socialist movement in most other European countries. Our political movement has its organized strength, not in a directly organized political form, but in the industrial union strength of the British working class. The Labor Party is the political instrument created by the trades unions, and from the very beginning has had its roots directly in working-class consciousness and industrial organization rather than in political conceptions. It has been educated into its political conceptions by Socialist educational work within the trades unions rather than by appeal to the workers by Socialist advocacy addressed to them from outside their own industrial organization for class defense against class exploitation, and the solidarity of our seven million vote against the hysteria of the general election was due in large measure to this intimate association of the political movement with the directly class conscious workers' organization in industry itself.

It is a comparatively easy matter to start a new political group; but if such a group is to achieve power, it can only do so by attracting to itself this mass force of working-class life which is already the organized bed-rock strength of the Labor Party. And our task, whatever may be the setback and disappointment of the moment, is within this essential working-class structure of the Labor Party. The conditions have never been so provocative to a breakaway for the more ardent spirits amongst us than the general election following upon the two years' farce has made them just now; but I think you will find that the rebuilding will be on the solid foundations which have remained unbroken through all these experiences. The specifically Socialist organizations have been the inspiration of the Labor Party, and will continue so, but within and not without the general working-class organization on which, as on an impregnable rock, the Labor Party is based.

### Young Socialist National Committee Maps Program of Varied Activity

(By A New Leader Correspondent)  
MILWAUKEE.—The National Executive Committee of the Young People's Socialist League met in Milwaukee Feb. 19 and 20. It has designated the month of May as Red May Membership Drive month. A program of May Day demonstrations will be held jointly with Socialist Party branches. Street corner meetings to be followed by Youth Rallies, national collection for Strikers Relief Fund, and anti-war demonstrations on Memorial Day have been scheduled.

The National Convention and Jamboree will be held on July 2, 3 and 4th in either Reading, Pa., or Cleveland, Ohio. Arrangements were made to send out a score of organizers to increase the number of circles.

A monthly bulletin is to be sent to circles, containing reports and plans of activities. An organization handbook and manual is being developed.

Cooperation between the Y. P. S. L. and other radical youth organizations was approved, and a committee was elected to work jointly with the Young People's Zion Alliance and Young Circle League in publishing pamphlets and hold-

ing demonstrations.

Resolutions were adopted urging the young workers to resist capitalist war, demanding immediate and complete disarmament at the Geneva Conference, the abolition of child labor and provision for family allowances, and demanding the release of Mooney and Billings, Alfred Hoffmann, organizer of the Hosiery Workers Union, and of the Scottsboro boys.

All of the propositions on the recent National Referendum were approved by the membership.

Julius Umansky of New York is the national chairman; George A. Smerkin of Chicago is national secretary and the other members of the National Executive Committee are Eugene McStroul of Milwaukee, Pearl Greenberg of Chicago, Winston Dancis of New York, Lester (Red) Shulman of New Bedford, Mass., and Max Wohl of Cleveland.

RAUSHENBUSH APPOINTED  
HARRISBURG, Pa.—(FP)—H. S. Raushenbush has been named director of the Bureau of Industrial Relations of the Pennsylvania Labor Department. He served the United Mine Workers as economic consultant in 1923.



## Internationals Urge Pressure Upon Japanese

### Embargo on Arms and Credits Is Favored—Capitalist Governments Denounced

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

GENEVA. — An embargo on munitions and credits shipped to Japan is urged by representatives at the Geneva arms conference of the Socialist and Labor International and of the International Federation of Trade Unions. A joint statement declares a state of war exists and urges "economic and financial pressure" on Japan. The communique was intended for reading at the arms conference, but was barred out.

The two internationals "cannot tolerate the Disarmament Conference being opened without any protest being made against Japan's attack upon China. When it is stated that there is no war the contrary is proved by the facts. The most recent events in connection with Japan's attack on China have conjured up the danger of a world conflagration.

"So long as Japan was taking action in Manchuria the great powers did nothing to fulfil their duties. They did not dare to fulfil the obligations imposed upon them by the Covenant of the League, the Pact for the Outlawry of War and the Nine Powers Treaty. They ought to have forced Japan to cease its imperialistic attack on China. But the League was powerless because the Great Powers which dominate it did not dare, did not even desire, to carry out their duty.

"On the other hand their interference in connection with the firing on Shanghai and Nanjing have aroused the suspicion that the governments have begun to take action for the sake of their own imperialistic interests and privileges, and not in defence of China's rights and liberty. Under these circumstances the bloody conflict in the Far East might, sooner or later, develop into a world conflagration.

"The L. S. I. and the I. F. T. U. therefore declare:

"1. By not interfering to put a stop to the Japanese campaign of plunder in Manchuria the capitalist governments have assumed part of the responsibility for the present events.

"2. The governments of the capitalist countries have adequate means of economic and financial pressure to force Japan to observe the treaties. It should be noted that world capitalism, which has so often made use of this method to defeat revolutionary movements, has not even attempted to apply it against Japan. The two Internationals call upon the Parliamentary groups of the affiliated parties to raise the question of the observance of existing treaties in their Parliaments and to prevent subjects of their respective countries from promoting the war by sup-

## W. Va. Coal Co. Refuses to Move Barges Holding Bodies of Miners' Drowned Sons

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

RAYMOND CITY, W. Va.—The terrorism of autocracy and medieval feudalism is being re-enacted again in these United States. The inhuman heartlessness of the coal operators was again visited on a community of mountain-folk and miners at Raymond City, W. Va.

Three men, a father and two boys, were drowned in the adjacent river. The body of the father was recovered. The bodies of the boys were believed to have floated under a row of barges owned by a coal company. The company forbade the moving of the barges and threatened prosecution if they were touched.

There was small expense attached to the moving of the barges but the victims were only mine-folk.

plying weapons and credits to the aggressor.

"3. Finally, the two Internationals recall to the states members of the League the fact that it is possible for them to take action within the framework of the League and with the methods provided for in its Covenant, and that if they do not do this there will be justification for the accusation that in this tragic situation they have only been concerned for their own interests and privileges in China.

"4. It is not these interests and privileges which must be defended but the inviolability of the entire Chinese territory and the observance of the treaties."

### Lecture Calendar

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

#### SATURDAY, FEB. 27

Frank Crosswain, "Why I Am a Socialist," 2005 Seventh avenue, Manhattan, 19-21st A. D. branch, Socialist party.

#### SUNDAY, FEB. 28

Morris Hillquit vs. Matthew Woll, "Should the American Workers Form a Political Party of Their Own?" Brooklyn Academy of Music, Flatbush and Lafayette avenues, Brooklyn Forum.

Leonard D. Abbott, "Radicalism in Literature," 11 a. m., Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison avenues, West Bronx Socialist Forum.

Jacob Panken, "A Tale of Two Cities—New York and Vienna," 600 West 181st street, Manhattan, Washington Heights branch, Socialist party.

Edward Levinson, "Labor and the Press," 3109 Broadway, Manhattan, Morningside Heights branch, Socialist party.

August Claessens, "Selfishness—A Study in Human Nature," 96 Avenue C, Manhattan, 6th A. D. branch, Socialist party.

#### MONDAY, FEB. 29

Bela Low, "Socialism and Democracy," New Hungarian Restaurant, Union street and Franklin avenue, Brooklyn, 11th A. D. branch, Socialist party.

Leonard Bright, "Molding Public Opinion," 167 Tompkins avenue, Brooklyn, Williamsburg branch, Socialist party.

#### TUESDAY, MARCH 1

Henry Rosner, "Hoover's Dole to American Capitalism," 1637 East 17th street, Brooklyn, Midwood branch of the Socialist party.

August Claessens, "Essentials of Socialism," 218 Van Sicklen avenue, Brooklyn, 22nd A. D., Branch 3, Socialist party.

#### FRIDAY, MARCH 4

Alexander Fichandler, "Russia—An Experiment in Psychology," 100 West 72nd street, Manhattan, Upper West Side branch, Socialist party.

Harry Rogoff, "Tragic America," Hollywood Gardens, 896 Prospect avenue, Bronx, Labor Forum.

Speaker and topic to be announced, Paradise Manor, Mt. Eden and Jerome avenues, Mid-Bronx Socialist Forum.

A. D. Flesher, "Modern Science and Materialism," 55 Snyder avenue, Brooklyn, 21st A. D. branch, Socialist party.

William Karlin, "Labor and the Law," 327 East Ninth street, Manhattan, 8th A. D. branch, Socialist party.

Theodore Shapiro, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn, 23rd A. D. branch, Socialist party.

Abraham C. Weinfeld, "Unemployment Insurance," Bohemian Hall, Second and Woolsey avenues, Astoria, Socialist party branch.

## Rolph Promises Mooney Decision in March

SAN FRANCISCO (FP)—Gov. Rolph is holding frequent conferences with Judge Matt I. Sullivan, Daniel J. O'Brien and Lewis F. Byington, his advisers on the Mooney pardon application. He expects to have his decision ready early in March.

## Jennie Lee and Thomas to Talk Woman's Day

THE Women's Section of the Socialist Party announces Jenny Lee will speak Sunday afternoon, March 6, at the celebration of International Woman's Day in the Rand School. Miss Lee will extend the greetings of the British Socialist women and recount in her vivacious and sparkling manner the fruitful activities of the Socialist women in England.

The program is unusually interesting. The international spirit will be manifest not only by Miss Lee but also by our German comrade, Lina Linehardt, who will speak in her native tongue on the progress the German women's movement has made since the war.

The other women speakers are Helen Pickenbach, Rachel Panken and Jessie N. Hughan. Norman Thomas, our standard bearer in previous campaigns, will be the lone but not lonely man, on the program. Esther Friedman will preside.

Mary Gates will thrill the audience as of old with her rich soprano voice. The Finnish Comrades will also contribute to this occasion by a group of folk dancers. The Socialist Sunday School chorus led by Samuel Friedman will conclude the festivities with new Socialist songs and the audience joining in on the International. Admission for the rich afternoon beginning at 2 o'clock sharp, will be free.

Every friend is invited to pack Debs Auditorium.

## L.I.D. Dance March 11 To Make Webster Hall An Historic Edifice

The League for Industrial Democracy annual spring dance for rugged and ragged individuals, takes place Friday night, March 11, at Webster Hall. A show which is going to roast the capitalist system on a radical gridiron is under way. "Crab the Works" is the name of the show. Heywood Brown, impresario, actor, writer, and Socialist, is going to be master of ceremonies.

Again, Vernon Andrade, who made Harlem and Greenwich Village sway to his rhythm, will enter Webster Hall with a fanfare of trumpets while radicals cheer. Tickets have already gone on sale at the Rand Book Store, the Civic Club, 18 East 10th street, and at the League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th street. Tickets are \$1.50 in advance, \$2 at the door. The dance committee urges haste on the part of readers of The New Leader.

## Thomas, Winkler and King At L.I.D. Luncheon Saturday

"Financial Reconstruction—Have We An Adequate Program?" will be the subject for discussion at the luncheon given by the League For Industrial Democracy, Saturday, Feb. 27, at 12:45 P. M., in the Hotel Woodstock, 127 West 43d street. The speakers will be Dr. Max Winkler, Norman Thomas and Wilford I. King. Reinhold Niebuhr will preside.

## Canada Bars Introduction Of Labor Bill

### Government Party Refuses in Commons to Entertain Woodsworth Motion

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

OTTAWA.—Amid tumultuous scenes, the House of Commons established a precedent Feb. 22 when government supporters united to outvote 72 to 40, all other parties on a motion to permit James S. Woodsworth, Labor, to introduce a bill to amend the criminal code.

The bill would delete the infamous section dealing with unlawful assemblies. Similar legislation has passed the commons on five occasions since 1926 only to be defeated in the senate.

Premier R. B. Bennett opposed the introduction of the bill and was backed by his supporters. At one stage he opposed granting Mr. Woodsworth the opportunity to explain his bill. This brought protests from Robert Gardiner, U. F. A. leader, and from Ernest Lapointe, who was leading the Liberals at the time. From several Liberals this attitude brought shouts of "Mussolini."

"I should like to know something about what we are to vote upon," said Gardiner in asking that an opportunity be given the Winnipeg Laborite to explain his bill.

#### Woodsworth Speaks

"I for one," said Mr. Lapointe, "protest against the procedure of having to submit any bill to the Prime Minister before it is introduced."

"Mussolini," shouted a Liberal above the hubbub.

"Mussolini is but a child," echoed the former Minister of Justice.

After further interruptions, points of order and interjections, an explanation of his bill was made by Mr. Woodsworth. Section 98, he said, was abhorrent to the age-long legal instincts of Canadians. Warrants for police were unnecessary under some conditions. When a man was charged under the section, he was presumed to be guilty unless he was able to prove himself innocent.

The section, continued Mr. Woodsworth, had worked a hardship on organized labor. It had been enacted in the post-war period and long since had outlived its usefulness. Use had been made of it very recently, countered Premier Bennett. The Toronto Communists had been convicted under its terms and the Supreme Court of Ontario had upheld the judgments on appeal. It was aimed only at unlawful assemblies, he emphasized and did not prohibit or restrict lawful assemblies.

## Rand Students Out to Finance Scholarships

Students of the Rand School, 7 East 15th street, informed that free scholarships might be endangered in the coming term have organized under the banner of the Rand School Fellowship and began a drive for \$1,000 or better to insure the education of unemployed applicants to the school.

The drive has enlisted the aid of virtually every student in the school. Nearly all of them are equipped with small red coupons books with which they are soliciting funds in their homes and shops. The drive will continue on for the next two weeks and will close with a meeting of all the students at which announcements of the results will be made.

Great enthusiasm is being displayed in the building of the school. Student speakers appear in classes and make pep talks urging their fellow students to greater efforts. On the walls of the halls are signs showing the progress of the drive and placards shouting slogans in many colors.

Algernon Lee, president of the school, in speaking of the drive, said: "Never has so much enthusiasm been shown in the halls of the Rand School building. The students are demonstrating that not only do they grasp the principles of Socialism but they can defend those principles by constructive activities. There is no doubt about the outcome of the drive. We expect with the assistance of the students and the friends of the school to more than achieve the mark we set."

The Rand School is one of the few workers schools which have weathered the depression. Instead of limiting its curricula the school has expanded its activities.

### CAHAN TO ADDRESS YIPSELS

Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, will address the members of the N. Y. Young Peoples Socialist League Saturday, March 5, at 2 P. M., at the Forward Hall, 175 East Broadway. His subject will be Problems Confronting the Working Class.

### Famous DOLLAR Box of PERSONAL STATIONERY

CLUB SIZE 6 1/2 x 3 1/2  
EITHER  
200 Single Sheets and  
100 Long Pointed Flap  
Envelopes  
OR—  
100 Folded Sheets and  
100 Long Pointed Flap  
Envelopes  
All Beautifully Printed with Your  
Name and Address, or Monogram  
COLORS OF PAPER:  
White, French Gray, Bisque (light sand)  
COLORS OF INK:  
Blue, Black, Green, Purple, Brown  
ORDER BY MAIL:  
Send Check, Money Order or Currency.  
West of Mississippi add 20c.  
Dollar Stationery Co.  
225 Fifth Ave. (Dept. "L") N. Y.

## BEETHOVEN HALL

214 EAST FIFTH STREET

Has been rebuilt and artistically decorated. It has elevator service and all modern improvements. Open for balls, banquets, weddings, entertainments and conventions

We Also Have Elegant Meeting Rooms

BEST SERVICE GUARANTEED

Telephone: ORchard 4-0459—DRYdock 4-0934—4-9594

## JUST OUT POLITICAL SCIENCE And TRUTH

Featuring  
Science of History, Unemployment;  
Cause and Cure, Rackets in Money;  
Bonds, and Stock Dividends, Russian  
Economics, etc.

PRICE 10c

Address: FRED HURST  
1316 Cranston St. Cranston, R. I.

The Finest Labor Novel of the Age—  
Falls The Conqueror, 1,200 pp. \$4.50  
Ditto, Daughter of Man, 1,000 pp. \$3.50  
by Martin Anderson Neza, the famous  
proletarian novelist, are on sale at  
the Rand Bookstore. Every worker  
should read these stirring books.

## IF you want to talk intelligently You must read Unemployment and its Remedies

by HARRY W. LAIDLER

104 pp. 25c

SOCIALIST PARTY

549 Randolph St. Chicago

## Philadelphia

### ROUND TRIP 2.75

HOURLY  
EXPRESS  
SERVICE

One Way  
2.00

BALTIMORE .....\$4.00  
WASHINGTON ..... 4.75  
RICHMOND ..... 7.50  
PITTSBURGH ..... 8.00  
DETROIT .....13.50  
CHICAGO .....17.00  
ALBANY and TROY ..... 4.00  
ROUND TRIP ..... 5.00

RATES FOR ROUND TRIPS  
GREATLY REDUCED

NEVIN BUS DEPOT

111 West 31st St. Chicago 4-1600



## Dress Strike Keeps Industry At A Standstill

### Union Is Authorized to Make Individual Settlements With Employers

THE most effective strike in the history of the N. Y. dress industry — which has seen many large-scale strikes before — went into its second week with the ranks of the workers more solid than ever and increased by many thousands.

So successful has the strike been that the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, which is directing the strike called by the unions affiliated with Waist and Dressmakers Joint Board, has begun negotiations for individual settlements, disregarding the stubborn attitude being maintained by the manufacturers' and contractors' associations.

The executive committee of the general strike committee, of which International President Benjamin Schlesinger is chairman, has authorized the general committee to make individual settlements. These settlements are calculated to have a salient effect on the recalcitrant employers. Julius Hochman, on behalf of the strikers, scored the refusal of the employers to make concessions and assured them the strikers are ready to carry through to victory.

This mood of the strikers was amply proven at scores of strike meetings held during the week and addressed by union leaders flanked by Socialist party speakers. Last Friday fully 12,000 strikers paraded through the garment district to union headquarters singing "Solidarity Forever" and giving cheers for the union which echoed through the cold morning air and against the empty factories.

### Fichandler to Address N. Y. Socialist Teachers

Teachers of the Socialist Sunday Schools, and comrades who have had training in pedagogy and expect to teach in these schools next season, will listen to a lecture by Alexander Fichandler, of the Committee on Educational Planning for the Youth and one of the city's foremost educators, this Sunday at 3:30 p. m. The lecture, on methods of teaching in Socialist schools, will be delivered at the home of Chairman Friedman, 1 Perry street.

### Posters for Peace

A good job to counteract militarist propaganda is being carried on by the World Peace Posters, Inc., of 31 Union Square, New York City. This organization is sending out great quantities of peace posters, post cards and "Disarm" stamps. Organizations working for world peace will find the material put out by the World Peace Posters, Inc., striking and effective.



TURN THE MINDS OF MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN TO DETERMINE THAT PEACE SHALL PREVAIL

Use these Peace Stamps on every letter. They are only 1c each and \$5 for 1000. Write for information about Stamps and Peace Posters to WORLD PEACE POSTERS, INC., 31 UNION SQ., NEW YORK CITY

## Michigan Socialists Seek 80,000 Signatures To Force Referendum on Jobless Insurance

Misery and unemployment go together. Michigan workers, by virtue of the high industrial development of the state have suffered both to a marked degree. Relief agencies are near the breaking point. Realizing that only by a change from the voracious profit system to a co-operative society can employment be made secure, the Socialist Party of Michigan, hoping to alleviate the suffering of workers, is circulating a petition to the Secretary of State, to cause him to submit to the voters of Michigan an amendment to the state constitution requiring the next legislature to impose a progressive tax on incomes exceeding \$5,000, the proceeds to be used to pay unemployment compensation.

To place this petition before the Secretary of State, it is necessary that 80,000 signatures be secured before July 1. The physical difficulty of approaching that number of voters is great, and will tax the capacities of the committee in charge to the uttermost. The Michigan comrades, therefore, make an appeal to all New Leader readers in the state to help, either in the circulating of petitions, or by donating funds. Persons willing to contribute money or time should communicate with the Michigan Socialist Party, 69 Erskine street, Detroit.

## California Socialists Hold Their Biggest Convention

### Enthusiastic Sessions Name Kirkpatrick for Senate—Plan Strong Fight

By SAMUEL S. WHITE

(Special New Leader Correspondent)

LOS ANGELES.—The California Socialist Party at a two-day annual convention in the Jewish Verband building here, formulated plans for a vigorous campaign such as has not been waged for several years. George R. Kirkpatrick, of Alhambra, veteran Socialist, author of "War—What For?" was unanimously nominated for U. S. Senator.

Delegates were enthusiastic concerning the party's drive for votes this year. Twenty-three locals and branches were represented by 66 delegates. There were 21 fraternal delegates from eight groups. Cities represented are Los Angeles, San Francisco, Pomona, Redlands, Palo Alto, Glendale, Hollywood, Venice, Alhambra, Inglewood, Pasadena, Southgate, Bakersfield, Lynwood and Lodi.

The party will wage a strong campaign for an initiative constitutional amendment for unemployment insurance. The measure, which was drawn by Chaim Shapiro, Socialist candidate for lieutenant governor in 1930, provides that the insurance shall be financed by income and inheritance taxes, and from the general fund of the state. No limit is placed on the amount to be paid to unemployed workers, and the measure applies to all workers, irrespective of salaries normally earned. The fund will be administered by a commission of five, three of whom must be trade unionists.

The report of State Secretary Roger Rush showed 759 dues paying members in 1931. There has been a steady increase since 1928, when the membership was 252. In 1929 it was 382, and in 1930, 494. There are 43 locals and branches in the state.

### State Executive Chosen

There was a spirited contest for the state executive committee. The following were elected: John Packard, Pasadena; R. W. Henderson, Bakersfield; Chaim Shapiro, Los Angeles; William Busick, Los Angeles; Fred W. Jackson, Pasadena; B. A. Zaremba, Los Angeles; R. A. Burton, Lynwood; Joe Zameres, Los Angeles, Ypsels; Mrs. W. B. Tipton, Pasadena.

The convention adopted a constitutional amendment placing the party on a monthly dues basis of 25 cents, effective July 1.

The state delegation to the national convention was instructed to seek enlargement of the N. E. C. to 11 members, one of whom is to be from the West, with a meeting of the committee in the West once a year. The N. E. C. also will be asked to sanction a western

organization campaign, to be supported by Western state parties.

Other resolutions adopted included demanding ban on shipment of war material to Sino-Japanese combatants and demanding that no American battleships be sent to the scene of warfare; condemning credit practices of the Federal Reserve System and demanding corrective measures; approving bond issue of \$5,000,000,000 for unemployed relief; demanding release of Mooney and Billings; urging Socialist sports bodies not to participate in 1932 Olympic games in Los Angeles while Mooney and Billings remain in prison; favoring recognition of Soviet Russia; favoring distribution among unemployed of surplus wheat held by government agencies; favoring noon lunches in school for children of unemployed; extending greetings to Socialists imprisoned in Soviet Russia.

### Dinner and Rally

Willie Goldberg and Herbert Elstein submitted the report of the Ypsels, attesting to a very active year. Over 250,000 pieces of literature were distributed in Los Angeles, regular street meetings were held, with four Ypsels arrested by police, but later freed; "The Unemployed" magazine was distributed; an anti-war conference was held; organized six branches throughout state and enlarged library by 75 volumes. The Ypsels have a state membership of 300. Victor E. Debs Circle, Los Angeles has undertaken to distribute 4,000 leaflets a week in the coming year.

William Busick was elected chairman of the convention. Roger Rush was named secretary, with Miss Mary Estey as assistant secretary. Messages of greeting were read from Mayor Daniel Hoan of Milwaukee; Clarence Senior, national secretary; Morris Hillquit, national chairman, and Norman Thomas. A. W. Hoch, president of the California State Federation of Labor addressed the convention.

Delegates were welcomed at a banquet Saturday evening, at which talks were made by Raymond W. Henderson, Bakersfield attorney; Samuel S. White, editor. Kern County Union Labor Journal, Bakersfield; Julius Leavitt of the Jewish branch of Los Angeles; Mrs. J. Levine, of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Roger Rush, state secretary; Mrs. Lena Morrow Lewis, San Francisco, former state secretary; Ralph Burton, Lynwood; Chaim Shapiro and Fred W. Jackson. Bill Busick was chairman.

Sunday night, following close of the convention, a meeting in protest of orders issued to the Illinois National Guard to suppress brutally riots of unemployed, was held in Labor Temple. Speakers were Samuel S. White, Fred Jackson and Bill Busick. Roger Rush was chairman.

## 'Crack' Thomas, Leader Of W. Va. Miners, Slain

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—"Crack" Thomas of Whiteville, West Virginia, 33 years old, was shot through the head and killed early Sunday morning, Feb. 21, in a cold-blooded murder. Thomas, one of the most popular of men in the West Virginia Mine Workers Union and a courageous and outspoken champion of the miners in Boone County, was struck down by a restaurateur whose sole reason was "Crack's" objections to the maltreatment of two boys by the restaurant proprietor. The youngsters were loafing and were roughly forced out when "Crack" protested. Crack turned to leave and was shot from the back. The assailant then turned on one of the boys, a 12-year-old son of a miner, and tried to shoot the boy, but the trigger jammed and the boy fled.

### REMEMBER

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

## Queens Jobless To Form Union This Friday

With the united support of the Astoria, Elmhurst, and Sunnyside branches of the Socialist Party of Queens, a meeting of jobless workers has been arranged at Public School 125, 47th street and 47th avenue, Woodside, L. I., Friday evening, Feb. 26, to organize the Unemployed Union of West Queens, which is expected to affiliate with the Emergency Conference on Unemployment.

The meeting will be addressed by James Oneal, editor of the New Leader. Discussion from the floor will follow his speech. Active members of the three branches have canvassed homes in their sections, inviting totally unemployed workers as well as part-time workers to attend the meeting. The response has been encouraging, according to the reports of the committees, hence a good attendance is expected.

## DEBATES — LECTURES — FORUMS

### UNITY HOUSE REUNION Dance and Oriental Buffet Dinner

Sunday Afternoon, Feb. 28, at 2 P. M.

GRAND CENTRAL GARDENS  
46th Street and Lexington Avenue

UNITY re-unites to perpetuate the memory of the good old summer-time: to bring together the host of vacation friends. Hall Johnson and his group will be there. The Compinskys, too. Dora Boshner, Lazar Freed and other favorites will recall a few of UNITY's artistic events.

TICKETS \$1.00 (including Oriental Buffet Dinner, Program and Dance). Music by Norwood and His Radio Artists.

Obtainable at UNITY HOUSE

New York Office, 3 West 16th Street

Chelsea 3-2148

### THE COMMUNITY FORUM OF THE COMMUNITY CHURCH

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

### SUNDAY—8—NORMAN THOMAS

"WHAT PRICE LIBERTY?"

11 A. M.—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

"Prophets of Doom: Are They Right or Wrong?"

### THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

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

Friday Evening, Feb. 26th:  
DR. HARRY A. OVERSTREET  
"Pioneers Of A New Idea"

Sunday Evening, Feb. 28th:  
DR. HORACE M. KALLEN  
"What Is An Individual?"

Tuesday Evening, March 1st:  
DR. NICHOLAS KOPELOFF  
"Builders of Bacteriology:  
Skyscrapers: The Modernists"

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

Thursday Evening, March 3rd:  
PROFESSOR E. G. SPAULDING  
"The Good Assured: Idealism"

### League for Industrial Democracy

Luncheon Discussion  
127 West 43rd St., at Hotel Woodstock

Saturday, Feb. 27th at 1:00 P. M.  
FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION  
Have We An Adequate Remedy?

DR. MAX WINKLER  
Vice-President of Belton-Griscom Co.

NORMAN THOMAS  
Executive Director of the  
League for Industrial Democracy

WILLFORD L. KING  
Professor, New York University  
Reinhold Niebuhr, Chairman

Tickets \$1.25 Non-Members \$1.50  
Undergraduate Students 75c  
Make Reservations at the Office of the  
L. I. D., 112 East 19th Street

WANTED—Comrades everywhere to sell  
"Socialism Explained." Earn while  
spreading Socialism. Sample copy 10c.

W. H. RICHARDS  
411 Mass. Avenue Indianapolis

### —AN HISTORIC EVENT—

"Should the American Workers Form  
A Political Party of Their Own?"

MORRIS MATTHEW  
HILLQUIT WOLL  
SAYS "YES" SAYS "NO"

SUNDAY, FEB. 28th 8:30 P. M.  
BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC  
30 Lafayette Ave. - Near Flatbush Ave.

Tickets: 25c-50c-\$1.00 at Box Office and  
Rand Book Store, 7 E. 15th St., N.Y.C.  
Auspices: Brooklyn Forum-Rand School

### THE BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP

Assure Masonic Temple  
1391 Boston Road, near E. 172nd St.  
Sunday Evening, Feb. 28th, 1932

8 P. M.—REV. LEON ROSSER LAND on  
"Why Christians and Jews Should  
Follow Gandhi"

9 P. M.—DR. SYDNEY B. SNOW on  
"The Five Great Contributions to the  
Literature of Peace and Their Present  
Day Significance"

MUSIC ADMISSION FREE

### INGERSOLL FORUM

Pythian Temple, 135 W 76th St.  
Sunday, 8 P. M. Admission 25c

Feb. 28: L. E. SCHLECHTER  
"Einstein and the Mysterious Universe"

Atheist Tract and Outing Free  
American Association for the  
Advancement of Atheism

307 E. 14th St. New York City

### OPEN FORUM

THE UNITARIAN MEETING HOUSE  
(Formerly West Side Meeting House)  
550 West 116th Street, near Broadway  
New York City

Thursday Evening, March 3rd  
8:15 o'clock—Dr. Gustav F. Beck on  
"CAN SCIENCE CREATE BIBLES?"

ADMISSION FREE

### LABOR TEMPLE

14th Street and Second Avenue  
DR. EDMUND S. CHAFFER, Director  
5 P. M.—Dr. E. G. BECK  
"Theosophy and the Oriental Cults"

7:45 P. M.—STANLEY A. DAY  
Organ Recital  
8 P. M.—CHESTER TRAU  
"The Crisis in China"



## Va. Socialists Stage Rally Against War

500 Crowd Richmond Meeting — Socialist News From the States

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

RICHMOND, Va.—Five hundred people came through the first wintry slush to a mass meeting in the City Auditorium last Sunday, Feb. 21, to join in a protest against unemployment and the war danger, called by the Emergency Council For Peace and the Unemployed Council of Richmond, both Socialist organizations. About one fourth of the audience were Negroes.

David G. George, Socialist State Secretary, opened the meeting with an address on the war danger. A. J. Royal, Richmond Socialist organizer, and Herman R. Ansell, State and city Socialist chairman, followed. The audience responded heartily. Before Ansell had concluded, the meeting had become almost a Socialist campaign rally. Someone shouted "Ansell for Mayor," and the house came down with applause.

A resolution demanded an embargo on shipment of war materials, an economic boycott of Japan, and approval of the Frazier amendment making war illegal. The resolution concludes:

"We pledge our unending opposition to all war. We declare that we will not support any international war. We have no 'stakes' abroad, nor is it to our interest to fight for the benefit of Wall Street. Should our nation be plunged into war, we will continue our efforts for peace, will oppose the war, and will fight against any form of conscription. Those who declare or urge war should do the fighting!"

### Organization Notes

Headquarters Wants '28 Handbooks. — National headquarters is entirely out of handbooks of the 1928 campaign and would appreciate it if any comrades having one or more for which they have no use would send them in. Several orders have been received for them lately which could not be filled. Mock presidential nominating conventions are being held by students at various colleges who have requested these handbooks as guides.

### Pennsylvania

PHILADELPHIA. — On Sunday, Feb. 28, 8:00 o'clock, at 3009 Ridge avenue, Maynard C. Krueger, of the U. of P., and a member of the Socialist Party will debate Leon Weinroth, Republican attorney, on the topic "Socialism vs. Capitalism." Admission is free.

NANTY-GLO. — An odd hundred Socialist party members attended a Cambria county meeting here Feb. 14th when a county local was launched, a full ticket for state and national legislatures nominated and fraternal greetings sent to the 700 striking miners at Cassandra. Resolutions were adopted for the agenda of the National Convention which would have that body take the initiative in summoning a conference to consider the task of organizing the unorganized industrial workers in America. The resolution would have such a semi-permanent committee seek the recognition of the International Federation of Trade Unions as its American body. The recent action of the American Federation of Labor executive in again rejecting overtures of the I. F. T. U. for an international labor conference on the present world depression was termed a demonstration of the A. F. of L.'s dual and schismatic character on the international labor scene. Another resolution declared the present Far Eastern war demonstrates the unsatisfactory nature of disarmament as a labor program and calls upon the National Convention to summon a world labor peace congress to plan action in case of declaration or waging of war by the capitalist powers. Involving of the Soviet Union in any war was declared as much a disaster to the international working-class as the return of a complete world-wide conflagration as of 1914.

Dr. Chas. Widdowson of Indiana

County was ratified as Socialist nominee for Congress; Mary Knight and Andrew Vidrich, of Johnstown, for Representatives in General Assembly for the first district; Anna Krasna, Park Hill, Andrew Hammarstrom Barnesboro and J. Oscar Skog, of Nicktown, for the Second District. Representatives in General Assembly, Harry Dyson, of Nanty-Glo, honored mine union leader in Cambria county in past years, was nominated for State Senator. Nathan Asbel was nominated for delegate to National Convention and Dora Ambrose of Nanty-Glo was elected County secretary. Cambria county at the beginning of 1932 had less than thirty members in good standing and only one regularly organized active branch. There are now four active and one inactive branches with more than a hundred members in good standing.

BLACK LICK. — Indiana County Socialists met at Black Lick Feb. 7th and nominated H. J. Lohr for State Senator, Mary Widdowson and Eugene Debs Morton for Representatives in Assembly. H. J. Lohr and Florence McNutt were nominated for delegates to National Convention. A resolution was adopted urging the establishment of a National office at Washington, D. C., by the National Convention.

LANCASTER. — The following were nominated for office in the Spring Primaries: Frank Scott, Lancaster, for Congress, 10th District; George C. Wade, Lancaster, for State Senator, 13th District; John Mohn, Akron, for State Senator, 17th District; Joseph Kurtz, Lancaster, for State Assembly, 1st District; Samuel Bechtold, Rohrerstown; Rudy Brossman, Ephrata, and J. Granville Eddy, Paradise, for State Assembly, 2nd District (3 to be elected).

TO PENNSYLVANIA SOCIALISTS — All nomination papers for offices to be filled in elections of 1932 must be filed with Deputy Secretary of Commonwealth Thorn, Bureau of Elections, Harrisburg, Pa., by March 7. To avoid last minute upsets the State office is asking that all nomination papers be mailed registered mail with return receipt requested by March 1. The papers must be properly filled and affidavits completed. When branches and locals forward papers to Harrisburg they should drop a post card announcement to the state office, Socialist party of Pennsylvania, 613 Lyceum Building, Penn avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.

HARRISBURG. — Pennsylvania's capital now has a real Socialist branch, organized at Carpenters Hall, Feb. 19. The new branch will select nominees for Congress and State Senate for the Dauphin-Lebanon County district and hopes to nominate candidates for the local Assembly district as well. Jacob Ommert, 1610 Paxton avenue, is acting as recording secretary.

ALTOONA. — Comrades are pushing the Congressional nomination papers of Comrade Rookie, pastor of the Christ Reformed Church, Altoona comrades will organize at a meeting at the Labor Lyceum Feb. 25. From Altoona the state organizer is working into Bellefonte and State College in Centre County and will move into Clearfield County as soon as enough contacts are assembled.

State Organizer Arthur McDowell and Robert Lieberman of the Socialist Miners Relief Fund, have been serving as speakers at the pep rallies of the 700 union miners on strike at Lily, Pa. Sarah Limbach, state secretary, has accepted another invitation to address striking steel workers and their wives at Canonsburg. Don Thompson, working in Lawrence County, will make an effort to knit together an effective Socialist organization in this steel and pottery center, at an organization meeting in New Castle Wednesday, Feb. 25.

### Arkansas

J. C. Thompson, state organizer, is planning a speaking tour in Arkansas early in April. Those interested should write to him direct at Lake Village, Ark.

### California

BAKERSFIELD. — The Socialist registration, under the permanent registration act now in effect here, has doubled within the past year.

### New Mexico

CLOVIS. — A crowd of 1,000 turned out for a debate here between Comrade W. C. Sharp and a local high school principal, on the subject "The system of industrial government advocated by the Socialist party should be introduced."

### Ohio

MIDDLETOWN. — Local Butler county has just been organized. William J. Griffiths, 610 Stanley street, is secretary.

CLEVELAND. — The Socialist Party of Cuyahoga County has nominated its county candidates—sheriff, county treasurer, auditor, two county commissioners, a county prosecutor, five state senators from the county and 18 state representatives at its meeting Feb. 1 at the Slovenian National Hall, 6409 St. Clair. This action was taken to give circulators of Socialist petitions plenty of time to obtain the required number of signatures to put the candidates on the ballot this November. The party also passed unanimously amid applause a resolution, stating

that the Socialist Party opposes the United States being embroiled in a new war.

Candidates nominated were: Sheriff, John W. Ellison; County Treasurer, Henry Kullman; County Auditor, Jennie Harvey; County Commissioners, Joe Siskovich, Joe Miller; County Prosecutor, Moses Benjamin; State Senators from Cuyahoga County, Charles C. Pintner, Harry E. Schreiber, Robert Garvin, Max E. Epstein and Robert Wuffli; State Representatives from Cuyahoga, Joe Martinek, James Dudl, Angela Siskovich, Andrew Brezina, Isidore Axelrod, Louis Zorko, Edna A. Hastings, Meyer Weintraub, Klex Ranen, Joseph P. Nowodvorski, Sara Wexler, Wm. Beckerman, John G. Willert, Jacob Spielman, Joe Kobylak, Joe Manlet, Charles L. Kunz and Sam Schiffman.

CLEVELAND. — More than 300 persons attended the international festival sponsored by the Socialist party of Cuyahoga County and the Bohemian Socialist Federation at Komensky Hall Feb. 21. The Bohemian and Slovenian Singing Societies sang Socialist songs. Branches of the D. T. J.'s won applause with drills, marches and acrobatics. One branch of young men finished their drill with a pyramid of humans, the top man holding a red flag and four members on the stage saluting the flag. The Y. P. S. L. dramatized the "International."

The proceeds from the festival will go to finance the Socialist campaign. The next festival will probably be held in the Slovenian National Hall, 6409 St. Clair. Krabec's orchestra furnished the music without charge. Other donations were given by the Workingmen's Cooperative Employees, bread and cake by the Pinkava Bakery, the People's Baking Company and the Langer Bakery. Weiners and salami were donated by the Vilno Sausage Company.

### West Virginia

New locals have been formed at Shinston and Ridgeley. All locals are requested to notify State Secretary J. H. Higgins, Star City, of the names of the delegates elected to represent them at the state convention to be held at Clarksburg March 5 and 6. The convention starts at 2 P.M., March 5. All delegates must bring credentials. All party members are welcome but only delegates can vote or participate in discussion. Each branch has a right to one delegate and additional delegates for each twenty members or major fraction thereof.

Murray Baron is at present organizing locals in Southern West Virginia at Mt. Hope, Montgomery and Chersapeake.

### Illinois

The State Executive Committee is planning a strong and aggressive campaign. A campaign for an initial fund of \$1,000 has been launched with 25 pledges of five dollars each so far in and more to come. This fund to be used exclusively in placing the petitions throughout the state so as to begin the task of collecting the 25,000 signatures necessary. Candidates on the state ticket are to be invited to the next S. E. C. meeting in March. The S. E. C. has approved the idea of using a Socialist Van such as is used in Milwaukee. All signers of the petitions will be asked to donate at least one dime each (10c) which will be used for campaign purposes exclusively. A complete circularization of all supporters in the state for contribution of one hour's pay a week or its equivalent in work either in the office or solicitation of signatures, mailing, etc., is planned.

### Massachusetts

GREENFIELD local has nominated a full ticket for the coming municipal elections and is preparing to wage a fine campaign. The local has more than doubled its membership during the past year.

BOSTON comrades are busy advertising the meeting of the unemployed of Cambridge. Their efforts have been so successful that news of the coming meeting has even seeped into the Boston newspapers. A large turnout is expected.

Last week's meeting of the unemployed of Somerville was very encouraging. The audience voted to have another meeting in three weeks.

### Connecticut

NEW BRITAIN.—Following is a list of candidates local Socialists have nominated for town and city offices to be voted for April 12th:

For Mayor: Henry E. Gardiner, 21 Olive street; Alderman Fourth Ward: John Templeton, 25 Dwight street; Alderman Sixth Ward: John Vaninety, 116 West street; Councilman First Ward: George T. Swain, 19 Victoria road; Councilman Fourth Ward: Chester A. Bowley, 73 Jubilee street; Councilman Sixth Ward: Frank H. Bohmer, 109 Hilcrest avenue.

### Michigan

DETROIT.—Working class dramatics have become a live subject in Detroit. "The Man On the Kerf" was presented by the Yipsel group Jan. 23. "Man and the Masses," by Ernst Toller, produced by the Youth of Today Club, a Workman's Circle organization, played to capacity houses and the club has been requested to repeat it. The next play, "Mr. God Is Not In," is shaping up well in rehearsals at 69 Erskine street, Saturday, Feb. 27. A local Jugo Slav Federation branch will present a

double play and musical numbers at the Slav Workers Home, 437 Livernois street, in March. A real worker's theatre in Detroit is very probable in the near future.

### Washington, D. C.

Socialists of Washington, D. C., have arranged a reunion banquet at which veterans of the Socialist movement and newcomers will plan for future activities. Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the Socialist party, will be the guest of honor at the banquet, which will be held at the Annapolis Hotel, Sunday evening, March 20. J. Mahlon Barnes, former national secretary of the Socialist party, is head of the arrangements committee.

### New Jersey

The state committee will meet Sunday, Feb. 28, 2:30 p. m., at 105 Springfield avenue, Newark.

NEWARK.—Henry Jager will speak Sunday night, Feb. 28, at the open forum, 34 Park place. Sunday, March 6, William Karlin will talk at the same place and time.

### New York State

HEMPSTEAD.—Odd Fellows Hall was packed last week by Nassau Coun-

ty residents anxious to hear Norman Thomas. The local newspaper advised citizens to hear Thomas, who made a strong appeal for party membership. The next Forum meeting, to be held in March, will be a debate in which Paul Blanshard will participate.

MOUNT VERNON.—Local Mount Vernon has reorganized and applied for a charter. The organizer and corresponding secretary of the new local is J. Jay, 706 South Columbus avenue, Mount Vernon. The financial secretary is David Drucker, 5 South 15th avenue.

SYRACUSE.—Local Syracuse reports holding the largest business meeting in a long time. The L. I. D. lecture course, particularly the appearance of Oscar Ameringer, has had a stimulating effect on the Syracuse movement.

BUFFALO.—The Woman's Socialist Club of Buffalo and Erie County will meet Wednesday, March 2nd, at 8 P. M. in Carpenters' Hall, 475 Franklin street. The speaker will be Mrs. Thomas A. Phillips, former trade union organizer of Glasgow, Scotland, and a former member of the Independent Labor party. For information regarding the Woman's Club, write or telephone, Mrs. Hazel V. Bowers, secretary, 64 Ruspin avenue, Buffalo; phone, Crescent 8079—R.

## Bad breath

is a warning—

Poisonous food wastes held too long in the digestive system cause bad breath. Ex-Lax rids the body of these wastes promptly. Better for you than vile, violent cathartics.

Important Note: There's nothing else like Ex-Lax. Its scientific laxative ingredient is made more effective through chocoating by the exclusive Ex-Lax process. Ask for Ex-Lax by name and refuse imitations.

Keep "regular" with

# EX-LAX

The Chocoated 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 \$6,000. Assets \$900,000 Insurance in force \$70,000,000

No Profits or Dividends for Stockholders!

A yearly assessment of 10c 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

### 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  
4306 17th Ave. Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Phone Windsor 6-2735

**99 Goldin, Inc.**  
OPTOMETRISTS — OPTICIANS  
Eyes carefully examined and glasses scientifically fitted—Moderate Prices.  
Office open 9 a. m. to 9 p. m.  
1090 Lexington Ave. cor. 106 St.  
1378 St. Nicholas Ave. cor. 179 St.

**MAX WOLFF**  
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 2612—Brooklyn

**SPECIAL NOTICE**  
Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society, Inc.  
MEMBERS PLEASE TAKE NOTICE  
The assessment for 1932 is ten cents for each hundred dollars insurance due from all members since the first day of January.  
It is advisable not to wait for the assessment notice but to make your payment now in order to avoid the rush in April and May.

### 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, \$10, \$25 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 4-0000

### 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. TORCH**  
ARTISTS' MATERIALS  
Manufacturer of Decorative Paper Stencils  
145 WEST 14th STREET  
Near 7th Ave. — Chelsea 2-8500

### TUNE IN

Weekly Broadcasts by the  
Socialist Party of Reading  
STATION WEEU  
361.2M 830KC  
Every Sunday at 12:15 Noon

Prominent Reading Socialists  
Will Speak  
(Station WEEU can be heard all through Pennsylvania and nearby states and in good weather from Florida to Canada)



Executive Board meets every Monday  
p.m. D. Gingold, Manager; S.  
Secretary-Treasurer.

**WHITE GOODS WORKS**  
Local 62 of I. L. G. U.



# All Our Weaknesses Pleasantly "Face The Music"

## The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

### BOLD AND BEAUTIFUL

"FACE THE MUSIC." A musical comedy revue by Irving Berlin and Moss Hart. At the New Amsterdam.

Outside the Automat the swells are gathering for hard times have driven them there. Slipped in among them are an actress and a producer, looking for someone who wants to lose money on a show. They find Mr. Meshbesh, head of the "tin-box squad" of our city's police, and all is well. And Mrs. Meshbesh is that height of the ridiculous, Mary Boland. From the policeman's pent house the swift crowd moves—having shifted the producer's office, push-cartwise, from the street in front of the Palace Theatre—to rehearsals. But the various city officials, backing the show, insist on giving the show girls parties. The Department of Sanitation and the "sex-starved Board of Education" keep the girls from rehearsal until the only thing they can do is save it with sex. All of which makes a melange as uproarious as one can desire; combined with moments of dazzling, elaborate beauty. The rhinestone girl recaptures (with a touch of travesty that in the crinoline number grows to riotous farce) the sparkle of the old spectacles; and the Albertina Rasch Girls are at their graceful best. "Of Thee I Sing" thrusts a rapier at the follies of our day, pricking them one by one; "Face the Music" swings a bludgeon—less precise, but more destructive; and it replaces wit with sentiment that mocks itself, and with Mary Boland, and with beauty.

Several of the songs are unquestionably hits. From "Let's Have Another Cup of Coffee" in the opening Automat to the final "Manhattan Madness," they are good tunes, with J. Harold Murray especially effective in rendering them, and with accompanying dances as well trained and as decoratively costumed as one may hope. (To Hassard Short and Albertina Rasch much of this credit goes). The song "I Say It's Spinach—and the Hell With It" credits its title to the "New Yorker"; have the producers forgotten "Oh Promise Me," and our nursery companion, Anthony Rowley?

Odd bits by the way are excellently done, and add to the evening's total of entertainment. The carrying of the news that "Reisman's doing a show" along Broad-

way, with its flash of the Times electric news, and its conclusion in a ravishing torch-song, the brief moment of the murderer in the station-house, the "Hotel of the Missing Politicians" and the "staging" of the closing trial—are only a few of the episodes that build together to make "Face the Music" second sign of a new and distinguished era in American musical comedy.

### Harry Losee in Dance Recital Sunday Eve. At Recital Theatre

Harry Losee, the actor-dancer, will be presented on the stage of the Recital Theatre, formerly Daly's Sixty-third Street, under the aegis of Tom Van Dyke, this Sunday evening, Feb. 28.

Here is a dancer of whom Vicente Escudero, the sensational Spanish dancer, has said, "Losee is, without a doubt, the greatest dancer alive today."

Losee's program is varied. It ranges from the "Dance Motif" of Cyril Scott, through Prokofiev's "Marche Revolutionnaire" to Louis Alter's almost classical jazz, "Manhattan Serenade." The way stations include such striking numbers as A. Lehman Engel's "Symphony of a City," Poulenc's "Salome" and Eric Satie's "Melodie" among others.

Those people who were fortunate enough to have seen Losee at either Camp Tamamint or Unity when he danced there last summer know to what they have to look forward; to others a thrilling experience on the dance platform is promised at the Recital Theatre Sunday evening.

### In Sam Harris' Big Hit At the Music Box



Lois Moran of flicker fame has a featured part in "Of Thee I Sing," the new musical comedy by George S. Kaufman and Morris Ryskind.

### Paul Robeson



Who will be heard in another song recital at Town Hall on Sunday evening, March 6.

### 'Night Over Taos,' New Group Play, Due Mar. 7

"Night Over Taos" is the new title that has been given to the play by Maxwell Anderson which will be presented by The Group Theatre on Monday evening, March 7th. The play, which was tentatively called "City Forgotten," is the latest work of the author of "Elizabeth the Queen," "Saturday's Children," "Outside Looking In," "Gods of the Lightning," and co-author with Lawrence Stallings on "What Price Glory?" It will be the third production of The Group Theatre, who earlier this season presented "The House of Connolly," by Paul Green, and "1931," by Claire and Paul Sifton.

### "Road to Life" Stays On at the Cameo

"Road to Life," first Russian talkie, continues at the Cameo. Due to the continued pressure business the management has been forced to postpone the popular price run of "Explorers of the World." This picture, however, will definitely follow "Road to Life."

During the week "Road to Life" was still further honored when the National Board of Review selected it as the only exceptional picture shown during January and February.

### Belle Didjah in New Dance Program

When Belle Didjah, young American dancer, appears at the Martin Beck Theatre on Sunday evening, March 6, after an absence of two seasons, she will be seen in a program of new and original compositions which will enable her to carry her ideas of the dance farther than in her previous recitals. Still retaining her former interest in the modern spirit, she will now attempt to interpret the past in terms of the present. In the feature number of her program, a group of dances entitled "Religious Cycle," the young American artist will manifest the mood of religious expression of four great cultural periods.

SAM H. HARRIS presents  
Mary BOLAND J. Harold MURRAY  
**FACE the MUSIC**  
A MUSICAL COMEDY REVUE  
by IRVING BERLIN and MOSS HART  
Book Directed by GEORGE S. KAUFMAN  
NEW AMSTERDAM THEATRE West 42nd Street  
MATS. WED. & SAT.

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  
MUSIC BOX THEA. West 45th St. Eves. at 8:30  
Mats. Thurs. & Sat.

Sidney PHILLIPS & Thurston THOMPSON present  
**"BLESSED EVENT"**  
THE LOWDOWN ON A BROADWAY COLUMNIST with  
LONGACRE  
THEATRE, 46th Street, West of Broadway  
Eves. 8:30. Matinees Wed. and Sat., 2:30

WARNER BROS. HOLLYWOOD Broadway & 51st St.  
All Seats Reserved Circle 7-3000 Seats Now 4 Weeks in Advance  
**LOU HOLTZ'**  
1932 Vaudeville-Revue  
Lou Holtz - Clark & McCullough  
★ Vincent Lopez and Band ★  
★ Boswell Sisters - Lyda Roberti ★  
★ And Other Broadway Stars ★  
Mats. 5:30 to 8:15  
Eves. 8:30 to 11:15  
Sat. & Sun. 2:30 to 11:15

PLYMOUTH W. 45th St. Eves. 8:30  
Mats. Thurs. Sat. 2:30  
"There is fine material all through it and writing of great sympathy and humanity."  
JOHN ANDERSON, Journal.

**"Counsellor at Law"**  
with PAUL MUNI  
by ELMER RICE  
Author of "THE LEFT BANK"  
Now Playing at the LAMAR Theatre

IMPERIAL Thea. 45th St. W. of Broadway. Eves. 8:45  
Matinees Wednesday and Saturday  
ANOTHER SMASHING WINN HIT!!  
ED  
**WYNN**  
(THE PERFECT FOOL) in  
The LAUGH PARADE  
with JEANNE AUDREY  
LAWRENCE GRAY and others  
"By far the best and silliest funniest entertainment in town."  
—GARLAND, WORLD-TELEGRAM

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**The Moon in the Yellow River**  
By DENIS JOHNSTON  
GUILD THEATRE, 52nd St.  
Eves. 8:45. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

QUEENIE SMITH  
in the New Musical Hit  
**A LITTLE RACKETEER**  
"Is a happy mixture of mirth and music . . . has lightness and gaiety, rhythm and rhyme, beauty, color and grace and a terrific pace . . . is a welcome addition to the Times Square diversions."  
—AMERICAN  
44TH ST. THEATRE, W. of B'way  
Eves. 8:30  
Matinees Wed. & Sat., 2:30

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**"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.  
ALVIN THEATRE, 52nd St.  
West of Broadway

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**REUNION in VIENNA**  
A comedy by ROBERT F. SHERWOOD  
Martin Beck Theatre  
15th St. and 9th Ave. PENN. 6-6100  
Evenings 8:45  
Matinees Thurs. and Sat. 2:45  
Extra Mat. Washington's Birthday

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**EARL CARROLL VANTIES**  
9th Edition—All New—with  
WILL WILLIAM MITCHELL  
MARONET DEMAREST & DURANT  
Fifty Notable Principals and  
Company of 100 Featuring  
75 of the most beautiful  
girls in the world  
Nights Entire Orch. 83, Bal. 50c  
Matinees Wednesday and Saturday  
Entire Orchestras 85  
MOVES 44th ST. THEATRE  
1175  
states 7 NIGHTS, FEBRUARY 20th

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**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 THEA. B'way & 46 St.  
Evenings at 8:30  
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents  
**THE CAT AND THE FIDDLE**  
"The finest music Jerome Kern has ever written, which is the highest praise







# Timely Topics

## By Norman Thomas

**Backing Up the Dressmakers—Alfalfa Bill  
and the Democrats—The Tactics of  
Peace in the Far East**

### A THRILLING LABOR DEMONSTRATION

NOTHING finer has happened for a long time anywhere than the magnificent support the bakers, butchers, grocery and delicatessen clerks and other workers through their unions are giving to the tremendous job of providing a commissary department for the strikers in the front line trenches in this great New York dressmakers' strike. The Socialist party, the Yipsels, the L. I. D., through the Emergency Committee, and various other organizations and individuals are in the picture, but what thrills me is the concrete evidence this strike has given of genuine labor solidarity. It is a huge and staggering job to maintain this commissary department. All of us must help. If this strike is won it may literally be a turning point in the whole struggle against a further "deflation" of labor which is a characteristic feature of the bosses' plan for restoring prosperity.

### ALFALFA BILL IS WILLING

GOVERNOR BILL MURRAY of Oklahoma, has thrown his hat in the ring and the big noise accompanying that operation was only a feeble echo of the Populism of the nineties. He has nothing to offer labor and very little to offer the farmers. He is for the "little man," which speaks well for his heart but not for his head. The happy society which machinery makes possible, a society wholly free from poverty and bitter toil, can be built by a fellowship of workers on the farm, in the factory, the school and the office. It cannot be built by "little men." Incidentally, Hitler in Germany makes his appeal to the "little man." And he is a Fascist and not a democrat of any sort. The rest of the Democrats in and out of Congress play politics. Apparently the Democrats are headed for a sales tax of some sort to take some of the burden off income tax paying groups. Any kind of sales tax bears unfairly on the farmers and the workers. Whatever differences there are among the Democratic candidates for the Presidency, not one of them offers us a real program. Mostly they hope to run on Hoover's mistakes. He has made plenty of them. But what is the use of making the campaign of 1932 just another episode in the only perpetual motion as yet discovered, namely, the job of "turning the rascals out?" And while politicians jockey and stocks rise a little, the unemployed stay unemployed and starve if they are not lucky enough to get the bitter bread of charity.

### THE PROBLEM OF JAPAN

THE Far East situation is still a tragic and dangerous mess but some things are pretty clear. While Japanese soldiers may be brave they are no super-men. While the Chinese may be ill-armed and divided by their own quarrels, they are putting up a magnificent fight. Japan is not going to gobble China and Japan will have no margin of strength to fight any one else. This fake Manchurian state to be set up under the former "boy Emperor" of China won't last much longer than the Rhine separatist state which the French started to set up in Germany. Nor under the circumstances has the victory of the military party in Japanese elections, which they completely controlled, proved that Japan is forever immune to the dangers of bankruptcy and revolt.

But Chinese military success will not redeem the credit of the peace machinery that the world has set up. That requires affirmative action by outside nations. In this matter nobody has a good record. Robert Dell in a recent *Nation* gives the damning evidence of virtual French support for Japan. Our government failed to take a timely initiative for a universal embargo on loans and war supplies at the beginning of the Manchurian troubles. Dawes at the Paris conference encouraged the Japanese. As yet Russia for her own reasons lies back. Both England and France refused even to endorse the American note of January 7, which stated plainly that the nations would not recognize changes in treaties imposed on China by Japanese force.

Under these circumstances it is in my judgment not clear that the United States should immediately go ahead on its own to put on an official embargo or boycott. Even if I did not suspect a policy originating with A. Lawrence Lowell, the president of Harvard and virtual executioner of Sacco and Vanzetti, I should doubt the wisdom of the petition he originated asking the government of the United States to signify in advance, its support of whatever economic action is undertaken by the League of Nations. It would be far better in my judgment for our government to seek conference with the League of Nations and Russia on the degree of economic pressure which may be applied. I think the embargo should be on loans and war supplies but not food stuffs. Moreover we ought to set an example to Japan by getting out of Nicaragua and Haiti.

Certainly I do not agree with Senator Borah that economic embargo means war. Properly handled, it might be the alternative to war. Failure of economic embargo over an indefinite period may mean that we will arouse the justifiable hatred of China by our virtual economic support of Japan. It will certainly mean the virtual



NORMAN THOMAS

scrapping any of effective machinery of peace. If the United States openly flouts or rejects an agreement of the League of Nations on some degree of economic pressure, a very great responsibility will be upon our government. Admitting that the situation is very difficult and that there is no clear light on the best road to peace, I still think that Americans need to be very careful about giving moral excuses for trying to profit out of Japan's unwarranted attack on China. I still think it would be well to see a frank conference with both the League of Nations and Russia, on united, moral and economic pressure against an aggressor nation. Meanwhile, of course, we do not want an unnecessary display of forces in Shanghai or any military action by our troops.

### CHANGES IN N. Y. CITY GOVERNMENT

GOOD government advocates of New York City seem to be quite too indiscriminate in endorsing a city manager plan. Tammany might oppose any change in the charter of New York for reasons of prestige, but if the charter were changed, and New York had a City Manager appointed by a Council, elected by a general party vote, we should be even worse off than at present. Tammany can always capture the Board of Aldermen or a Council with less of a real fight than it takes to elect the Mayor, the Comptroller and the president of the Board of Aldermen. The only thing that would make a city manager plan worth considering would be if the Council were elected by proportional representation. Socialists have always favored proportional representation in New York City. If we had it, we should be well represented now in the Board of Aldermen. It would be entirely possible to have proportional representation and preferential voting for the Mayor, Comptroller and the Board of Aldermen, without a city manager plan. Under a system of proportional representation and preferential voting, there could be effective common action against Tammany by groups which have different constructive programs. In no other way can there be effective common action. Socialists, for example, cannot be expected to drop municipal Socialism in order to get into a mere "good government" campaign—which won't get far on its own basis.

There is a bill in Albany set up by a Charter Commission to give the city a new form of government. That bill ought to provide immediately for proportional representation as the basis of any change in government. Then Socialists could be represented in the Board of Aldermen and Tammany could not have things so much its own way. Under preferential voting for Mayor, let us say, Socialists could vote for their own candidate but give second choice to the lesser of the remaining evils. Others, assured that they would not throw away their vote, would vote their real convictions and thus strengthen the Socialist position. Recognition of the importance of this type of voting is basic in any scheme of reform in New York government. The city manager plan is secondary and should be carefully looked at before we leap.

### THE GROWTH OF FASCISM

ONE of the amazing things at an unusually successful conference on Capitalism, Socialism, Communism or Syndicalism which the Williams College boys set up, was a speech by a certain professor, Flumiani, an Italian Fascist, who tried to work his eyes and mouth like Mussolini. He was not so much a debater as himself Exhibit A of Fascist opportunism and greed for power. Yet the thing he advocated, not very persuasively at Willamstown, is growing apace. It has its American versions and tendencies. In Germany it menaces peace, democracy and true Socialism. How great is that menace is apparent from an admirable book which has reached me written by some one who takes the pen name Nordicus. The book is entitled "Hitlerism," published by the Mohawk Press. It gives a clear and alarming picture of the demagogues who lead the movement, of their crazy hash of an economic program which Hitler wants to mean all things to all men, and of the vile and dangerous anti-Semitism which is so important a part of Hitlerism. This sort of thing, let us acknowledge, has been encouraged by our stupid American unwillingness to face the facts about war debts and reparations.

SPEAKING of books, I should like to commend a study of one angle of war which has heretofore not been presented. That is the position of civilian "enemy aliens" whom each country interned during the war. The book has the striking title "Time Stood Still" (E. P. Dutton). Its author, that cosmopolitan artist of German nationality, Mr. Cohen-Portheim, has given us a book remarkable for its literary power and its psychological insight. What a world it is which necessitates the kind of camps he described! They were not the worst of the evils of war but they were a peculiar example of its absurd madness. We shall have them again under worse conditions unless we make greater progress along economic and political lines in the struggle for peace.

## Is the Old Machine Worn Out?

"Neither Song  
Nor Sermon"

"WEASEL words" was one of the vivid phrases to which Theodore Roosevelt gave currency. He meant by it ambiguous words artfully introduced into a statement in such a way that they rouse no suspicion at the time, but can later be so interpreted as to pervert its meaning. But words sometimes play weasel when no one has intended it. Spinoza observed this. "Dog," he remarks, is the name of a domestic animal and also of a star; and unless we take care, having said something which is quite true of the quadruped, we inadvertently substitute the other meaning of the word and find ourselves making a false or senseless statement about the star. His illustration is fantastic, but the danger is real.

Of course I have up-to-date cases in mind—among them the statement now so often heard that "Socialism has collapsed, and the world is better off for it." Which some comrades raise when they call attempts to

Hasn't capitalism collapsed? Well, that depends on just what you mean by collapsing.

Not long ago some tenement houses in this city collapsed. That was the end of those houses; in their place lay a heap of rubbish. It was a disaster for the owner, and a worse disaster for the tenants, some of whom were killed. They would rather have had the houses stabilized until they could get better lodgings.

But collapse is not always final and fatal. When an automobile tire is punctured, it collapses. That does not always end the tire. In many cases it can be mended and made as good as new.

Collapse may even be a normal part of a life-process. Our lungs collapse every few seconds, and after each collapse we expand them again. If we didn't expand them, we'd soon die; but also, we'd soon die if we didn't let them collapse. And there is such a relation between the blood, the nervous system, and the chest muscles that we alternately expand our lungs

and let them collapse without an act of will and even against our will.

In what sense can it be truly said that capitalism is at this time in a state of collapse?

Industrial and commercial operations have been greatly slowed down within the last two and a half years. Commodity prices have declined. Many enterprises have ceased to yield a profit, and have been shut down. Loans have been called in and new loans refused. There has been default on great bond issues, innumerable mortgages have been foreclosed, and dividends have been reduced or passed on widely held stocks, to the great loss of stockholders and creditors. Many millions of workers have been unemployed for weeks and months together, and wage-rates have been slashed right and left. Some capitalists and many middle-class folk have been impoverished, and vast numbers of wage workers and working farmers have been brought to actual

destitution. The whole economic system is functioning much less actively than it was in 1929. All this is very true, and for most of the people very tragic.

There can be no objection to speaking of this state of affairs as a collapse of capitalism, so long as we do not then commit the topical error or perform the topical trick of slipping in the notion of finality, which is often associated with the word "collapse," but is not necessarily implied by it.

For more than a century the capitalistic economy has been alternating between periods of expansion and of contraction, or partial and temporary collapse. That is the way capitalism works. That is even the way capitalism develops—for the period of depression is a time of loss and suffering for the masses, is a time of harvest for the great capitalists.

Some of the previous depressions—that of the 1890s, for example, have been nearly, if not quite as severe, relatively to the magnitude

of the capitalist system then and now, as is the one which is now upon us. There were folk in the middle 'nineties who were sure the whole machinery of capitalist production and exchange was breaking down for good and all. So far as I can see, they had as much reason to think so then as anyone has today.

I don't pretend to know that there will be recovery from this depression. I think it more likely than not. I see no objective reason (as distinguished from emotions of reckless hope or panic fear) to believe that recovery is impossible. Until such objective reasons are adduced, until someone shows that the causes which have hitherto produced alternate expansion and contraction no longer exist, I shall not jump to such a conclusion.

Is it just an academic question? I think not. It seems to me to have important bearings on practical problems of Socialist party policy. But of that later.

A. L.