

# NEW LEADER

With Which  
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by  
Eugene V. Debs

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SATURDAY, MARCH 12, 1932

Price Five Cents

## Outlaw Japanese Imperialism!

No Recognition of the Chinese Conquest! Halt Arms Shipments!

### To Workers of All Countries!

JAPAN'S attack upon China has let loose the fury of war in Eastern Asia. Manchuria, occupied by Japanese troops, is to become an "autonomous Republic," a marionette in the hands of Japanese imperialism. Bloody conflicts rage in the streets of Shanghai, a city with a million inhabitants.

As long as Japan was going forward in Manchuria the great powers did nothing to prevent the violation of the treaties which Japan had signed, or to compel the Japanese brigands to evacuate the Chinese territory which they had illegally occupied.

Not until Shanghai and Nanking were bombarded did the capitalist governments begin to move. But even now, when they are anxious about their own privileges in China, they do not dare to adopt effective means of action. Instead, they continue to supply Japan with munitions, and they allow Japanese delegates to make insincere speeches in favor of peace at the Disarmament Conference.

Under the pressure of world public opinion, of the Socialist workers of the world, of the Chinese delegates, the Council of the League of Nations has felt compelled to summon a special Assembly of the league to deal with the problem of the war in the Far East. But there is no justification at present for the assumption that the League Assembly will offer a less humiliating spectacle of helplessness than the League Council.

The failure of the League of Nations at the beginning of the conflict encouraged Japanese imperialism, unbounded as it is, to continue its ambitious plans. Japanese imperialism is undertaking against China a predatory campaign, which exhibits, with cynical frankness, all the marks of a war of conquest. In this situation the prime duty of the League of Nations, the minimum that must be demanded of the signatories of the Pact for the Outlawry of War which was signed with so much pomp, is the moral outlawry of Japanese imperialism, which began the war without even seeking a solution by arbitration!

We have no illusions about the other

Taking It In His  
Stride

Drawn by Will Dyson



imperialist powers, which are usurping Chinese soil or which claim to defend "interests in China." We know that the war in Eastern Asia, where the imperialist interests of all the great powers clash, may sooner or later start a world conflagration, that after the world war of the Atlantic Ocean we are now threatened with the danger of a world war of the Pacific Ocean. To make every effort to prevent this incalculable disaster for human civilization is a supreme duty.

We therefore demand first and foremost:

*A declaration that Japan is the aggressor!*

*The immediate cessation of all supplies of munitions and credit to Japan!*

*The application of every economic and financial means of pressure to compel Ja-*

*pan to cease its predatory campaign!*

*That there shall be no recognition for any of the Japanese conquests in China, even if the seal is set upon them by a treaty extorted from China!*

Workers of all countries!

Compel your governments to fulfill these demands!

Do not allow the capitalist governments to assist in preparing the next world conflagration as accomplices of Japanese imperialism or through cowardice!

Demonstrate everywhere against Japanese and world imperialism!

Down with imperialism!

Let us have peace and disarmament!

THE BUREAU OF THE LABOR  
and SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

Zurich, February 26th, 1932.

## FIGHT STARVATION! DEMAND IMMEDIATE RELIEF!

MASS DEMONSTRATION — THIS SATURDAY — MARCH 12th — 1 P. M.

COLUMBUS CIRCLE — 59th STREET AND BROADWAY

SPEAKERS: Leonard Bright, August Claessens, McAlister Coleman, Frank Crosswaith, Esther Friedman, Aaron Levenstein, Henry J. Rosner; Max Nelson, Chairman.



# NEW LEADER

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

James O'Neal Editor Edward Levinson Assistant Editor

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SATURDAY, MARCH 12, 1932

## Organizing the Jobless

THIS dark era of a decaying capitalism imposes a grave responsibility upon members of the Socialist party. Together with Socialist education and obtaining members for the party there is need of going to the masses of the unemployed and enlisting them in unemployed organizations in every city. Jobless men and women can be associated together in local organizations to formulate relief programs, to carry on agitation for relief, to develop a spirit of solidarity, and eventually to arrange for disciplined demonstrations that will not play into the hands of police reaction.

The Socialist party was the first organization to outline this method of awakening the jobless masses to a sense of responsibility for their own welfare. Such organizations of the unemployed have been organized in a number of states and the work may well be expanded in New York City as well. Experience of one branch in Queens County has shown that the jobless will respond to an intelligent initiative and branches in other boroughs should undertake this work with a will.

## A Happy Jobless Army

AS January drew to a close a perfect lady, Dolly Gann, sister of Vice President Curtis, addressed a Republican rally in Omaha. As a result of "constructive measures" taken by President Hoover, said Dolly, "the great masses of the people have never discovered that they were in hard times and have gone about their mirths and their employments without ever having found it necessary to limit in any degree their standards of living."

About that time the roof of an asylum for the feeble-minded in another state was reported as having caved in and the astrologers are trying to figure out the relationship between the two incidents.

Senator Huey P. Long of Louisiana, untrifled Democrat, declares that our economic troubles are due to a disregard of the Bible and that any good Democrat can win in November. Huey is long on hooley.

A Vermont correspondent sends us this one. "A farmer here sent a calf's hide by parcel post to a hide-buyer. The postage on this hide was 15 cents and he received 19 cents for the hide, which left him four cents profit."

When the wise statesmen at Washington get through with their sales tax legislation this farmer will likely be four cents in debt on another such transaction and he will have to part with his hide as well as the calf's.

## A Rockefeller Explains

We are coming into a new astrological house, and that is why we are undergoing the present economic crisis, says Edith Rockefeller McCormick in a copyrighted article appearing in the Chicago Daily News.

"Since the birth of Christ," John D. Rockefeller's daughter writes, "there has been no astrological change of house until today. This change is inevitable. Its great purpose is the control of the balance of the universes."

"It is a great destiny moment which only those who live at the times of the changing of the astrological houses have the privilege of experiencing. With head erect and eyes wide open, we take the step to step forward, ready to grasp the new values is quite in line with the understanding love of the laws of party's accented life."

## The Living Hell of American Capitalism

IN the past two weeks information from three sources indicate that the industrial crisis is becoming worse. A survey of almost every section of the country by New York Times correspondents reports increased unemployment and smaller payrolls. In New York State the State Commissioner of Social Welfare reports huge need for state relief of the jobless and that communities with 80 per cent of the population cannot meet the problem unaided. The task of relief has doubled in one year and indications are that the crisis will continue throughout this year and the year 1933.

In New York City 2,000 human beings in need of help are listed anew each day, 71 per cent of the funds of the City Emergency Work Bureau is already spent and by next June we will reach a serious crisis in the city. The demands for relief become greater each day. The Welfare Council adds a doleful note. A survey of a million homes shows that living standards are "severely cut" and that distress is "unprecedented." Details of some cases of destitution are shocking.

More and more workers are being plunged into a living hell and the capitalist system has become the greatest curse in the history of the world. It is probable that it has become responsible for as many deaths and as much suffering in this peace of desolation as during the period of the World War. A revolutionary working class would end these horrors.

## Russia Watches Japan; Stalin to Answer Trotsky

SOVIET leaders have been suspicious of the intentions of Japan. Early in March it was reported that Russian White Guards were given a rousing welcome by the Japanese at Harbin in Manchuria and a few days later "Izvestia," organ of the Soviet government, declared that two documents written by high Japanese officials urged war on Russia. Two days later "Pravda" declared that seizure of the Soviet Far East was included in the Japanese plan for the domination of China. An echo of these statements was Japan's War Minister's denial of such intentions to the League of Nations' Manchurian investigation committee in Tokyo. He asserted the documents cited by "Izvestia" were "entirely fabrications." In the meantime Russia massed troops in Siberia as a precaution.

Trotsky from his exile in Prinkipo gives an interview to the New York Times that is bitter in its criticism of Stalin at the same time that Russia announces the beginning of the draft on the new Five Year Plan. Trotsky believes that "Soviet industrial construction" is to be "part of a world-wide Socialist structure" but adds that "European capitalism is far nearer to a Socialist revolution than the Soviet Union is to a national Socialist society." Simultaneously came the news that Stalin will write a book on "Russia Today" which undoubtedly will answer the criticism of Trotsky. Walter Duranty, Moscow correspondent of the New York Times, writes an interesting story of the celebration of International Women's Day in the Soviet Union.

## From Our Bourgeois Insane Asylum

THE bill contributing 40,000,000 bushels of wheat to the hungry has been signed by President Hoover and thus the anti-doler approves a large dole. A few days before the bill became a law news came from Brazil that the Brazilian government will spend \$39,000,000 by April 30 for the purpose of destroying between 300 and 400 million coffee trees. The excess stock of coffee has reduced the price to a level making it unprofitable to raise the bean.

Here are two items revealing the asylum which capitalism has built for human beings. It is production for exchange and profit that bedevils the whole industrial system. Wheat and coffee are foods. Wheat is so low in price and so large in stock that it ruins growers. Then to feed the starving it is given away and the vast quantity thus given means further distress for the growers when their next crop is ready for the market! Brazil turns to the other expedient of

deliberately destroying much of its leading staple!

A Socialist regime would make short work of this lunacy and call in alienists to examine our capitalist statesmen.

## Alfonso's Holy Banner; Spanish Workers Gain

LATE in February former King Alfonso issued a manifesto denouncing the Spanish republic and calling upon Catholics, monarchists, soldiers and others to "reunite Spain under my holy, blessed banner." A week later the holy banner was full of holes when ten soldiers and six civilians were arrested. They were suspected of an intrigue in support of altar and throne.

Two weeks before Alfonso hoisted the holy banner the General Council of the Spanish Trade Unions met in Madrid and the report of the executive showed that the membership had increased three-fold since the revolution. At the same time the huge increase imposes the responsibility of teaching the new members class solidarity. The Spanish organizations are industrial in structure and they maintain a policy of intimate cooperation with the Socialist party. The Teachers' Union has been affiliated with the Communist International but its members are balloting on a proposal to withdraw which will probably carry. A "Unity Congress" is being fostered by the Communists with the view of splitting the movement and the General Council of the unions has called the next congress to meet in September.

## Danish Workers Victorious; The Germans and Reparations

WHILE the organized workers in Denmark have won a victory over the demands of the employers' associations for a general cut of 20 per cent in wages, in Germany the workers face the abominable reparations exactions of the Allied victors. Socialist Prime Minister Stauning took the initiative in Denmark in bringing about the satisfactory settlement of the wage dispute.

The General Council of the German unions declared that the "reparations burdens are restricting the potentialities of livelihood for the German people" and that they are "also among the causes of the ever-growing unemployment in Germany." The German workers appeal to the French and Belgian workers, declaring that "You cannot allow the reparations burden to oppress the German working class further."

This abomination also has its political repercussions in Germany. Hitler capitalizes it although the German mountebank has never clearly stated his program regarding it. His stock-in-trade is bombast and strutting like a turkey gobbler and the mass of his followers know no more than he does.

## The Workers Form an "Iron Front" in Germany

A FOURTH candidate for President in the German elections next Sunday is Adolph Winter, "Revalorization" candidate, who is serving a prison sentence for fraud, a scheme to redeem 1,000-mark currency notes of the Reichsbank in gold some years ago.

In the background of the political struggle has appeared a fighting organization known as the "Iron Front" which is prepared to meet any physical force of Hitler's Fascists. An article in the monthly of the International Transport Workers' Federation for February declares that the Socialist and trade union organizations form the big sections of the "Iron Front." It also includes the Republican defense corps and the labor gymnastics and sports societies. Of the trade unions the railway workers occupy a strategic position as they can paralyze transport if the Fascists start a march.

In January thousands of meetings were held all over Germany by the "Iron Front," the railway workers taking the initiative. A magnificent fighting spirit emerged from these meetings and it is certain that the Fascists will meet their match in a fighting working class if they attempt to seize the government. In 1919 the following slogan was current in Germany: "The railwaymen have their grip on the throat of the state." In the recent demonstrations the slogan of the railway workers was, "Today we call,

tomorrow we strike." At the same time the Communists give their time to attacking the "Iron Front" and thus encourage the forces of reaction.

## Fascism in Finland Meets Crushing Defeat

THE Fascist rebellion in Finland collapsed within one week after the march began on the capital. A presidential amnesty has been offered to all except the instigators; Latvala, one of the leaders, committed suicide, and what remained of the Fascist forces at Mantsala surrendered. The principal leaders are in jail at Helsingfors and the press demands punishment for them.

Some press editorials in this country misrepresented the relation between Socialists and Communists in Finland. The Fascist terror was directed against both Socialists and Communists but the latter had been excluded from elections despite a vigorous fight in Parliament by Socialists against this legislation. The Fascists intended to finish the job by destroying the Socialist organizations.

In the old parliament previous to the election of 1930 the Socialists had 59 members and the Communists 23 but in the election of October that year the bourgeois parties obtained 134 seats, the Socialists 66, and the Communists none. During the election campaign Socialist and Communist leaders were kidnapped by Fascists and rushed across the Russian border. Although President Svinhufud represents the bourgeois bloc he declines to cooperate with Fascism.

## De Valera Heads New Irish Government

EAMONN DE VALERA heads the new Irish Government with 79 seats in the Dail while the Opposition has 73. Labor has seven seats and the Labor members have already announced that they will maintain their independence, making decisions on government proposals as they arise. With the narrow balance of power in the Dail, Labor will have a power out of proportion to its membership.

On the eve of the assembling of the Dail the Sinn Fein repudiated De Valera in a manifesto denouncing him and his prospective Cabinet as "Ministers of His Majesty King George V." Sinn Fein represents the die-hard Republicans of Ireland who want complete independence.

## Briand, Former Socialist, Passes in France

A MEMBER of 23 cabinets and Premier in eleven, Aristide Briand is dead in France. Briand was typical of a certain type of mind in the Socialist movement that assumed to be more revolutionary than the revolutionary and France had all too many of them. Briand, like Vivian, was severely critical of the old Socialist movement but in 1906 he accepted a post in the Sarrien Cabinet and was expelled by the party. Three years later he was Premier and ordered 30,000 railway strikers to the colors. They were then ordered to protect the railways and as soldiers were compelled to break their own strike! At the other extreme was M. Millerand, political opportunist, who also accepted a cabinet post without consulting the party and was expelled. Both Briand and Millerand became nationalists, although the former was more inclined to conciliation with the Germans in the post-war period than most French bourgeois politicians. It is to the credit of the French Socialist movement that it did not permit either men of the type of Briand or Millerand to turn it from its Socialist principles.

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 red pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

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# Capitalism-The Robbery System

## Exploitation of the Workers Brings the Plunder; The Politics of Capitalism and Its Alternative

THOSE who control our methods of getting a living control our lives. Those who control our lives are our masters. Those who are controlled are not free.

The great important fact of life is the struggle between those who control and those who are controlled. This conflict between the masters and those who are mastered has been going on for centuries. It will not end till mastery by one class over another has been destroyed.

In every age the subject class has fought for its liberation. Too often it fought blindly. Deprived of knowledge and education, it knew not the road to liberation. *These workers were denied education in order to keep them blind.*

Today the masses have education. They can read books, pamphlets, magazines and newspapers. They have access to the radio. But most of the sources of serve the interests of the ruling classes. The temples

### The Bonds of Ignorance

Once we were kept in bondage by keeping us ignorant. Now ideas and information are perverted to serve the interests of the ruling classes. The temples of education, the servile newspapers, and other agencies of information and education do not belong to the working class. *These agencies pour into our heads the ideas the upper classes want us to think.*

They claim that what they think is right, is moral, is just, is "patriotic." If from our ranks emerges something different it is immediately labeled wrong, immoral, unjust, and "unpatriotic." The conflict of interests becomes a conflict of ideas between the ruling class and the working class. The worker who accepts these upper class opinions will never find the road to liberation for his class. *He will act as blindly as the uneducated slave and serf in former ages.*

Is it surprising, therefore, that those who own our industries and control our lives declare over and over again that their mastery is right, moral, just? Is it surprising that their press, their parties and their politicians make the same claim? Is it surprising that there are workers under the spell of capitalist-controlled information who also support that claim? Certainly not.

### A Disastrous Pact

But neither is it surprising that millions of wage workers and working farmers are paying a fearful price for this agreement with ruling class opinions. The agreement pays handsome dividends to the capitalist class; it pays the workers with starvation and rags. *It is a wise agreement for the first class and a disastrous one for the second class.*

Let's talk it over in simple terms. Certain facts stare us in the face. Wage workers and working farmers labor at useful callings all their lives but no worker and no farmer ever became a millionaire by continuing at his work. He must get out of his class and give up such work if he is to accumulate millions.

Why is this so? The explanation is simple. These workers produce and the other class takes. Their different positions in society force the first to produce all their lives and enable the second to take all their lives. *It cannot be otherwise in this wretched industrial system.*

### City and Farm Worker

The wage worker lives by selling his labor power to the other class. Having sold it for a week he is paid a wage for it. Then he sells it another week, and another one, and so on throughout his life. Millions of wage workers do the same.

They do this because the opportunities of employment—mines, railroads, oil fields, industries in general—are owned by the capitalist class. Workers cannot employ themselves. They are dependent upon the owning class for employment. *That dependence fixes their position as a lower class in society.*

These workers also sell their labor power at a loss. The owning class buys it because it is profitable to that class to buy it. Workers produce more values than they receive in wages. That is why the buyers can become rich while the workers remain a humble and dependent class.

Now consider the working farmer. It makes little difference whether he owns a small patch of land or rents it. He does not sell labor power. He sells the produce of the land in which his labor power is incorporated but this makes him no more independent than the wage worker.

When the farmer proceeds to market his produce he confronts the same class that the wage worker does. He faces the owners of railroads, banks, and big industries. Like the wage worker, he is compelled to sell at a loss. His enemies control every route that his produce takes from the farm till it finally reaches those who consume it. *The fruits of his back-breaking toil are filched*



Carroll in The Milwaukee Leader  
Fed Up

from him by the same class that lives on the labor of the wage worker.

### The Simple Explanation

These are elementary facts that have been seared into the lives of millions of the two divisions of the labor army. Those who possess millions in wealth do not produce; the millions who produce do not possess. Thus we have a glaring contrast between unmerited poverty on the one hand and unearned millions on the other.

Heaped on top of this filching of the values produced by wage workers and farmers is the fact that the system from time to time goes to smash and millions of us face hunger because we have produced more than our exploiters can sell. Not more than we can consume, mind you, but more than they can sell! They cannot sell because we cannot buy. *We cannot buy because we are limited to low incomes that make them fabulously rich!!*

Simple as this explanation is, many workers and farmers are confused. The slave received no money for his labor. He was given certain rations and he could observe the difference between what he produced and what he received. The serf, tied to the soil, received no money and if he thought of his lot at all he, too, could observe the difference between what he produced and what he received.

### The Republican Party

But in the case of the farmer and wage worker there is a money transaction which obscures the secret of labor exploitation. The farmer obtains money for his produce and the wage worker obtains money for his labor power. When the robbery of labor is carried on by the payment of a price for the farmer's produce and the wage worker's labor power the filching is obscured.

That is why some workers and farmers honestly think that some alteration of the money system will help them. They give their attention to the system of exchange when it is the ownership by a class of the mines, oil fields, railroads, banks, and great industries that is the main source of power of the robber barons of capitalism.

These great sources of life must be returned to us before we can destroy the degrading dependence that is the lot of the working masses today. *And that means Socialism and support of the Socialist Party which stands for this transfer from the few to the many.*

With the Republican Party the laughing stock of thinking workers and farmers today, we need pay little attention to it. That party, despite all its absurd claims, could not prevent the industrial collapse and it has not dragged us out of it.

### The Democrats Behave

What of the Democratic Party? Its leading contender for the presidential nomination, Governor Roosevelt, refers to capitalism as "The Everlasting American System." That is, he is as safely committed to the rule of the capitalist class as Hoover is.

"Alfalfa" Bill Murray wants the nomination. He has photographs, ladies' handy pocket mirrors and a few campaign doggerels to attract attention. One doggerel bears the inspiring title, "Bread, Butter, Bacon and Beans." If this recalls the "full dinner pail" of the Republicans in 1896 one can also almost vision a kraut amusing us with its melody.

We pass from the ridiculous to the serious in John J. Raskob, millionaire proprietor of Murray's party, who recently made the following remarkable statement:

*"We may well be proud of the manner in which Speaker Garner has handled affairs in the House of Representatives. From bankers and business men in Wall Street the party is getting all sorts of applause for the way in which it has behaved."*

### Join the Socialist Party

So there is the politics and industry that rob wage workers and working farmers. Socialism is the politics of the working people. It proposes to end capitalism by hurling its two parties out of power. The issue is clear cut, the lines of battle are fixed, the stakes at issue are evident. The struggle is one for power and the emancipation of labor from economic dependence, social inferiority and industrial exploitation!

*Join the Socialist Party and become a recruit in the greatest movement of modern times*



# Socialism and Liberalism in 1932 Election

The eighth annual New Leader dinner on Monday night in New York City presented a symposium on "A Political Policy and Program for 1932."

Professor Dewey, head of the League for Independent Political Action, spoke for the liberal point of view, while Morris Hillquit and Norman Thomas spoke for the Socialist party and its program. Dudley Field Malone was a fourth speaker.

## By John Dewey

THE striking feature of the present situation in politics is the bankruptcy of the Democratic party in ideas and in leaders. They are trusting to the dumbness of the American voter to vote the Democratic ticket blind because of resentment at the Republican administration. Considering that the American electorate has successively voted Harding, Coolidge and Hoover into office, they would seem to have some ground for their belief in the political illiteracy of the average voter. But in their eagerness to demonstrate to the reactionary element of the country that it can give its campaign contributions to the Democratic war chest as safely as to the Republicans, they overlook the change in conditions and in sentiment.

The Democratic party is headed where the Whig party went and for similar reasons. It is dodging the issues of today exactly as the Whig party dodged the issues of its day and the outcome will be the same. The country does not want nor need two tory parties openly devoted to promoting the interests of the wealthy and privileged class. In the past, the Democratic party at least made the pretence of being the party of the common people. The completeness with which it has given up the pretence may be seen from the even split of Democratic Senators on the Costigan-LaFollette relief bill and from their official adoption of the plan to soak the consumers by a sales tax in order to save the millionaires from a great increase in his income tax.

### Predicts a New Party

If I confine these remarks to the Democratic party, it is because every intelligent person in the country already knows that the Republican party is controlled as it has been controlled for years by the financial and industrial interests.

The leaders of neither party seem to have the slightest idea of the state of public opinion nor of the extent of the political revolt against the old parties in their surrender to the forces which have brought the country to its present tragic position. They are as blind to what is going on as were the Borbons in France before the revolution; it will not be their fault if they do not provoke millions to the point of hopelessness where they will resort to measures of desperation. The only sane and truly conserving element of what is sound in the traditions of our country are those who see the necessity of a new line-up in politics which will reverse the policy of placing privilege above right, and property above human welfare.

At the present time everything looks as if the Democratic party would not place in nomination a man who even wears the mask of progressivism. The country will not endure having to choose between two Hoovers. There will be, if the old parties put up such a choice to the country, an immense and spontaneous mass movement to create and support a new party. The conspiracy of silence about conditions which is now maintained in the news columns of a large part of the press will then be broken. The movement will not be arrested by editorial ridicule. I will not predict that it will elect a President in 1932. But it will seal the doom

## John Dewey Outlines Program of the Progressives---Hillquit and Thomas That of the Socialists



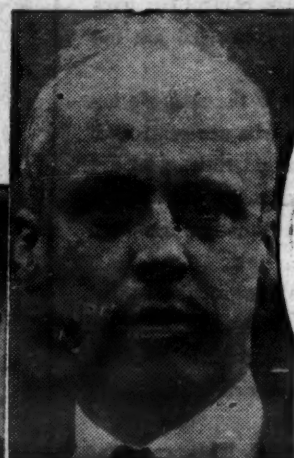
Morris Hillquit



Dudley Field Malone



John Dewey



Norman Thomas

Socialist and liberal leaders who have discussed the forthcoming presidential race at the 8th annual New Leader Dinner Monday

a few of the most inert of the southern states and it will poll many more votes than did LaFollette in 1924, and this time the movement will come to stay.

The movement will be a mass movement. It will enlist farmers, merchants, a much larger proportion of the professional classes, including teachers, than most persons have any idea of, the white collar class whose existence is threatened now as never before, and the local unions of the A. F. of L. who have become aware of the harm which has been done labor by the dry rot policy of the official leaders of what might have been a labor movement. If one must use the word "class," it will be a middle class movement which means the sincere substantial men and women who still believe in our democratic traditions and who want to see them saved before it is too late to preserve them.

## By Norman Thomas

ASSUMING a vague general agreement among all the speakers tonight on the need for social justice, what in particular is the position of the Socialists on tactics and program?

It is, first of all, a renewal and intensification of our insistence that it is nonsense to assume that progressives can capture either of the old parties and use it effectively. Here Dr. Dewey, I am sure, will agree with us. My old friend, Dudley Field Malone, who has become the eloquent spokesman for Tammany, can now speak for himself. I should simply like to point out that in this crisis the motto of the Democratic party is: He-haw, we're coming back; that it has loyally supported the Hoover program of direct relief to everybody but the unemployed; that it backs the vicious principles of the sales tax which bears with particular hardship upon farmers and workers; that two of its leading Presidential aspirants, Messrs. Roosevelt and Baker, in varying degrees repudiated whatever international principles they had to attract votes, and that even Alfalfa Bill Murray, the champion of the little man, not only has no adequate program for the new epoch but makes a noise which is a faint echo of the sturdy Populism of the '90s. Concerning the Republican party, I need only observe that it is all set to renominate Herbert Hoover.

Professor Dewey has come to incarnate a hope for a new and radical party. I think the L. I. P. A., of which he is head, has done valuable educational work. It certainly rendered excellent service to the Socialists in 1930. Its present four-year program is watered down So-

phazizes some things I think very important but which in some ways is a useful elaboration of an immediate program. Nevertheless a new party cannot be built on that program or any program at this juncture without a fundamental philosophy or a fundamental appeal to the working class. These the L. I. P. A. lacks.

For legal, practical and psychological reasons no convention in June or July has any reasonable hope of fusing the very diverse so-called third party groups throughout the country or of getting a ticket on the ballot in even half of the 48 states. Only a revolt from the old parties, following the national conventions, under the leadership of an outstanding progressive Senator would at all change this situation. Such a revolt is very unlikely and if it occurred at that late date it would be another wasted effort so far as building a party is concerned. It would have less reason to hope for ultimate success than the LaFollette coalition which did have some definitely organized working class support.

Against this Socialism offers (1) a philosophy of a new society, a vision of a classless world, a great appeal to the solidarity of the workers with hand and brain in owning the things necessary for our common life. Without vision, loyalty, philosophy of this sort, no new party will be possible at this end of an epoch; (2) a program which can, indeed, be improved but which is already so definite that all attempts to make a program, municipal, state or federal, are simply modifications or elaborations—too often for the worse—of positions we have already laid down. We can come before the people and say we were right about the war, the peace and unemployment. We are right about our present program of socialization; (3) organization. Here we are weakest. Here we need most help. We do not refuse but welcome that help. We have done less than we ought these last four years, but what we have done and are doing shows what can be done. We are in a far better position practically to get our ticket on the ballot and carry on an intelligent campaign in the great majority of states than any one of the numerous mushroom parties arising locally or than any coalition now in sight. We need to make a broad appeal in terms the American people can understand. But to be useful in this crisis it must be a Socialist appeal. Our task is to build a party ever more efficient in the service of Socialism.

## By Morris Hillquit

As the Presidential campaign approaches, public interest

centers on the probable occupant of the White House during the next four years.

Will it remain Hoover or will it be Governor Roosevelt or Al Smith or some dark horse from the Republican or the Democratic stable? These are the questions that fill the columns of our daily newspapers and supply the major topic of political discussion everywhere.

What a crushing testimonial of political immaturity! If the last two years have demonstrated anything it is that the personal qualities of the President of the United States have little or no bearing on the welfare or misery of the people.

The administration of Herbert Hoover has been a pitiable fiasco. Confronted with a sudden and acute crisis in the economic life of the country he proved ludicrously impotent to cope with it. His pious admonitions, psychological incantations and economic stunts have created a few abortive and short-lived spurts in the stock market but did not provide jobs for the unemployed or bread for the starving millions. They did not even succeed in luring the bashful dollar from its unknown hiding place, or healing our sick business and anemic finance.

### The Failure of a System

In fact every master stroke of our ingenious President has been followed by an acuter condition of misery and by a renewed wave of general gloom and despair. But we must not be too hard on Mr. Hoover. Ineffective as his stunts have proved in these trying years, it is open to serious doubt that his illustrious predecessor would have done much better under similar circumstances with a policy of

enigmatic tactfulness or whether Governor Roosevelt would have solved the knotty problem with his innocuous liberalism or Al Smith with his unfailing remedy of light wines and heavy beer.

The failure of the Hoover administration is not the failure of a person but of a system. What we have witnessed in the last two years is nothing less than the hopeless bankruptcy of capitalism.

We Socialists always knew and proclaimed from the housetops that the system of individualistic capitalism was unjust and oppressive, but now it must have become evident to all thinking persons that it is also criminal and insane.

An economic system that works through alternate periods of fever and paralysis, a system in which a superabundance of produced wealth causes destitution and starvation cannot be tolerated.

A world organization which is powerless to prevent periodical wholesale slaughter is a menace to humanity and civilization.

The collapse of our whole social system and the crying and immediate need of a radical change in the direction of reason, justice and peace, these and not the personal qualifications of the candidate for the office of President, are the vital issues this year.

I confess I have no use for the League for Independent Political Action. I consider it an impediment rather than an instrument for progress such as it may have been when it was first conceived. It can serve only to further confuse the political scene. Dr. Dewey has referred to the labor movement as an unstable force on which to organize a party of opposition to the old parties. He proposes instead to build a party on the middle class. But does Dr. Dewey doubt for a moment that any lessening of the burden of the depression now borne by the middle class, any small ripple of returning "prosperity" will send the middle class back into the old parties?

Every national election is in a sense a great public trial. In the coming election the capitalist system will be the defendant at the bar. It will be defended blatantly and aggressively by the old guard in the two major parties, mildly and apologetically by the liberals of all types and stripes.

It will be indicted and prosecuted by the Socialist party and the body of American voters will act as the jury and render the verdict. It will probably be as unintelligent as juries' verdicts usually are, but there will be new trials in the years to come, and we Socialists will return to the charge undeterred by temporary setbacks and defeats, fighting on incessantly, openly and under our own colors, fighting on to eventual victory.

## 1,000 at New Leader Dinner

THE eighth annual New Leader dinner held last Monday proved the largest and most enthusiastic thus far held. Nearly 1,000 Socialists from in and near New York gathered at the dinner and later to hear leaders in the Socialist and liberal movement discuss the national election.

The first part of the dinner, however, was a family affair with Toastmaster Louis Waldman deftly introducing the staff of The New Leader, all of whom received ovations. Jennie Lee, first speaker, brought warm greetings of Socialist internationalism. Waldman then spoke of the work of The New Leader and followed this with taking up of a collection for the paper which netted the magnificent sum of \$1,000.

The first half of the program completed, the symposium was begun with Dudley Field Malone

John Dewey and Morris Hillquit following. The addresses of the last three are printed elsewhere on this page. Malone touched but incidentally on the subject of the evening, but his talk was applauded as delightful humor.

Malone evoked general laughter when he humorously declared that in bringing him to the banquet the Socialist Party had put him on the spot, and the laughter increased when he added, "I know where I am at."

Mr. Malone paid a tribute to Dewey, to the caustic criticism of Thomas and the statesmanship of Hillquit and declared that the Socialist Party "is the only party in America capable of constructive criticism." His program was very simple, a reduction of tariff schedules, modification of the Volstead Act, revival of the powers of the states, and finding a



# An Open Letter to the New Republic

By Pierre DeNio

GENTLEMEN: Nothing that has come to my notice in many moons has given me the great joy and satisfaction that I received upon reading Edmund Wilson's "What Do the Liberals Hope For?" in the New Republic of Feb. 10. Bless his brave heart for so completely deflating the dilettante economists, Chase, Beard, and the high-brow Lippmann.

The reason that I want to express my gratitude for Wilson's perfect job of showing the sham of these gentlemen is because I, in company with millions of working people, am now suffering in enforced idleness while I observe the country of which I am native, and in which I must live, rapidly go to social and economic ruin because a few individuals own and control all the productive elements that are vital to the physical existence of each one of us. These liberal wind-jammers, and that includes the New Republic and its "Long Range Planning for the Regularization of Industry," write hundreds of thousands of words about what they would do or have done, but in no instance that I have ever noted do they come out squarely and unequivocally for the abolition of the predatory system that inevitably breeds the corruption that they so eloquently berate.

So far as Beard and Lippmann are concerned most intelligent readers know them for just what they are: plausible, redundant Quixotes who harmlessly attack the most flagrant aspects of the capitalist system, but never in any way do they assail the system itself, and whatever they say is always in the most careful phrases and the most vague but exquisite English verbiage. Chase, however, has essayed to deal in more of the every day affairs of the common herd. For some time now he has been enjoying life by selling his words to the "quality magazines" and he has made quite a reputation for himself as an economist.

There is at the present time a perfect example of this verbose, middle-of-the-road statesmanship

## "Long-Range Planners" and "Stabilizers" of Capitalism; The Issue as the Socialists See It

on exhibition throughout the New York milk shed. The dairy farmers are up in arms because the big distributors in the city are paying them but 2½ cents a quart for milk that retails at 12 cents. They are holding large mass meetings and are writing innumerable letters to the county papers expressing every conceivable plan of regulation—both long and short range—except the very logical and practical method of distributing their own milk through their own co-operative organization.

Mr. Chase, especially, is absurd when he says "that somebody had to find out what was really going on, not what Karl Marx, seventy years ago, said might go on." If there is one thing more than another that has given encouragement and determination to the Socialists these sad days it is the accuracy with which Marx analyzed the capitalist system. It is positively uncanny that any man could be great enough student and scientist to portray the working of any system to such a degree. The Socialists, who in the past were often troubled as to whether after all they might not be wrong, are today standing on solid ground, and every move that is made by the capitalist regime is further confirmation that Marx was right.

Every one of these liberal-minded gentlemen, who think "that somebody had to find a new analysis to fit the American scene, the American temperament, molded by the frontier and a billion horsepower," are themselves visible and peripatetic evidence of the studied and irrefutable logic of "Das Kapital."

The materialistic conception of history, or Marx's formal recognition that one's economic status invariably determines one's social and political activities, "that which makes a man follow his nose in the direction whence comes the sound of the jingle of easy money," is the scientific premise upon which he based all his very logical conclusions.

It is the main tenet of Marxian Socialism, and it stands today more thoroughly established and more impregnable than at any time since he gave it to the world.

### A Lively Ghost

Practically every individual of the liberal persuasion in this country derives his livelihood from one of two professions. He is either an educator or journalist. The pundits of both these high callings procure their means of economic life almost wholly from the capitalist class.

Any individual who aspires to one of these branches of intellectual endeavor must first have been endowed by nature with more than the average amount of idealism and intelligence. In the pursuit of his chosen labor he is, by the very nature of his work, exposed to sources of knowledge and information that eventually give him understanding. He comes to view the corruption and exploitation, that is inherent in the social and economic life with which he comes in contact, with loathing and disgust. His sensitive nature and his conception of right and justice drive him to rebel against it. When he does so, however, he at once finds his ethical and intellectual precepts directly arrayed against all his material interests. If he persists in following his higher sense of logic and justice he will later find himself cut off from all his former means of comfort and security. A few brave souls have faced exactly that alternative, but the great majority elect to steer a more cautious course, and to still the reviling dictates of their own inner selves they take "pot shots" at that ghost that will not down.

I would suggest to all liberals and limber-necked economists who are now having such a difficult time talking themselves around Socialism, with their long range plans (don't make them too long, dears) and their League for Independent Political Action, that is the product of 100 economists and agri-

cultural experts—God grant us immunity from the agricultural experts; milk is bringing but 2½ cents a quart as it is—with its seven sections and its 84 specific recommendations: take up the New Republic of Feb. 10, and turn to page 341 and read three times: "Communism and the Eighteen-fifties."

### On Regulating Capitalism

After you do that if you are really serious in your desire to make a worthwhile effort to establish a better society for the average man and woman then tear up all your worthless long range plans for the Regulation of Industry, with their liberal clap-net, and get into the Socialist party and help do a man's job of dumping the broken capitalism system and replacing it with the cooperative commonwealth.

All that the professors, and the doctors of all kinds, and the naive idealists need do to acquaint themselves with the value and usefulness of the regulation of industry is to study the Congressional record back to "Teddy" and his big stick. Regulation has been the watch-word for 25 years and about one more good sized regulating and the patient will have lost interest entirely.

Mr. Chase says "this is a free country—more or less." It is a man's business to go his own way, that is, if he does no harm to his fellows, but these plausible, false prophets today are contriving to compound confusion. The world is in a serious situation. The people are actually starving amid an abundance of food. It is a question of having access to the means of life or—exit, and the liberals are distinctively in the way. Mr. Chase, et al., please take notice.

One of our most onerous financial burdens is taxation. I live on a farm remote from all public utilities. The tax rate here is \$31 per \$1,000 assessed valuation. The school tax must be added. The city of Milwaukee, Wis., has a tax rate

of \$26 per \$1,000 of assessed value and that includes the school tax. I would remind you that the Mayor is an old fashioned Marxian Socialist. I have at hand a tax report from the city of Toronto, Ont. That city charges a rate of \$33.60 per \$1,000 value. The people of Ontario enjoy a rate for electric service that is so low that it is claiming the attention of the entire country. The people of Ontario, through their provincial government, own and operate the hydro-electric plants. The Canadian farmers are given the benefits of freight rates that are approximately one-half of those charged the American farmers for a like service.

### The Clear Cut Issue

A scientific analysis of capitalist society and an intelligent study of social and industrial evolution will prove to any one with the mind of a ten-year-old boy, that is if he wants to be logical and not just plausible and well-taken, that there is no possible good that can come from any liberalized form of planning. There is just no way out except chaos or the very sensible course of completely eliminating the whole profiteering business of capitalist society and replacing it with the cooperative commonwealth.

Here is a clear cut issue. It does not take long articles or plans to express one's position—that is one has a position. It does not require interminable rhetoric to state the case. What we have to do is clear and it is nothing short of completely and entirely displacing the present industrial regime and establishing in its stead a system of society where all the natural and fabricated resources that are needful to a full life shall belong to society. The Socialist party stands four-square for the establishment of that kind of society. It is a job of work and it will take real honest to God men and women to accomplish it. Many of them we now have. We have a leader the stands six feet tall in his socks and he will not waver and he will never compromise.

## Organizing Idealism of Young America-Young Circle League

By Henry Goldman

A "ONE YEAR PLAN" for the extension of its activity and for the perpetuation and dissemination of its ideals was enthusiastically adopted at the Second Eastern States Conference of the Young Circle League of America, comprising 65 delegates from 21 cities along the Atlantic Seaboard. The conference was held in New York at the Hotel St. George on Feb. 20, 21 and 22.

Elias Lieberman, chairman of the National Youth Committee of the Workmen's Circle, opened the conference with an address of welcome in which he stressed the urgent need of inspiring a disillusioned and discontented youth with new, spirited, realizable ideals. He urged the delegates to formulate immediately attainable objectives as a means of strengthening the League and insuring vaster, more powerful organization among the youth of the nation.

With Lieberman's words still ringing in their ears, the delegates proceeded to draw up a plan of educational and organization work during the present year. Resolutions adopted sounded the slogan, "A Young Circle Club must be established wherever there is a Workmen's Circle Branch!" (There are approximately 850 W. C. branches in the U. S. and Canada); that classes be organized to train leaders for the younger groups; that the Y. C. L. publish a League magazine which

## Children of Workmen's Circle Members Map One Year Plan To Extend Influence of Progressive Organization

shall provide an outlet for the expression of members' opinions; that the project method of educational activity be continued; and that "Whereas the Y. C. L. is an educational organization designed to educate young people in an atmosphere sympathetic to the ideals of the labor movement, be it Resolved that the Y. C. L. continue its policy of educating the members along lines which have as their goal the creation of a social order that shall establish political freedom and economic equality."

### Socialist Party Discussed

A resolution to the effect that the Y. C. L. officially align itself with the Socialist Party caused a wave of intense interest and partisan opinion to sweep over the conference. A majority of the delegates felt that such action would complicate the task of approaching that vast multitude of young people who have a fear of the word "Socialism." The final form of the resolution, adopted with but three dissenting votes, reaffirmed the idea that "The Young Circle League is an educational institution designed to educate young people in an atmosphere sympathetic to the ideals of the labor movement" and that the League continue to disseminate information and education to its members concerning all parties with a progressive program.

Among the recommendations to the forthcoming National Convention of the Workmen's Circle, the conference urged that a definite effort be made to organize junior clubs (ages 12-16) through the W. C. schools and branches; that means be provided for the establishment of scholarships in Labor Colleges in addition to the continuance of the Rand School scholarships; and that the Y. C. L. endorse the recommendation of the National Board of Directors favoring an increase of the Young Circle tax from five to ten cents per three months as an urgent need for the extension of Y. C. L. activities and influence.

Abraham Cahan, editor of the "Jewish Daily Forward," was one of the principal speakers at the opening session of the conference. His address dealt with the early struggles of the labor unions in America, stressing the fact that "American workmen are 200 years behind the European workers in political ideals because here they have had greater opportunity to reach power in the capitalist class and as a result, the American worker has developed little class consciousness."

### Thomas Stresses Organization

The closing session of the conference featured an address by Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, in which he scored the failure of the U. S. to provide work for the

unemployed while at the same time, it "has found time to pass legislation for the direct aid of business."

Thomas congratulated the Young Circle League on its formation of a One Year Plan. He declared that abstract social and political discussion was useless unless it resulted in the formation of concrete plans for immediate action: "Final ideas and ideals have no power in themselves for growth or development. They remain visionary and useless until they are backed up by an organization sufficiently strong to impart its strength to the principles for which it stands."

After the first session of the Y. C. L. delegates to the Eastern States Conference went in a body to the Nominating Conference of the W. C. where a thousand delegates and visitors rose in thunderous applause as a hundred Young Circleites marched into Beethoven Hall singing the Internationale.

Morris Berzon of Branch 1036, Chelsea, greeted the Conference in the name of the Y. C. L. delegates, explaining that the Young Circleites are associated with the W. C., not merely because many are the sons and daughters of W. C. members, but because they actually believe in and love the ideals of the Arbeiter Ring.

In reply, Nathan Chanin, president of the W. C., greeted the

Circleites in a memorable speech that brought tears to the eyes of the huge audience, as he fervently expressed their hopes for the growth of the Y. C. L. as a force in the struggle for a better social order.

At the close of the second session a banquet was tendered the delegates at the Hotel Woodstock, 127 West 43d street, New York City. Jennie Lee, youthful member of the British Labor Parliament was the guest of honor. Miss Lee reviewed the work of the labor movement in other nations of the world, criticizing the methods of the "elder statesmen" in organizing and guiding the youth. She complimented the Y. C. L. on the W. C. on their splendid zeal in organizing a youth movement in the United States.

Other speakers at the banquet were Joseph Baskin, General Secretary of the Workmen's Circle who delivered an eloquent address in which he urged youth to take an active part in the social revolution; Charles Solomon, attorney and former Socialist Assemblyman, who followed with a clear lucid address on the Ideals of the International Labor Movement; Friends of Lillian Bloom of the Youth Committee and Philip G. Libter, Educational Director of the W. C., Gebner of the W. C. Schools, J. L. Afros, National Director of the Y. C. L. and Miss Ashe of the W. C. Cemetery Committee. Selma Sachs of Branch 1002, New York, was a most charming toastmistress.



## From Our Mailbag

## THE NEW LEADER FORUM

Reformers—To Prevent War—  
Socialist Policies—A Single  
Socialist Aim

## FOUR TYPES OF REFORMERS

By E. H. Friberg

Generally speaking there are four types of economic reformers: 1. Those who would keep the private profit system but who to make the distribution of wealth more equitable would somehow or other curtail profit, rent, or interest. (Many of the enlightened liberals). 2. Those who would reorganize the economic system on the basis of need. (The main body of the strict Marxists). 3. Those who would make wealth a trusteeship in the hands of the rich (especially prevalent among liberal churchmen and issue dodgers). 4. Those who through thinking about social justice want some kind of socialization. (A large body of followers and sympathizers with the Social Democracy).

In the present crisis it seems to me that these types of reformers are to a greater or lesser degree shooting wide of the mark, because they are basing their plans for economic revision or theoretical and debatable propositions. Now, there is an inescapable and undebatable fact staring us in the face: on one side untold resources and means of production and on the other millions of people in want pathetically eager to use these means and resources to supply their needs. Then, why don't they? The answer is another undebatable fact: those who own the means and resources will not do business unless they can profit thereby, nor under the present rules of the game can we expect them to. Therefore, the inescapable conclusion from these undebatable facts is that before the economic machine can be made to function for its proper use, the supplying of human needs, we must change the rules of the game. And it may be further noted that this would involve not only the abolition of private property as popularly understood, but the abolition of the private ownership of the public's means of livelihood.

## A PROGRAM AGAINST WAR

By Otto Ravensburg

About us on all sides, as attested to by leading Socialist and other authorities, we perceive active preparation for another great conflict amongst "industrial nations."

In this great collapse of capitalism, the throes of which we are now experiencing, with adherents to its system feverishly looking for foreign markets with which to stem the reactionary tide, their attention directed to the Orient—the inevitability of warfare accentuated by the concentration of military units at certain points—a new perplexity confronts the harassed workers of the world.

When, once again the "forces of righteousness" are marshalled for another effort to make the world a "safe" place for all posterity, to stop "atrocities," to protect "private property," etc.; what are the workers to do? They through their contact with the Socialist movement understand perfectly the cause and effect of wars, must those who object, and are a minority, raise their enfeebled voices against these "forces of righteousness" who will use every possible means of persuasion fair and foul to convince them that they are "alackies"—or "pacifists"—or "enemies" of the society to which they are supposed to belong? Or will they through the medium of a powerful Socialist organization transform that feeble cry into a thunderous protest that will be heard and heeded by those in the high places, reverberating throughout other nations?

Militarist leaders everywhere proclaim that pacifists are undermining our national security by disarmament, and to date we have heard various arguments combating these "preservers of our welfare." May we not profit by the example given the workers of the world by Mahatma Gandhi of India? Is it possible that in our very weakness may lie our greatest strength? He is using the greatest known weapon in the interest of the masses; the most potent—the most effective—the cheapest (in these days of economy), to combat the might of a great "industrial" nation armed with all the scientific paraphernalia necessary to secure its objective.

He will accomplish in a few short years what long years of military preparation and warfare could not achieve—complete independence—and that without a staggering debt for generations yet unborn to liquidate, and a heritage of "military glory" for classroom perpetuation.

Can we, workers of the U. S. A., expect to read your reply and solution to this problem, in the columns of our paper, The New Leader? Will you suggest a plan of united action? May I humbly suggest a nation wide ballot on this subject: Objection to warfare; yes or no—those affirming to form a nucleus about which a real active organization could obtain a start to enforce their contention?

Meriden, Conn.

## POLICIES OF SOCIALISM

By M. E. Edson

As one who has worked and wept, pondered and prayed, (metaphorically) and given of my meager ability and substance for the cause of Socialism for more than twenty-five years, I ask to offer a few suggestions concerning the moot question of policy. I have read with deep interest and hearty approval the statement of principles adopted by the New York Conference, but I have long had serious misgivings as to the manner in which we present our cause to the American people.

The debacle of the British Labor Government and the apparent failure of the Social-Democratic parties in other countries to make the most of their opportunities to adopt a revolutionary course, has caused a widespread revulsion of feeling and a veering away from any policy of expediency. There has arisen a demand that we return to our "First Principles" and uncompromisingly re-state the doctrine of the Class Struggle as the basis of our movement, and the necessity of a class conscious revolution in order to abolish capitalism and establish a Socialist system of society.

As a veteran Socialist I fully sympathize with this feeling. I am most decidedly one of the working class and to me the class struggle is a grim reality, but I did not enter the Socialist movement on account of its class appeal. The American workers as a rule, do not recognize the reality of the class struggle, nor the fact that they are the members of a fixed and definite exploited class. The mere fact that only a small fraction of them are organized into any kind of an organization for the protection of their class interests demonstrates this truth, which is further shown in the fact that even those who are members of unions regard them as of temporary expediency, rather than the means of their liberation from a position of subservience.

The American workers have inherited the psychology of the pioneers and are imbued with the idea that everyone has a chance to become wealthy and enjoy the fruits of success. As they see it, it is only a question of individual ability. Mr. Hoover quite correctly states the typical American view that the Government only serves as an umpire in the race of the individuals towards success. Even the most destitute unemployed believes that he has a chance to strike it rich and come out on top some day. The most lowly workers feel that they too have a chance to become capitalists and they would rather suffer present privations than to have that imaginary chance taken away from them. We must realize this fact that the American workers are not class conscious and do not respond to appeals to their class interests. Our reiteration of our fundamental principle of the Class Struggle does not "take" with the workers of America.

In the face of this condition, what shall we do? Shall we continue to "whistle against the wind" with our appeals to class interests, or shall we abandon our basic doctrine and resort to mere expediency? Shall we continue the long and arduous task of trying to convert the American workers to our doctrine of the Class Struggle as a pre-requisite to the abolition

of capitalism and the establishment of a socialist system of society, or shall we try to lead them step by step into the co-operative commonwealth?

It seems to me that neither extreme course is necessary or most efficient. We should first of all be realists and take the world for what it is, not what we think it should be, and we should seek the line of least resistance towards our goal. Therefore while not abandoning or compromising our basic principle of the class struggle, we should seek a line of argument consistent with our principles that will appeal to the American people not only as workers but as citizens. The idea that there are no classes in America has been as ingrained into the minds of the people that it seems an insuperable task, even with the most patent facts to convince them otherwise.

The one thing that the American people admire and will enthusiastically support is success. This is true whether it be in the field of sports, record flying, exploration or the massing of riches. The winner gets the plaudits and support of the people regardless of what he has achieved or how it was accomplished. I venture to say that Al Capone, before his conviction, imprisonment and failure, had more admirers and potential supporters than Norman Thomas. Even the elections are large like horse races in which the people try to pick the winner, and get on the winning side.

I agree with G. F. Lombard that we should appeal to the more susceptible side of the psychology of the American people rather than to stress the class issue predominantly. Let us attack the claim of the supporters of capitalism that it is an efficient and equitable economic system. Let us demonstrate that the capitalist system is a failure. That it is atrociously wasteful and extravagant even when operating at full efficiency, and that during these crises it is worse than a failure. The traditions and training of our people have taught them to admire efficiency and success and to despise inefficiency and failure. I feel that we should emphasize these points with all our power making our appeal to the citizens as such.

We should not alienate ourselves from many who are essentially with us by stressing a narrow class appeal. One of the outstanding traits of the American people is their response to idealism, as witness their being awayed by the specious war propaganda. Many of our staunchest and ablest comrades are not of the working class. They did not come to us in response to a class appeal, but to help make a better world. This may be Utopianism, but every social advance was Utopian before it became a reality.

Despite the examples of MacDonald et al, I do not fear that the Socialist movement will get lost or fall in its mission. Perhaps there is no better road than the traditional one that we have been following, but I am inclined to believe that the way of liberalism and opportunism is better than doctrinaire impossibilism. We who are growing old in the movement yearn to see "Socialism in our time," but what is the little span of our lives in the history of the race. We must not only learn to work, but to wait and to possess our souls in patience.

Seffner, Fla.

## PARTY LEAFLETS

By Jack Drieses and Sam Eis

We are members of the Y. P. S. L. Circle 3, Manhattan. Recently we have read much on the subject of the "militants" "pro" and "con." We condemn such bickering as not aiding the Socialist Party. It is also our belief that most of the comrades in the party are ignorant of the differences of the two groups. This includes the writers. They should therefore be enlightened on these differences. Most likely a compromise can be effected between the two groups. In praise of the articles of Comrades Oneal and Hillquit, which recently appeared on the front page of The New Leader, we suggest that these and other such up-to-date articles be printed as leaflets and distributed by Yipsels on the streets. However, we should avoid falling into the error of the Communists of having all leaflets sound alike. Interest in these leaflets can be sustained by up-to-date and interesting topics.

## IN A NUTSHELL

By H. A. Hedden

In the mail bag of The New Leader, Dec. 19, 1931, John F. Lutz of Cambridge, Mass., asks: "Why is the Socialist idea so vague about what will happen when they will get control of the country, and put their system into effect?" Now surely, we have a right to say that the answer to that question should be properly called SOCIALISM. The editor of The New Leader answers the question in this way: "The Socialist idea is not vague, as Comrade Lutz will learn by reading Socialist books, and publications. It proposes the transfer of all the great powers of production, distribution, and banking from the possessing classes to society, a society governed by the useful workers. The movement makes its appeal primarily to the working class as this class has no stake in preserving capitalism, and a big stake to win by its overthrow."

There we have the whole thing in a nutshell. That is the answer to the question, "Why don't the working class flock to the Socialist party in greater numbers?" It is because they know that all immediate demands, and reforms, only prolong the capitalist system. And as James Oneal truthfully says: "The working class has no stake in preserving capitalism, and a big stake to win by its overthrow."

Let us concentrate our efforts on the one thing that will help the working class. Don't let us spend any more time in trying to save capitalism. The more we try to bolster it up the longer we will have to suffer.

1120 East Century Blvd.,  
Los Angeles, Calif.

## SOCIALISM AND THE UNIONS

By Emerich Steinberger

In the February 19th issue of the Labor and Socialist Press News broadcast by the National Office, I note an item headed, "Thomas suggests labor policy for Socialist Party," which reads in part as follows: The policy of the party, Thomas says, should be:

"To urge all our members eligible for unions to join the appropriate union; to give, as a party and through our members, support to all legitimate union struggles; to seek from unions and unionists support for our party; to hold up honest labor ideals as a

labor party against the racketeering ideals, derived from our American capitalism, which often invade unions; to insist, by disciplinary methods if and when necessary, that Socialists in labor unions shall act as becomes Socialists."

It seems to me that the National Office and Comrade Thomas both ought to be more careful in broadcasting statements of such character, for the reason that it is misleading and contrary to the facts as recorded in the history of our party. What Comrade Thomas says should be the policy of the party, as a matter of record, has been the policy of the party. We have always urged all of our members to join the union in a particular line of activity in which they were engaged in earning a livelihood. We have always supported the workers of all legitimate trade unions. We have always sought their aid, and have had it as a policy to uphold honest labor ideals as against racketeering ideals, and the many volumes of records kept by our grievance committees are eloquent testimony to the fact that the party has insisted that its members act as become Socialists in trade union activity.

The item as broadcast by the National Party Office would lead the uninformed reader to come to the conclusion that such has not been the policy of the party in the past. Some individual Socialists here and there may not have measured up to the ideals laid down in the statement of policy, but I insist that the party, as such, has always had for its policy the propositions of Comrade Thomas. Therefore, he is suggesting nothing new, but merely reiterating our established policy, and both he and the National Office in circulating it at this time in the form that it is being circulated, are doing our party an injustice.

Tag Days for  
Kentucky Miners  
March 19 and 20

March 19 and 20 have been designated as Harlan-Kentucky Coal Miners' Days by young workers' organizations in New York City who have enlisted hundreds of their members for tag day activities. Proceeds from this enterprise will go to help defend the forty Kentucky coal miners awaiting trial and to aid in feeding and clothing their families.

The organizations cooperating in this endeavor with the Kentucky Miners' Defense and Relief Conference, 90 East Tenth street, New York, include the Young Peoples Socialist League, the Young Circle League, the Young Poale Zion Alliance, the Junior Wobblies Union, the Modern Sunday School and the youth group of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

On Sunday, March 13, a Harlan-Kentucky miners' meeting will be held at Morningside Forum, 3109 Broadway, New York City, under the auspices of the Morningside Socialist Forum. F. Leigh Bearce, general defense committee, will speak on "The Class War in the Kentucky Coal Fields."

A labor rally to the support of the Harlan-Kentucky coal miners will be held at the Labor Temple, 242 East 14th street, Thursday, March 24, under the auspices of the Kentucky Miners' Defense and Relief Conference. Speakers will be Reinhold Niebuhr, McAlister Coleman, Esther Friedman, Adolph Silver and Ben Fletcher.

BLANSHARD DEBATE IN  
HEMPSTEAD

HEMPSTEAD, L. I. — Paul Blanshard of New York, secretary of the City Affairs Committee, and William E. Fowler, president of the Non-Partisan Good Government League of Nassau County, will be the speakers at the March Forum meeting of the Hempstead Branch of the Socialist Party. This meeting is to be held at Odd Fellows Hall, Hempstead, on Friday evening, March 18th.



MEXICANS "HUNGER MARCH," TOO.—Hunger and suffering are world wide—and so is the protest of the workers against their plight. Here is shown a hunger march in Mexico, when workers trudged, many of them barefoot, from Puebla to Mexico City, to ask federal relief. They wear their banners on their hats, even the child being carried on his father's shoulder wears a bannered hat.

Federated Pictures.



## The Chatterbox

Gifts. (At Dearborn, Mich.)

YOU asked us for all you have in fee,  
Mansions, ease and luxury,  
Power, laughter, song and wine,  
These we gave you willingly . . .

We dared to ask for work and bread,  
A score of us fell, and four are dead . . .  
You gave us brutal bludgeonings  
And little pellets of screaming lead . . .

Some day, we'll ask if it might do  
To give your cruel gifts back to you.

This Lindbergh baby kidnapping case has a terrific lesson for all of us. Police departments, governments and private detective agencies, judges, prosecutors and all the splendid, overpaid array of public officials are gloriously effective in shooting down, betraying and jailing workers who dare to rebel against the tyranny of wealth in America. But in a case where a private citizen's home and happiness are destroyed by the pampered underworld, they march in thousands up the hill, and then march down again. They fumble, they flounder, they bluster . . . and in most cases, the ransom is paid, or the kidnapped is found dead.

Lindbergh is nobody's fool. He saw through the whole maze of official inefficiency, vanity and ignorance. He saw his wife and himself made the sorry victims of a Roman holiday, with the rapacious press, the vulgar middle-class mob, and the publicity-mad officials encircling the arena of his home. He saw the cruel anguish that racked his wife and the vicious heart stabbings that were maddening him become the ill-disguised rapture of a sadistic audience. He cut through all pretense of law, order and regularity. He thumbed his nose at capitalistic legality and called in the underworld . . .

There is a streak of the father in Charlie Lindbergh. You can't scotch out all of the rebel streak within one generation. I can hear him, as he tossed about these nights of sleeplessness and pain, cry out to the earless walls, "To hell with your laws, your stupid police, your bungling officials . . . The underworld is stronger than you . . . Admit it as I admit it . . . I'll deal direct with them . . . All I want is my baby boy back again . . ."

And I have been praying in my own godless way for the return of his boy, as even I prayed the night he went winging over the arc of the world toward Paris . . . And I have a queer pride for his daring to be wise and sane through this stupid and mad exhibition of American public officials.

Abe Zucker is gone out of our physical lives. And he was really too young to leave us. There was so much of good service and willingness for the Cause left in his loyal heart and brain.

I met him first when I joined the party on the East Side. He was the efficient secretary of the 1st and 2nd A. D. to which I was sent as a newly arrived member. His energy and common sense were inspiring. He was of the tribe of Jimmy Higgins. He had talent as a leader besides. He employed his abilities unsparingly. No campaign on the East Side was complete without his being in the van . . . He did greatly to spread our influence and power there before the war. In after years, when the problems of rearing a family came on, he did not retire. The Rand School and the party committees saw further service from him. Abe was always within the circle of light shed from the arm and torch.

It was good to have known him as a friend and as a comrade. It is cruel to contemplate the void left by his passing.

And if these words are frail against the sum total of our own loss, I realize their utter inadequacy against the grief that besets his comrade wife and his fine children . . .

Farewell and hall . . . good, fine Comrade Abe. The world has been brighter for the years you have spent in life with us . . .

S. A. de Witt.

### Fable

The mountain and the squirrel  
Had a quarrel,  
And the former called the latter "Little Prig";  
Bun replied,  
"You are doubtless very big;  
But all sorts of things and weather  
Must be taken in together,  
To make up a year  
And a sphere.  
And I think it no disgrace  
To occupy my place.  
If I'm not so large as you,  
You are not so small as I,  
And not half so spry.  
I do not deny you make  
A very pretty squirrel track;  
Talents differ; all is well and wisely put;  
If I cannot carry forests on my back,  
Neither can you crack a nut."

—Emerson.

## CITY LIGHTS— AND SHADOWS

### The Leisure Class

By IRWIN D.  
HOFFMAN



## Science and Idealism

### The Key to the Future—Russell's New Book

By FELIX S. COHEN

THE Scientific Outlook" (by Bertrand Russell. New York: W. W. Norton) is an exciting book, written in a racy style by a master of pun and paradox on pages barren of graphs, diagrams or decimals. This is perhaps enough to condemn the volume outright in the eyes of those scientists who find the essence of their craft in the washing of test-tubes, the reading of galvanometers, or the computations of standard deviations. Even one who looks upon Russell as the most brilliant, if not the greatest, of contemporary philosophers must admit that he is frequently the victim of his wit and that the probable error of his most brilliant passages is very large. If, by some chance, a new World War should send Russell back to the prison in which he wrote the immortal "Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy," this review, at least, hopes that he will employ his leisure in the reconsideration of such statements as: "The Greeks did surprisingly little for the creation of science"; "Scientific method, as we understand it, comes into the world full-fledged with Galileo"; "Aristotle . . . has been one of the great misfortunes of the human race"; "The habit of distinguishing between mind and matter is a mistake"; "The external world . . . if it exists . . . consists of events, short, small and haphazard. Order, unity and continuity are human inventions just as truly as are catalogues and encyclopaedias"; "Pure mathematics . . . is concerned with symbols."

But these are venial sins. They are amply expiated by the stubborn honesty with which Russell spurns the traditional myths that gloss over the mysteries of existence and the limitations of scientific method.

In "The Scientific Outlook," Bertrand Russell subjects the behavior of scientists to a philosophical analysis, an economic analysis, and a social analysis. Philosophically, Russell finds much to wonder at in the scientist's assumption that the sun will rise tomorrow or that bodies will continue to attract each other in about the same way that they seem to have done for some centuries. But unlike most philosophers, our author does not invent a reason why this should be so. Indeed he finds the theories which compel the continuance of sunrises and gravitation a greater mystery than the facts they "explain." So, too, the existence of God fails to dispel the world's mysteries, since it is itself only a sum of all mysteries. With temperate skill, Russell dissects the arguments which his scientific contemporaries have adduced to support

the dogmas of traditional theology and religious morality. The theologies of scientists like Eddington and Jeans, Russell demonstrates, do not spring from any logical basis in contemporary physical or mathematical theory. They rise, rather, from a widespread despair, among scientists, of controlling the forces which science has set loose on this planet, and from the natural product of that despair, a longing for the simple, soothing lullabies of the world's childhood.

Scientific technique is the guiding genius of our civilization. Even poets who have never heard of economic determinism and who cannot talk of telephones and airplanes without rushing into allegory tell us that man, once the child of the earth, has become the child of the machine. But the machine is simply scientific technique turned upon inanimate nature. The application of science to the realm of living matter contains the seeds of new revolutions. Already the development of synthetic substitutes for such natural products as silk and fertilizer is playing queer tricks upon world economics.

In whose hands will control of the new forces of scientific technique rest? For the immediate future the answer is clear enough. To him who hath shall be given. But the plutocrats, Russell thinks, will become lazy and soft, and power will pass to men whose desires are not narrowly personal, men of whom Lenin is the archetype, practical idealists, men who are neither simple dreamers nor opportunistic politicians. The class of scientific technicians, Russell thinks, will furnish these new leaders of society.

Whither will these men lead society? Russell has already sketched his fears in "Icarus," his hopes in "What I Believe." In "The Scientific Outlook," these two classic pictures of the future reappear, with many hybrids and compromises. The fact remains that a technique does not automatically give rise to an ideal. Scientific technique, even in its present stage, does render the moral and economic ideals of liberalism meaningless in the modern world, our author believes. But there are many alternatives to laissez-faire, from feudalism to fascism. The scientific outlook in government, Russell suggests, has been most clearly exhibited in Russia and Japan. In each of these countries, determined men saw clearly, and pretty nearly achieved, the type of society they wanted. The differences between these nations indicate the role which is to be played, in the fashioning of the twentieth century, by something beyond the scientific outlook, by an ultimate choice of social ideals.

## Humor in Kansas

WE have just received an interesting communication from the ubiquitous Jim Porter, Paul Porter's brother, but very much of a Socialist on his own, telling us about the wisecrack made by the city manager of Kansas City.

The city manager closed down a perfectly legitimate place, leaving a lot of perfectly illegitimate places wide open, and when asked on what grounds he did this, he brightly responded: "Coffee grounds."

Jim, who is secretary of the Kansas City Socialist local, says, "I have suggested to the working people of Kansas City that we dump the grounds. The brew has been rancid for many years. Socialism is the necessary tonic. I'm sure we have more racketeering in our local government than any other American city of our population."

Go climb a tree, Jim and stop kidding yourself. Don't you know that New York City's racketeers if laid end to end would reach from here to the Kaw, where it would be nice if they all drowned.

But though you can't touch us as far as racketeers go, it sounds from your letter as though even bloodless Kansas were waking up and you are certainly the Big Ben for that job. A few more like you, Jim, and we will look upon Kansas with less atrabilious eyes. How's that five dollar word?

Which brings us to the City Manager panacea. There are a number of "liberals" around these parts who believe that all we need to do is to take Judge Seabury's advice and holler for a City Manager and Tammany will go skulking to its Colonial tent on East Sixteenth Street, all folded up.

The Committee of One Thousand, which for some obscure reason keeps our name on its lists wants to send speakers out to yell for a City Manager for New York City. They had the crust to ask some Socialists. We told them we had plenty to do, without speaking for the Committee of One Thousand or One Hundred Thousand for that matter, if they are the sort who think that the City Manager form of government means anything at all.

Liberals are strange birds. Here's a lot of them steamed up about a City Manager and another group going around muttering to themselves about voluntary economic planning and still a third group, the Edmund Wilson, Lewis Mumford, Malcolm Cowley trio, (discoverers of Marx and the class struggle) making flirtatious eyes at the Communists.

We are all wrought up about the death of Mrs. Anne Weightman Walker Penfield, richest woman in Philadelphia.

The last time they toted up her personal property it came to the tidy little sum of \$6,064,988. That doesn't touch her realty of course, just things that were around the Penfield manor. We learn that Mrs. Penfield according to "The Philadelphia Evening Ledger," "was always an early riser, doing so to pursue her labors in German and Italian conversation." And again we are delighted to hear that "at Munich she spent hours daily, after a very early breakfast in German and French conversations, although she spoke both languages fluently."

Naturally such diligence should be rewarded and it's only right that Mrs. P. should have heaped up a pile of jack. Of course it doesn't always follow. There are for instance plenty of German and Italian linguists who probably speak the language even better than the late Mrs. Penfield and who are getting up without any breakfasts at all these days. "Bitte, geben sie mir ein cup coffee" or "quando e prima vera e tutto awful" is what they are saying. But these linguists happen to be workless workers who are standing up in what personal possessions they have and who, when they die on the streets of the Quaker City don't somehow seem to make the front page of "The Evening Ledger."

Now we are clearing our throat for a speech at the big unemployment demonstration up on Columbus Circle, New York City where once we used to harangue the embattled Irish.

If any of you boys and girls have any dates between one and five o'clock on Saturday, March 12th, cancel them right now. And you and your friends go on up there and make this demonstration one of the best in our recent history. Good speakers and loud speakers too and a rank-and-file Socialist and Labor representation should make this meeting something to talk about for weeks to come. All out to Columbus Circle.

McAlister Coleman.



# The Social Democrats' Position in Germany

The elections in Germany next Sunday make the following article timely. The author is a veteran German Socialist and has been a member of the American Socialist party for more than thirty years. He presents the complex forces which the German working class faces. Last year a dissenting group of about 50,000 members withdrew from the party and organized the Socialist Labor party. The complexities that Comrade Dreifuss unfolds for our readers form the backgrounds of the decisions and policies German Socialists were required to consider in the coming election.

By Adolph Dreifuss

IN THE current discussions about Socialist party tactics much reference is made to the stand of the German Social Democratic Party and its relations to the Bruening government. It may serve a useful purpose to compile a few facts about the situation in Germany, the seriousness of which is by no means understood by many of the debaters.

The Socialist (Social Democratic) Party of Germany holds a very responsible position in the Reichstag. The Communist Party at its left and the National Socialist Labor (!) Party (Fascists or Nazis) at its right are trying to overthrow the Bruening government. If the Socialist Party would vote together with the Communist Party and the Fascists then the Bruening government would fall. But neither the Communists, nor the Socialists, nor any of the liberal parties would succeed Bruening. One of three possibilities could happen. Either Bruening himself or somebody of his caliber might be asked again to form a new government, in which case nothing would be changed except, perhaps, the trend to the right would be more outspoken than heretofore, the overthrow of the government would dissolve into an empty gesture; or the Fascists would form a new government; or a revolution would ensue.

Let us consider the possibility of a revolution. Who wants a revolution in Germany? Neither the Communists nor the Socialists. It would be the worst thing that could happen to Soviet Russia. She would have no chance to continue her present and future five year plans. She might be dragged into civil war herself. Russia cannot afford that now. She wants peace for building up her industries. Herein lies the reason why the Communists in Germany have been so peaceful and legal during recent years. It is very questionable whether they would have allied themselves so

## The Alternatives to Bruening-Socialist Policy Seeks to Avert Worst of Possible Evils--The Pre-election Lineup

much with the Fascists against the Bruening government had they not been sure that the Socialists would be just strong enough to prevent Bruening's fall. In this sense they could afford to be "revolutionary" without being responsible for misfortune. The Socialists on the other hand do not want a revolution as long as there is a way open for a change by democratic means. If they have to fight, so they announce, they will fight. But a civil war in Germany at the present time would be so bloody and terrible and destructive that it can only be a last resort. And then the outcome is very doubtful notwithstanding the "radical" phrases of so-called "revolutionists."

### The Fascist Growth

Innocent onlookers wonder how the Fascists (Hitlerites Nazis) could get so powerful as to become a danger for the whole population. There is nothing miraculous about that. Any country that loses a war, and is made tributary to victors, will develop a generation of extreme nationalists. Its youth is fed up on legends of national grandeur. They were babies or young school children during the war. They can't remember the horrors of war. They feel that they have to pay for the sins of their fathers. Demagogues find them easy prey. They tell them that the country, the "fatherland," is waiting to be liberated by them. Liberty or Death is their battle cry. Naturally, this nationalistic sentiment got a foothold in Germany as soon as the war was over. Prosperity checked it again but now it is spreading by leaps and bounds because the "new society," the "new regime," the "republic," etc., are blamed for every burden that is felt.

The Fascist model is Italy. The German Fascists mean to rule as dictatorially as Mussolini rules in Italy. They threaten death and imprisonment and torture to everyone who is opposed to them. As one of their members in the Reichstag, former Minister Frick of Thuringia, expressed it: "Likely in Italy, 24 hours after seizing power we will extinguish Marxism absolutely, not by the police force or in a legal way, but by the rage of the people. Of course, it will only be natural that in this procedure some 10,000 Marxist functionaries will be 'hurt'."

Another M. P. said: "We admit our policy will lead to a catastrophe. We are only sorry that we are not yet in a position to terrorize as much as we should like to. It is our aim to smash every-

thing that is today. Germany can only be liberated by the mailed fist."

Recently—December 5th—Hitler—Lieutenant Strasser, another member of the Reichstag made a speech at Stuttgart in which he said: "When get the power we shall show the German people something. He who will not obey orders will see what happens. We shall be the strongest protectors of private property and not meddle much with industry. The employer will be free to do as he sees fit as long as he does not work against the general interest. There will be no more Marxists and democratic republicans when we rule. Whoever belongs to any international will cease to be a German. Should anyone holler 'hurrah for Moscow' we shall hang him. . . . We know when we fall they will hang us. Therefore we shall take the liberty to hang first. If we shall wade in blood ankle deep, it will because we want it so. . . . With France there can be no agreement, with France there can only be war."

### Terrorism Is Promised

That they mean what they say is evident every day. Wherever they find themselves stronger than their opponents they shoot and kill. The German papers are full of reports to that effect. They already have provisional decrees worked out to be in effect when they seize power in which they mete out the death penalty for the least sign of disobedience. At every parade and demonstration they show princes and generals of the old regime in the forefront, ready to take command of the killing orgy.

Against any further toleration and support of the present government it is argued that sooner or later the clash with the Fascists will come anyway and the music may be faced now just as well as later. Against this the counter argument is offered that it is reasonable to expect that the Fascists can be checked. With the passing of the thoroughly abnormal times a saner view will prevail; the aim of a united front against Fascism will be realized. The Social Democrats offered such a united front to the Communists. It is true, the Communists refused, but that refusal may not be irrevocable, necessity is the mother of wisdom and may hammer sense even into Communist heads. Leon Trotsky, even if he is on the outs with Stalin, is none the less a good thinker. He issued a pamphlet in Germany in which he advised support of the Bruening government as long as it fights the Fascists. Trotsky reminded the German communists that the Russian Bolsheviks did not hesitate one moment to support the Kerenski government against the putschist aims of general Kornilov. "The same tactics," said Trotsky, "the German Communist party must follow as long as a Hitler-revolt is threatening."

That the Socialist Party does not favor government by Bruening decrees was shown in the fall of 1930 when the Socialists forced Bruening to dissolve the Reichstag and bring the question before the voters. In a strong campaign over the principle of government by decree the Socialists pleaded for defeat of Bruening; with the slogans "Give us the power," "give us the majority," they proposed socialistic measures as remedies for the abnormal conditions brought about by the status of Germany as a defeated world power and by the world depression. The voters returned a majority to the Reichstag which is opposed to a straight forward rule. The tactic of the Socialists is therefore necessitated by the outcome of that election and the responsibility for it rests with the voters and not with the Social Democratic Party. The Socialists feel that their efforts to frustrate a Fa-

scist regime is to the best interests of the working class, and can only be accomplished by their tactic of toleration of the Bruening government.

### Germany Today

Sometimes the argument is made that, bad as Fascism would be for Germany, the present rule of Germany is not very far from Fascism. This argument is characterized as demagoguery; it is rather the other way round. Bad as the present rule is, Fascism would be a thousand times worse. The working class has not much to gain under the present rule, but it has everything to lose under a Nazi-government (Fascism).

Before me I have a table of comparison of Mass Taxation and Social Services in the years of 1913 and 1927.

	1913	1927
	Mill-	Mill-
	marks	marks
Mass Taxation		
(Taxation of wages, tariff taxation, sales taxes, taxes on railroad tickets, surplus from publicly owned industries)	2590	6780
Social Services		
Welfare services	420	2370
Building and home systems	—	990
School system	930	1965
War pensions	40	1615
	1390	6940

In 1913 the masses had to pay twice as much in taxation than they were given back in social services, but in 1927 the cultural services for the masses were 160 million marks higher than mass taxation. During the last year, it is correct, the expenses for social services were cut but so were the incomes from mass taxation so that the ratio of income and expenditure probably remains similar. But aside from that Fascism proposes to do away with free speech, free assembly, free press, free election, as seen in Italy; only one kind of speech, of press, of election, of demonstration is allowed under Fascism; nor Democrats, nor any kind of republicans would have any chance of making themselves heard. Surely, present day Germany is far removed from such a state of affairs, despite everything that can justly be criticized.

In conclusion, let us put here part of an editorial in the Berlin Vorwaerts about the stand taken by the Social Democratic Party of Germany on the situation. It reads:

"The Bruening cabinet—there are 100 reasons for being dissatisfied with it: But it is nevertheless true that the meanest, most cruel enemies of the working class are

not in the Bruening cabinet but to the right of it.

"That does not make the Bruening more sympathetic—but sympathy or antipathy is not the question but the question is—plain common sense.

"It may be right to overthrow a very sympathetic government but put a still better one in its place. But it may also be right to keep an unsympathetic government when everyone knows that it would be followed by one that is much worse. It may even be right to vote for such a government that should be necessary to prevent a victory of Fascism and the smashing of all the rights of the workers.

"The Social Democratic group of the Reichstag does not do anything out of love for Mr. Bruening and his cabinet but neither does it intend to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the worst enemies of the working class.

"The main attack must be made against the malicious, treacherous and most dangerous enemy of the working class, against the counter-revolutionists of Harzburg."

Harzburg, by the way, is a town at which some months ago the Fascists held a demonstration, in the course of which they killed many innocent workers for no other reason than that they (the Fascists) were so enraged by the insane tirades of their leader that they had to smell the blood of some "Marxists," or who looked to them as Marxist followers.

The foregoing article is not written in defense of every act of the German Social Democracy but in order to show how difficult the situation is and that something more is needed to deal with it intelligently than a few "revolutionary" phrases.

## Socialist Peace Justice Jails 5 Strikebreakers

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

NANTY-GLO, Pa. — Dominic Gellote, justice of the peace elected by labor and Socialist forces, Nanty-Glo again last year, has sentenced five of the element that has been acting as strike-breakers at Casandra, to jail for terms of from ten to thirty days for various serious breaches of the peace.

A clash between members of the Young Peoples Socialist League Nanty-Glo and some Cassand transport scabs has led to an attempt to frame Comrades George and Henry Dyson on assault at battery charges.

## CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP

The organization of the national Fellowship of Socialist Christians recently reported in The New Leader, has established headquarters at 52 Vanderbilt avenue, room 410, New York City. The story The New Leader reported earlier and temporary address at this correction is made for the benefit of those who are interested in the fellowship.

## Party Fights Court Order Which Bans California Socialist From Citizenship

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO. — Denial of citizenship to Jacob Hullen, German-born Socialist of Santa Rosa, Cal., because of his political beliefs is a standing menace to all foreign-born Socialists, and a challenge to native-born Socialists, say Morris Hillquit and Clarence Senior in a statement issued by the Socialist party of America.

Hullen has lived in this country 25 years. Upon applying for citizenship, he was questioned by the state court judge as to his political beliefs. He stated that he was in favor of the socialization of public utilities and certain other industries, but specifically held that it must be done by political means. He was denied citizenship, and an appeal has been taken from the decision.

radicals who have come to America in the past are placed in jeopardy by this decision. If it is left to stand, it may even mean the deportation of those who are unprotected by citizenship. The second tidal wave of such actions under Secretary Doak, is an indication that the danger is real.

The case must be carried through the state Supreme Court, and perhaps on to the federal courts. Two hundred and fifty dollars is needed immediately for this purpose. The American Civil Liberties Union, which has borne all expenses of the case thus far, has asked the Social national executive committee to aid it. The committee asks all Socialists and sympathizers to send as much as they can spare at once to national headquarters, 649 Randolph street, Chicago, so that the \$250 may be made available to the attorneys and the case completed.

## Detroit's Dead—H

By Edward Levinson

THE Hoover policy of playing ostrich amid the suffering of the country's millions of unemployed reaped one of its inevitable results this week. Four workers shot to death, and perhaps a score wounded, littered the streets of Dearborn, Michigan, in front of the Henry Ford plant after hours of vicious fighting growing out of police attack on a demonstration of jobless men and women. The rioting and the killings, symbolically enough, took place in front of the most ballyhooed specimen of "enlightened capitalism."

From the excitement and hysteria that followed the riots, a few facts stand out: there was a planned demonstration or parade of workers to the Ford plant seeking jobs which the Ford com-

pany had been promising through the press; the parade was completely peaceful as it wound its way through Detroit and until it reached the Dearborn city line the Detroit police had no trouble with the paraders; that Dearborn police illegally and stupidly used tear gas bombs to disperse a legal and peaceful parade, and were answered by stones and frozen mud; that the minor clashes continued until police and Ford deputies opened fire bringing the toll of dead and wounded; that Ford officials directed the slaughter and that at least one of the four killed was shot to death, a Ford employee.

The chronology of events leading up to the slayings also gives proof of the responsibility of police and Ford's armed thugs.



# For Cooperative Commonwealth of Canada

## Two Labor M.P.'s Introduce and Debate Motion to Transform Dominion Into a Workers' Republic

**J. S. WOODSWORTH**, Labor member of the Canadian Parliament, and **Angus MacInnis**, Labor member from Vancouver, had the unique distinction last week of speaking for a resolution which they introduced which proposed to transform Canada into a Cooperative Commonwealth! The resolution came up on Wednesday of last week and brought out a spirited debate. The resolution for which Woodsworth and MacInnis spoke was as follows:

"Whereas under our present economic arrangement large numbers of our people are unemployed and without the means of earning a livelihood for themselves and their dependents;

"And whereas the prevalence of the present depression throughout the world indicates fundamental defects in the existing economic system;

"Be it therefore resolved: That, in the opinion of this House the Government should immediately take measures looking to the setting up of a co-operative commonwealth in which all natural resources and the socially necessary machinery of production will be used in the interests of the people and not for the benefit of the few."

Supporting the resolution, Mr. Woodsworth said:

"That we are facing a serious depression, indeed a crisis, will I think be admitted by all. It is useless for me to say anything further in that regard. I suppose, however, that a great many members are inclined to take the position that the present depression is only temporary; we have been told on all sides that prosperity lies just around the corner.

### The System Questioned

"It seems to me it must be conceded that whatever the future may be, at the present time our economic system is failing to function. There are hundreds of thousands of people in this country destitute, having to depend upon public assistance for the very necessities of life, and there are many business men at their wits end to know what to do next. Under such conditions it seems to me that we might very well spend a little time to learn whether the present basis of our economic system is sound.

"Undoubtedly this system has a great many achievements to its credit. It has enabled us to produce goods at a rate and to an extent undreamed of in the earlier days. In fact I think it is generally conceded that under this system the problem of population is very largely solved. A few years ago we used to be greatly troubled with the thought that population was increasing far

more rapidly than the means of subsistence. Today we hear very little of that. We believe at the present time that we are able to feed not only the people born into the world, but more than that, to provide for a great number of the amenities of life. Undoubtedly the general standard of living has been substantially raised under this system.

"On the other hand, within the last few years we are beginning to question very seriously the foundation of this system, and to ask whether there are not some inherent defects in it.

### The War's "Breathing Spell"

"In one sense the war saved the situation and gave us a breathing spell, for our unemployed were occupied at the front, and those who did not become soldiers were employed in producing munitions, clothing and food for the army, a great impetus was given to industry, and its effect continued into the postwar period. Now we are back again to pre-war conditions and the whole world is suffering under this great curse of unemployment, due to over-production and over development.

"Today, the employer when slack times come turns his employees loose to browse for themselves, to find a living as best they can, becoming dependent upon the municipality, the province or the Federal Government. Certainly they are not well fed. So that we have a feudalism that lacks all the responsibilities which the feudal barons of old were accustomed to assume—feudalism without the corresponding responsibility. And in the larger world outside, that has meant international anarchy. I think it is a lamentable thing that most of the countries of Europe have extended their business interests into the various countries of the world, and with them the flag has followed trade. I think that has been the trouble. I should like to think that the time is coming when we shall not be held responsible as a nation for safeguarding the investments of individuals who go into any part of the country without any guarantee from their own government, without a privilege from that government. It is a serious thing. In that connection I think it is one of the most lamentable things that within the last few days some of our own men who have been engaged in the air service have been let out; and, finding themselves with nothing to do, they are now willing to sell themselves to almost any country that will employ their services.

"The Canadian Air Service

members who have been dismissed are willing to become mercenaries, and since their trade has gone of bringing sudden death to others—because after all, so far as the military aspect of it is concerned, that is what it amounts to when they drop bombs upon people—they are willing to sell their services to some other country.

"We have much machinery of production and distribution, but yet we are in trouble. Our present system has developed to the point where a comparatively small number of men either directly or indirectly controls the natural resources, the equipment, and the finance capital and the labor of the country. Our private ownership has developed from the small beginning where many men were in control to a point where one man is able to control great corporations and direct the destiny of hundreds and thousands of his fellow employees.

"I want to devote myself for the few minutes that remain to me to some of the objections that are constantly being raised. For example, we are again and again told that this would interfere with the rights of private property, I refer to the Papal Encyclical in which I read: It is rightly contended that certain forms of property must be reserved to the state since they carry with them an opportunity of domination too great to be left to private individuals without injury to the community at large.

Surely that is clear and the proposal is a reasonable one. Another quotation: History proves that the right of ownership like other elements of social life is not absolutely rigid.

Anyone who knows anything about the way in which the Crown lands of this country have been alienated, will understand that those who now hold them have very slim rights, so far as ethics are concerned to the lands which they now occupy. Anyone who knows how the great water powers of this country, including Beauharnois, have been obtained will not be very sure that the present owners are the rightful ones.

### The Source of Fortune

Anyone who knows how railway charters were obtained in this country a few years ago may very well question the foundations of present ownership of private property. If anyone wants to take the trouble to find out how the private fortunes of Canada were created, I think he might read what is now an old book by Gustavus Myers, which was written

some time ago and which was suppressed during the war, which shows how the private wealth of the earlier wealthy people of this country was built up.

Then again we are warned that anything in the way of socialization would mean the banishment of private initiative. As a matter of fact I doubt whether the majority of our people under our modern industrial system have much chance to exercise private initiative. They are simply hewers of wood and drawers of water. Under our present system we shall always have men who can never be anything else; but if we establish a co-operative commonwealth, they would play their part, they would have their share and there would be a greater opportunity for the development of initiative.

The question may be asked: Will this work? That can be determined only by trial. What I want to point out is that the present system is not working and the onus of proof rests upon the apologists for the present system. What I want to do is to urge upon the House that we give serious consideration to developing another system. I do not say that this can be done overnight, but every time that we develop the co-operative principle in industry, we go one step towards bringing about a co-operative commonwealth; every time that we allow public ownership to enter instead of private ownership and to be operated under democratic auspices, we are taking another step toward a cooperative commonwealth; every time that we allow a little bit more authority and control to be given to employees, we come one step nearer toward a co-operative commonwealth. Every time that we take wealth away from the super-wealthy and divide it and make a more equitable distribution, we are bringing about a better state of affairs and are going a step towards a co-operative commonwealth.

### MacInnis Speaks

Angus MacInnis, (Labor Vancouver South): in answer to an opponent said: The hon. member who has just spoken (Mr. MacNicol) implied in his closing remarks that those of us who support this resolution and who are looking forward to a change of things to improve the condition of the masses of the people only want to tear the present structure down. The hon. gentleman is assuming far too much. It is because we want to build up and not to tear down that we are taking part in this debate. It is for that reason that we have introduced the resolution. We realize today that the present economic system is tumbling about our ears and that nothing is being done about it.

The hon. member who has just taken his seat pointed out the many improvements which have been made in machinery and the great developments which have taken place in our present system. He mentioned that the worker had been displaced with machinery and then went on to say that that had nothing to do with the economic system. If it had nothing to do with the economic system I should like to know what is the cause of our present difficulty. Our present system must be responsible for what happens under it.

Henri Bourassa (Ind., Labelle): Or lack of it.

Mr. MacInnis: Or lack of it, as the hon. member for Labelle points out.

In moving the resolution the hon. member for Winnipeg North Centre (Mr. Woodsworth) points out as one of the indictments

against the present system the fact that workers under present conditions have no scope for initiative. Once they are workers, they must remain so. While I agree with him in most other things, I cannot agree wholly with him in this respect; there is one thing else open for them—they can become unemployed.

### Administration Not the Problem

We do not blame anyone for what has happened; we are not like the large political parties who blame each other. The Conservative party blames the Liberal party for the conditions which obtained from 1922 to 1930 while, on the other hand, the Liberals blame the Conservatives because conditions are not improving at the present time. Our contention is that the economic system is breaking down not because of a lack of efficient administrators but because of inherent defects in the system itself.

Of course, the whole trouble is that under the present system production is carried on not to meet the needs of the people, but so that the products may be sold, and in order that that may be done, one must have the wherewithal to buy those products. If you have not the wherewithal to buy them, regardless of what the production of the country may be, you will be faced with conditions such as I have just outlined. The hon. member for Toronto North-west (Mr. MacNicol) tells us that in order to succeed we must work hard. If he will provide the work, I am sure I can provide the workers and they will be workers who will work hard.

With the increasing use of machinery in agriculture, the position of the farmer is becoming more and more analogous to that of the profitless wage-earner, more particularly the small farmer. Because of his seeming ownership of the land and the equipment with which he works it, the farmer for a long time was under the delusion that he was a man of property; also for the reason, I presume, that on occasions he engaged hired help. His exploitation by the real owning class was not so apparent to him as it was to his fellow-workers, the industrial wage-worker.

### Risking Catastrophe

It is true that in the last few years, through co-operative pools and other agencies, the farmer has imitated his brother in the industrial cities, but not with any great success. When he takes his products to market he asks the buyer: What will you give me for this? When he comes to buy he asks the seller: What are you asking for it? He is at the mercy of a world market, and the surplus values that he produces go just as surely and just as completely to those who live by rent, interest and profit, as do the products of the wage worker who leaves the factory when the whistle blows at five o'clock.

The function of government in the future, as we see it, must be that of organizing production. The policy of laissez faire in production is at an end, and whether we like it or not, the next step in successful and orderly government must be in planned production and distribution.

If the resources of the world cannot be organized so as to give everyone a definite standard of living, the organization will have to be done by the workers of the world including the farmers. From my point of view and I believe from the points of view of my colleagues in this corner of the house that is the solution which sooner or later will have to be adopted, whether we like it or not. To this government I say: Why waste time and risk a catastrophe by attempting to work out remedies which will not cure and palliatives which will not palliate.

## Hoover's Policy Answered

the tragedy. The parade was orderly until it reached the Dearborn line. Here police tried to halt the procession. The marchers were insistent on their rights and broke through the police lines, unheeding, tear-gas bombs which they hurled back into the ranks of the police and cutting the hose of firemen who tried to pour icy streams onto the already frozen bodies of the jobless.

Finally, infuriated by the police attacks and the fire hose, the marchers rushed the gates of the River Rouge Ford plant. Dearborn police and armed Ford guards then opened their deadly fire. The marchers were finally routed, leaving the dead and wounded. The nation had had its first taste of the Hoover policy which refuses bread for the hun-

gry jobless but has bullets ready at hand.

The tragic Detroit demonstration carries with it signal lessons for workers of the nation and a warning to the upper classes and their political hirelings in the two old parties. It is an evidence of the growing desperation of the unemployed who are beginning to grow tired of the stupidity of a government which gives them slogans instead of work and food. Repetitions of the Detroit rioting, if they come, will be on the heads of the Federal government and the business interests of the nation which it serves in their refusal to grant justice to the unemployed while it carefully shields the fat backs of the rich from the burden of the industrial breakdown.

For the workers of the nation, organized and unorganized, and for the Socialists, the deaths at Detroit are an imperative summons to mobilize the working-class—politically, in trade unions and in unions of the unemployed—for the waging of an organized, disciplined and unceasing battle. This battle must have two objectives: it must bring to every jobless and hungry worker food, clothing and shelter—if work cannot be provided—as part of a governmental program financed by taxation on the swollen fortunes of the rich; secondly, this battle must seek to end for all time the system which breeds unemployment and which answers the workers' call for life-giving food with death-dealing bullets.



## 9 Miners Face Courts in Ky. This Month

Jones, Hightower Secretely Moved to Hamper Work of Defense

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

**H**ARLAN, Ky.—F. M. Bratcher, one of the first of the loyal union miners to be arrested in connection with the slaying of Deputy Sheriff Jim Daniels at Everts last May, is to be tried before Judge D. C. Jones March 21, according to information current here. There was no public announcement to that effect, because the coal baron prosecution, which has already succeeded in convicting two of the leaders of the United Mine Workers local at Everts, does not let its plans be known until it has carried them out.

Whether it means that Bratcher will be actually placed on trial, or whether he will be sent to some distant part of the state again, on a change of venue asked by the coal company prosecution, remains to be seen. Judging from what already has happened, it will be in line with the policies of the operators to get the remaining miner defendants out of the county.

The other defendants whose cases are set for the March term of the Harlan circuit court are Asa Cusick, Al Benson, Jim Reynolds, Floyd Murphy, Joe Cawood, Bill Turpin, Charles Bradley and Otto Mills. Whether they will be tried or not, of course, depends upon the disposition of the Bratcher case.

Another appeal to the outside world for help was made by the defendants in these cases again this week. Conditions are rapidly growing worse. Over at Everts, the refugees from the coal company camps are in desperate need of clothing and food. The General Defense Committee, with national headquarters at 555 West Lake street, is doing all it can to care for this situation, but its funds are limited. It must have the support of every sympathizer with these men, the victims of the relentless persecution of the coal barons.

### JONES AND HIGHTOWER MOVED

**LEXINGTON, Ky.**—William Hightower and W. B. Jones, Everts, Ky., leaders of the United Mine Workers of America, who are under life sentence in the penitentiary in connection with the battle of Everts last May, were secretly transferred from the Mt. Sterling jail to the county bastille here this week. So carefully were the plans of the Montgomery County sheriff carried out, that it was not until the 77-year-old president of the Everts local and the militant secretary had been safely lodged in cells here that the news became known.

As usual the coal company prosecution at Harlan, Ky., instigated the transfer. It develops that it was a part of a general scheme to isolate the men from their newly made friends in Mt. Sterling. The attorneys for the defense, Captain Ben Golden and John M. Robison, were not even notified. Without warning of any kind the prisoners were whisked away in an automobile upon the motion of Commonwealth's Attorney Hamilton. He complained to Judge Henry R. Frewitt that "suspicious" characters had been seen about the Mt. Sterling jail.

Mrs. Hightower and Mrs. Jones, the wives of the prisoners, who are living in Mt. Sterling, and who had their children in school, had no inkling of what was going on. Hightower and Jones have an appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals pending. Although they were convicted by Blue-Grass juries on the framed-up indictment of conspiracy to murder Jim Daniels, the

## Shanessy, Barbers' Head, Declares A.F.L. Leadership Fails to Meet the Aises

President Calls Washington Demonstration Failure—Urges Huge Unionism Drive

By J. C. Shanessy

**T**HROUGH various periodicals and the press, as well as from the workers of the nation, there has been murmured dissatisfaction at the lack of definite leadership from the American Federation of Labor. For some time past, there has been an apprehensive feeling that the federation is ceasing to be a vital factor in the affairs of the nation. So it was with high hopes that your general president accompanied by Vice President Merlino responded to the call of President Green to all national and international unions to send representatives to a conference at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor in Washington, D. C., on Feb. 9, to discuss the economic depression and legislative matters of vital interest to labor.

After welcoming the assembled representatives, President Green read a lengthy document entitled "Labor's Appeal for Economic and Legislative Relief." As we gave our attention to this reading, most of it had a familiar sound, we realized with a sickening sense of despair that this document was but a reiteration of the platitudinal orations and beseechments we have heard so often. Our thoughts turned to that grand old man of labor, our beloved Samuel Gompers. We wondered what would have been his reaction. Would he have considered written appeals labor's only recourse for remedy in an emergency like the present depression? No! A thousand times, no! Would not his great heart bleed to think that the organization to which he literally gave his life should at this most desperate time in the history of labor be so lacking in militancy?

Upon conclusion of the reading of this document, discussion thereof, and some changes, the assembled representatives approved it as requested. Then another document entitled "Organization of the Wage Earners" and designated as a "declaration" was presented to be adopted by the conference. This so-called declaration mildly "called" upon all national and international unions to:

"Renew activity in the work of organizing the members of their respective trades and callings into their respective organizations—and that every possible consideration be given to plans and procedures that will facilitate such enlarged membership."

### No Plans Made

But as to what these "plans and procedures" should be there was no suggestion. Is the supreme court of the labor movement unable, or unwilling, to take the initiative, sit down around the council table, and map out a plan of action? It is what we do that counts, not what we say. President Green's conference was, indeed, a pitiful failure in so far as offering any definite or concrete plan of action to help organized labor meet existing circumstances. All that was offered might better have been presented by mail to the national and international unions saving them the expenditure necessitated by

Black Mountain coal company deputy sheriff mineguard in the Everts affair, the defense has every reason to believe the verdict will be reversed by the higher court. The numerous errors which Judge Frewitt permitted to creep into the record, with Hamilton's notorious "bonfires of rejoicing in Moscow" speech as the principal error, is the basis of the belief. The case is to be argued shortly.

An article by J. C. Shanessy, president of the Barbers' Union, in the March number of the "Journeyman Barber," the official publication of the barbers, expresses dissatisfaction with the policy of the American Federation of Labor in dealing with the depression and the matter of organizing the workers.

To arouse the interest of other unions the article has been mimeographed and sent to the other national and international unions by the head office at Indianapolis. The barbers have been among the most conservative trade unions in this country and criticism from this source is recognized as having much significance. The article of President Shanessy is reprinted here.

sending representatives to this conference.

The American Federation of Labor should challenge economic conditions by mapping out a real organization campaign with every ramification of the movement accountable to the federation for its part in the drive. The drive should not be for a week, or a month, or even a year. It should be unending until all are within the ranks of the organized. So far as such a policy is concerned, we feel the federation has fallen flat and there is grave need of rejuvenation.

"For now the field is not far off where we must give the world a Proof of deeds, not words."

Our motive in bringing this to the attention of organized labor is not with destructive intent, but to bring back once more into our federation the aggressive, dominating spirit exemplified by our former leader, Samuel Gompers. The Journeyman Barbers' International Union of America is bending every effort to do its part toward assisting the American Federation of Labor to retain its prestige and meet in this machine age the challenge to find a course that will solve this problem that only can be met through concrete organization. When will a movement to organize the workers begin in earnest? The Journeyman Barbers' International Union is ready and in fact has started its campaign which will be a never-ending one.

### Shapiro to Debate Dunne

A debate entitled "Socialism vs. Communism" will be held Sunday evening, March 13, at 8:30 p. m., under the auspices of the Washington Heights Socialist Forum at the Y. M. H. A., 975 St. Nicholas avenue, corner 159th street, New York City. Theodore Shapiro of the Socialist party will speak for Socialism and William Dunne, editor of the Daily Worker, will speak for Communism. Robert Delson will preside.

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## Lecture Calendar

(All lectures start at 8:30 P. M. unless otherwise indicated.)

**SUNDAY, MARCH 13**  
 Abraham Epstein, "The Significance of Social Insurance," 11 A. M., Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison avenues, West Bronx Socialist Forum.

Henry J. Roemer, "Hoover's Dole to American Capital," 11:30 A. M., 1581 Washington avenue, Bronx, Jewish Branch One.

Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, "The Industrial Outlook for Black America," 3:30 P. M., 2005 7th avenue, Manhattan, Peoples' Educational Forum.

F. Leigh Pearce, "Labor's Struggle in the Kentucky Coal Fields," 3109 Broadway, Manhattan; Morningside Heights Branch, Socialist Party.

August Claessens, "The Odium of Mental Labor—Caste and Prejudice," 96 Avenue C, Manhattan; 6th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

Theodore Shapiro versus William Dunne, debate, "Socialism versus Communism," Y. M. H. A., 975 St. Nicholas avenue, Manhattan; Washington Heights Branch, Socialist Party.

**MONDAY, MARCH 14**  
 Samuel A. DeWitt, "The Machine and Us," 167 Tompkins avenue, Brooklyn; Williamsburg Branch, Socialist Party.

Herbert Cohen, "The Effect of the Frontier on American Life," home of Max Frankel, 934 Carroll street, Brooklyn; 11th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

**TUESDAY, MARCH 15**  
 Morris Paris, "Socialism in the Hinterland," 20 E. Kingsbridge road, Bronx; 8th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

August Claessens, "Our Economic Chaos," Queens County Labor Lyceum, Forest avenue and Madison street; Ridgewood Branch, Socialist Party.

William Karlin, "Will Civilization Survive?" 1637 East 17th street, Brooklyn; Midwood Branch, Socialist Party.

**THURSDAY, MARCH 17**  
 Dr. S. Lifschitz and Jacob Panken, "The Situation in Germany," Rand School, 7 East 15th street, Manhattan; Educational Committee, Socialist Party.

August Claessens, "Graft and Corruption—Its Cause and Cure," Pelham Parkway Jewish Center, Bronx.

**FRIDAY, MARCH 18**  
 Forrest Bailey, "Industrial Relations and Civil Liberties," Hollywood Gardens, 896 Prospect avenue, Bronx Labor Forum.

August Claessens, "Graft and Corruption—Its Cause and Cure," Paradise Manor, Mt. Eden and Jerome avenues, Mid-Bronx Socialist Forum.

David Kaplan, "Trade Unionism and the Socialist Party," 327 East 9th street, Manhattan; 8th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

Henry J. Roemer, "What I Saw in Vienna," 65 Snyder avenue, Brooklyn; 21st A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

Jacob Bernstein, "Communism and Socialism," Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Backman street, Brooklyn; 23d A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

William Karlin, "Will Civilization Survive?" Bohemian Hall, 2d and Wooley avenues, Astoria; Socialist Party Branch.

**SATURDAY, MARCH 19**  
 Norman Thomas, Leonard Bright, Samuel A. DeWitt, August Claessens, "The Present Economic Depression and Relief for Unemployment," Moose Hall, 142d street and 15th avenue, College Point. Auspices of Flushing Branch, Socialist Party.

## Socialists Aid Mine Strikers In Cassandra

**CASSANDRA, Pa.**—The 700 members of the Cassandra local of the United Mine Workers, on strike to preserve the last miners' local left standing in Central and Western Pennsylvania, received the first aid of the Miners' Relief Fund of the Socialist party on March 4 when David Rinne drove an odd-ton of foodstuffs in from the Pittsburgh headquarters. The committee was able to initiate this new work through the aid of the emergency committee in New York.

Since the middle of January the Cassandra strikers have been waging a brave, well-led and as yet successful fight against the attempt of the C. A. Hughes Coal Company to wipe out the union. Less than ten out of 700 have broken ranks to return to work. In spite of a back-knifing of the strikers by a judge and sheriff elected on a "friend-of-labor" platform, the strike has been a signal for the sharp rise in union sentiment in the mining communities of the entire county. In spite of stark starvation, those members of the various communities who have dared to scab have found both themselves and their families completely ostracized and only the riff-raff element have continued strike-breaking under the eyes of the daily picket lines at Cassandra.

Besides the aid which the Miners' Relief Fund at Pittsburgh hopes to send each week, the state office of the Socialist party at the request of union has furnished speakers for the strike meetings which are held every other day of the week. Robert Lieberman and Arthur G. McDowell have alternated from Pittsburgh and Charles Rockel of Christ Reformed Church, Altoona, has given his services during the last week.

### Rand School Activities

John Dewey will give the second lecture in his course on "Philosophy and Politics" Monday night, the 14th, at 8:30 P. M. He will discuss "Politics and Culture."

Hendrick Van Loon will lecture on "Montaigne" Wednesday night, the 16th, at 8:30 P. M. These lectures on "The Laughing Philosophers" bring the philosophers down to date. Instead of merely talking about Montaigne, Mr. Van Loon will tell what the sharp Frenchman would say if he were in America during the administration of Herbert Hoover.

**SATURDAY NIGHT GAITIES.**—The Gaities are proving a great success. Every Saturday night there is a crowd in the studio. This week the chief attraction will be a violin program by Herman Lieberman, Educational Director of the Amalgamated Apartments.

## Happy News, President Hoover! There's No Hoarding of energy in the efforts made by The New Leader Subscription Hustlers

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## Hoan Riddles 'Non-Partisan' Councilmen

### Socialists Out to Win Control of Milwaukee Board of Aldermen

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

MILWAUKEE.—The city campaign of 1932 is in full swing, with the Socialists led by Mayor Hoan giving vigorous battle all down the line against the so-called "non-partisan" aldermen. Not only the re-election of Hoan is the Socialist objective, but also the ousting of the old party "non-partisans" and their replacing by a straight Socialist majority in the city council. The election takes place early in April. The primaries take place March 15th.

Addressing a crowd of 1,700 enthusiastic supporters who had filled every available seat in the Deutsches Haus an hour before the first of the Socialist speakers appeared, Mayor Daniel W. Hoan last Wednesday night ripped the record of the non-partisan Aldermen in the City Hall to shreds.

Hyphenated Republican-Democrats, parading under the banner of non-partisanship, had charge upon charge of betrayal laid at their feet, each instance backed up by the records of the case.

#### Scandals Are Scored

The sewer scandal, bribe-taking Aldermen who still remain in the common council, opponents of the Kline assessment bill, the surety bond affair, the zoning law farce, and the city charter mess all received the scathing denunciation of a vigorous, well-sustained attack by the Mayor.

Reviewing briefly the general status of graft and corruption prevalent in all large cities of the United States, with the single exception of Milwaukee, Mayor Hoan asked, why was it that Milwaukee's record has not been smirched with the same conditions which exist elsewhere.

"That is to say, they admit that because we have some Socialists in office who can constantly keep an eye on the other fellows, we can stop them from stealing.

"Even this is a great tribute to the Socialist party.

"You don't have to go to China to get into a war. There is war going on right here in the United States between the criminal element of the population and decent citizens.

"There never was a time in all history when special interests were more anxious to corrupt government than at the present time."

Concluding his address, Hoan said:

"Today we find the capitalist system also approaching its end. A more advanced system, based on collective ownership and the brotherhood of man, is about to take its place—if civilization is to survive. To organize all of the elements that make the coming of this higher social order possible is the main aim of the Socialist party in this country as well as throughout the world."

### Hillquit to Address The West Side Forum

Morris Hillquit will speak on "Europe's Struggles for Survival" at the West Side Socialist Forum, 100 West 72nd street, on Friday night, March 18, at 8:30 p. m.

#### Jennie Lee in Boston

BOSTON.—Jennie Lee, former British Labor M. P., will address a general meeting of the Young Circle Clubs of Boston to be held Saturday evening, March 12, at the studio room at the Bradford Hotel on Tremont street, Boston.

## Most, Socialist Organizer, 'Slugged in West Virginia

### "Stay Away if You Want to Live," Clarks- burg Thug Tells Him

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CLARKSBURG, W. Va.—The growing resentment of the coal operators and the reactionary political rulers of the state flared up against Socialist Organizers Amicus Most and Murray Baron this week. Repeated threats conveyed in recent weeks to Most and Baron had materialized Wednesday morning when Most was attacked in the streets of this city and viciously slugged.

"We don't want no New York agitators around," Most was told by his assailants. "Tell Frank Keeney to keep you fellows in Charleston if he wants you to live."

Keeney is the leader of the new West Virginia Mine Workers Union with which the Socialists are working in close cooperation.

Most was in the city following the wind-up of the Socialist state convention here over the weekend. For two months he and Baron have been going up and down the state organizing Socialist locals. Their work was crowned with success by the state convention, the first of its kind since 1916.

After the convention Most remained in town to carry out some work with the local Socialists.

### N. Y. Socialists to Hear Discussion on Germany

Another of the series of meetings arranged by the educational committee of the Socialist party will be held Thursday evening, March 17, in the Rand School, 7 East 15th street, at 8:30 p. m. The present economic and political situation in Germany, Hitlerism, etc., will be discussed by Dr. S. Lifschitz, editor of the Volkzeitung and representative of the German Social Democratic press in America. Jacob Panken will preside. All members of the party should bear in mind the date and make no other plans for that evening. It is essential that every party speaker and organizer as well as active members should be informed on the present German situation.

### Bonnaz Embroiderers Strike in New York

Following a mass meeting Tuesday of the Bonnaz, Singer Embroiderers, Tuckers, Stitchers and Pleaters Union, Local 66, I. L. G. W. U., a general strike was called Wednesday. The strikers met at strike headquarters at the Rand School Auditorium, 7 East 15th street.

Vice-chairman of the general strike committee, Leon Hattab, and general secretary-treasurer, David Dubinsky, conferred with President Green of the American Federation of Labor Tuesday. Green promised them that the Bonnaz, Singer Embroiderers, Tuckers, Stitchers and Pleaters Union would receive the full support and sanction of the A. F. of L.

### Thomas in Buffalo Next Monday Night

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

BUFFALO, N. Y.—Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, will speak in the ballroom of the Hotel Lafayette, Monday evening, March 14, under the auspices of the Buffalo Conference for Unemployment Insurance. Rabbi Joseph L. Fink of Temple Beth Zion, will preside. The public is invited.

Wednesday morning he noticed he was being trailed by a tough looking individual with all the appearances of a thug. Shortly before noon, the thug approached Most and picked an argument with him. In the course of his heated remarks, the thug conveyed the warning quoted above. He then suddenly attacked Most. Before the young Socialist organizer could call the police, his assailant had disappeared.

## Neb. Socialists Name J.M. Paul For Governor

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

OMAHA.—Successful mass meetings in this city and Lincoln have started the Socialist party on the road to a tremendous vote in the fall elections in Nebraska, and the re-building of the state organization. Several hundred attended the state convention held here last Sunday, almost 100 coming from outside the city. Several farmer members came over 300 miles to attend.

John M. Paul, farmer, of Harvard, was unanimously chosen as candidate for governor. He is going to make a state-wide campaign, especially among the farmers' unions in which he has been active. A full state ticket, presidential electors and delegates to the Milwaukee convention were also picked by the convention.

Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee spoke and stirred the audience to frequent applause by his attacks on the banks and on monopolistic business. Clarence Senior and Harry Uerling were other speakers. Paul presided.

#### Largest Rally in Years

The next night, Senior spoke to the largest Socialist meeting in Lincoln since the war. Although it was hastily arranged by one individual at the request of national headquarters, the central labor union meeting hall was jammed. Almost fifty joined the party, and over ninety signed the nominating petitions. After the speech, Democratic petitions circulated at the meeting were destroyed as having been obtained under false pretenses.

Nebraska Socialists and sympathizers were assured that there will be a full ticket in the field in a joint statement issued by S. Lerner, 2512 Caldwell street, acting state secretary, and Clarence Senior. They expressed confidence that the vote this fall will bring the party full legal standing.

Other candidates nominated: Philip Haffner, Omaha, lieutenant governor; H. H. Hester, Red Cloud, secretary of state; James H. Walker, Omaha, attorney general; Soren H. Nelson and Peter Uerling, Hastings, for Congress. Presidential electors are: S. Lerner, Omaha; John Conright, North Platte; Louis J. Ihm, Omaha; Chas. W. Mattson, Cushing; John O. Schmidt, Wahoo; Wilbur E. Sanford, Lincoln, and Max Crounse, Omaha.

Widespread interest in the party's activity has been aroused, and the new state organization intends to keep up speaking and distribution of literature all during the spring and summer. Those who wish to help in the campaign should communicate with S. Lerner, 2512 Caldwell street, Omaha, Nebraska.

#### THE INGERSOLL FORUM

Rev. B. M. Heald and Woolsey Teller will debate the subject, "Is the Universe Governed by Intelligence?" under the direction of the Ingersoll Forum, in the Pythian Temple, 135 W. 70th St., Sunday, at 8 P. M.

### N. Y. Women Socialists To Lunch March 19th

THE remarkable success of International Women's Day held last Sunday at Debs Auditorium, in spite of the worst wind-swept day of this winter has so elated the N. Y. Women Socialists that they have decided to do more celebrating. All the women of the Party and their friends are cordially invited to attend the "Get Acquainted Luncheon," Saturday, March 19, at 1:30 P. M., at the Civic Club, 18 East 10th street. The charge of the luncheon and tip is 55 cents.

Mary De Nio, who has previously delighted with the charm of her voice will render vocal solos. The chairman of our newly organized units—most of them are young women and recent members of the party—will give short talks. On April 1st the Women's Section will run a costume ball. But, more about this next week, except to say the Ball will be held at the Debs Auditorium. Reservations for the luncheon should be sent in to Esther Friedman in care of Socialist Party, 7 East 15th street.

#### Wage Slashing Continues

Not a single increase and almost 300 wage cuts were listed by reporting employers, unions and municipal governments for the month ending Dec. 15, 1931. Preliminary estimates for January indicate an even more accelerating trend, according to the Labor Bureau, Inc.

#### THE LABOR TEMPLE

Dr. E. G. Beck will speak on "Herman Melville, by Lewis Mumford," Sunday at 5 p. m. in the Labor Temple, Second avenue and 14th street. "Jesus and Marx—Alike and Different," will be the subject of Dr. Chaffee's address

## Bronx Socialists Organize Tenants To Fight Evictions

THE Socialist party of the Bronx has organized a Bronx Tenants' Emergency League. At the opening meeting, Samuel Orr, Bronx County chairman, described the present situation faced by many unemployed tenants. "People who two years ago," he said, "were living comfortably are being thrown out of their homes. It is no uncommon sight to see the furniture of evicted tenants standing in the street. Judges, even if moved by the deepest feelings of sympathy, are helpless under the law which compels them to dispossess the jobless if they cannot meet their rent."

Orr pointed out that landlords had already organized to protect their interests, and that the workers of the Bronx must do likewise. He described what had been done in the last rent crisis, how organized tenants had compelled passage of emergency rent laws. Al Breslow described the activities of the Socialist party and the Young People's League in picketing the municipal courts against the issuance of dispossession notices.

Many working class organizations, trade unions and workers' clubs have signified their intention to cooperate with the Bronx Tenants' Emergency Committee. Headquarters have been opened at 908 Prospect avenue. Plans have already been made for the calling of a large mass meeting of tenants, to be followed by the organization of neighborhood local leagues. An action committee was elected at the opening meeting, the chairman of which is Matthew Levy.

## DEBATES — LECTURES — FORUMS

### SOCIALIST PARTY BRONX COUNTY BALL

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SUNDAY, 8 P. M.—JENNIE LEE, M. P.

"The Outlook of the Post-War Generation"

11—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES—"Sober Second Thoughts on the Lindbergh Case"

### THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At Cooper Union

Eighth Street and Astor Place

At 8 o'clock

Friday Evening, March 11  
DR. HARRY A. OVERSTREET  
"The Meaning and Function of Matter"

Sunday Evening, March 13  
DR. HORACE M. KALLEN  
"The Individual and Culture"

Tuesday Evening, March 15  
DR. V. J. MCGILL  
"The Denial of the Will: Schopenhauer"

At Muhlberg Library  
200 West 43rd Street  
At 8:30 o'clock

Thursday Evening, March 17  
PROFESSOR E. G. SPAULDING  
"The Science of Order: Mathematics and Geometry"

#### THE BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP

Assure Masonic Temple  
1501 Boston Road, near E. 172nd St.  
SUNDAY EVENING, March 13  
8 P. M.—RABBI ERNEST E. TRATTNER on "How a Jew Sees Jesus."  
9 P. M.—JACOB WERNSTEIN on "Two Roads to Freedom."  
Music Admission Free

#### LABOR TEMPLE

14th Street and Second Avenue  
DR. EDMUND R. CHAFFEE, Director  
5 P. M.—DR. E. G. BECK—"Herman Melville by Lewis Mumford."  
7:45 P. M.—STANLEY A. DAY—Organ recital.  
9 P. M.—DR. EDMUND R. CHAFFEE—"Jesus and Marx—Alike and Different."

#### INGERSOLL FORUM

Pythian Temple, 135 W. 70th St.  
Sunday, 8 P. M.  
March 12, DEBATE: "Is the Universe Governed by Intelligence?"  
REV. B. M. HEALD (Missionary from Central Africa) vs. WOOLSEY TELLER (Atheist Tract and Catalog Free)  
American Association for the Advancement of Atheism  
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## Snider Named For Governor In W. Virginia

### State Convention Shows Phenomenal Growth of Party; Other States Active

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
**CHARLESTON, W. Va.** — The Socialist state convention here Saturday and Sunday was one of the most inspiring events in the recent history of the party. Forty delegates from the far corners of the State representing 13 branches and a membership of nearly 500 gathered for the first state convention since 1916. This is phenomenal considering the fact that three months ago there were no members at all in the State, and is a credit to Organizers Amicus Most and Murray Baron working in West Virginia. Old-time Socialists met with the additions, and were enthusiastic about the event. From the progress indicated, West Virginia promises a steady and constant growth.

The state ticket will be led by Joseph H. Snider of Fairmont, for Governor. The rest of the ticket consists of William O. Baker of Charleston for Secretary of State; Elizabeth Franklin of Fairmont for Superintendent of Schools; George E. Glass of Charleston for Treasurer; S. J. Folk of Ridgeley for Auditor; G. H. Duthie of Clarksburg for Attorney General; J. B. West of Mannington for Commissioner of Agriculture.

John F. Higgins was re-elected with much enthusiasm as State Secretary; W. B. Annon of Philippi, National Committeeman. Snider and Most were chosen as delegates to the Milwaukee convention, and Prof. Thomas Posey of the West Virginia State College for Negroes, and Nora Franks of Huntington as alternates.

**6,500 Signatures Needed**  
 It will be necessary to gather over 6,500 signatures before May 5th to place the ticket on the ballot. Full plans were outlined for this purpose. Each county, state, Senatorial and Congressional District were instructed to hold conventions at once so as to put a full ticket in the field.

The State Platform reaffirmed the ultimate aim of the party for true and complete Marxian Socialism, and included planks on taxation, farm relief, the socialization of coal, water power and railroads, demanded a complete system of social insurance, called for the abolition of the state police, direct relief for the unemployed, a state housing program, a state 30 hour week law, and the re-vamping of the prison and educational system.

It was decided to cooperate with the Independence Labor Party of the five counties of the Kanawha Valley, formed by the West Virginia Mine Workers Union and it was agreed not to put a rival ticket in the five counties. Greetings were sent to the Union in their fight against the coal operators. A continuation committee, consisting of Baron, Snider and three to be elected by the Charleston Local to work out "harmonious action" with the I. L. P. was chosen.

Resolutions were adopted pledging aid to the Kentucky miners; accepting the "California Boycott" movement until Mooney and Billings are freed; pledging aid to free Alfred Hoffman of Pennsylvania from jail; instructing each branch to participate in a state-wide May Day demonstration and to form a Yipsel branch; instructing the Clarksburg local to assist in the strike of the motion picture operators union now going on there; thanking the Clarksburg local for their arrangements of the convention and thanking Organizers Most and Baron for their efforts.

**Resolutions on Policy**  
 Resolutions to be submitted to the National Convention asked for the nomination of Tom Mooney for Vice President; asked to have the class-struggle clause reinserted in the application blank; asking for a vigorous stand on the general strike as an anti-war measure, declaring that the present move in Asia was primarily

directed against Russia; demanding that the Second International readopt a more Marxian policy, shall favor the general strike against war, shall show a united front with Russia in all international parleys, and shall ban the Socialist participation in coalition bourgeois governments. On Russia a resolution was adopted exploring the unfriendly attitude of some of the party leaders, stating the pride of the party in the steady progress towards Socialism shown by Russia and demanding a "hands off Soviet Russia" policy.

It called upon a more vigorous "unemployment union" action; called upon the party to actively press forward a Socialist culture movement; asked for the formation of the National Committee for work among Negroes; asked for more direct party control over party publications; condemned The New Leader for its recent anti-Russian articles and asking that it be made a more vigorous propaganda sheet, written in a language more comprehensible to the worker and eliminating many of the personal columns. A vigorous stand against any form of "reformism" in the party was asked for particularly deprecating election campaigns run on an appeal to the "good government" elements in the community and stating that "corruption is simply the retail side of the wholesale robbery that is capitalism."

The party was asked to reneate the clause in the Constitution calling for the election by referendum of all delegates to the International and asking that a fund be set aside to pay the expenses of these delegates. A resolution on party labor union policy was adopted stating that the era of craft unionism was coming to an end and asking the party to agitate and work for a militant industrial unionism. Although the party shall not force its opinions upon unions it demanded that Socialists within unions act as Socialists and that all Socialist union members actively participate in union affairs. It called upon the party to appoint a permanent National Labor Committee and employ permanent labor organizers who shall seek out opportunities where the party can actively participate in labor struggles, and assist friendly organizations attempting to organize the unorganized, and place our youth in industry where they can be useful in this manner; and that the party shall set up permanent strike relief machinery. It finished by asking that the party recognize that work upon the industrial front is fully as important as work upon the political field.

The majority of the delegates present were union members who agreed heartily with this policy and they stated that the mine workers union in this State was powerful, honest and active when it was led by the Socialist Party.

A banquet was held Saturday night which was addressed by G. H. Duthie, Professor Thomas Posey, G. H. West, J. H. Higgins, Murray Baron and Amicus Most. Comrades Duthie and West, who are old timers in the movement, stressed their enthusiasm at the revival of interest in the movement and pledged their fullest cooperation. Letters and telegrams of greeting were read from Norman Thomas, Morris Hillquit, Clarence Senior and State Executive Committees of Pennsylvania and Virginia.

### Socialist Party Notes From the States

**MAY DAY ARRANGEMENTS SHOULD BE STARTED NOW.**—"It is not too soon to start making arrangements for the biggest May Day meetings that the Socialists have ever held," says a letter from National Headquarters to all party officials. The best halls will be taken if not requested now, it says. The need for a central meeting of some prominence and importance rather than sectional meetings that do not attract attention is stressed.

**BUSICK AVAILABLE.**—William W. Busick, chairman of the state organization in California and organizer for Los Angeles, is to make about a dozen speaking dates on his way to the Milwaukee convention and returning. National Headquarters announces. Busick will start about May 7 from Los Angeles, going East by the southern route and returning over the northern roads. Locals and branches wanting a rousing speaker for a public meeting should write to National Headquarters at once.

### Illinois

Preparations are under way to secure the 25,000 signatures to petitions that are necessary before the party can be on the ballot in this state.

**CHICAGO.**—The Socialists are preparing for an impressive May First demonstration. A May Day Conference has been created in which party branches, progressive labor unions and benevolent organizations are participating. At the second meeting of the conference there were 63 delegates present, representing 38 organizations. Regular meetings will be held first and third Sundays of each month, 10 A. M., at Socialist Party Center, 3036 Roosevelt road. Organizations that have not already done so are urged to send delegates.

The Socialist Open Forum of the 6th Congressional District Branch, announces that on Wednesday, March 23, at 8:30 P. M., Ben Larks, State Secretary, will speak on "Is Capital-

ism Dying?" Questions and discussions. Workers are invited to attend these meetings on the first and third Wednesdays of each month, at the Party Center, 3036 West Roosevelt road, Chicago, Illinois.

### West Virginia

The visit of Amicus Most, state organizer, to Shinnston has resulted in the formation of a live local with ten charter members. L. H. Brown, Box 115, is secretary.

### California

Socialists are organizing the state in preparation of the coming campaign, when they hope to poll at least 75,000 votes. Roger Rush and Harold Fithian are in Santa Barbara starting a new local. State Secretary Rush plans to spend three weeks a month in the state. Hymie Sheanin and Willie Goldberg have just started on an eight-month organization tour.

Los Angeles County, center of Socialist activity in the state, is going along at full speed. During March over 100 educational meetings will be held and 50,000 pieces of literature distributed. Ten new branches will be started. Thousands of copies of the "A. B. C. of Socialism," by Fred Henderson, are being sold. The Young Socialist League recently held a huge Youth Anti-War meeting in the Polytechnic High School Auditorium.

The Unemployment Insurance Initiative amendment to the California constitution is back from the Attorney General and the campaign to gather 200,000 signatures to put the measure on the ballot will start in full swing in a few days. A Labor College, the Gartz School of Social Science, is to be started in Los Angeles within a short time. The need for such a school has long been felt on the Pacific Coast. The school will conduct evening classes only at the start. The school is to be named after Kate Crane Gartz, who for many years has been fighting for the cause of justice.

### Washington, D. C.

A miners relief meeting, sponsored by the Socialist Study Club, was held in Musicians Hall, at which Arnold Johnson, recently returned from Harlan, Ky., spoke. Over \$30 was collected.

"Application of Socialism" will be the section of the club's course in Socialism to be discussed at the next five meetings, held on successive Saturday nights at the Workmen's Circle School, 660 Columbia road, N. W. On March 12, Prof. Abram Harris of Howard University will speak on "Unionism and Economic Reconstruction." Benjamin Marsh, of People's Lobby will follow on March 19 with a lecture on "Land and Labor."

### Maine

Socialist Party activity in Maine has been steadily expanding. With the addition of a strong Portland local which formerly flew the banner of the Farmer-Labor Party and the increasing interest on the part of a small group of Colby College students the Lewiston local hopes to entertain a large gathering at the state convention to be held on April 3d. The effort of the Lewiston Socialists in re-establishing the ticket in the municipal elections for the first time since 1904 will be matched by state convention in placing state candidates on the ballot.

Those interested in the extension of our influence over a wider field are urged to write state secretary P. H. Maxfield at 5474 Congress street, Portland. Preliminary to our convention will be the presentation to the Governor of a demand for a \$200,000 appropriation for direct relief of the unemployed. A hearing will be held in the middle of the month before the Governor and his council. Letters urging the acceptance of our demands can be addressed to your councilor.

### Connecticut

**NEW HAVEN.**—New Haven Socialists will hear Rev. Fleming James at the March 14th meeting of the local. Mr. James is on the faculty of the Berkeley Divinity School. Roy F. Berggren will address the March 17th meeting of the New Haven Trades Council on the subject, "Why Connecticut Needs Credit Unions?" The New Haven Board of Education refuses to allow Mrs. Margaret Sanger to speak at one of the high school buildings after granting her a permit.

### Pennsylvania

**PHILADELPHIA.**—Andrew J. Blemler, executive secretary of the L. I. D., will speak on "Why Vote Socialist?" at the Sunday night forum of the Strawberry Mansion Branch on Sunday, March 13th, 8 o'clock, at 3009 Ridge avenue. April 8th, Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the Socialist Party, will speak on "Europe's Struggle for Survival," at the Labor Institute, 810 Locust street. Admission will be twenty-five cents.

### New Jersey

The state committee of the party will meet Sunday, March 13, at 105 Springfield avenue, Newark, at 2:30 P. M.

**NEWARK.**—Fifty New Leaders were sold at the open air meeting last Saturday in Military Park. The meeting continued some six hours, with more than 400 in attendance. William Karlin's address at last Sunday's forum was a success despite the bad weather. Norman Thomas stepped in after another meeting and

in a brief talk appealed for party membership. Ten people responded, Thomas signing their cards. This Sunday there will be a debate in the St. Regis Hotel, on the question, "Is the Soviet Form of Government Applicable to the U. S. A.?" I. Sklarov will take the affirmative. Theodore Shapiro the negative.

### New York State

**ROCKLAND COUNTY.**—The local's monthly forum meets at the home of Carl P. Svensson, Palmer avenue, Nanuet, at 3 P. M., Sunday, March 13. William Karlin will speak on "Civilization at the Cross Roads—Socialism, Dictatorship or Downfall!" The discussion group meets Wednesdays instead of Tuesdays. The meeting next week will be at Merritt Crawford's home.

Nominations for members of the Socialist County Committee were filed at New City, Rockland County, this week, and in seventeen districts

at least, it is hoped, to have full representation on the ballot at the primaries on April 5. In other districts one member only will be named and the other will have to be written in. William Wesel of Nyack, new recording secretary of the local, is organizing a young people's group. Plans are being made to hold a card-party early in April.

**MOUNT VERNON.**—Local Mt. Vernon is continuing its organization. The second meeting of this local was addressed by Comrade Leonard Bright. A committee was named to visit Workmen's Circle, Branch 163, which is cooperating with the local, to secure the enrollment of most of their members into the party. Members of the county committee were designated. The local will see to it that at the spring primaries only active Socialists are elected to this committee. The next meeting will be on Thursday, March 17, at 8 P. M., at 201 So. 3d avenue. A speaker from out of town will be present.

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# N. Y. Socialists Pick Delegates To Convention

## Vote for Four Boroughs Canvassed—Notes from the Branches

CANVASSING of the vote cast by New York City Socialists for delegates to the national convention of the Socialist Party to be held in May was completed this week. Those elected as delegates were:

**MANHATTAN.**—Algermon Lee, Morris Hillquit, Julius Gerber, Jacob Panken, Norman Thomas, Simon Berlin, Samuel A. Beardsley, William Karlin, Bela Low, Wilho Hedman, Heywood Brown and Bertha H. Mallory.

**QUEENS.**—James Oneal, Paul Blanshard and S. A. de Witt.

**THE BRONX.**—Samuel Orr, Henry Fruchter, Esther Friedman, Dr. Louis Hendin, Julius Umansky, Louis Schaeffer, and Sarah Volovick.

**BROOKLYN.**—Charles Solomon, B. C. Vlodeck, Louis Waldman, A. I. Shlipacoff, Harry W. Laidler, William M. Feigenbaum and J. J. Reilly.

A mass demonstration against unemployment and wage cuts arranged under the auspices of the Committee on Meetings and the City Executive Committee will be held Saturday afternoon, March 12, at Columbus Circle, at 1 P. M. Speakers: McAlister Coleman, August Claessens, Leonard Bright, Aaron Levenstein, Frank R. Crosswaith, Esther Friedman, Henry J. Rosner, Max Delson, chairman.

**WOMEN'S SECTION.**—Tuesday, March 15, 2:30 P. M., Boro Park Unit, home of Anna Fox, 939 47th street, Brooklyn. Speaker, Francis Shaffer. Costume Ball, April 1. Tuesday, March 15, 2:30 P. M., Brownsville Unit, home of Sadie Rivkin, 872 Brooklyn avenue, Brooklyn. Speaker, Esther Friedman. Costume Ball, April 1. Wednesday, March 20, Bensonhurst Unit, business meeting. Costume Ball April 1.

**MANHATTAN.**—Next branch meeting Tuesday, March 15, at 8:30 P. M., at the home of Jessie Wallace Hughan, 171 West 12th street.

**6TH A. D.**—A meeting will be held Monday evening, March 14, at 8:30 P. M., in the headquarters, 96 Avenue C. Important matters will come up.

**8TH A. D.**—Louis Waldman will lecture Friday, March 11, at Art Center, 117 Second avenue. All invited. A dance and social will be held on Saturday, March 12, at 327 East 9th street, at 8 P. M. Public speaking and debating class held every Wednesday evening at 8:30 P. M. All interested invited. J. Mandelsohn, instructor.

**UPPER WEST SIDE.**—A special meeting Tuesday, March 15, at 8:30 P. M., at 100 West 72d street. Something very important will come up. The branch bought \$500 worth of tickets for a concert to be given by the Half Johnson Choir April 5 at Carnegie Hall. Every member must sell 10 tickets.

**12-21 A. D.**—Peoples' Educational Forum, at 2005 Seventh avenue, opened last Sunday with a capacity house. Prof. LeRoy Bowman was the speaker. The forum meets regularly every Sunday afternoon at 3:30 P. M. The speakers for the next several weeks include: March 13, Dr. Ira DeA. Reid of the National Urban League; March 20, Heywood Brown; March 27, Norman Thomas.

**WASHINGTON HEIGHTS.**—Regular meetings every second and fourth Thursdays. Forum going fine. Theatre party being planned for last week in March.

**BRONX.**—The great event of the Bronx County Socialist Party will take place this Saturday evening, March 12, at the Hunts Point Palace, 163d street and Southern boulevard. A fine concert will precede the dancing. Tickets are 75 cents in advance, and can be obtained at every Bronx S. P. headquarters and at the Hunts Point Palace.

**3D A. D.**—The schedule of activities includes a joint meeting with the neighboring 4th and 5th A. D. branches on the first Tuesday of each month. The regular business meeting is held on the third Tuesday of each month. The branch also participates in the conduct of a forum in the Hollywood Gardens every Friday evening. Every Sunday evening a social and card party is held at 908 Prospect avenue. Admission fee 25 cents. Meetings with enrolled voters and sympathizers are being held in various parts of the district.

**7TH A. D.**—An interesting meeting was held last Tuesday. The next meeting will be held at the Workmen's Circle School, 89 Elmore place, on Tuesday, March 22, at which time Dr. Simon Berlin will speak on "Morality—Past and Present."

**10TH A. D. BROOKLYN.**—At the recent meeting of the Kings County Committee, Sol Sholes of the Boro Park Branch, was elected as temporary chairman of the Kings County Committee.

good organization committee. A number of enrolled Socialist voters' meetings will be held shortly, and new branches strengthened, and new branches will be organized. Leonard Bright appeared before the committee and speak in behalf of the Emergency Conference for Unemployment relief. A motion was carried to donate \$25 to this committee. The Executive Committee will meet twice a month.

**11TH A. D.**—A meeting will be held on Monday, March 14, at 8:30 P. M., in the home of Max H. Frankle, 934 Carroll street. Nominations for Assembly will be made. Herbert Cohen will lecture on "The Effect of the Frontier on American Life."

**21ST A. D.**—The branch has been active getting the petitions for the primaries signed. We are now laying a plan of action for distributing literature and visiting enrolled Socialists in our district. At our meeting this week, Dr. Land will speak on "The Present Situation in India." Next Friday, March 18, we shall hear Henry Rosner.

**23D A. D.**—The 23d A. D. is doing the important routine work that some how remains unsung, unwept and unhonored. The Brownsville Labor Lyceum has secured the cooperation of the branch for its bazaar the week of March 25 to April 3. The securing of advertisements for the bazaar journal, and the preliminary committee work to set up the various booths, we are proceeding with vigor. On the 18th and 25th of March, respectively, Sam Friedman and Jacob Bernstein are to speak here.

**QUEENS.**—**RIDGEWOOD.**—A meeting will be held Tuesday evening, March 15, at 8:30 P. M., in the Queens County Labor Lyceum, Forest avenue and Madison street. The enrolled Socialist voters and sympathizers in the Ridgewood section will be invited to this meeting to hear August Claessens on the Socialist appeal.

**JAMAICA.**—A meeting of the branch will be held on Thursday evening, March 17, at 8:30 P. M., in the Workmen's Circle Center, 9218 New York boulevard (163d street).

**FLUSHING.**—A meeting will be arranged in College Point under the auspices of the Flushing branch in the Moose Hall at 142d street and 15th avenue, on Saturday evening, March 19, at 8:30 P. M. Speakers are Norman Thomas, Leonard Bright, Samuel A. DeWitt, August Claessens.

To love war because it makes heroes is like loving the croup because doctors and nurses have died in trying to save the life of a child.—Anatole France.

# Abe Zucker, N.Y. Socialist, Passes Away

## Was Secretary for 7 Years on Rand Board—Active in Forward Association

THE Socialist party of New York City lost one of its most useful members this week in the death of Abraham Zucker, for seven years secretary of the Rand School board of directors and active in many other fields of Socialist work. Zucker, 43 years old, died Wednesday of pneumonia contracted at the Mt. Sinai Hospital where he had gone for a minor operation.

Zucker was a member of the Socialist party all of his adult life. His connections with the Rand School began 20 years ago as a student. Later he was in charge of the school's extension work at the Forward Hall in the East Side.

The activity on behalf of the Rand School was supplemented by his work in many capacities for the party. He frequently served as candidate for public office and on numerous special committees of the party. He was at his death a member of the Brooklyn Heights branch. Zucker also served on the board of directors of Camp Tamiment. A pioneer member of the Forward Association, publishers of the Jewish Daily Forward, Zucker held a responsible position on the business staff of the paper at his death.

In the post-war years, Zucker's abilities were drawn upon by the Joint Distribution Committee which secured thousands of needy Jewish workers in Eastern Europe. Zucker spent most of 1920, 1921 and 1922 in Eastern Europe engaged in relief work. Zucker is survived by his wife and two children, one of them an infant of seven months. Funeral services are to be held Friday, March 11, at the Forward Hall, 175 East Broadway, New York City.

# Free Youth

**NATIONAL ORGANIZATION TRIP.**—Slight changes have been made in the itinerary of Hy Fish. He will be in Detroit Friday, March 18, Chicago on the 20th and 21st, Springfield on the 22nd and St. Louis from March 23 on. He will be in Erie, Pa., March 14th.

**NEW YORK STATE.**—Ben Parker has attended the meetings of the Syracuse and Utica circles and helped in the organization of new circles at Albany and Binghamton.

**MONTREAL.**—The Young People's Labor League has arranged a second series of Labor Forums for March on Tuesdays at 8 P. M. at 4435 St. Lawrence Blvd. March 15, Prof. King Gordon will speak on, "War—What For?" and on the 22nd, Dr. Noah Wevrick will lecture on, "A Sane View of Sex." Regular meetings of the branch are held every Sunday at 2 P. M.

**CHICAGO.**—Three thousand leaflets were distributed for an Anti-War demonstration on March 5. Two thousand are expected to attend the International Youth Festival on Sunday, March 13 at the Labor Lyceum, Ogden and Kodzie Aves. "Poiling the Reds," a play by Yaffie, will be presented by the University of Chicago Socialist Club. There will be dancing. A new circle, No. 8, has just been organized on the North East Side. Meetings are held on Fridays at 8 P. M., at 1160 West Grand Ave.

**BUFFALO.**—A Circle of the League will be organized Tuesday evening, March 15th at Carpenters' Hall, 475 Franklin St. The speaker will be Hy Fish of Cleveland, Brookwood graduate and active Socialist Party worker. Attorney Stanley Chmiel will preside. Morris Fox, 324 Hickory St., high school student, is acting chairman of the Committee on Organization.

**NEW YORK CITY**  
**BROOKLYN MEMBERSHIP MEETING.**—A meeting of all the Brooklyn members will be held Sunday, March 20 at 2 P. M., at the Amalgamated Temple, 11 Arion Place. Sunday afternoon circles are to call their meetings off.

**CIRCLE 1 SR. KINGS.**—A reorganization meeting will be held on Friday, March 11 at 8:30 P. M., at 218 Van Stien Ave. Dancs will address the group.

**CIRCLE 2 SR. KINGS.**—Pauline Diner will speak on "Cultural Life in

ing on Sunday, March 13, at 8:30 P. M. at 219 Sackman St.

**CIRCLE 3 SR. KINGS.**—Irving Smith will give a series of five lectures on "The Fundamentals of Socialism" at the meetings on Tuesdays at 8 P. M. at 7212 20th Ave. The first talk will be made on March 15.

**CIRCLE 5 SR. KINGS.**—A discussion of the Manchurian question will feature the meeting of Sunday, March 13, at 4 P. M. at the Boro Park Labor Lyceum, 42nd St. and 14th Ave. Leo Weinberg and Esther Horowitz supervise the educational programs.

**CIRCLE 2 SR. MAN.**—Morris Cohen, Educational Director of the City, will speak on "A Social Interpretation of American Literature," on Sunday, March 13, at 3 P. M., at 600 West 181st St.

**CIRCLE 1 SR. BRONX.**—Abe Kaufman, assistant secretary of the War Resisters League, will speak on Disarmament on Sunday, March 13, the following week, Comrade Claessens will speak on "Incentive and Ambition." The meetings begin at 4 P. M. sharp at 908 Prospect Ave.

**AMALGAMATED GROUP.**—Comrade Cohen will speak on, "The Materialistic Interpretation of History," Friday, March 11, at 8:30 P. M. in the Workmen's Circle school room in the Cooperative Houses. On the 18th, a debate will be held on Preparedness.

**LIBRARY OF SOCIALISM.**—The City Office has 25 sets of the Haldeman-Julius 20 books on different aspects of Socialism, published under the editorship of the National Executive Committee of the Party. Circles are urged to include at least one set in their libraries, and members are urged to buy their own.

**UNEMPLOYMENT DEMONSTRATION.**—Members are to report for assignments at Noon today at Columbus Circle, or in the morning to the City Office.

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# UNION DIRECTORY

**BONNAE, SINGER EMBROIDERERS.**  
TUCKERS STITCHERS and PLATERS' UNION, Local 66, 11-13 W. U. East 15th St. Phone Algonquin 4-3657-3658. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union, 2 L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattab, Manager; Morris Fishman, Secretary-Treasurer.

**BRICKLAYERS' UNION, Local No. 9**  
Office and headquarters, Brooklyn Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone Stagg 2-4621. Office open daily except Saturday from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening. Charles P. Baum, Fin. Sec'y; Frank F. Lutz, Treasurer; Andrew Streit, Bus. Agent; William Weinger, President; Al Bayle, Vice-President; Milton Rowcroft, Rec., Corresponding Sec'y.

**BUTCHERS' UNION**  
Local 334, A.M.O.A.B.W. of N.A., East 15th Street. Phone Tompkins Sq. 6-7234-7235-7236. Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday. Samuel Sussman, Isidore Lutz, Business Agents; J. Belsky, Secretary.

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

**CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA,** New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th Street, New York, N. Y. Phone Tompkins Square 6-5400. Hyman Blumberg, Sidney Rossman, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

**AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA,** Amalgamated Bank Bldg., 11-15 Union Square, 3rd floor. Telephone Algonquin 4-8560-1-2-3-4-5. Sidney Hillman, Gen. President; Joseph Schlossberg, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

**N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL**  
CLOTHIERS' UNION, Local 1, 132 Second Avenue, 13th floor. Phone Orchard 4-9260-1-2. The council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday. S. Hershkovitz, Sec'y-Treas. Operators, Local 1—Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

**FUR WORKERS' UNION OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.** Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, 9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunters Point 6-0068. Morris Kaufman, Gen. Pres. and Sec.

**FURRIERS' JOINT COUNCIL OF N. Y.** LOCAL 101, 105, 110 and 115 of the INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS OF U. S. and C., 28 West 31st Street. Phone Penn. 6-7832. Meets every Tuesday at 8:00 P. M. B. Merkin, Manager.

**FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2.** International Fur Workers Union. Office and headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn; Stagg 2-0796. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, I. B. Hertzberg; Vice President, Sam Groll; Business Agent, B. Kaimikoff; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, H. Helb.

**HEBREW TRADERS,** 175 East Broadway. Phone Drydock 4-8870. Meets 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board (any day), 5:30 P. M. M. Tigel, Chairman; M. Brown, Vice-Chairman; M. Feinstein, Secretary-Treasurer.

**LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION,** Local No. 10, 1 L. G. W. U. Office, 108 W. 35th St.; Phone Wis. 7-8911. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union, Maurice W. Jacobs, Pres.; Samuel Perlmutter, Mgr.-Sec.; Morris W. Jacobs, Chairman of Exec. Board; Philip Oretsky, Asst. Mgr.

**LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY**  
A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to protect the legal rights of the Unions and their members. S. John Block, Attorney and Counsel, 225 E. 4th St., Room 2700, New York. Board of Delegates meets at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street, New York City, on the 1st Saturday of each month at 8:00 p. m.

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## BERNSTEIN AT FELLOWSHIP

The Bronx Free Fellowship announces a lecture at its open forum, at Azure Masonic Temple, Boston road and 172nd street, Bronx, this Sunday evening at 8:30 p. m. by Jacob Bernstein, on "Two Roads to Freedom—Communism and Socialism."

**LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION,** 3 West 16th Street, New York City. Phone Chelsea 3-2162. Benjamin Schlesinger, President; David Dubinsky, Secretary-Treasurer.

**LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA,** New York Local No. 1. Offices, Amalithone Bldg., 208 West 14th St.; Phone Watkins 9-7754. Regular meetings every second and fourth Tuesday at Arkington Hall, 19 St. Mark's Place. Albert E. Castro, President; Patrick J. Hanlon, Vice-President; Frank Schel, Fin. Secretary; Emil Thence, Rec. Secretary; Joseph J. O'Connor, Treasurer.

**MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24.** Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union. Downtown office, 648 Broadway, phone Spring 7-4545; uptown office, 38 West 57th Street, phone Wisconsin 7-1578. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 P. M. Manager, N. Spector; Sec'y-Treas., Alex. Rose; Organizers, I. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelovitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenbaum; Chairman Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodos.

**MILK WAGON DRIVERS' UNION, Local 554.** I. U. of T. Office: 250 W. 14th St., City. Local 554 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at Beethoven Hall, 310 E. 5th St. Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at Beethoven Hall, 310 E. 5th St. Chas. Hosen, President; Max Lieber, Secretary-Treasurer.



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**NECKWEAR CUTTERS' UNION, Local 6369.** A. F. of L., 1123 Broadway, Chelsea 3-7249. Regular meetings 1st Monday of every month at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street. Gus Levine, President; A. Walner, Vice-President; S. Meyer, Recording Secretary; A. L. Berger, Financial Secretary and Treasurer; William H. Chisling, Manager.

**NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11016.** A. F. of L., 7 East 15th Street. Phone Algonquin 4-7052. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30, Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer.

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

**BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS OF AMERICA.** District Council No. 9, N. Y. C. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council. Meets every Thursday evening, 8 P. M., at 62 East 23rd St. Tel. Gramercy 6-9400. C. A. Hoffman, Sec'y; Robert S. Brown, Fin. Sec'y. Treas. I. Lefkowitz, Pres.

**PAINTERS UNION, Local 961**  
Office, 61 East 106th Street.

**PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD OF GREATER NEW YORK.** Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Office: 31 West 15th St.; Tompkins Square 6-5400. Board meets every Tuesday evening at the office. All locals meet every Wednesday. Morris Blumenreich, Manager; Hyman Novodor, Sec'y-Treas.; Philip Lubliner, Manager.

**POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION.** New York Joint Board, Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. General office, 53 West 21st St., New York. Phone Gramercy 9-1023. Charles Kleiman, Chairman; Charles I. Goldman, Sec'y-Treas.; Philip Lubliner, Manager.

**TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6.** Office and headquarters, 24 West 16th St., N. Y. Meets every 3rd Sunday of every month at Stuyvesant High School, 15th St., East of 2nd Ave. Phone Tompkins Sq. 6-7478. Austin Hewson, President; Daniel McCarty, Sec'y-Treas.; James J. McGrath, Secretary-Treasurer; J. J. Fahey, J. J. Bambrick, John Sullivan, Organizers.

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

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



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**WATERPROOF GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, Local 35.** I. U. of W. U., 2 West 16th St., Phone Chelsea 3-8771. Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p.m. D. Gimpel, Manager; Saul Osky, Secretary-Treasurer.

**WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 42.** I. U. of W. U., 3 West 16th Street, New York City. Phone Chelsea 3-4156-577. A. Snyder, Manager; S. SHORE, Sec'y-Treas.



# The Yellow Moon Rises at the Guild

## The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

### IRELAND VERSUS PROGRESS "THE MOON IN THE YELLOW RIVER." By Denis Johnston. At the Guild.

Clothed in a typically Irish mixture of moonshine and melodrama, moralizing and mysticism, "The Moon In The Yellow River" effectively sets in opposition two fundamental world attitudes—with a third, half sadly, half cynically, fleeing at both of them. Through the intrusion, into the land of battles and dreams, of a power-house with an efficient German engineer in charge (America has been alighted!) the point of view of the machine age is pressed home: all the good arguments in favor of progress are offered—insofar as the Irish temperament permits him—bearing—by the friendly but earnest, not to be shaken off, Herr Tausch (Egon Brecher at his best). Set against him, seldom arguing save in oblique phrases, half-revealing the secret he has from the world, the incommunicable secret shared by all who feel life is made for the fullest enjoying thereof, knowing he is doomed but knowing too that if his kind fall mankind is wrapped in their destruction, lunges Darrell Blake, once leader of the revolutionists, but still rebelling now they are in power, against whatever government may be, advocate of the individual, of his right to dream or to do, as he desires. Ineffectual this type always is, yet often triumphant, even though defeated, a paradox Arthur W. O'Shaughnessy has sung in verse, as his compatriot here puts it in drama. For in the end Darrell Blake is shot down in cold blood by the iron hand of the military, the inevitable associate and aid of the engineer, the accompaniment and instrument of "progress," forcing improvement on the "backward" races of the world, who are so besotted in their ignorance as to wish to remain without the advantages civilization can give them. (Why question the price? "The birth of a nation is no immaculate conception.") Progress seems to have its way, in the face of the dreamy inefficiency of the recalcitrant, who trade action for mockery; it is not Blake, but that element of the incalculable in all affairs of this earth, that sets upon and for the moment confounds the practical man of progress.

Watching all this conflict stands Dobelle, whom life has torn to a cruel philosophy, to a feeling that

"progress," "doing good," are the surest sources of evil; that all the betterment of the World has come from the savage and bitter and selfish impulses of man, that God works effectively only through the Devil—if indeed the Devil be not God; that—many more things which make the reviewer wish for the book before him! If at moments these ideas come in a flood of talk, more often they are woven into the pattern of the play, which moves rapidly through its searing conflict, of irreconcilable ideas, to the comparative peace that comes upon Dobelle at the end.

The Theatre Guild has, as we may expect given an excellent production to "The Moon In The Yellow River"—title from Ezra Pound's poem:

And Li Po also died drunk.

He tried to embrace a moon in the Yellow River.

From the agitated and masterful maid, of Josephine Williams, and the delightful satire in Aunt Columba, one of those wild-eyed Irish reformer-women played by Alma Kruger, to Henry Hull as the mocking, dashing Darrell Blake, singing his way to death, and the rich-voiced Claude Rains hard and embittered, then wondering, as Dobelle, the company adds materially to the power of a play that in itself is a strong and many-sided study of changing and contrasted attitudes in Ireland and the world today.

### Final Music Lectures

On Tuesday, March 15th at 11 A. M., Miss Adele T. Katz will deliver the last of her series of six lectures at the New School, 68. She will speak on Wagner's "Gotterdammerung."

### THE THEATRE GUILD presents. LAST WEEKS EUGENE O'NEILL'S Trilogy "MOURNING RECOMES 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, 2nd St. West of Broadway

### THE THEATRE GUILD presents REUNION in VIENNA

A comedy by ROBERT C. SHERWOOD

Martin Beck Theatre

43th St. and 8th Ave. Phone G-6100

Evenings 8:40  
Matinees Thurs. and Sat. 2:40

### THE THEATRE GUILD presents The Moon in the Yellow River

By DENIS JOHNSTON

GUILD THEATRE, 2nd St. West of Broadway  
Eves. 8:40. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40

### Has Feminine Lead in "Warrior's Husband"



Katharine Hepburn, and a strong cast, are in the new comedy by Julian Thompson, which opened last night at the Morosco Theatre

### Emil Jannings Latest, "Tempest," to Open at Little Carnegie Tues.

One of the important events of the cinematic season is the American Premiere on Tuesday, March 15, of Emil Jannings in "Tempest," which will be presented at Leo Brecher's Little Carnegie Playhouse. This Ufa film now playing in the principal European cities under the title of "Stürme der Leidenschaft," (Storms of Passion) is said to reveal Emil Jannings at his best. There is less of the grimace in his facial expressions, his gestures are fewer and simpler, yet he still mirrors the finest gradations of emotion with extraordinary subtlety and skill. Anna Sten, remembered for her stellar performance in "The Brothers Karamazov," is cast in the leading feminine role, and is described as being a convincing actress, possessing the more pleasing graces of Lillian Harvey and Marlene Dietrich.

"Tempest" is the first Ufa production to have its American Premiere at the Carnegie under the recently consummated arrangements with the Ufa Co.

### Arlliss at the Strand At Popular Prices

"The Man Who Played God," starring George Arlliss, will open at the popular-priced New York Strand Theatre today, following its five-week engagement at the Warner Theatre at a \$2 top price.

"The Man Who Played God" is the story of a world-renowned musician who, at the peak of his career, loses his hearing and thereafter labors under the obsession that an unkind Fate was jealous of his genius and deprived him of the thing that was most valuable to him.

Supporting Mr. Arlliss in this picture are Bette Davis, Violet Heming, and a strong cast.

### "A Capital Play"

J. BROOKS ATKINSON, N. Y. Times.  
"Most Laughable Comedy"  
JOHN MASON BROWN, Eve. Post

### RIDDLE ME THIS!

FRANK THOMAS  
Craven Mitchell

JOHN GOLDEN THEATRE  
West 58th St. Circle 7-5678  
Eves. 8:10. Wed. Mats. 8:10 to 9:30  
Sat. Mats. 8:10 to 9:30

### GILBERT MILLER presents EDNA HERBERT BEST MARSHALL

### There's Always Juliet

A Comedy by John van Druten  
"Utterly Delightful"  
—JOHN MASON BROWN, Eve. Post

EMPIRE THEATRE  
BROADWAY at 49th STREET  
Eves. 8:40. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

### HELEN HAYES

in MOLNAR'S New Comedy  
The GOOD FAIRY

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

Gilbert Gabriel, N. Y. American

### HENRY MILLER'S

Thea., 124 W. 43rd St.  
Eves. 8:30; Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2:40

Gilbert Miller and Leslie Howard Present

### Leslie Howard

in PHILIP BARRY'S New Comedy

### THE ANIMAL KINGDOM

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

STAGED BY GILBERT MILLER  
BROADHURST Theatre, 44 St. W. of B'way  
Eves. 8:40; Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

MAX GORDON 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., E'way, 46th St.  
Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. and Sat. 2:30. Good Seats Available at Box Office for All Performances  
From 51 to 53. No Tax.

### HARRY MOSES presents THE WARRIOR'S HUSBAND

A New Comedy by JULIAN THOMPSON with a Cast Including

Collin Keith-Johnson, Katharine Hepburn, Jane Wheatley, Dorothy Walters, Al Ochs, Romney Brent, Irvy Marshall, Porter Hall, Don Hedder, Bertha Belmore  
Directed by Burk Symon—Costumes & Settings designed by Woodman Thompson  
MOROSCO THEATRE 45th Street West of Broadway  
Matinees Wednesday & Saturday

### 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

William CAXTON . . Lois MORAN . . Victor MOORE  
AND A SINGING ENSEMBLE of 50 VOICES  
MUSIC BOX THEA. West 45th St. Eves. at 8:30  
Mats. Thurs. & Sat.



### "BLESSED EVENT"

THE LOWDOWN ON A BROADWAY COLUMNIST with ROGER PRYOR AND AN IMPORTANT CAST  
LONGACRE THEATRE, 48th Street, West of Broadway  
Eves. 8:30. Matinees Wed. and Sat., 2:30

### WARNER BROS. HOLLYWOOD Broadway & 51st St.

All Seats Reserved Circle 7-3900 Seats Now 4 Weeks in Advance

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### LOU HOLTZ' 1932 Vaudeville-Revue

Lou Holtz - Clark & McCullough  
★ Vincent Lopez and Band ★  
★ Boswell Sisters - Lyda Roberti ★  
★ And Other Broadway Stars ★

"This Holtz miniature revue is best in town"—World Telegram.

4th SMASH WEEK!

### PLYMOUTH W. 48th 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 Little Theatre

### IMPERIAL Thea. 45th St. W. of Broadway. Eves. 8:45

Matinees Wednesday and Saturday  
ANOTHER SMASHING WYNN HIT!

### ED WYNN

(THE PERFECT FOOL) in The LAUGH PARADE

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

### Leslie Banks Springtime for Henry

A Bright New Farce by Benn W. Levy with HELEN CHANDLER  
NIGEL BRUCE FRIEDA INESCORT  
BIJOU THEATRE  
45th St. West of Broadway  
Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. and Sat. 2:30

### BENN W. LEVY'S The Devil Passes

THE PRIZE PLAY  
"The interesting persons and insinuating circumstances of Mr. Levy's new play made sound entertainment, acted and manipulated keenly as they are by a discriminating cast at the Selwyn Theatre."  
Percy Hammond, Herald Tribune  
Arthur Byron Basil Rathbone  
Robert Lorraine Mary Nash  
Diana Wynyard Cecilia Loftus  
Crest Theatre I. Malcolm Dunn  
SELWYN THEA., W. 43rd St.  
Eves. 8:40. 9:10 to 10:30. Mats. THURS. and SAT., 2:40, 3:10 to 4:30  
Best Seats on Sale at Box Office



# Millionaire and Queen of the Dance Hall Mix at the Fult

**MANHATTAN MADE**  
**"CHILD OF MANHATTAN."** By Preston Sturges. At the Fulton.

Coming from "Greenperit" to Loveland, Madeleine meets multi-millionaire Otto Paul, scion of the Vanderkills, who had bought a lot of farms up the island, when New Amsterdam was tucked below Wall Street. Otto and the girl fall in love; she is to have a baby; he marries her; baby dies; Madeleine feels that the wedding came, as it were, "under false pretences;" she goes to Mexico (with pronto publicity) to get a divorce from Otto, so that once more she can be his happy mistress, and suck "Blue Pernts" with him at oyster-time.

The first half of the play is much better than this outline seems to allow, for in a series of swift scenes Sturges has deftly presented surface aspects of this city of ours. A number of amusing lines ripple out, and colorful incidents are not wanting; but most effective are the minor characterizations; the parasite brothers of the Manhattan maid; "Madame" Lucinda of the dress-shop; and the three excellently played women, Miss Sophie Vanderkill of high society, Madeleine's mother, a "poor but respectable" family, and Aunt Minnie of the border world of Loveland. It all runs well until Otto Paul, true to the honor of the Vanderkills, decides to do right by Madeleine.—J. T. S.

## The Group Theatre Presents Romantic Play

By HAROLD CLURMAN

A theatrical production, like any other work of art, is its own best explanation. Nevertheless, the presentation of a new play assumes a somewhat special aspect with The Group Theatre. For, the Group Theatre insists that its plays should not be judged on their separate merits alone, but should be seen in relation to the plays that preceded them; should be regarded, in other words, as parts of a message which the Group Theatre as a whole hopes to communicate through its work with ever increasing scope and clarity.

Despite obvious indifferences in style and subject matter, it was clear from its first two productions, "The House of Connelly" and "1931," that the Group Theatre's interest was directed toward plays which reflect moral and social problems of contemporary significance. In presenting the

simplest every-day facts of the unemployment situation or in delineating the decay of an old order—however remote—The Group Theatre revealed its intention of confronting human experience rather than any tendency to evade it through the glosses of conventional theatricality. There was nothing, in short, in its first two productions to indicate that the Group Theatre would turn for its third to a frankly romantic play. But Maxwell Anderson's "Night Over Taos," which The Group Theatre presents at the 48th Street Theatre on March 9th is just that. How then does it accord with the Group Theatre's policy?

If argument were necessary, it would be easy to point out the thematic similarity between "The House of Connelly" and "Night Over Taos." In the Paul Green play, the dying tradition of the older generation is forced to give way to the new order represented by the poor white; in the Maxwell Anderson play, which deals with the passing of Spanish power in New Mexico, the representative of the old ideal of autocratic individualism tragically accepts the failure of the old way of life and himself makes way for the new.

On the surface, "Night Over Taos" might fairly be designated as a romantic melodrama, but in essence it is a poem in praise of heroes and the heroic life. Nearly all of Maxwell Anderson's work sounds this note of wonder and worship for the man who fights against the odds of difficult circumstance. The debunking manner of our recent historical drama and costume play has in it a leveling element which is destructive because it is based on a fear of a strenuous ideal of life, the attitude inherent in a play like "Night Over Taos" is an antidote to this malady, since it derives from an effort to affirm the dignity, breadth and power toward which human activity must aspire.

To recapture this sense of grandeur is something The Group Theatre feels is needed in times such as the present when the pressure of events makes it increasingly clear that to survive and develop, men will either have to develop a muscular, dynamic attitude toward life or perish. Such an attitude toward life in relation to the contemporary scene will inform many of the future Group Theatre plays.

### MUSIC

**PHILHARMONIC-SYMPHONY**  
 BEECHAM, Guest Conductor

**METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE**  
 THIS AFTERNOON at 3:00  
 HAYDN—MOZART—FRANCK

Spec. Perf. Benefit Orchestra Pension Fund  
 Carnegie Hall, Wed. Eve., Mar. 16, at 8:45

**RESPIGHI, Guest Conductor**  
 Directing the WORLD PREMIERE of his

**"MARIA EGIZIACA"**  
 A Mystery-Triptych for Concert in 3 Episodes, with Soloists, Chorus & Stage Setting, also "The Birds" and "Botticellian Triptych". Tickets: \$1. to \$5.00, now at Box Office

This program will be repeated at Carnegie Hall, Thursday Eve., March 17th, 8:45  
 Friday Afternoon, March 18, 2:30

**BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC**  
**ALL-RESPIGHI ORCHESTRA PROGRAM**  
 ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

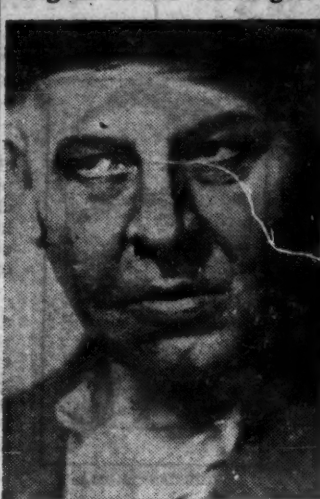
OPENING MONDAY, MAR. 7th

## MONEY IN THE AIR

By THETTA QUAY FRANKS  
 with VERA ALLEN—HUGH BUCKLER  
 Directed by ARTHUR SMOOM

**RITZ THEATRE**  
 46th St. W. of Broadway  
 Mon. 8:15; Tues. Wed. and Sat. 8:30

## In Long Awaited Opening at Little Carnegie



Emil Jannings, who hasn't been seen on a Broadway Screen in months, has the leading role in "Tempest" the new Ufa Film which will have its American Premiere at the Little Carnegie Playhouse.

## "Wayward" Starring Nancy Carroll at Hippo—Singer Sam, Others In the Stage Revue

The next photoplay attraction at the RKO Hippodrome starting today, will be "Wayward," starring Nancy Carroll, with Richard Arlen and Pauline Frederick. "Wayward" is the screen adaptation of the novel "Wild Beauty" by Mateel-Howe Farnham. Edward Sloman directed.

Singer Sam, known to radio fans as "The Barbasol Man," will be the head vaudeville attraction at the Hippo. Singer Sam, whose real name is Harry Frankel, unlike other radio stars making per-

## "The Beast of the City"

with Walter Huston Jean Harlow Wallace Ford and Jean Hersholt  
**FRED WARING**  
 and his Roxy Theatre Orchestra of 30 Artists  
 — On the Stage —

**Fifth Anniversary Show**  
**"PARADE OF ROXY HITS"**  
 with the famous Roxy Theatre Ensemble of 32 Roxyettes, the Ballet Corps, Patricia Bergman, Beatrice Belkin and the Four Musketeers.

**ROXY** 7th Avenue & 50th St.

## CAPITOL

Broadway at 51st Street  
 Major Edward Bowes, Mgr. Dir.

## The Passionate Plumber

with **Buster Keaton**  
 Jimmy "Schnozzle" Durante  
 Polly Moran

— On the Stage —  
**BUCK & BUBBLES**  
 In Dance Dreams  
 Louis Sobel's News Scoops  
 Yasha Bunchuk Orchestra

## 8 RKO ACTS

including SINGER SAM  
 "WAYWARD" with Nancy Carroll  
 Fight Pictures  
 BATTALINO vs. KAN

**HIPPODROME** 25th Ave & 43rd St.

## "After Tomorrow" at Fox B'klyn—Fanchon

Marco Revue, Jarrett And Others on Stage

"After Tomorrow," a picture of general human appeals, heads this week's bill at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre; with "Nursery Rhymes," a show particularly directed to the kiddies, on the stage, and the music of Arthur Jarrett, Bob West and Freddy Mack appealing especially to the feminine contingency, in addition to Tom Patricola's.

The new team of Charles Farrell and Marian Nixon is seen in "After Tomorrow," which film was directed by Frank Borzage from the John Golden and Hugh Stange play. Farrell again reverts to the working-boy role, with the drama revolving around the efforts of two children of today to wed against the sentimental objections of their mothers.

Arthur Jarrett, offers some new and some old favorites for his fourth week's engagement. Master-of-Ceremonies Freddy Mack, who conducts the orchestra in a novel overture, and Bob West, the organist, are also two favorites featured on this bill.

sonal appearances is not experiencing a new thrill, having appeared in vaudeville for years as a member of the famous black-face team of Frankel and Dunleavy.

The chief comedy spot on the bill will be occupied by Carl Freed, known as "The Clown Prince of Music."

## "Explorers of World Stays on at The C

"Explorers of the World" vel record of six famous tions to China, the Arctic, South American jungles, t taretic, Borneo, and other esting adventure spots, w time for a second week Cameo Theatre, where it is presented for the first t popular prices.

## Emil JANNINGS

TRANSLATION in his latest Triu First Time with ENGLISH SC

"STUE" 407 LEE SHAF

## "TEMPEST"

American PREMIERE  
**TUESDAY**  
 Mar. 15  
 At Noon  
 Last 3 Days—

"A WALTZ by STRAUSS" (Ein Walzer vom Strauss)

**Little CARNEGIE**  
 146 West 57th STREET  
 35c to 1 P. M.

## DICK Barthelmess

In the First National Picture  
**"ALIAS the DOCTOR"** WINTER GARDE  
 B'way at 50th St.  
 35c to 1 P. M. Mon.-Fv

## GEO. ARLISS

FIRST TIME AT POPULAR PRICES  
 in "THE MAN WHO PLAYED GOD" | **STRAND** B'way & 47th St.  
 35c to 1 P. M. Mon.-Fv

## HEART of NEW YORK

Adapted from Menckel, Inc. **WARNER THEATRE** B'way & 52d St.  
 "Gets many LAUGHS"—NEWS **25c** to 2 P. M. **25**  
 "A Knockout"—NEW LEADER Except Sat. & Sun.

"BEST PICTURE IN TEN YEARS!"

Regina Crewe—American.

## MARLENE DIETRICH in "Shanghai Express"

A Paramount Picture

**JOSEF VON STERNBERG** Production  
 CLIVE BROOK  
 Anny May Wong - Warner Oland  
 EUGENE FALLETT

NITE OWL SHOWS EVERYNITE!  
 POPULAR PRICES

**RIALTO** House of Hits  
 B'way at 42nd

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's  
 Giant Talking Picture  
 Spectacle!

## HELL DIVERS

WALLACE BEERY  
 CLARK GABLE

**ASTOR**  
 BROADWAY at 46th STREET

Daily 3:40-8:40; Sunday and Mat-  
 ings 2:40-8:40; Mat. (Reno. Sat.)  
 35c to \$1 Even 50c to \$2

## 2nd WEEK AT POPULAR PRICES

Wildest Adventures  
 Ever Filmed!

## EXPLORERS of the WORLD

ALL SEAS TO 1 P. M. 35c

**RKO CAMEO**

## Theatre Partic

Party Branches and sympho-  
 thetic organizations are re-  
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 Theatrical Department etc.  
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 Feldman, Manager New Leader  
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 15th St., New York.

### BROOKLYN

## FOX BROOKLYN

Flatbush Ave. & Nevins St.

## "AFTER TOMORROW"

with Charles FARRELL  
 Marian Nixon  
 — On The Stage —

Art Jarrett Tom Patricola  
 Radio's New Star Star of "Scandals"  
 in Fanchon & Marco's Revue  
 "Nursery Rhymes"

FREDDY MACK and his Merry-makers  
 BOB WEST at the Organ

## "The LOST SQUADRON"

with RICHARD DIX

GUS VAN

4 GOLDEN BLONDES  
 and other R. K. O. Acts

**ALBEE**



# Timely Topics

## By Norman Thomas

**Responsibility for the Detroit Riots—The Sales Tax Grab—Capital's Wage—Future of the L. I. P. A.—DeValera and Briand**

### DETROIT VICTIMS

EN ROUTE TO ITHACA, N. Y.

OUR die as 3,000 riot for jobs in Ford Plant." For that tragedy primary responsibility seems to rest on a stupid and tyrannical police under which marchers who had been peaceable enough in Detroit held to halt at the Dearborn city line. Already the attempt has begun to shift the blame to Communist agitators. None of them spoke with so much of a voice as the great agitator Misery. And if the dead could speak, great accusation would lie not against agitators, or even the police, against Henry Ford himself who hires and fires men as one turns on a water faucet, who takes no responsibility for the unemployed and who taxes by keeping his home and factory outside Detroit where workers live. Nor does Ford stand alone in blame. For these dead and more responsibility lies on our administration and a Congress, Republican and Democratic, which have steadily and heartlessly ignored the needs of the unemployed for direct relief. Yet none of those is the chief blame, but rather a blind and brutal capitalism which has added new names to the list of those it has slain by violence and by hunger.



NORMAN THOMAS

### THE SALES TAX WORKS

SOMETIMES figures are more impressive than rhetoric. The estimates of probable revenue from the proposed Democratic-Republican tax bill show that more than five times as much revenue is expected from a general sales tax than from increases in the personal income tax. The combined new federal and New York state income taxes will only range from a little over 2½ per cent on net incomes of \$1,000 to a little over 45 per cent on net incomes of \$500,000. Further to understand the picture one must remember that sales taxes, even with some food stuffs, farmers' supplies exempt, always fall most heavily on the poor or those of moderate means. That makes it worse is that manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers have a way of multiplying the tax as they pass it on to the ultimate consumer in price increases. He, too, is supposed not to know that he is taxed! But taxed he will be, not only by a general sales tax but by special taxes on telephones and telegraph messages, lubricating oil and that universal amusement—the movie. That's what class government under capitalism means!

### DIVIDENDS IN A DEPRESSION

AT a recent excellent conference on National Planning under the auspices of the Student Liberal Club of Johns Hopkins, Andrew Bie Miller gave some figures worked out by students at the University of Pennsylvania. They were the most amazing things I've heard. Taking the year 1926 as the base and giving its figures on wages and dividends respectively an index number of 100, unemployment and wage cuts in 1931 had brought later down to an index number of around 56. But corporation dividends and interest payments on bonds had gone up to around 180! That, in the second year of great depression, although stocks had fallen and income from stock gambling from private businesses, from farming, etc., were way down, dividends had been kept up—often out of surpluses—to one and four-fifths the level of a "good" year, 1926, and labor had seen its income fall to but little over half! But the income tax paying groups cry poverty and shift far more than half the necessary tax increases various sales taxes; that is, to the moderately off and the poor!

### WOLL'S PROGRAM

AT the same Johns Hopkins conference a speech on National Planning by Matthew Woll was read in his absence. It was full of ten dollar words, and was more convulsive in tone and substance than a speech by the head of the Taylor Society! It was a plea for "conference," "balance," "coordination." It humbly asked employers to see the advantages of higher wages and increased purchasing power, forgetting the obvious fact that an employer may want other employers to pay high wages so other workers can buy his goods but that he wants to pay his own workers—who buy few of his goods—as little as he can get away with. That's capitalism, and that's a system which no conference can plaster plan, coordination, a balance. As long as labor puts up with tolerates leaders who have no more to say or do than Matthew Woll has yet said or done in this time of crisis, labor almost deserves its bitter fate.

### DR. DEWEY AND THE SOCIALISTS

ELSEWHERE in The New Leader there doubtless will appear an account of the speeches at The New Leader dinner. Dr. Dewey's speech makes it perfectly clear that Socialists in the L. I. P. A. within the next few weeks—or months at most—will

either have to make the L. I. P. A. what some of us hoped it might become—and, indeed, what it did become to some extent in some cases in the past—a stepping stone to the Socialist movement and an educational force for a new party alignment based not on personalities but economic realities, or else get out. Dr. Dewey's speech pointed toward a definitely middle-class, progressive "third party," born of disgust with the old parties, neither Socialist nor labor in philosophy. Conceivably such a party may have an historic role to play. But it is already late in appearing. The past march of events makes the role more and increasingly menacing to a sound American Socialist movement.

As a matter of fact I see almost no evidence that such a third party as Dr. Dewey desires can be formed between July and the election out of the diverse protesting groups, or that it can get on the ballot very effectively if formed. Still less do I believe that a predominantly intellectual group of so amorphous a character as the L. I. P. A. will have much to do with shaping any mass party if it arises. The real future of the L. I. P. A. would lie in joining as in promoting an intelligent, aggressive American-speaking Socialism.

If Dr. Dewey doesn't believe labor can be won to Socialism, I wish he could have seen a recent meeting in Reading with 1,400 workers inside and another 1,400 turned away. The Socialist party has doubled its membership there since the election. It is united. Its leaders like former Mayor Stump, are on the job. (He contemptuously turned down a good position offered as a bribe by the local paper which had fought the party most unscrupulously when it was in office). That spirit and method can build the party in lots of towns as well as in Reading!

SO long as we permit private banking depositors should be guaranteed. The Steagall bill to guarantee national bank depositors is easily the best part of the Hoover-Democratic financial program. To make its benefits felt, all banks should be forced to join the federal reserve system. More hope, however, lies in building up the postal savings bank into a general socialized bank with two segregated departments; one for saving and one for commercial accounts. Such a plan might end the hoarding which now so worries Mr. Hoover.

AT last the War Policies Commission has reported. It favors amending the Fifth Amendment to Constitution so that "in time of war" Congress can regulate prices, etc. Well, maybe that would do some good in preventing war or curbing profiteering in war, though I shouldn't trust regulation by a capitalist Congress far, and I share Congressman Collins' fear of giving military men control over civilian activities in peace or war. To pay for war as you go by taxation is a sound Socialist idea and the suggestion in this report for taxing profits 95 per cent of gains above the previous three years average is good as far as it goes.

But—and this is my main point—if we are going to amend the Constitution let's give Congress power in time of the continuing war against poverty and exploitation to fix prices and compensation and enact necessary social legislation despite the 5th and 14th Amendments. That would be worthwhile and would do more than any one thing to guarantee a reasonable possibility of peaceful revolution of the capitalist system.

### DE VALERA'S GOVERNMENT

TO President De Valera of Ireland and his labor allies our greetings. They are not struggling merely against the form of an oath but against an oppressive weight of annuities to buy off old claims of English rule and English landlords. They are also struggling against monstrous repressive laws—which leave no Irishman possessed of civil liberty. I hope this struggle will include repeal also of the silly Irish censorship laws.

If there are worse repressive laws than Cosgrave gave Ireland, they are the outrageous order which Lord Wilmington, Viceroy of India and—oh, bitter irony—direct descendant of John Hampden of British revolutionary fame seeks to curb India's revolution. Let the shade of his ancestor remind him of what happened to Charles II!

BRIAND had fallen far from Socialist ideals of peace and internationalism, but as French statesmen go he was a friend of peace. He believed in the League of Nations and his death at this moment of crisis is almost symbolic. His country may condemn the League to virtual death so far as real power is concerned, by its refusal to help the League bring any effective moral or economic pressure against Japan.

## A "Third" Party? We Should Worry?

"Neither Song Nor Sermon"

WE all love and honor John Dewey. We could not help it if we would. We honor him for his work as educator and as philosopher through a long and busy life, and even more for what he has done in the new life-work which he took up at the age of 70. And we love him for the genuine goodness of his personality. No one can come into contact with him without seeing that he is exceptionally sincere, humane, modest and brave.

Just because of this his speech at The New Leader dinner brought keen disappointment to some of his hearers. Knowing what a man he is they ardently wished, and bearing in mind how sympathetically he has worked with us in many matters within the last two or three years they thought it safe to expect, that on this occasion he would declare his adhesion to our party, at least in the coming cam-

Instead, he told us that what he hopes for is the formation of a new "third party" composed in the main of intellectuals, professionals, small business men, "white collar" workers and farmers, and gently advised us to fall in line with such a composite movement and bring to it such working class elements as we could.

Yes, it was a disappointment to many, but that was because they had cherished an unfounded hope. Professor Dewey had never encouraged the belief that he was in agreement with us on what we regard as fundamental principles. He spoke his mind honestly at the dinner, as he has always done—only, this was the first occasion for a definite announcement of difference of views. Heretofore he had been wholeheartedly with us on specific issues. He will be with us very often in the years to come, when it is a question of protesting against abuses, of defending vic-

tims of injustice, of advocating particular forward measures. And we shall have the same reason to love and honor him as we have had.

Possibly Dewey is right in his forecast as to the campaign of 1932. He thinks a new party will appear to represent the discontented elements that belong neither to the capitalist nor to the working class, and he thinks such a party will get more votes than can be mustered for the Socialist party with its proletarian outlook and revolutionary aim. It will be no great surprise to us if his prediction is verified. Nor is there any reason why we should be much disturbed if it is.

But at least as safe is the prediction which Morris Hillquit made in the closing speech of the evening. If such a party does come into existence, and even if it shows such strength at the polls as Dewey expects, it will have little permanent significance.

Such a party can win support only by promising the middle-class malcontents a return to the position of class advantage which they formerly enjoyed. If it should carry the country (and of course no one expects that) it would not be able to fulfill the promise. Regardless of any one's will, the rehabilitation of middle-class prosperity would imply a reversal of the course of economic evolution, and that sort of thing simply does not happen.

And defeat for such a party, patched together out of inharmonious elements, is almost as fatal as victory would be. Conceivably it might attract a large following and hold them together through a few months of excited protest against things as they are. But when the tumult and the shouting is over, when its followers look back and ask themselves just what they have been fighting for, they will find that they are not one party, but

half a dozen distinct economic groups, with nothing in common except negative discontent.

The Socialist party, remaining true to its historic mission, need have no fear of this kind of a "third" party. We have our work to do. In representing the interests of the working class, we actually represent the prospective interest of the farmers, petty business men and others whom capitalist development is irresistibly expropriating and forcing into the labor market. For us to flatter their present hopes of a "comeback" would be to render them no true service.

Let me add, if we do our work well, we shall be able to reach a great many of those middle-class victims of capitalism and convince them that it would be wise for them to join the working class on the political field now, without waiting to be merged into it by bankruptcies and foreclosures.

A. L.