

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

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TWO DEMOCRATIC FRAUDS

Roosevelt and Smith Match Each Other In Use of Deceptive "Weasel Words"

By JAMES ONEAL

WHAT we are expected to regard as a "political sensation" happened last week in the speech of Alfred E. Smith at the Jefferson dinner. The prize exhibit of Tammany declared that "This is no time for demagogues," no time to "stir up the bitterness of the rich against the poor, and poor against the rich." He was against "any demagogic appeal to the masses of working people of the country to destroy themselves by setting class against class and rich against poor."

This was interpreted as a thrust at the mediocre Governor of New York, Franklin D. Roosevelt. The Governor had said nothing to alarm the fat boys who own the Democratic Party. He had used the usual obscure language of politicians that is intended to bring on stupor. Smith himself indulged in this in 1928.

Here is what Roosevelt said.

"These unhappy times call for the building of plans that rest upon the forgotten, the unorganized but the indispensable units of economic power, for the plans like those of 1917 that build from the bottom up and not from the top down, that put their faith once more in the forgotten man at the bottom of the economic pyramid. . . ."

WHY DON'T THEY SPEAK CHINESE?

That paragraph might just as well have been written in a Chinese dialect as in English. It would be just as intelligible.

What were the "plans" of 1917? Were they the "plans" that brought bankers and capitalists to Washington to head bureaus and committees and that sent thousands of dissenters to long terms of imprisonment?

Was it not the spokesmen of the "man at the bottom of the economic pyramid" who were sent to American bastilles while the fat boys at the top enriched themselves out of the war?

To be sure, Roosevelt is a demagogue in making that statement, but so is Smith in presuming that it is anything unusual in the politics of capitalism. The less meaning the capitalist politician puts into his addresses the more does he meet the requirements of his trade in deceit and drivel.

JEFFERSON'S PLAIN WORDS

There have been other men in our political history who did not use language to make citizens groggy. The Jefferson whom the parvenue Smith honored last week was one of them.

Speaking of the rising of poverty-stricken farmers and laborers in Massachusetts in 1787, Jefferson wrote to his friend, James Madison:

"The late rebellion in Massachusetts has given more alarm than I think it should have done. Calculate that one rebellion in thirteen states in the course of eleven years is but one for each state in a century and a half. No country should be so long without one."

What do the smug diners at the Jefferson dinner last week think of that plain speaking? The author of that sentiment is also claimed as the founder of their party.

AN OLD SMITH TRAIT

Then there is Andy Jackson. The princes of banks and industries who own the Democratic Party also pay him homage. In his Farewell Address he appealed direct to the "humble members of society—the farmers, mechanics and laborers" against the capitalism of the East that today has become the caretaker of the Raskob-Roosevelt-Smith party. When he was elected for his first term and workers paraded in Boston it was a codfish aristocrat who declared them "demagogues" and "convicts condemned to the galleys. * * * Nothing was wanting but the handcuffs."

In his First Message Lincoln also used plain words when he said that "Labor is prior to and independent of capital," that "capital is only the fruit of labor" and that labor "deserves much the higher consideration."

One can understand such statements, but the "weasel words" of Roosevelt are the stock-in-trade of the modern politician.

They are deliberately put together to avoid any clear understanding and in this art Smith is just as much an offender as Roosevelt himself.

THE PLAIN-TALKING SOCIALISTS

On the other hand Socialists are frank in their direct appeal to the working masses to unseat the ruling classes and their governing agents. Our rising bankers and capitalists did not mince words when the struggle to overthrow the ruling planters of the South reached a crisis. A few of the Northern politicians indulged in the obscure language of Roosevelt and Smith but there were others who were frank and who stated that it was one set of interests pitted against another.

We Socialists utter no "weasel words." We speak of no mystic "plans" that leave voters groggy in the attempt to figure out what is meant.

We urge the working class millions to take power. We urge them to destroy the two parties of capitalism. We urge them to organize and wrest every measure of relief possible from their despoilers. We urge them to disciplined action and education in labor solidarity in preparation for the conquest of the whole capitalist system.

The Smith-Roosevelt quarrel is a show with two dummies in the hands of a ventriloquist. While the masses look on their pockets are picked.

It is a fraud and a competition in deceit with the Republican wing of capitalist politics.

To destroy both is the duty and interest of the laboring millions.

WORKERS! UNITE YOUR FORCES FOR MAY DAY! FOR PLENTY, PEACE AND FREEDOM! FOR SOCIALISM!

Where the Socialist Workers of the Nation Will Meet:

NEW YORK CITY—Saturday, April 30—Parade forming at 11 A. M. at 15th Street, between Broadway and Fifth Avenue, proceeding to rally at Union Square. Speakers, Norman Thomas, Frank Keeney, Algernon Lee and others. A series of local meetings, concerts and dances will be held Saturday night, and all day Sunday, May 1st. (See New York City Socialist news on page 17.)

CHICAGO—Parade forming at Kedzie and Ogden avenues, winding up with rally at Ashland Boulevard Auditorium, Ashland Boulevard and Van Buren; speakers, J. B. Matthews, Roy Burt, Dr. R. B. Green, Adolph Freifuss.

PHILADELPHIA—Sunday, May 1st, 8 P. M. Wishart Theatre, Front and Alleghany avenues. Speakers, Norman Thomas, Frank Keeney, Frans Daniels and others.

BRIDGEPORT—Youth Rally, April 30th.

LOS ANGELES—Red Dawn Dance, April 30th, auspices Y. P. S. L.

CLEVELAND—Sunday, May 1st, 2 P. M., Slovenian National Hall, 6409 St. Clair Avenue. Speakers, Joseph W. Sharts, Joseph Martinek; evening, May Day dance at same hall.

OMAHA—Sunday, May 1st, 2:30 P. M., at the Labor Temple, 22d and Clark Streets; speaker, John H. Paul; dance and entertainment in the evening.

ST. LOUIS—8 P. M. in the Deutsches Haus, Jefferson and Lafayette Streets; speakers, Clarence Senior, G. A. Hoehn and others.

GLEN CARBON, Illinois—Sunday, May 1st, 2 P. M. Speaker, Clarence Senior.

NEWARK—Sunday, May 1st, four meetings, at St. Regis Annex, at Workmen's Circle Hall, 190 Belmont Avenue, at Polish Hall, Court Street and Belmont Avenue, at the Labor Lyceum, 14th Street.

BUFFALO—Sunday, May 1st, 8 P. M., at Hotel Lafayette; speakers, Gustave A. Strebel and others.

SAN FRANCISCO—Joint Socialist and labor rally. Speaker, Cameron H. King.

For May Day Distribution: A Special Edition of The New Leader. Write Now for Special Rates to 7 E. 15th St., N. Y.

For meetings in cities not announced above, communicate with the local headquarter of the Socialist Party in your city

NEW LEADER

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SATURDAY, APRIL 23, 1932

Mike and Ike

THE St. Paul speech of Governor Roosevelt on Monday night confirms what we say of him on the first page of this issue. The man strung a lot of words together and on the main question said nothing. Whom does this great governor stand for? for the "low and the high." If you do not understand that try this: "I plead not for class control but for a true concert of interests." That is, he pleads for the capitalists who have thrown millions out of industry and also for the millions who have been thrown out.

He continued. "In the past the most direful among the influences which have brought about the downfall of republics has ever been the growth of the class spirit." The fact is that millions of the workers are in a hell of despair because they have not developed a class spirit while our ruling classes are secure at the top of the social pyramid because they know and have acted upon their class interests.

Roosevelt stands for everybody and nobody, for no class and for all classes, for the robber and the robbed, for the millionaire and the pauper; in fact, for anything and for everything that will elect him President. As was said of a certain sect of "True Socialism" in Europe in the forties, Roosevelt is for the "average man," the citizen in general, that mystical person who has no class interests and who exists only in the addled brains of bankrupt politicians today.

Roosevelt and Hoover are the political equivalents of Mike and Ike. They look alike and they think alike, if their performances can be considered thinking at all.

Three Socialist Jobs

SOCIALISTS of this country are beginning to face tasks as grave and important in their way as Socialists in the poverty-stricken nations across the Atlantic. We think of three that are pressing at the moment.

The national drive for party funds, reported on page 3, must enlist the earnest support of Socialists and sympathizers everywhere. A good beginning has been made and the tempo of this drive must be increased.

New York City Socialists must not only cooperate in this national enterprise; we also face two other tasks. We must respond to the drive for funds to sustain the city office and its work and also push the sale of coupon books to keep up the work of organizing the jobless into leagues.

Give, comrades, give till it hurts!

John McDonagh at the age of 31, fifteen years ago, was sent as a conscript to Europe to "make the world safe for democracy." The other day as a homeless and jobless man he fainted in the street of hunger, not having eaten for three days. It's a great capitalist system if you don't weaken—from hunger.

The Rev. Dr. Robert Norwood is quoted as saying that to levy heavier taxes on Wall Street interests is due to the "spirit of aliens." That's right parson. Let's ship or shoot all who impiously challenge the holy altars of our pious usurers.

Five-cent meals are being provided for the jobless in Montreal. The Canadian frontier is no barrier to the import of Hoover's "American system."

Individualism, the Jobless and Beer

THOMAS HUXLEY'S definition of capitalist individualism as "anarchy plus the police club" applies with special force to the methods of meeting the jobless problem. There is a chaos of plans throughout the nation with the club ever ready to descend on the heads of those who refuse to die without making a noise about it. Everywhere it is some form of the "dole."

In every city every type of professional charity organization is enlisted and they are supplemented by special organizations. A variation from the dole specialists are the create-a-job and block-aid methods of relief. In Phoenix, Ariz., the Central Labor Council was compelled to withdraw because its sponsors advised employers that "workers could be secured for a few cents an hour." Here and there trade unions trying to care for their own jobless find the burden a staggering one and concessions are being made in the way of wage reductions. In one Wyoming town the unions provide cots for the homeless and others "stagger" employment. Within the shadow of the White House an appeal is made for \$600,000 from Congress to keep the starving alive.

We must not overlook the spats and cane, Mayor Walker of New York City. He calls for a nation-wide parade for good lager beer. William Green, Matt Woll, Joe Ryan and other labor leaders give an enthusiastic response. Ryan is sure that abolishing prohibition will "accomplish more at one stroke to rid the country of economic ills than could be done in any other way." Green declares that "we'll awaken the sleep-walking legislators." So we will float into paradise upon a sea of foaming beer! Hail the United States, where thinking is a rare luxury and we drift to an abyss!

Rounding Up the "Holy Cattle"

WHAT happens in the Republican and Democratic conventions, whether they nominate a "progressive" or a "reactionary," makes no difference to the toiling millions. Each type of politician thinks in terms of the capitalist system and that system is revealed as a hideous fraud and failure. However, the inner struggles of the brokers are like the quarrels of the old feudal chiefs. Each has an article to market, a candidate. On this score there is a genuine rivalry, the only rivalry that counts, but the conflict is generally masked behind what is called "principles."

In New York State, John F. Curry, leader of Tammany, and John H. McCooey, proprietor of Brooklyn, head the "big five" who have wrested control of the party machinery from Governor Roosevelt. It was in 1928 that the latter nominated Al Smith as the "happy warrior" and now the two have parted company. Over night the coalition stormed the Roosevelt works and captured it. Curry and McCooey are likely to own the rubber stamps that will be delivered at the June convention.

Hoover does not have to worry. A President serving his first term generally owns the "holy cattle," as William Allen White once described delegates to a Republican convention. They will ratify the promoter's wish to succeed himself. Just what will be the main "issue" between the two brokerage firms is yet to be determined but the chief concern is to herd the voters within one capitalistic camp or the other.

Capitalist Piety Comes to Texas

TEXAS may be blessed with an anti-syndicalist law next year. Maco Stewart, leading lawyer and capitalist of Galveston, leads this crusade, assisted by Owsley, a former head of the Legion, the D. A. R., and other forms of national pietism. It is said that Stewart considers even the Dallas News as a "Communist" organ because its editor thinks the death penalty is too severe for revolutionaries.

The Dallas correspondent of the New York Times reveals the capitalistic interests back of this program. Texas is largely an open shop state and economic conditions are very bad for the workers. Localities and for the poor cotton correspondent concludes

his story with a reference to "the forces of reaction that parade under the name of patriotism."

We may expect more of this in other states. Capitalist reaction in general is likely to more and more divert attention from the horrible fate capitalism has imposed on the working masses to state piety and patriotic worship. Criticism of the failure of capitalism to function is thus transformed into a sin against the state religion of our reactionary classes. Class-consciousness must be smothered by upper class idiocy if possible.

Judicial Magic in The Use of Words

MANY American judges are skilled in the art of word-juggling. They can so interpret a plain statement to mean the reverse of what it means that even a layman is persuaded that an ingot of steel is really a boiled egg. The judge is a legal conjuror. Just as the magician begins with a deck of cards and ends with rabbits so the judge starts with steel and ends with eggs. The magician expects us to be amused but the judge expects us to accept his magic with solemn awe.

The injunction against the motion picture operators' union this week is an example of judicial magic. The world is told that words painted on a sign may be as deadly in inflicting physical injury as a blackjack in the hand. Are you skeptical? We quote:

"I do not subscribe to the oft-repeated contention and argument that the use of the word 'violence' in so-called labor disputes is limited always to physical contact or injury. A blackjack applied to a worker's skull may in the long run be less serious than picketing conducted with misleading signs, false statements and publicity, veiled threats by words and acts, and insidious propaganda. The scalp wound may be healed through the surgeon's art, but at a time of economic suffering... courts must still give some consideration to what former Chief Justice Cardozo speaks of 'the economic and social needs to which a decision will respond.'"

We are in a state of coma which indicates that the opinion is sound.

Liberal-Communism, Punch and Logic

ONE of the striking phases of political opinion is middle class liberal views favorable to Communism. Edmund Wilson is a leading type and Harry Elmer Barnes espoused it in a recent number of the World-Telegram. He is "fairly clear" about this and is convinced that he can "work more effectively for human decency and social justice as a liberal than as a Communist." However, if his liberalism fails he will "espouse Communism, not Socialism."

He espoused liberalism during the World War and has later admitted his overwhelming failure. He will try again and is now trying. With this colossal failure he turns to logic by saying that "American Socialism today arouses much the same terror in the minds of conservatives as Communism, but it lacks the punch and logic of Communism."

Very interesting "logic." Does that "punch" of Communism mean the Fascist raids of Communists of which we recently had an example at a miners' protest meeting in the Rand School? They tried to "punch," all right, but failed. Then what of the "logic" of the Communism that yelps when its meetings are broken up by reactionaries, which yearns for its civil rights and at the same time sneers at these rights as "bourgeois democracy?" Really, the liberal-Communist mind has a "logic" that would make John Stuart Mill and other authorities faint could they observe it in its modern dressing.

German Elections To Diets Sunday

ON Sunday, April 24, elections will be held in Prussia and a number of other German states and returns will show a big increase in the Fascist vote in Prussia. It is necessary to repeat this as the last election in Prussia occurred when Fascism was weak.

Last week a Presidential decree dissolved the storm troops of Hitler who claimed 500,000 members. They were cleared out of their headquarters and their doors were padlocked. In anti-

pation of a large Fascist vote in Prussia, the Diet has amended its by-laws to require an absolute majority to elect a Premier. Under the old by-laws a plurality was required and the Premier in turn appoints the Cabinet. The Right parties denounced the amendment as a "political swindle." Hitler will have to get a majority to control Prussia.

In Saxony there was a Communist-Fascist-Nationalist alliance in the referendum last Sunday to dissolve the Saxon Diet. The proposal was defeated by some 500,000 votes. This collaboration of Communists with extreme reaction repeats similar cooperation in Prussia some months ago. German Communism turning lackey of Hitlerism requires no comment.

Japanese Socialism Split by Fascism

IN the post-war period the Social Democratic party of Japan increased in membership but it has been able to carry on with much difficulty. In the meantime the watered "socialism" that Hitler uses as a bait in Germany became attractive to some unions and also members of the party. The conflict between genuine Socialism represented by veteran Socialists and the growing Fascist "socialism" came to a head last week at a conference of the central committee.

The party split when a motion by Katsumaro Akamatsu to reconstruct it on Hitler lines was defeated by a vote of 61 to 60. The dissenters are said to have the support of the Farmers' Union and a few other unions with an aggregate membership of 42,000 but this is probably an exaggeration. Since the occupation of Manchuria by Japan Akamatsu and his colleagues have held that the labor movement needed a "patriotic basis." Reports indicate that this Japanese Hitlerism also appeals to many of the younger army officers.

A majority of the Japanese workers are against this fraud. Veterans like Iso Abe of Waseda University, Bunji Suzuki, who heads the Federation of Labor, and Komakichi Matsouka, secretary, remain loyal to the party and the unions, the latter having about 160,000 members. The split, however, is a serious setback for the labor movement.

New Zealand City In Jobless Upheaval

AUCKLAND, New Zealand, for a week has been like a besieged city due to an uprising of jobless workers. Thursday of last week a mass of the unemployed battled police volunteers and naval pickets. Store fronts were smashed and shopkeepers the next day boarded their windows. Police prepared barricades of barbed wire in the streets and the accounts of the demonstration read like stories of the various revolutions in Europe in 1848.

Feeling is still tense in the city and there were threats of a general strike led by the seamen as we go to press. The Dominion government's proposed emergency economy measures, which include a general 10 per cent wage cut for government workers, are said to be the reason for the expected walkout. The streets are patrolled and the citizens are ordered to stay in their homes.

Australia is also seething with labor unrest and the Labor government of New South Wales is in conflict with the Commonwealth government over the state's debts. Labor Premier Lang is fighting to keep the state funds where the government cannot reach them and the outcome of the struggle is uncertain. Capitalism is a sorry thing all over the world and is ripe for a Socialist receivership.

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

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Pennsylvania Socialists Raise Their Quota Three Days Before Socialist Drive Opens

WASHINGTON.—Leading the nation, but followed closely by Massachusetts and several other States, Pennsylvania Socialists completed the quota assigned to them for the first half of the national campaign fund drive three days before the drive was formally launched throughout the nation.

Led by Reading, Pa., which started off the drive with a \$500 subscription, announced by Ralph O. Bigony, county organizer, Socialists of Allegheny County, meeting in Pittsburgh last Sunday night, matched Reading's subscription, and completed two-thirds of the quota. In addition it subscribed \$500 towards the balance of the quota to be raised following the national convention.

Philadelphia Socialists, with Franz Daniel, county organizer in charge, met on Monday night, matched the subscription of Reading and Pittsburgh, and gave to Pennsylvania the distinction of being the first State to complete the pre-convention quota.

Pennsylvania's achievement, remarkable for many reasons, not the least of which is that it is one of the hardest hit by the industrial depression, is declared by Marx Lewis, national drive director, to be one of numerous examples of the determination of Socialists everywhere to leave nothing undone to make this year's campaign historic.

Other States Swing Into Line

Massachusetts runs Pennsylvania a close second. Assigned a quota of \$1,500 for the first half of the drive, Massachusetts has subscribed and paid in 40 per cent of it. With a number of conferences to be held in various parts of the State within the next week, Socialists there feel that they will retain second place, and perhaps be the first State to complete the quota for the entire drive.

While Pennsylvania and Massachusetts led the Socialists of the nation in the first major undertaking of the 1932 campaign, Socialists throughout the country responded with a unanimity that both astonished and inspired those in charge of the drive work.

Reading, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia Push State Over the Top—Massachusetts Raises 40 Per Cent of \$1,500 Total—Socialists in All Organized States Mobilize Into Action for First Half of Campaign Fund

Many non-party members, but in sympathy with the effort to roll up a tremendous Socialist vote, responded equally well, accepting invitations to serve on the Committee of 100, forwarding their own contributions, and requesting an assignment of work.

The rededication of Socialist organizations in every State to this task began on April 13, more than a week before the date set for the opening of the drive, when the Cleveland branch of the Jewish Socialist Verband held the first special meeting for drive work. Milwaukee and several New York City branches held special meetings on the 15th, Marion, Indiana, on the 17th, Jewish Socialist Verband of Baltimore, and 4th A. D., Bronx, branches on the 18th, Meriden, Conn., on the 19th, and 5th A. D., Queens, N. Y., on the 20th.

Active Socialists on the Job

New Jersey, Virginia, California, Connecticut, Wisconsin, Cheyenne, Wyoming, Houston, Texas, Ogden, Utah, Schenectady, N. Y., Illinois, and Ohio were among the cities and States that took part in the formal opening of the drive on April 13. Definite reports of the decisions made are not available as The New Leader goes to press.

Henry Turk, secretary of the Jewish Verband branch of Baltimore, announced that the branch subscribed \$100 to the fund, one-half of which will apply to the pre-convention fund. At the same time, Elizabeth Gilman, of Baltimore, accepted an invitation to serve on the Committee of One Hundred to raise Maryland's total quota of \$1,000. Dr. S. M. Neistadt, state secretary; Morris Polin, Baltimore representative of the Jewish Daily Forward; Charles Bernstein, and William Toole will cooperate to raise the quota assigned to the State.

In Massachusetts, Joseph Bearak, Alfred Baker Lewis, and Leon Arkin, are among

those who have agreed to assist in raising Boston's quota. In other Massachusetts cities special committees are being organized to solicit funds.

Individual Quotas Raised

Ruth Standish Baldwin, of Connecticut, heads a group of workers in Connecticut, and as a result of her activities part of Connecticut's quota has been raised. With several others she is visiting and writing her friends and forwarding contributions almost daily to Lewis.

In New York, Norman Thomas, James Oneal, Adolph Held, president of the Amalgamated Bank, B. C. Vladeck, manager of the Jewish Daily Forward, Nathan Chamin, secretary of the Jewish Socialist Verband, Morris Berman, and Kirby Page are among the members of the committee. Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the Socialist Party, is directing part of the eastern activities. Each member of the committee has agreed to raise a quota assigned to them, and in several instances the quota has been fully subscribed.

In Ohio Joseph Sharts, of Dayton, and Sidney Yellen, state secretary, are in charge. In Illinois Ben Lark and the State Executive Committee are working to insure the success of the Chicago dinner on May 25 when part of Illinois' quota will be raised. They are also soliciting subscriptions.

\$100 From North Carolina

In some of the States where the organization has only recently begun to function the drive has taken root with surprising rapidity and strength, Lewis announces. North Carolina and Virginia, were among the first to respond with subscriptions. Among the subscriptions is one for \$100 from North Carolina.

The response is equally encouraging in allied organizations, such as the Workmen's Circle. Leading the list of branches

is Branch 1, Workmen's Circle, which helped commemorate recently its 40th anniversary by subscribing \$50 to the campaign fund. The check was forwarded through Sol Wexler and S. Nazine. Other branches are responding with equal enthusiasm.

At the national drive office, 907-15th street, N. W., arrangements are being made for a series of dinners to be held late in May and early in June, while delegates are traveling to and from the national convention. Every large city will be visited, and in many of the smaller cities superettes will be held, at which returning delegates will bring the news of the convention and of the plans for the most vigorous campaign conducted by the Socialists since the war.

Branches Urged to Act

Daily additions to the personnel of the various committees, state, local, and national and special committees which will operate in sympathetic organizations, have delayed the publication of the complete list. It is expected that the list will be complete for publication in the next issue.

Branches are requested by Lewis to notify him of the action taken by their branches, and thus avoid the expense of repeatedly writing.

"It is not sufficient to do the good job that many of the branches are doing," Lewis declared. "It is equally important that other branches should know, and that the movement should know. What has been done so far has been a revelation to those who thought that the depression will prevent the Comrades from concentrating on the campaign or in raising a campaign fund. Now—more than ever—do they see in the building of the Socialist movement an end to the suffering and misery they witness wherever they turn. It is reflecting itself in the response which is coming from all parts of the nation, from all shades of opinion, from the poor as well as the wealthier Comrades.

"Now—more than ever—help. It is our call to all."

"Oh, But You Can't Trust the Government"

"OH, but you can't trust the government to run industry. There would be too much graft."

Thus runs one of the stock answers to the Socialist argument that the industries which the people need for the necessities of life should be owned by the people and run by them.

Business is supposed to be something clean and efficient, something above graft and corruption. But the government,—"Oh, you can't trust the government, etc."

Well then, here is the revealed and undisputed record of one great business man, one of the biggest of the world,—the late Ivar Krueger, Sweden's leading businessman and close associate of the American firms of Lee,

Higginson and Co., and J. P. Morgan and Co.

Among the polished practices of Krueger was the falsifying of balance sheets and the forging of bonds.

Like Lord Kylsant, member of the British House of Lords and head of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Co., who got a year in jail recently for deluding the stockholders of his company, Krueger juggled the assets of his several companies so as to make their position appear more favorable than it actually was.

But further, he earned for himself the title of one of the greatest forgers in history when 42 fake Italian Treasury bonds, each with a value of nearly \$2,500,000 were discovered in his safe. They are stated to have

been forged under his personal direction.

Three of the directors of one of his companies have been arrested and the indictment charges that at least two of his supposed match monopolies—the Polish and the Spanish—were based on fraud. Krueger is charged with having established fictitious banks and appointed personal friends as their dummy directors. It is also charged that a \$14,000,000 item was entered twice as an asset. Krueger's manipulations were rendered simpler by the complicated system of holding companies which he had established. A series of deceptions dating back to 1925 had apparently been practiced on unsuspecting stockholders.

Mass Unemployment Demonstration

Arranged by the Socialist Party

To Demand Adequate Relief, Unemployment Insurance, Six Hour Day and the Five Day Week

THIS SATURDAY, APRIL 23, at 12 NOON

Columbus Circle, 59th St. and Eighth Ave.

SPEAKERS:—Norman Thomas, August Claessens, Frank Crosswaith, Gertrude Weil Klein, Leonard Bright, Samuel H. Friedman, Henry J. Rosner, Gus Tyler, Chairman, Edward Levinson.

Pennsylvania and Socialist Party Prospects

[This is the fourth article in the series on economic, social and political conditions in the states and the prospects for the Socialist Party.]

By Birch Wilson

ECONOMIC conditions and the political situation in Pennsylvania are both tragic in the extreme, viewed from a working class standpoint. Unemployment continued to increase during the past winter, payrolls declined steadily, and in no section of the state is adequate relief being provided to meet the unprecedented situation which confronts hundreds of thousands of working class families.

On April 4 Gov. Pinchot reported 1,146,525 unemployed persons in the state, as compared with last Fall's estimate of 990,000, showing an increase from 26.6 per cent on Sept. 30 to 30.1 on Jan. 15. In making this report public the Governor stated that it probably underestimates the situation somewhat.

The report just mentioned, which lists the number of unemployed by counties, shows that the percentage of unemployment is greater in the steel and coal mining sections of the state than in other districts. However, most of the more important manufacturing areas also are well above the average for the state as a whole. Those below the average are the counties devoted largely to agriculture.

Wages Take Big Drop

In the February, 1932, issue of "Labor and Industry", published by the Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, appear

several tables which tell the story of widespread misery which has come into the lives of the toiling masses of this highly industrialized commonwealth.

One of the tables dealing with employment and earnings in manufacturing industries of the state shows that in Dec., 1931, employment was but 71.1 per cent as compared with the three-year average for 1923-25, and payrolls but 52.1 per cent. From Dec., 1930, to Dec., 1931, employment decreased 13 per cent and payrolls 26.9 per cent. Average weekly earnings last December for those fortunate enough to have jobs amounted to \$19.22, showing a decrease of 35 per cent compared with the 1923-25 index numbers.

In the anthracite coal mining industry employment at the end of last year was 78 per cent of the 1923-25 average, and wage payments were but 66 per cent.

Economic conditions in the city areas of the state are shown in the following table:

EMPLOYMENT AND EARNINGS IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES IN PENNSYLVANIA*

CITY AREA	EMPLOYMENT PAYROLLS Index Numbers 1923-1925 equals 100				AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS
	Dec. 1931	Per cent change compared with Dec. 1930	Dec. 1930	Per cent change compared with Dec. 1930	Dec. 15, 1931
Allentown-Easton- Bethlehem.....	89.6	-23.1	43.3	-37.8	\$19.96
Altoona.....	70.6	-10.3	51.1	-31.5	15.32
Erie.....	80.7	-8.2	63.6	-16.9	22.36
Harrisburg.....	86.5	-22.1	51.5	-32.7	14.83
Hazleton-Pottsville.....	79.9	+17.5	69.0	+7.8	16.71
Johnstown.....	99.2	-37.9	29.5	-39.8	28.90
Lancaster.....	78.0	+1.6	59.6	-18.0	17.02
Newcastle.....	60.4	-38.7	22.2	-50.2	16.02
Philadelphia.....	77.6	-7.1	68.9	-14.7	23.05
Pittsburgh.....	61.3	-16.3	38.9	-36.2	16.26
Reading-Lebanon.....	81.8	-6.2	59.5	-19.4	17.33
Scranton.....	67.5	-24.0	37.6	-36.9	18.39
Sunbury.....	60.0	-23.9	47.2	-36.6	16.52
Wilkes-Barre.....	88.3	-8.9	71.6	-28.8	14.94
Williamsport.....	57.9	-2.6	55.8	-5.3	18.23
York.....	79.1	-16.0	69.3	-29.1	16.18

*Data compiled and published in conjunction with the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia.

As the above figures are for last December, they probably understate the situation as it exists now at the end of the Winter months. This is indicated by the latest report of the Governor showing an increase in unemployment, and by general observations with respect to part time employment and continued wage reductions in many establishments.

Little imagination is needed to realize the extent of the suffering that exists in the homes of countless thousands of working class families, for in no community in the state has provision been made to furnish adequate relief for those in need. Meager funds raised from private contributions and local taxation have afforded the only direct relief thus far provided for the unemployed. The best that can be said of the relief given to date is that it has kept the most needy from actually dying of starvation.

Pinchot's Relief Record

As far as state aid is concerned, the idle workers have received nothing thus far—except for the few thousands extra that were given jobs at 40 cents an hour on road construction work.

When the legislature was in session a year ago even Gov. Pinchot, along with other politicians, denied that there was any need for the state to provide relief. When the two Socialist members from Reading introduced an unemployment bill and demanded a public hearing, the attitude of the old party politicians towards relief was expressed by one of the mem-

bers of the committee when he said: "I'm opposed to a public hearing. Things are bad enough without agitating this question."

However, denying the need for relief failed to improve matters. The question "agitated" itself as more workers joined the steadily growing army of unemployed, and conditions finally forced the Governor to call a special session of the legislature late in the Fall. After seven weeks of old party squabbling Pinchot's proposed relief program was rejected and another bill was enacted, appropriating \$10,000,000 for unemployment relief, to be administered by the poor boards throughout the state.

Big Incomes Protected

The constitutionality of this legislation was immediately challenged in the courts, where the case dragged along for more than three months before a decision of the State Supreme Court finally made the appropriation available early in April. The act provides for the distribution of the money over a six-month period, which was to have started with the enactment of the bill last December; but the actual distribution of the fund only began about the middle of April.

This state's answer to the cry for help from the hungry multitudes is a sop of a dollar-and-a-half per month for six months, for each of the 1,146,000 idle workers—made available after a delay of four months, and ignoring entirely the two or three million depend-

ents in the families of jobless workers.

But rock-ribbed Republican Pennsylvania can still boast that the incomes of her twelve to fifteen hundred millionaires, with Andy Mellon at their head, are safely protected by her constitution against taxation for unemployment relief—thanks to the loyalty to their masters of the assemblymen who killed in committee the Socialist income tax amendment, designed to make funds available for unemployment insurance.

The Farmers' Poverty

The plight of the farmers of the state is little better than that of the industrial workers. Thousands of them have lost their equities in their farms; and owners and tenant farmers alike, while they continue to work, have little to show for their efforts but unpaid taxes, notes in banks, unpaid interest and other bills.

This is to be expected when it is considered that industrial payrolls have been cut about half since the depression set in, and that prices for farm commodities are the lowest they have been in a generation—and in most cases are below the actual costs of production.

That workers and farmers are deeply resentful against present economic conditions is apparent to all who come in contact with them; but how their resentment will express itself politically remains to be seen. Much will depend upon the activity of the Socialist party, its ability to organize, and the intensity of its propaganda.

That both urban and rural workers alike can be organized politically, and party propaganda conducted continuously—and therefore successfully—is being demonstrated very conclusively in at least one section of Pennsylvania.

The Socialists in Berks

Berks County, including the city of Reading, is the third largest manufacturing area in the state; and it is also the third richest agricultural county in the state. In this county the Socialist party now has a dues paying membership of more than 1,900, of which number 701 were added since last November, when the party lost control of the city administration in Reading to a Fusion slate. In addition to the city branches, 13 strong, active branches are organized throughout the county, and this number is growing monthly.

Within the local are six women's organizations that carry on special educational and political activities, principally among working class women. Affiliated with the local also are five Y. P. S. L. Circles, organized to reach the young folks and prepare them for future party activity.

All party branches meet weekly and their headquarters are usually crowded to capacity, because special efforts are put forth to make these meetings both interesting and educational. These meetings are all visited by experienced party members who discuss party principles, policies and tactics, organization plans, effective propaganda methods, political campaign work and similar questions. Thus new members are properly educated, their interest in the movement is stimulated and the spirit of co-operation is promoted to a degree where there is a hearty willingness on the part of the membership to carry on with the work of the organization.

The Job Can Be Done

During 10 months of the year between elections, Local Berks distributes 55,000 4-page, 9x12 inch class home in Reading, in every borough in the county and to most

of the farms; and during the two months prior to the election the same number are distributed weekly, increasing in size up to a 4-page newspaper. In addition to this a 15-minute Socialist program is broadcast every Sunday at 12:15 noon, over Station WEEU, which has a radius of more than 150 miles; in-door public meetings are held during the winter months, and scores of out-door meetings during campaigns.

The social activities of this local consist of card parties, bazaars, dances and picnics, the latter held in a park owned by the party and attended by upwards of 10,000 persons monthly during the Summer months.

And the local that is doing these things just mentioned; this local that almost equals in political strength the two old parties combined in the city of Reading, and is forcing them into a fusion in the county—this local is a 100 per cent proletarian organization. What it has done in the past and is doing now, other determined groups of workers can do elsewhere in the state—and in other states as well. It has the same kind of workers and farmers to reach and educate in Socialist principles as are found in other sections of the state and nation. The fact that they are succeeding

in doing this proves that the job can be done—if and when Socialists in a community quit making alibis for themselves and get down to work in earnest.

Pennsylvania Is Ripe

Economic conditions make Pennsylvania ripe for Socialist propaganda. Both old parties in the state are morally bankrupt and callous to the sufferings of the workers of city and country. The parties of privilege and plunder have nothing to offer them, whether employed or unemployed; no reform party is in the field to divert attention and divide workers, and the Communists are a political joke. This leaves the field to the Socialists, who should take advantage of this favorable situation to educate and organize the exploited toilers of the nation's foremost industrialized state.

It is now more evident than ever before that the workers "have nothing to lose but their chains". We must teach them how they can gain a world—and happiness.

Local Berks is showing that this can be done, and it is up to the comrades throughout the state to follow her example and roll up such a large Socialist vote next November that its significance will not be lost on the leaders of the plunderbund in Wall Street and Washington.

Busick Runs For Mayor in Los Angeles

Socialists Putting Up Vigorous Fight in Recall Election Campaign

(Special New Leader Correspondent)

LOS ANGELES.—The Socialists of Los Angeles have nominated William Busick as their candidate for Mayor in the recall election to be held May 3rd.

Though the time is short, the Los Angeles Socialists are planning a vigorous campaign. 50 meetings have been arranged and tens of thousands of pieces of literature will be distributed. Dozens of open air meetings will be held.

The Socialist vote in Los Angeles in 1928 was 4,000; in 1930 the vote was 9,000. The Socialists are handicapped in this election as the time is short for a campaign and the Socialist label will not appear on the ballot, as all candidates are in theory non-partisan. But they are sure they will increase their vote and the campaign will stimulate activity and reach thousands of people with the message of Socialism, both through meetings and literature.

The campaign is to be conducted on a class struggle basis, with the issue being Socialism and not just better government, reform, or a cleaner city government. The Los Angeles Socialists are telling the voters, "If you don't believe in Socialism, don't vote for Busick. We want your votes only if they are a class expression of your belief in Socialism."

The Issues Drown

The campaign was precipitated by a recall against Mayor Porter, which necessitates a special election.

Those responsible for the recall against Porter had varied motives and excuses. In attempting to placate the Socialist vote, the issue of public ownership and the question of free speech were brought into the campaign by the

progressive candidate. Porter's police force has been notoriously brutal in breaking up all radical meetings. It was Porter's police force that jailed Busick more than a dozen times during the past two years.

The progressive candidate promises to grant free speech, abolish the "Red Squad," protect the power and light department and many other progressive promises, but the Socialists at a meeting that lasted until midnight decided to sail under their own banner, and fight for Socialism, rather than win or lose supporting a "good" capitalist candidate. The discussion was warm, but at least 90 per cent of those present at the meeting were in favor of "no compromise"—that the issue in this, and in every other campaign, is Socialism, and not an attempt to "punish our enemies and reward our friends."

Omaha Rally May 1 To Celebrate Holiday Of World's Workers

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

OMAHA.—Socialists and sympathizers in the Omaha district are invited to rally on Sunday, May 1, at the Labor Lyceum, 22d and Clark streets, at 2:30 P. M. for a May Day celebration. John H. Paul, Nebraska Socialist candidate for governor, will speak on "The Socialist and the Farmer." Eight Omaha radical organizations will supply additional speakers.

Instrumental music and group singing of revolutionary songs will augment the program. The rally will be in the hands of the ladies in the evening. They will foster the true social spirit with refreshments served at the Labor Lyceum. Street meetings and demonstrations will be sponsored by the Yipsels and the Omaha Local. Red flowers will be sold at all May Day gatherings to swell the state campaign funds.

"Massacre Model"

The suggestion has been made that Ford's new 8-cylinder car be called the Massacre Model in memory of the four workers who were shot to death while seeking jobs on the new car.

Filippo Turati—Herald of the New Italy

Socialism's Hero, Foe of Fascism, Leaves
an Inspiring Story for the Workers
of the World

By G. E. Modigliani

FILIPPO TURATI was born at Canzo near Como in Italy on November 26th, 1857. He died in Paris on March 30th, 1932, and for 50 years his life was identified with that of the Socialist movement of his country. At all times and in all his tasks, the most humble and the most difficult, in the days of glory and the days of danger, at his desk and on the tribune, in prison, in Parliament and in exile he never spared himself, he never submitted and he never retreated. For he was above all things a great soul—the Mahatma of Italian Socialism.

Born in a lower middle class family he had already obtained his doctorate in law at 19 years of age. And the young lawyer—for he practiced law for some time—often appeared at the bar in defense of political prisoners and the flotsam and jetsam of life. He had already made a name as a writer and poet when he proved himself as a sociologist in "Le délit et la question sociale".

Shortly afterwards, however, the young lawyer became convinced by the truths of Socialism. The insurrectionary attempts of the Bakuninist period of the First International—which he had had an opportunity of witnessing at the University of Bologna—had come to an end. Between 1880 and 1890 the era of Marxian Socialism began. It was now necessary to lead the Workers' Party (the party of the "horny-handed" which had just been founded by Maffi, Lazzari and Gnocchi Viani) and the "Revolutionary" Socialism inspired by Andrea Costa, the former lieutenant of Bakunin and later a deputy to Marxism. This was the historic task of Turati and his unforgettable friend, Anna Kuliscioff. It was Turati's proposals which set the seal upon the union between the Workers' Party and the Milanese Socialist groups in 1886. Somewhat later it was he who gave the signal for the break with traditional democracy when its leaders lost all sense of proportion in the fight against the Workers' Party.

The "Reformist" Turati

In 1891 Turati and Anna Kuliscioff founded the "Critica Sociale" and this review which stood godfather to the Socialist Party of the Italian Workers formed in 1892 was—until its suppression by the Fascists—for 36 years the intellectual centre of the Italian Socialist movement. Especially in the early years Turati built up in its columns a body of Socialist doctrine which, whilst being strictly Marxian in its critical aspect, did not overlook the lessons of reality as far as practical policy was concerned. It is characteristic, however, that even when his guiding conception of being a "constructive" Socialist led him towards reform his articles and speeches were inspired by a realization of the class struggle which sprang, one felt, from the deepest of convictions, and, I might add, from the very trend of his whole life.

A reformist? True. But the Exceptional Laws of Crispi's era brought him a score of condemnations for Press offenses, and when, in 1898, the reaction again had recourse to the state of siege in order to suppress the revolts inspired by hunger and despair, Filippo Turati, deputy though he was, was nevertheless condemned to twelve years' penal servitude. But despite innumerable condemnations and the dissolution of all the political organizations of the Left a year sufficed—at that time—to

overthrow the reaction. In July, 1899, Turati re-commenced the publication of the "Critica Sociale" with an article whose title is significant: "Heri dicemus" (We have returned to the fray).

Between Two Fires

1900. The reaction is overthrown and the Italian peasants have ceased to be serfs. Their strikes are no longer met at the very start with the fusillades of the police! It was necessary to consolidate this great victory. Giolitti, the minister who gave his name to the new policy, had felt the lash of Turati's polemics in the past, but despite this Turati supported him against the reaction. Before long, however, this policy of "collaboration" was to re-awaken the fundamental intransigence of the Italian Socialist movement, which was still not very ripe. It was necessary to swim against the tide, and what a tide! A wave of revolutionary syndicalism broke over the masses. M. Giolitti did not stand. He began to waver, gave way and finally made a pact with the Catholics. But there was one who braved the exaggerations of the one side and the weakness of the other: Turati, who did not cease to defend the democratic method against the Government which denied it and against extremism which ridiculed it.

And finally Turati won the day. For even after collaboration of any kind with the Government had become impossible, the Socialist movement succeeded (between 1906 and 1908) in rooting out the virus of pseudo-revolutionary demagogy, just as it cast out in 1910 the degenerate version of Turati's reformism, a reformism which had become incapable of feeling—which went so far as to deny the class struggle. And when in 1911 the Italian bourgeoisie, after having sought to purchase the complicity of the Socialists by the bait of an electoral reform, desired a war to make colonial conquests, Turati became once again the guide and the mouthpiece of the movement—threatening the King, denouncing the execution of the alleged rebels in Tripoli, setting in opposition to the policy of adventure and blood the protest of the Italian workers.

Turati was then in the minority in the Party, for there was a revival of demagogy in the Party at that time which is best characterized by the fact that Mussolini was made its idol. But when war came and the idol fell, rotted by corruption and betrayal, and loyal servants were once again needed for a difficult cause it was Filippo Turati again who took up the flag, unfurled it and held it aloft in the class struggle against the capitalist war and for the peace of the peoples.

It is true that one might reproach him for not having desired the defeat of his country in order to shorten the war and he has indeed been overwhelmed with reproaches on this score. But who but Turati would have been capable of making the speech which he made after the defeat at Caporetto—which the Parliamentary stenographers were forbidden to record—in order that the crimes of Italian militarism should not be placed in the pillory for posterity to judge, as Turati alone was capable of placing it?

The Escape from Fascism

And then came the events of yesterday which are known to the whole world; the Bolshevik radicalization of the Italian masses

after the war, the destruction by Moscow of the unity of the Italian working class, the Fascist march on Rome and the heroic, miraculous re-construction by Matteotti of the Social-Democratic organization; then came his assassination and it was Turati, the great one, who came forward as the accuser, who, on the third day after the crime and in the first session of the "Aventino," lifted his voice in a passionate and avenging speech against the assassins.

I am firmly convinced that Turati believed that this Parliamentary secession of the Left would overthrow Fascism. Moral values had such a hold upon him that he found it difficult to understand why they did not produce the results he expected of them. His whole life, all his work sprang from the faith (which survived so many disappointments!) that that which is good and just cannot do otherwise than triumph. Alas! despite the fact that during the period of the "Aventino" he gave of the best of his great soul, despite the fact that the "J'accuse" of the "Aventino" bears the impress of his personality strong and clear like the man himself, Fascism did not slacken its hold. On the contrary, it strengthened its relations with the monarchy and large-scale capital until these relations became firm. All who persisted in opposition were swept away. And Turati was forced to

accept the offer of the young people, Rosselli, Parri, Oxilia and Pertini, who, at the risk of his life and their own, crossed the sea in a small boat on a stormy night and brought him to Corsica, in order that he might take up again in France the work of acting as standard-bearer and mouth piece for the combined anti-Fascist forces.

And what of his work since then? The whole world has followed it and will not forget it. It may be summed up in the following sentence: through this work and in it Turati re-discovered his faith in the campaign to such an extent that all who desired to act, all those who desired to unite their efforts were able to count on him. The others will not forget his diatribes in a hurry!

Herald of The New March

There was a period in which the political life of Italy had already become very difficult. At that time we called Turati the "Duce." The praetorians of Fascism seized the word to adorn their chief. Let them keep it! For Turati was better than a "Duce," he has been the soul, the great soul of an entire movement, and, at times, of an entire country. It has been said of him that he was too much of a poet to be a great politician, and if politics consisted of nothing but the little daily manoeuvres, of the artifice and monotony of petty gains, it would not be otherwise

than possible to subscribe to this eulogy of the great poet which Turati was all the days of his life.

As for myself, I see the day when in a liberated and restored Italy the young will read Turati—his hundreds of articles and speeches—to learn to write, to speak and to think as Italians and as Socialists.

Fascism is aware of this and as a beginning it has almost prohibited Turati's death being made known in Italy. Not more than the three lines of a telegram of an agency under the control of the State were allowed to be published in Italy, and then not in the whole of the Press. And when the signed telegrams of the "Old Guard" of Italian Socialism began to pour in from Italy, bearing witness to a solidarity which cannot be broken, the Fascist censor cut the communication!

Bind, bind the waves with chains. They will still surge and break upon the coast guarded by bayonets. A boat nears. It is the boat of Parri and Pertini and it brings the Great Exile to shore. See, he steps forth and with his hurrying steps, his somewhat swaying gait, his head so like a fawn's, with his gentle eyes, he resumes his path over Italian soil.

"Su fratelli, su compagni!"

"Su, venite in dritta schiera."

The rhythm of his hymn leads time to the tread of the army in its new march on Rome.



The Workers Mourn

(Drawn by a Dutch Socialist artist on the occasion of the death of Troelstra, leader of Holland's Socialist workers.)

THE NEW LEADER FORUM

To Comrade Coleman and Others

By the Editor

The letter of McAllister Coleman in *The New Leader* last week regarding the way in which the editor fulfills his duties raises some questions that require consideration. We may ignore his references to "misty authoritarianism," "ancient allies," "brazen refusal," and "clique inside the party" whose vested party interests make them naturally antagonistic to dislodgement of any sort. To consider these investives would lead to no good purpose.

Comrade Coleman inquires why the editor occasionally comments on letters that appear in *The New Leader*. The answer is that it is a duty that devolves upon any party editor. This very matter was reported to the members of *The New Leader* Association at its last meeting on Nov. 30, 1931, and I quote from that report:

Divergence of views among party members arise from time to time and it is important that these views should be presented to our readers if the Socialist movement is to be adjusted to the changing world of capitalism. When they appear they impose an important responsibility upon the editor of any party publication. His position requires that to the best of his ability he should represent the decisions of the party conventions and referendums. They are binding upon him and unless observed by him in the conduct of the paper, party referendums and conventions fall of their purpose so far as the party organ is concerned.

It is this course I have endeavored to follow and, in a sense, it may be said that decisions of the members are thus carried out between conventions and referendums. An editor may personally believe that a certain decision is erroneous and yet it is his duty to comply with the judgment of his comrades and give expression to the policy in that decision. Should he desire to express another view he can do so under his own signature just as other members do. In this way a solidarity of opinion and action as defined by conventions and referendums is preserved while at the same time divergent views may be expressed in the party paper.

In carrying out this democratic policy the editor is occasionally required to comment upon some letter or other contribution which may be based upon a misunderstanding of the party's position on some matter and to the extent that the editor expresses and defines the decisions of the party on such matter does he meet the responsibility imposed upon him.

There were Militant comrades in the membership meeting where this report was read and not one member objected to this or any other section of the report. The report in full was accepted unanimously.

The main point in this whole issue is that, the editor, whether it be O'neal, or Coleman or any other comrade, is required to explain and to defend the party decisions. If the decisions are not explained and defended in between conventions or referendums by the editor then conventions and referendums serve no useful purpose whatever.

The question is asked: Why did not *The New Leader* print the Militant program which has been published as a 15-page pamphlet? Comrade Theodore Shapiro appeared before *The New Leader* Board and requested that this document be printed as the editor's article had appeared. The board decided that *The New Leader* would give equal space to any member who desired to answer the O'neal article but that it could not undertake to reprint a pamphlet simply because it had been criticized by the editor or any other comrade. After this decision Comrade Shapiro through another comrade said that he would send in an article. The editor was prepared to run such an article last week but when it was delivered to him it proved to be a short introduction to the pamphlet with more than half of the printed pages pasted in manuscript form. It concluded with the statement, "Space does not permit the completing of this article in one section" and promised the second section the following week.

In other words, Comrade Shapiro sought to make the editor his accomplice in ignoring the decision of the

board by running the pamphlet as an "article." The editor declined to be such an accomplice and withheld the article. The Militants circulated a petition and we are informed that in some cases they asked for signatures on the ground that the editor refused an "article." Although denying that they are an organized group in the party, letters were received by the editor within a few days from Boston and Buffalo demanding that the pamphlet be reprinted by *The Leader*.

This week we are running the agenda to be submitted to the national convention. It contains suggestions that came from regular party organizations, some of them including the Militant views. The party never has recognized extra-legal organizations. There is no provision for them in the party constitution.

Moreover, for some months some comrades have considered publishing a pamphlet on party questions, giving incidental attention to the Militants. Should it be received by *The New Leader* it will not be printed. Coming not from the regular party channels *The New Leader* will not consider that it is under any obligation to reprint it. However, views of these comrades that came through the regular party channels are also contained in the agenda. *The New Leader* is a Socialist party paper, explaining and defending party decisions made by the membership. It is not a group paper that is required to reprint pamphlets of any group but it does present varied opinions of party members.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN RUSSIA

By David Shub

In his letter in *The New Leader* of April 9, Comrade Norman Thomas takes me to task for having failed to meet his criticism of my articles on unemployment in Soviet Russia. Unfortunately, my reply to my critics appeared in *The New Leader* in such emasculated form as to justify his complaint. Had *The New Leader* seen fit to publish my comment as written he would have very likely been spared the necessity of returning to the subject. The parts which *The New Leader*, for some unknown reason, omitted from my rejoinder were as follows:

"Not being an expert on Soviet Russia, Comrade Thomas is nevertheless certain that when the Soviet press speaks of a great number of unemployed in the villages it does not mean what is meant by that term in America, where there are also 'excess workers.' On what does he base his certainty?"

"In my articles I cited facts and figures taken exclusively from the official Soviet press and showing clearly that the unemployment problem has by no means been solved in Soviet Russia; that the condition of the workers employed in Soviet Russia is much worse than that of the workers in other countries; that a great number of Russian workers have fled and are fleeing from the factories and mines because they are unable to stand the intolerable working conditions; and that there are now no less than 10,000,000 (ten million) 'excess mouths' (as they are termed in the Soviet press) in the Russian villages, 'excess mouths' who have no work, receive no assistance from the government, and who are in a much worse situation than unemployed workers in England and Germany. I also showed that Soviet Russia has not yet attained even that measure of production necessary for the satisfaction at least in small part of the commodity needs of the population and its most elementary necessities."

"I cited from the *Woscom* investigation of January, 1931, the following statement from a speech by Yurkin, chairman of the central organization in charge of administration of the collectives: 'In the collectives there are still millions of unemployed.' Furthermore, I cited Stalin's famous speech and an article in the *Moscow Pravda* of Aug. 21, 1931, by Kossior, one of the outstanding Communist leaders, showing clearly that the workers are running away from the factories and mines to the villages and that the peasants no longer want to go to the cities to work, contrary to their previous habit. Can this situation be compared with the condition of American farmers and how can any serious Socialist try to minimize the significance of these facts by cracking jokes about 'the one can imagine school?'"

As to Comrade Thomas' argument that by criticizing Russia we provoke "a real feeling of irritation among those who ought to be friends of Socialism rather of Communism," I made the point deleted from my rejoinder in *The New Leader*, that "the entire labor movement in the United States is hostile to Communism and not at all friendly to Soviet Russia." In other words, while a few, very much confused bourgeois liberals and dilettantes, who about for Soviet Russia and vote for Al Smith, may be alienated by an honest Socialist exposition of the question, we have

nothing to lose and everything to gain from a fearless, honest and absolutely necessary criticism of Communism and its methods, particularly so far as the organized workers of this country are concerned.

Comrade Thomas complains that "most of our comrades who are so emphatic in showing up Russia are doing extraordinarily little effective work to build Socialism in America." Without venturing to speak for all the comrades "who are showing up Russia" I may say for myself that my work is inspired precisely by the desire to build the Socialist party and promote Socialism in America. I know that Bolshevism wrecked the Socialist party in 1918 and is today the chief destructive force working against the Socialist and labor movements throughout the world. I may cite as the latest example the behavior of the Communists in the recent Presidential contest in Germany. Those who give aid and comfort to the Communists do not promote the cause of Socialism here or elsewhere.

In my mutilated reply I also stated: "In conclusion, may I say in common with all intelligent Socialists who have paid any serious attention to the problem that neither Soviet Russia nor the capitalist world outside have been able to cope with the unemployment problem. Unemployment and the entire social question cannot be solved by dictatorship, violence and oppression. Democratic Socialism is the only hope of humanity. This is what I was driving at in my articles."

Comrade Thomas wants facts and wants them interpreted "objectively." I have presented facts, facts taken not from propaganda journals or the effusions of excursionists to Soviet Russia who have no background or critical Socialist sense, or any knowledge of the Russian language, but from official Soviet sources. And I have interpreted the facts in the only way in which a Socialist uninfluenced by illusions could interpret them.

The charge of "blind opposition" leveled against me by Comrade Thomas is no more justified than the contention of Mayor Walker that Comrade Thomas' opposition to the regime of Tammany Hall is inspired by blind opposition and publicity seeking. The charge of blind opposition is also the convenient argument of Horthy and Mussolini against the critics of their bloody regimes, as it is the argument of Moscow against all Socialists who venture to speak the truth about Soviet Russia.

May I also cite a witness entirely friendly to the Soviet government and whose testimony confirms fully my information about unemployment in Soviet Russia. The witness is Mr. Thomas Woody, an American educator, who after a visit of 30 months to Soviet Russia writes the following in a book published recently in this country ("New Minds: New Men," the Macmillan Company):

"Just now it is maintained there is absolutely no unemployment, either in skilled or unskilled ranks (September, 1930). To believe it requires great credulity on the part of one who has traveled throughout many of the Soviet republics and observed more collective idleness than he had seen elsewhere. There is between life and theory, between facts and statistics, a great gap. These idle folk may not be registered, counted; there may be none listed at exchanges, where calls for laborers are received; but one need only look to find unemployment which challenges the statement just gained from the official source."

This question has been thoroughly discussed and it will be considered closed with one more letter if one is received.—Editor.

THAT PROPOSED DEBATE

By Charles Sunachy

The action of the city central committee in not permitting Comrade Thomas to participate in a debate with William Z. Foster of the Communist party may be interpreted in two ways.

The first shows a lack of faith in the ability of Comrade Thomas to interpret the Socialist philosophy and the program of the Socialist party as related to the peculiar American scene; the story of the American frontier and its effect on the labor movement, the effect on the psychology of the working class, and more recently the effects of the last world conflagration on "radical" thought.

The second conclusion drawn is that the members of the central committee lack faith and understanding both in themselves and in the Socialist philosophy and ideology; that for purely sentimental reasons and for lack of a social life in other spheres they remain in the Socialist party.

I am convinced that this is a challenge that will have to be met in the future. As the class struggle between capital and labor becomes more keen, the workers will turn to the Left.

The differences between the Socialist and Communist parties will have to be crystallized. It is best that this

be done intelligently!

There are today many class-conscious workers whose minds are confused with the rapidly-moving panorama of world events. Hundreds of young people are being ensnared by "innocent" clubs and their minds poisoned against us without a hearing. I feel that a discussion of the kind proposed should be utilized by us in order to present our case. There is no doubt in my mind that no matter what the outcome it will redound to our credit.

If there are doubts as to the capabilities of Comrade Thomas to hold his own against so wily and unscrupulous an opponent as Foster, I would suggest that Comrade Hillquit be substituted. It is only fitting that the foremost Marxist in America, the man who is the chairman of the national executive committee, be the one to show "the way out."

Descending to a more materialistic level, there is no doubt that the affair would not be a substantial sum for *The New Leader*.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

BUILD THE PARTY

By S. Bergwerk

Allow me to consider a debate at the Belania Club in the Bronx about the phraseology and tactics of our party. The same old phrases are used by our young comrades every few years and threatens to disrupt. It seems to be a curse on our beloved party. As soon as we get back on our feet to a certain extent a new difference of opinion under different pretexts arises and threatens to disrupt instead of building up a strong and solid organization of which we are so sorely in need.

Allow me to refer these so-called Militants to the practical work of the Galician branch back in 1912. Instead of hair splitting these comrades under the leadership of a few practical comrades organized almost the whole East Side and accomplished fine political success in their days of which we were proud. Instead of all these debates and arguments, let us better plan how we can interest our own membership and supporters to make them active and productive.

Let us forget Russia and the others, as they will not listen to our advice anyhow. Let us mind our own business.

Bronx, N. Y.

LEADERS AND MEMBERS

By Abe Kalish

The resolutions of the Maine Socialists re-echo statements which have been in the air for some time. I read the following: "The unfriendly... attitude of certain of our party leaders towards the U. S. S. R." Now it is all right for a member of the C. P. L. A. to make such a statement; but as a party member who may have to vote on this question I should like to know who these leaders are, what the exact charges are, and what they have to say for themselves. The spreading of unsubstantial charges leads to nothing but confusion. More important, however, is the fact that the words "party leaders" used in the manner of C. P. L. A. orators, shows a misconception of party democracy. True democracy means not only voting for officers who are asked to do all the work; but also active participation by the voters themselves, in this work. Thus the real leaders of the party are individual members who are active in their locals. It is childish to believe that a handful of party secretaries, and executive members can do anything in the way of creating a national movement except take care of some of the details. These men can issue statements which the press will usually not print. They can urge the members to follow a certain course, but unless local members do the necessary work, nothing will be done. Recently the N. E. C. called upon party members to organize the unemployed.

Notice of Quarterly Meeting

NEW LEADER PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

Monday, April 25, 1932

8 P. M.

at the

Rand School

7 East 15th St. N. Y. C.

ADOLPH WARSHOW,

President

JULIUS GERBER,

Secretary

Some of the locals had members who proceeded to distribute leaflets, call meetings, etc.; other locals did not have such leaders; that explains the whole story.

The Maine comrades also passed a resolution calling for an end to all participation in coalition governments. Let us put this resolution in an American setting: Daniel W. Hoan, Mayor of Milwaukee now speaking: "Fellow citizens of Milwaukee, as a Socialist I believe that this city should be run according to certain ideals. In my previous terms I was prevented from putting these ideals into operation because of a non-Socialist city council. In the campaign which has just ended I asked for a Socialist majority on the council. You refused to give it. I refuse to collaborate any longer with Republicans and Democrats. I resign!" It seems to me that only those who are willing that we here should act thus locally are justified in asking that other Socialists surrender much more on a national scale.

Such resolutions merely tend to obscure the vital problem of the exact steps by which industry is to be socialized. It is not enough to say, "Give us a complete majority and we shall do the rest." The story of the Columbia Conserve Co. in training the workers to manage the plant, shows that it is not as easy as all that. Norman Angell's paper before the Fabian Society on "Industrial Marketing," might well be printed in *The New Leader* and discussed by American Socialists.

Finally, the training of the German workers in the workers' councils, the sitting of workers in all the meetings of the industrial boards of directors and the economic planning in the basic industries might well be studied by us, not merely that we might be able to frame correct resolutions; but that when office and power does come to us, we shall be able to take full advantage of our opportunities.

Boston, Mass.

ETHICS OF DISCUSSION

By S. Maggin

The policy of tolerance and open-mindedness pursued by the editor of the Forum unquestionably deserves every praise.

There should be, however, a limit even to tolerance. I am referring to the letter of McAllister Coleman in *The New Leader* of April 16, particularly the last paragraph of it.

A statement that "The New Leader is being censored for the benefit of a clique inside the party whose vested interests," etc., should not remain unchallenged. It merits in my opinion a trial before a proper party tribunal. McAllister Coleman and those that are with him (he is not alone in his opinion, he states) should be given to understand that irresponsible public statements of this kind cannot be tolerated, that there is such a thing as party ethics and party discipline.

Bronx, N. Y.

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Notice is hereby given to all the members that the assessment for 1932 amounts to 10 cents for each hundred dollars of insurance. Assessments will be received at the following places:

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UNION CITY & BERGEN COUNTY—Swiss Hall, 487 West Street (cor. 23rd St.), Union City, N. J., April 20, 21, 22, 23 and 24.

MANHATTAN—Main Office, 227 East 84th Street, April 18 to May 28, inclusive.

BROOKLYN—Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby Avenue, April 26 to May 17, inclusive.

LONG ISLAND CITY—In the hall of the Long Island City Turnverein, Broadway and 44th Street, May 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22.

BRONX—420 East Tremont Avenue (between Park and Webster Avenues), May 24 to May 28, inclusive.

Payments may be made in all offices mentioned above except Manhattan, from 10 A. M. to 8 P. M., Saturday up to 1 P. M.

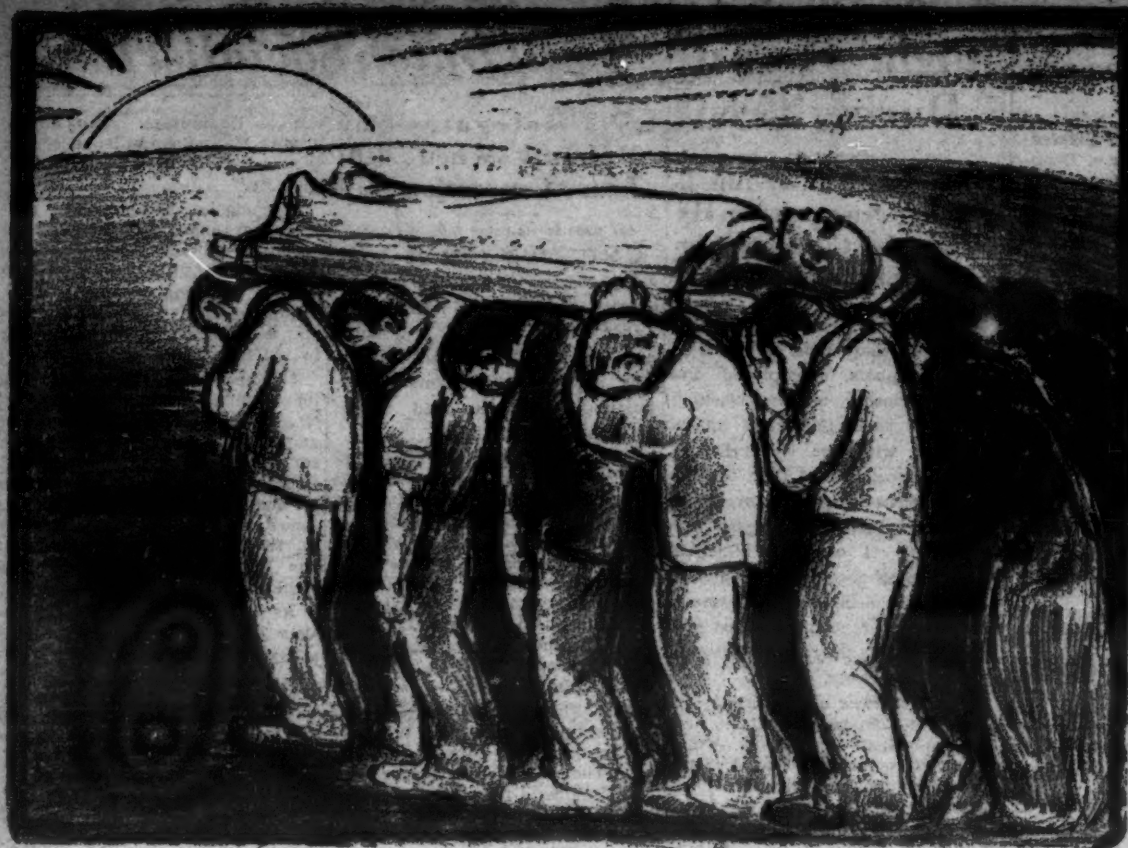
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N. MARQUER, Executive Sec'y.

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*The *New Leader* cannot be responsible for cash sent through the mails.



Farewell, Comrade
(For Gan Kolski, First Chairman of Rebel Arts)

Drawn by Irwin D. Hoffman

The Death of Gan Kolski

By Edward Levinson

THE George Washington Bridge rises high and graceful, a beautiful structure of concrete and steel set in an ever-changing background of blue skies and sunsets. Under its majestic arch, the Hudson river pours its broad stream into the ocean. It is a triumph of man's skill and labor. It is another symbol of man's capacity to conquer the physical barriers nature has erected against him.

An unemployed young man threw himself from the walk of the bridge Tuesday, and fell two hundred feet to the rocks below. When police came to the scene and searched his clothes to identify him, they found a note which he had written. It said:

"To all: If you cannot hear the cry of the starving millions, listen to the dead, brothers. Your economic system is dead."

This was the last word of Gan Kolski, young Socialist and artist, written before he hurled himself from the bridge.

The act was a deliberate one. Kolski had the warm friendship of comrades. He had accomplishments which had already brought him recognition. He was fired by the ideal of Socialism which

gave him joy and purpose in life, and those who worked with him in rallying artists to the cause of Socialism never doubted that he was enjoying life.

Gan Kolski's death was not a way out for him. He needed no escape for himself. He took his life as a protest against the monstrous system which has placed millions of men and women in the shroud of living death which is hunger, poverty and the killing fear of what the next day might bring. His note made this plain.

Gan Kolski wanted to do something for the jobless, the men and women who have made the wealth of our nation and today cannot find a crust of bread to still their hunger pangs, or a roof to shelter them. Unemployment to Gan Kolski was not a matter of statistics. He suffered with the children sent to school without food, and with distressed mothers who searched haggard faces of their men for signs of hope which never came.

Gan Kolski gave his life as a protest against the suffering of the unemployed. And The New York Times gave the incident two and a half inches.

The mouthings of double-dealing politicians crowd the front pages. A na-

tion reads columns daily of the personal tragedy of the kidnapping of one baby. Tabloids and movies continue their undisputed domination of the minds of men. The unemployed are with us, but they are something to be put aside so that they will not trouble our thoughts too much. The death of one young man on the threshold of life does not change the current.

Yet Kolski has not given his life in vain. He has forced into the minds of many the terrifying picture of what unemployment has meant to one man. In his unheeding sacrifice of himself, he has given his comrades an example of unselfishness which is rare. He stands today in the ranks of the martyrs of Socialism the world over who have fearlessly faced the hangman and the firing squad of razed reaction.

But no one will imagine that suicide is the way out. Gan Kolski never intended to foster such a thought. Suicide is of the old order. The struggle and the new world which it promises needs fighting and constant devotion. It needs life. It needs life dedicated to a merciless, unceasing war on poverty and hunger. To help create such life, Gan Kolski died.

Beer and Circuses

HERE in New York we are in the midst of one celebration after another. Right around the corner, above the heads of the unemployed who look with hungry eyes at the fat pigeons hopping about in the Spring sunshine, there is an ironic gaiety of bunting. The flags are out to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the old Square. Once it was the gathering place of the high-hat Society of its day. Now it is the cold and friendless harbor into which drift the sorry victims of a collapsing social order. For any satirist there is nothing quite as anomalous as all this riot of color, the red, white and blue and the orange and gold of the City flag set off against the drabness of the human misery that fills the Square these tragic days.

Of course, George Washington, like the poor, we have with us, always. At any rate until next Thanksgiving when the portraits of George supplied by courtesy of Mr. Sol Bloom and his Committee will finally have been removed from the windows of every gyp shop in the city.

And now we are getting set for our next big blowout, namely Jimmy Walker's Beer Parade. Not even the bread and circuses of the old Romans. But the beer and circuses of the new Rummies.

What a gorgeous idea, this Beer Parade. Up the Avenue will totter the embattled proletariat with Jimmy riding at their head and from a hundred thousand parched throats will rise that soul-stirring song, the Marseillaise of 1932:

"How dry I am."

More or less organized labor, headed by Matt Woll and Bill Green will be in there, wage cuts and all. Who said there was no solidarity among the rank and file of the latter-day labor movement? Given a fundamental issue like this and watch the boys rise to the occasion.

Never mind about the fact that to the thousands already on the verge of starvation, there will be added this June in New York and other cities, a vast new army of hunger recruits, driven to utter despair because of the breakdown of the abortive efforts of charity to prop a decaying order. Never mind the agitation for the six-hour day, the five-hour week, unemployment insurance and the rest. "We want beer." In its foamy depths we will drown our sorrows, and if tomorrow, we are sober, today, at any rate, we have stood up and acquitted ourselves like the rugged individuals we are, by gum.

One thing good Socialists can do when their disgusted eyes scan such childish antics as this is to go get themselves a book of coupons issued by the Emergency Conference on Unemployment and sell every last one of the coupons. The money will go to the spade-work of organizing Unemployed Leagues throughout the City. When this organization work is done, who know, we may have a parade of our own, a Bread Parade, if you like, that will shake this fantastic city to its very foundations.

I dropped in on Boston last week where at the famous Ford Hall, under the able direction of David K. Niles, a clinic was being held on our sick civilization. I have seen bad cases of depression fitters, but I doubt if I have ever heard a more pessimistic speech than that delivered by Lawrence Dennis, the reformed banker, whose book was discussed on the front page of last week's "New Leader."

Like so many of our high-brows who are taking their first Leftward steps, Mr. Dennis went blithely all the way past Socialism and informed us that it was either Communism or a new international war, with very little hope for Communism. His speech made Jay Lovestone's, which followed, sound like the happy burblings of a Pollyanna.

And by the way, speaking of Lovestone, let me nail one rumor right here before it gets going any farther. I'm advertised as speaking before Lovestone's group this coming Sunday. And so I am. But I am going there for a give and take discussion of principles. Not laundry work. Not personalities, nor affairs which concern only Party members.

I cannot close this column without expressing my deep grief over the death of Gan Kolski. A sweet, sensitive spirit, revolted at the cruelties of a world that seems to have so little use for artistic creation has gone from us, and we, his comrades, can only resolve to do all in our power to carry on the activities of the Rebel Arts, one of the causes with which his gallant heart was bound up.

McAlister Coleman.

Gan Kolski (18 April 1932)

You chose to go quickly out of the world where we die inch by inch.
Not the lean death of the vigorous body spending its force, but the pinch
Of many fingers—squeezing our blood into gold more than they can spend
Yet will not care. But we are building toward another end—
"Listen to the dead brothers!" was your last cry.
Their call will join with ours to fill the sky
In one great battle-song to clear our debt.
You are with those whom we shall not forget.

JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY

Rebel Arts Exhibition Opens Wednesday Night at Rand School

The first art exhibition sponsored by Rebel Arts, a group of Socialist writers and graphic artists, will open this Wednesday, April 27th, in the Studio of the Rand School, 7 East 15th street. The exhibition was originally scheduled to open Sunday but was postponed because of the tragic death of Gan Kolski, chairman of Rebel Arts.

Work by the late Kolski will occupy much of the space at the show. There will also be exhibited original works by John Sloan, Diego Rivera, Irwin D. Hoffman, Joseph Presser, John Sloan, Berkman, Dorothy Smedley, Paul Meltzer, Reginald Marsh and others. Admission will be free.

The Rebel Arts exhibition will be followed by the Rebel Arts costume dance to be held May 6th at the Alhambra in Harlem. Several of the paintings and other works on view at the forthcoming exhibition will be sold at auction at the dance. Among them will be a new lithograph by Rivera, presented by the Mexican labor artist this week to the Rebel Arts group.

Considering its very recent origin, Rebel Arts has already given valuable service to the Socialist party. Unemployment demonstrations have been made more effective by its striking banners and posters. Its members are now hard at work on banners to be carried in the May Day parade next Saturday.

100 Delegates Meet in New York to Form The Federation of Workers' Theatres

United under the slogan "The Theatre is a Weapon," about 100 enthusiastic delegates representing dramatic groups of New York City, Detroit, Reading, Newark, Chicago, Boston and Brookwood Labor College met at the Rand School April 15 under the auspices of the Workers' Theatre of New York and formed the Federation of Workers' Theatres.

The conference was opened by David B. Ross, director of the Workers' Theatre of New York, and the delegates were greeted by Anna Bercoff, Dr. William E. Bohn and Algernon Lee, representing the Workers' Theatre, the Rand School and the Socialist party respectively. A prominent feature of the conference was the formation of a workers' theatre "road" covering the Eastern portion of the country. Plans were formulated for the beginning of a workers' movie in America. For the beginning this will take the form of a Workers' Newreel carrying itself with the part-

tion of workers in their various fields. A census of children in workers' schools was decided upon in order to obtain data preparatory to the formation of a children's theatre. Station WEVD offered the federation the use of their studio and a radio theatre was formed. A bulletin of the Federation of Workers' Theatres was decided upon as the official organ of the federation. The editorial staff consists of Joel Lloyd, David Ross and Henry Olneck.

A central advisory bureau, with headquarters in New York, was formed. The bureau will concern itself with the selection of plays and methods of production. It will also serve as an exchange store for scenery, costumes and equipment.

The officers of the federation are David B. Ross, executive secretary, and Henry V. Olneck, associate secretary. The executive committee consists of Ann Bercoff, Sam Friedman, A. Hoban, J. Lloyd, Henry Olneck and David Ross.

15,000 Follow Turati Hearse Through Paris

Ashes Rest Beside Commune's Martyrs Until Italy Claims Them

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
PARIS.—"The loss sustained by our Italian Socialist comrades through Turati's death is irreparable," writes the Paris "Populaire." "If there were anything capable of assuaging this a little it was the marvelous demonstration of sympathy at his bier."

The Socialist workers of Paris and the Italian emigrants in France, some 15,000 persons in all, participated in the funeral ceremony, and thousands of workers lined the streets from the house in which he lay to the crematorium at the cemetery of Père-Lachaise, where the heroes of the Commune lie buried.

On the afternoon of April 3rd the procession left the house of the dead. The hearse was preceded by a carriage piled high with the wreaths of the Labor and Socialist International, the majority of its affiliated parties, and the Italian emigrant groups. The procession was headed by a delegation from the Italian Socialist Youth Movement bearing two wreaths sent from Milan, the one from the Socialist workers of Milan, the other from the Milan Committee of the "Justice and Liberty" Association. Behind the hearse marched the entire Executive of the Italian Socialist Party, the Central Committee of the Anti-Fascist Concentration, the Central Committee of the Italian Republican Party and the Italian League for the Rights of Man; Friedrich Adler, Secretary of the Labor and Socialist International, Van Roosbroeck (Belgium), Theodor Dan (Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party), Gonsales (Spain), Canevasini (Switzerland), Longuet (France), Renaudel representing the Socialist Parliamentary Group and the 18th section of the Paris Party of which Turati was a member, Bulson for the French Trade Union Centre, Winter (Czechoslovakia), Gvardjaladze (Georgia), Delum (Argentina), Plerard (Belgium), Jarblum (Palestine), representatives of numerous French Party organizations and finally the masses of Italian Socialists and Paris workers.

A Forest of Red Banners

A forest of banners waved, at their head the banner of the International which had been brought from Brussels for the purpose, the banner of the Italian Socialist Party and the only banner which the Italian emigrants were able to bring with them from Italy that of the Piano-Sesia branch of the Italian Party.

The actual ceremony took place in front of the Crematorium. The first speaker was Emile Farinet, Socialist Party Federation of the Seine. On behalf of the French Socialist Party Jean Longuet then took leave of the great dead. Friedrich Adler spoke on behalf of the Labor and Socialist International.

The last speaker was Claudio Treves, who for over forty years has stood nearest to Turati in the fight—on the staff of the "Critica Sociale," in Parliament and in exile.

After the speeches had been made Modigliani, Nenni, Rosselli and Buozzi bore the urn containing Turati's ashes to the Columbarium, where they are to find their resting place by the urns of Blanqui and Guesde and that of the Italian emigrant Eugenio Chiens—until the day comes when the Italian workers give Turati's ashes their permanent resting place in the cemetery of Milan at the side of the place where Anna Kuliscioff, his life's partner, is sleeping her last sleep.

Socialist Daily in France Increases Readers by 100,000

PARIS, (W. W. L. N. S.).—With the campaign for the election of a new Chamber of Deputies on May 1 and May 8 well under way, the excellent chances of the French Socialists are enhanced by the material increase in the circulation of their daily paper, *Le Populaire*, which is now around 100,000.

The number of mail subscribers has risen from 30,000 to 45,000 since last November. Despite unemployment and short time work, the campaign contributions from the workers are coming in at a very satisfactory rate. In the old Chamber the Socialists had 111 of a total of 612 deputies.

Labor Sports International Reports Gains

PRAGUE (W. W. L. N. S.).—Reports recently received at the headquarters of the Socialist Labor Sport International indicate that this year will see a material increase in the membership of the affiliated organizations, estimated at 2,000,000 at the end of 1931, a gain of some 300,000 in two years. While in some countries the economic crisis has adversely affected the membership, as in Austria, for instance, where it was 240,216 on Jan. 1, last, a decline of 7,202 during 1931, in general the changes have been increases. And the Austrian labor athletes voice confidence in making up their lost ground in 1932, despite all handicaps.

In Holland, where the labor sport movement was founded five years ago by 54 young men and women, the membership has reached 20,473 and is still rising. The systematic organization of labor sports clubs is also young in Portland, where the Labor Turning and Sport League of Poland was launched in Warsaw in 1925. Now the league has 10,000 members in seven districts and several of its football teams have achieved considerable fame beyond the borders of their native land. The Swiss labor sport organization added 33 new clubs with 1,200 members to its list last year. The Danish Labor Samaritan Corps has quit the Red Cross and joined the Danish Labor Sport League. In Helsinki the Finnish Labor Tourist Society has affiliated with the Friends of Nature, the international labor hiking and touring organization.

The Sixth Congress of the Socialist Labor Sport International will be held in Liege, Belgium, July 22 to 24.

Lithuania Socialists Fought by Smetona

KAUNAS, Lithuania (W. W. L. N. S.).—Although there has been some relaxation of the severity toward labor unions and the Socialists Party displayed during the early years of the semi-dictatorship headed by President Smetona, the government is still hampering their activities. Recently J. Sabalauskas, president of the Lithuania Socialist Youth Organization, was fined 500 lita (worth about 10 cents apiece at par) by the military commandant here for "stirring up one section of the population against the other and disparaging the authority of the government." Such arbitrary procedure against opponents of the regime is quite the usual thing now.

Reich Unions Fight Hard During Crisis

Drop in Membership Is Being Successfully Halted, Current Figures Show

BERLIN (W. W. L. N. S.).—With more than one-third of their members unemployed and almost another quarter working on short time, the trade unions affiliated with the General German Federation of Labor, the Socialist-controlled central organization which includes the great majority of all organized German manual workers, are fighting hard to halt the decline in their membership apparent for the last two years. And they are doing it pretty effectively.

Despite losses due to unemployment, to Communist agitation for the so-called Red Trade Union Opposition, to disgust on the part of many unionists with the "toleration policy" toward the bourgeois government headed by Chancellor Brüning practiced by the Federation of Labor and to the fake pro-labor propaganda of the so-called National Socialists followers of Adolf Hitler, the membership of the Federation of Labor at the beginning of this year was estimated at 4,200,000 against 4,200,000 on October 1, 1931, 4,717,500 on Jan. 1, 1931, and 4,948,267 on Jan. 1, 1930. The high post-World War membership mark was reached in September, 1922, when 8,068,935, were on the union rolls. Then came the sharp drop due to the currency inflation and the subsequent stabilization crisis, to 3,975,002 on Jan. 1, 1925, followed by a gradual recovery during a period of temporary "prosperity" to a round 5,000,000 in the early part of 1930.

The "AFA" (the union of white collar workers lined up with the Federation of Labor) is holding its own very well and has lost relatively less than its big brother, its membership being estimated at about 460,000, practically the same as a year ago.

The emergency convention called by the Federation of Labor for March 23 to consider steps to be taken to create employment at once was postponed for a few weeks because of the "Political Truce" imposed by the Government during the Easter period.

Rumanian Government Bars Union School

BUCHAREST (W. W. L. N. S.).—The handicaps under which the trade unions of Rumanian labor are well illustrated by a recent edict by the government barring the establishment of a labor school in the Petroseni mining district on the ground that "the present situation of Rumania doesn't admit of any agitation." The proposed school was backed by a number of educators and was intended to give the miners a chance to learn more about science and history than they could in the ordinary public institutions to which they had access. Trade union leaders comment bitterly upon the fact that Premier Nicholas Jorga is a university professor himself and ought to be interested in promoting general education instead of restricting it.

Worker's sport clubs also annoy the authorities. The other day the police arrested a number of the members of the club at Sadagura and threw them into jail in Cernauti, after having beaten two of them so badly they had to be taken to the hospital. No substantial reason was given for the arrests.

Views on Seizing of Power Split Dutch Socialist Party

1,599 Delegates Stay Behind When 400 Leave Convention Hall

(By Wide-World Labor News Service)

AMSTERDAM.—The open break between the "Left Wing" elements of the Social Democratic Labor Party of the Netherlands and its more moderate leaders, long expected here, came at the Easter Convention, held March 26th to 28th in Harlem.

When a resolution approving the position of the party officials in matters of political and industrial importance and condemning the "cell-building" and publishing of special papers by groups within the organization was adopted by a vote of 1,599 to 406, with five blank and two spoiled ballots, the 400-odd minority delegates left the hall and organized the Independent Socialist Party.

Edo Fimmen, secretary of the International Transport Workers' Federation, was elected provisional president of the new party and E. Stenhuis, a former president of the Dutch Federation of Labor, was chosen a member of the Ex-

ecutive Committee. The Secretary is P. J. Schmidt, one of the most active leaders of the "Left Wingers."

Stenhuis left the old party several years ago and founded the Socialist Revolutionary Party, which polled 21,768 votes in the general elections of July 3, 1929, compared with 804,818 for the regular Socialist party, but came back to the fold later.

The new party resolved that all its eligible members should belong to the Federation of Labor and try to obtain representation for their party in the General Council that controls the policies of Dutch organized labor on the industrial and political fields. None of the 24 Socialist members of the lower house of the Staats-Generaal joined the bolters.

As brought out during the debate at the convention the main difference between the Left Wingers and the regulars consists in the former's insistence upon the possibility of labor seizing power in Holland in the near future, while the latter, headed by the veteran J. W. Alberda, insist more preparation is needed. The old party's membership is about 78,000.

Naturalization Aid League Conference To Meet on Sunday

The 24th annual conference of the Naturalization Aid League will take place this Sunday afternoon, April 24th, in the Forward Hall, 175 East Broadway, N. Y. C.

The Naturalization Aid League, organized in 1908, by progressive trade unions, the Socialist Party and branches of the Workmen Circle, has assisted aliens in acquiring citizenship and has been closely identified with the trade union movement throughout these years. It helped over 15,000 workers with their American citizenship.

Henry Fruchter, director of the League, reports that the office has over 400 credentials from labor and fraternal bodies for this coming Sunday's conference and that very important measures will be acted upon tending to further the League's educational work in the coming year.

Jacob Panken is to be the prin-

cipal speaker and other prominent leaders of the labor movement will address the conference. Secretaries of trade unions, Socialist party branches and fraternal organizations who have not as yet sent in their credentials are urged to do so immediately. The main office of the League is at 175 East Broadway, New York.

BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP

"Should Atheists Join the Bronx Free Fellowship?" will be the subject of the lecture to be given by Dr. Leon Roasser Land under the auspices of the organization of that name, Sunday evening at eight o'clock. Leonard D. Abbott will speak on "Emma Goldman and Anarchism" at 9 p. m.

PLACE YOUR ORDERS EARLY FOR THE MAY DAY EDITION OF THE NEW LEADER. THIS EDITION WILL BE MOST EFFECTIVE FOR PROPAGANDA AND ORGANIZATION PURPOSES.

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THE NEW LEADER

Agenda for the Socialist National Convention

THE committee appointed by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party for that purpose herewith submits a set of proposed resolutions for the Agenda of the National Convention.

In framing these resolutions the committee has endeavored to present to the convention an intelligent summary of the most important proposals submitted to it by the various party locals. Where different views have appeared on questions of principle or policy the committee has endeavored to present the main divergent points under each head.

In the interest of brevity and economy it was, of course, necessary to discard many proposed resolutions of locals which seem to be substantially covered by similar resolutions submitted by other locals, but the committee believes it has not omitted any important viewpoint and, in this connection, it should be borne in mind that its formulation of the agenda is not final but is subject to any amendments which the convention may deem fit to make.

The agenda subjects herewith submitted are confined to questions of principle, policy and organization.

Numerous proposed amendments of the party constitution have also been submitted to the committee dealing with almost every provision of the constitution. It has been considered impractical to include these in the agenda because of their volume and also because the convention will undoubtedly elect a committee on constitution, whose function it will be to sift the various proposals.

For similar reasons the committee has failed to include a number of miscellaneous proposals which, in its opinion, should be referred to a committee on resolutions, likewise to be elected by the convention.

Fraternally submitted,
MORRIS HILLQUIT,
JAMES ONEAL,
HARRY W. LAIDLER,
 Committee.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The purpose and policies of the Socialist party are not determined by considerations of temporary expediency. They are guided by certain basic principles, which are derived from scientific understanding of the process of social evolution. Socialist theory has developed through practical experience of the class struggle. This has kept it in touch with reality and prevented it from degenerating into sterile dogma.

Throughout recorded history society has at all times been divided into two or more classes, according to the ways in which men got their livelihood, by their own labor or by exploiting others.

The dominant class antagonism in present-day society is between the wage-workers and the capitalists—between those who must sell their services in the labor market, and those who are enabled to appropriate the whole profit of production because of their ownership and control of the industries. The two classes are interdependent in the sense that the capitalists profit only by employing the workers and the latter can make a living only by being employed. Yet even their immediate interests are

diametrically opposed. The product being divided into wages for the workers and profits for the capitalists, neither share can be proportionately increased without diminishing the other. Hence, follows an incessant struggle over wages, hours of labor, conditions of employment and related issues, waged principally on the industrial field, but also in the political arena on both sides.

The ultimate interests of the two classes are likewise irreconcilably opposed.

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

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

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

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

The working farmers, the self-employed mechanics, the professionals and the petty business men are, through the growth of capitalism, being deprived of opportunities they formerly enjoyed and being reduced in ever larger numbers to the status of wage-workers. The Socialist party may logically appeal to them in the light of their future interests and those of their children. But this appeal should be made from the working-class point of view. It should not promise to restore to them any class advantages they have lost but invite them to join in the establishment of a classless society.

The more capitalism develops, the more does it demonstrate its unfitness to serve general human interests. Setting up riches instead of moral or mental growth as the standard of success, and throwing individuals into ruthless competition, it disinte-

grates the family and the community, commercializes art and science, corrupts public administration and the courts. It subsidizes falsehood in the press, curbs the free expression of public opinion, tramples on the civil rights of whole peoples, and even enters into alliance with the criminal underworld to break labor organizations and debauch elections. It fosters militarism and imperialistic aggression and breeds war on a gigantic scale.

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

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

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

The Socialist party explicitly rejects the notion that improvement of the workers' lot is an obstacle to its progress. It rests its hope, not on the workers sinking into such misery as will make them desperate, but on their desire for a better life and their increasing intelligence, power and determination to act together for their common good. Every betterment of their conditions which the workers obtain through organized struggle in the industrial and political field or through the efforts of workers' cooperatives is to be welcomed for its own sake and also for its effect upon working-class morale.

The two principal forms of organization necessary for this struggle are the trade union and the political party. Neither of these can attain its maximum efficiency unless the other is likewise active nor unless harmonious relations exist between them. To promote such harmonious relations is especially the duty and interest of the Socialist party.

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

Even in their daily struggle over the division of the product under the capitalist system, the unions cannot safely ignore politics. The power of making, interpreting and administering the laws is used by the

capitalists against the workers and against the labor movement. The working class needs a party of its own to defend its immediate interests.

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

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

Socialism is essentially democratic in aim and method. The future society which it foresees and for whose establishment it strives will be a classless and therefore a democratic society. Neither political nor economic liberty can be expected to be conferred on the workers as a free gift of the privileged class. The emancipation of the masses must be achieved by the masses themselves, and in order to achieve it they must develop through self-directed struggle the capacity to govern themselves. It is therefore vitally necessary both that their party and their unions should be democratically controlled by their rank and file, and that they should consistently defend whatever measure of political democracy exists and strive for the complete democratization of the state.

Capitalism is confined by no national frontiers. It spreads from country to country, and everywhere it develops in essentially the same way and produces similar results.

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

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

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

Amendment

The Socialist party reaffirms its faith in democratic methods for this country in the attainment of Socialist goals.

We recognize, however, that differing conditions call for differing tactics, so that whenever and wherever democratic channels for action have not been developed, or having been developed, become closed, Socialists must use any means at their command to achieve a social and economic system for the benefit of the workers.

Furthermore, we recognize that violent counter-revolution within a Socialist state may justifiably be put down through the use of violence.

Report of Agenda Committee on Trade Unionism

Trade Unionism—I.

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

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

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

What is desired is a friendly cooperation based upon mutual understanding, and this cannot be obtained by any form of coercion, intrigue or assertion of power by one over the other.

We urge that Socialists in the trade

unions do their utmost to educate their fellow members to an intelligent understanding of the needs of the American workers through discussion and distribution of appropriate Socialist literature; that they seek to obtain the cooperation of their unions with the party on measures of common concern to both and that they also urge their unions to persuade other unions to take similar action.

In all their work in the unions Socialists should observe the highest standards of ethics and thus set an example of idealism for others to emulate, never striving to drive the workers to policies which they do not understand but to win them by argument and loyal service to the union.

Among the immediate measures of vital concern to the trade unions, Socialists should urge the support of the unemployment insurance bill of the party and the six-hour day and the five-day week without reduction in pay. These measures are of prime importance because they center attention upon nation-wide issues of importance to the workers, and because they imply an unanswerable indictment of the indifference and neglect displayed by the parties of capitalism.

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

Consolidation and amalgamation of unions and interunion cooperation wherever prac-

tical should be supported by Socialists to make the unions more effective. Educational work should be carried on to convince union members of the advantages of such changes, the ideal being organization on broad industrial lines.

Socialist party organizations should also distribute suitable literature among workers in unorganized industries and actively encourage and assist in organizing unions in such industries.

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

The convention also considers it the duty of Socialist members of trade unions to work for the democratization of their organizations wherever undemocratic practices may exist.

Considering that the weeklies, monthlies and other publications of the trade unions are agencies for reaching the members, the convention urges that Socialist members contribute letters and articles to these publications on topics of an educational character along the lines set forth in this resolution.

Trade Unionism—II.

WHEREAS, the craft type of organization is unequal to the task of organizing workers in basic industries or to protect its members so organized; and,

WHEREAS, the business type of union accepts the capitalist order, denies the class

struggle and the need of independent working class political action; and,

WHEREAS, the A. F. of L. asserts its dual and schismatic character by refusing to affiliate with the International Federation of Trade Unions; and,

WHEREAS, since its organization the Socialist movement has emphasized the essential international interests of workers in all countries; and,

WHEREAS, the Socialist Party is committed to urging workers to adopt the industrial system of organization and recognizes the impossibility of emancipating the workers unless the political arm of labor is supported by the industrial arm; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the National Committee, through a special committee or through the National Executive Committee, call a conference of all elements, both individuals and organizations, interested in organizing the working class on such basis and such principles as shall prevent repetition of the acceptance of the ideas of capitalism by American unions;

RESOLVED, that the conference set up a permanent central organization to organize the unorganized, the central organization to urge the American representative on the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International to obtain the authorization of the International Federation of Trade Unions to erect such central Committee into an American Council of the I. F. T. U.

Trade Unionism—III.

Members of the Socialist Party who are members of trade unions should carry the Socialist message to the rank and file and any member who is guilty of questionable practices shall be expelled from the Party.

Report of Agenda Committee on Soviet Russia

On Russia—I.

The Socialist Party, in convention assembled, reaffirms its consistent demand for the recognition of the Russian Soviet Government by the government of the United States and the resumption of normal diplomatic and trade relations between the two countries. We oppose any interference by this or other governments with the industrial, political or other internal affairs of Russia, whether by armed invasion or blockade or by economic boycott or other exceptional measures. We specifically condemn, as injurious both to the American and the Russian working people, the efforts to put an embargo on the importation of Russian goods.

In conformity with the position of the Socialist and Labor International, we repudiate and condemn all counter-revolutionary movements inside or outside of Russia which aim at the violent overthrow of the Soviet government, and base our hopes for political progress in Russia upon a democratization of the regime.

II.

Consistent with the views above set forth, and applying the same principles by which we have been and shall be guided in opposing oppression and persecution wherever they take place, whether in foreign countries or in the United States, we condemn the policy of governmental terrorism, and the suppression of dissenting opinion which prevail in Russia. We demand the liberation of all working class prisoners in Russia.

III.

We deem it necessary to make it clear to our adherents and to the general public that there is a fundamental difference in theory and practice between Socialism and Communism as represented by the Russian controlled Communist International and exemplified by the Soviet Government. This difference is frankly stressed by the Communists, and the Socialist movement

has nothing to gain by trying to minimize or obscure it.

Socialism is the movement through which the working class seeks to win liberty as well as material well-being for all the people, through the socialization of the means of wealth production. State ownership and control of industry, under whatever form, is not a realization in whole or in part of the Socialist idea, unless the state is the responsible instrument of a free people.

The progress of Socialism depends upon the development of the working class, not only in numbers, but in political intelligence, class consciousness and capacity for self-government. In order to serve the immediate and the ultimate interests of the working class, it must be a movement of and by that class as well as for it.

III.

To the extent that the economic regime of Soviet Russia eliminates the profit motive in industry and seeks to introduce a unified system of planned production for public use, we heartily support it and commend it to the emulation of all nations.

But we recognize that the Russian revolution and the Soviet Government which it has created sprang from historical, political and economical conditions peculiar to Russia and particularly from conditions existing in that country at the close of the

World War, and we believe that neither the political or economic regime of Soviet Russia nor the methods by which it was established and is being maintained are applicable to the United States as other countries of modern western civilization and development.

While a divergence of opinion among American Socialists as to the nature and prospects of the Russian "experiment" is entirely legitimate, the question has little bearing upon the problems and policies of Socialism in this country and should not be permitted to divide our ranks or to stand in the way of unified and harmonious activities of all American Socialists along the lines of international social democracy.

On Russia—II.

(1) We recognize that Soviet Russia is a workers' government; that its economic policy is socialistic in essence in that it is based on the elimination of private ownership and private profit of the means of production and distribution, and in that it is founded upon a plan of production for use for the benefit of the working class.

(2) We, therefore, take a decidedly friendly attitude toward Soviet Russia and will utilize whenever and wherever possible appropriate features of the Soviet system for furthering and spreading and bringing about

of Socialism in the United States, taking into consideration the different conditions prevailing in this country.

(3) Because we are anxious for the complete realization of Socialism in Soviet Russia, we are not unmindful of certain evil tendencies present there, against which we vigorously protest, such as the suppression of civil liberties of working-class minority opinion, etc., which tendencies are inconsistent with the Socialist ideal.

(4) Our recognition of the value of the Soviet experiment does not blind us to the harmful anti-socialist tactics of communists everywhere, whose anti-proletarian agitation makes impossible a united front of militant working-class parties. Largely on account of such tactics, Soviet Russia has lost a considerable amount of what otherwise would be greater sympathy and cooperation from Socialist sources.

(5) We reaffirm the demand repeatedly made by us for the recognition of the Russian Soviet Government by the Government of the United States and the resumption of normal diplomatic and trade relations between the two countries. We denounce any interference by this or other governments with the industrial, political or other internal affairs of Russia, whether by armed invasion or blockade, and condemn, as injurious both to the American and Russian working people, the efforts now being made in this country to put an embargo on the importation of Russian goods.

On Russia III.

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

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Report of Agenda Committee on War

On War—I.

RESOLVED, That the Socialist Party reaffirm its opposition to all wars;

That it urge total disarmament by agreement as well as by example;

That it use every effective means at its command to prevent the country from engaging in war, whether such war be called one of offense or of defense, and that it refuse to support any war.

If war breaks out, that it use all of its forces to bring about a speedy peace and to overthrow the capitalist system, the breeder of modern wars.

That it instruct its delegates to the Labor and Socialist International to urge a similar anti-war program upon the International and its affiliated organizations.

On War—II.

RESOLVED, That the Socialist Party reaffirm its historic position in opposition to all wars, whether they are called wars of offense or wars of defense;

That it instruct its representatives to

refuse to vote for military and naval credits.

That it use its influence with its affiliates on the industrial field to promote the calling of a general strike in case of war;

That its representatives in the Labor and Socialist International urge upon the International and its affiliated trade union groups the adoption of these policies in opposition to war.

On War—III.

(Proposed Amendment to the Constitution Making War Illegal.)

WHEREAS, In Europe parliamentary support for measures for thoroughgoing disarmament comes from Socialist and Labor members and opposition from representatives of the capitalist classes; and,

WHEREAS, Our Socialist comrades who are striving for disarmament have expressed their appreciation of support by comrades in other lands; and,

WHEREAS, During the World War the Socialist Party of America took an uncompromising stand against war and militarism;

RESOLVED, That we endorse the proposed Constitutional Amendment which has

been introduced into the United States Senate and reads as follows:

"War for any purpose shall be illegal, and neither the United States nor any State, Territory, Association or person subject to its jurisdiction shall prepare for, declare, engage in, or carry on war or other armed conflict, expedition, invasion, or undertaking within or without the United States, nor shall any funds be raised, appropriated, or expended for such purpose."

On War—IV.

The Socialist Party affirms that modern wars are the instrument by which the ruling classes of the capitalist-imperialist nations seek to extend their dominion over the rest of the world, and that competitive armaments hasten such wars. The working classes are sacrificed in these wars. They die as conscripts and those who survive are compelled to pay the staggering bills. Moreover, war is generally accompanied by reactionary measures which restrict freedom of action of the working class in its fight for emancipation from capitalistic exploitation.

The Socialist Party, therefore, declares that the fight for the reduction of armaments is a leading task of Socialists, the

working class in general and all true friends of world peace.

The ideal of a disarmed world cannot be realized until capitalism is overthrown by an organized working class inspired by the philosophy and program of the Socialist movement. Therefore, the fight for reduction of armaments must go hand in hand with the fight for the overthrow of capitalism itself. It is this latter aspect of the struggle against militarism and armaments that distinguishes the aims of the working class from middle-class pacifism, liberalism and many sentimental peace movements, and it is the duty of Socialists to emphasize our program of the complete conquest of capitalism in our struggle against war and militarism and for the reduction of armaments.

In line with these principles the Socialist Party opposes all military and industrial conscription and all reactionary war measures, such as censorship of the press and mails, restriction of the rights of free speech, assemblage and of the right to strike. It is the task of Socialism to encourage the workers to organize into strong, class-conscious and closely unified political and industrial organizations so that they may be able to offer effective organized resistance to conscription and war.

Report of Agenda Committee on Organization

National Headquarters—I.

Resolved, That the national headquarters of the Socialist Party be moved from Chicago to Washington, D. C.

Organization of Women—II.

Resolved, That the Socialist Party proceed to the organization of a League of Socialist Women's Clubs modeled along the lines of the Federation of Women's Clubs, these clubs to affiliate with the Federation of Women's Clubs and each to be affiliated with the local organization of the Socialist Party. The work of organizing the clubs should be in charge of the national office of the Party. The entertainment and educational programs of the local clubs should be left to the initiative of each club.

On the Press—III.

1. Considering the need of a more powerful Socialist press the National Convention instructs the National Executive Committee to get information from the movement in other countries regarding the methods of publishing and financing their Socialist publications, both local and national.

After a thorough study of the problem the National Executive Committee shall report on the advisability of establishing a chain of Socialist papers that will represent the American Socialist movement and avoid the chaos of competition between party papers and publications that bear no responsibility to the organized Socialist movement.

A Propaganda Paper

2. **Resolved**, That the Socialist Party proceed to publish a national propaganda monthly at fifty cents a year to subscribers with the view of eventually making it a weekly; that this paper be furnished in bundles at cost to locals and branches; that distributing squads be organized for its general distribution; that the name of the paper should be a popular one not calculated to arouse prejudices of new readers.

The New Leader

3. We recommend that the National Executive Committee, as soon as practicable, make arrangements to have the New Leader published in two editions, one for local and one for national circulation.

By this plan, both editions may contain the same general news and the same educational and inspirational material, which will result in a great financial saving as compared with the publication of two separate periodicals.

At the same time, reports of party activities and controversies carried on in the correspondence columns may be emphasized differently in the two editions to the great advantage of effective party work.

Red Week—IV.

As well organized drives for special purposes generally stimulate intense party activity the national convention instructs the National Executive Committee to designate a certain week as "Red Week" for the entire party membership and outline a program for increasing the membership, getting subscribers to Socialist papers, distributing literature and, in general, supporting the Socialist Party campaign.

Cultural Activities—V.

Considering the importance of a working class culture to the Socialist movement, and that talent in music, the drama, pageants, literature and other arts will remain fallow in our ranks unless cultivated, the convention congratulates the membership on the revival of interest in cultural activities.

The convention therefore instructs the national office to gather material from our sister movements in all other countries regarding their cultural activities and make the information available to the members through the Socialist press or by direct communication with local and branch organizations. Branches and locals that take up this phase of Socialist work are also urged to report to the national office of their programs and activities so that this information may be placed before the members through the Socialist press.

Where the cultural activities of members have developed in a state or a number of nearby states, then state or interstate conferences should be held to confer on the work being done. The convention also suggests the possibility of a few hours being set aside for the consideration of cultural activities at the next national convention should the interest in the cultural movement at that time warrant it.

Cooperatives—VI.

The Socialist movement of the world accepts the co-operative movement of the workers as an important method of organizing the working masses in the fight for a better living and the Socialist Party urges its members to assist this movement in every way possible.

Negro Workers—VII.

The Socialist movement is the only instrument which can free the Negroes from capitalist bondage. Racial prejudice, which is so carefully fostered by capitalism is a device to create antagonism between black and white workers, must be overcome in the common struggle to create a world free from exploitation. We urge:

- That special committees be formed for work among Negroes;
- That news of interest to Negroes be regularly published in the party press;
- That trade unions and discrimination wherever it may exist against Negroes and

that they open their doors to Negro workers on a par of equality with white workers.

Unemployed Leagues—VIII.

The need of awakening the jobless masses to the necessity of action by themselves through organization of leagues of the unemployed with Socialist co-operation becomes more apparent every day. We urge renewed activity by the national office in stimulating the organizations of such leagues.

In every city workers are being evicted for non-payment of rent and their families are becoming homeless. The leagues should demand that suitable public buildings be made available for the homeless and jobless workers.

Demands should be made by the unemployed leagues for the free use of public schools and other public buildings as meeting places. Each league should select a publicity agent to secure publicity of the activities of the leagues. Party members must be enlisted to canvass their neighborhoods with suitable literature, obtain members for the leagues, and signatures to the petitions for our unemployment insurance bill.

Representatives should be sent to local and central bodies of trade unions and urge their representation in the leagues. Co-operation of all labor and fraternal organizations should also be solicited.

Mass meetings and public demonstrations should be arranged by the leagues in support of the program for relief and as leagues multiply in the large cities a central organization should be formed to coordinate their work.

When the leagues have become effective functioning organizations impressive demonstrations should be organized for marches to the city halls in support of our program for relief.

In states where a number of leagues have been formed similar demonstrations should be organized to make demands upon the State Legislatures.

International Unity—IX.

That the national convention take the initiative in attempting to bring together the Socialist and Communist Internationals (1) on the basis of democracy and civil liberties in Russia; (2) in Fascist countries a union of both parties to overthrow Fascism by any means possible; (3) in countries where there still is democracy, a union of both parties in an attempt to change the present system by peaceful means and by other means, if necessary.

A New Constitution—X.

That the national convention elect a standing committee for the purpose of drafting a new constitution for the United States and some fundamental laws to gov-

ern the future organization of the industries, property rights, personal liberties, marriage regulations, etc.

Contact Committee—XI.

In view of the breakdown of capitalism, the need of concrete proposals for the reorganization of our archaic form of government and the socialization of industry is evident.

The convention therefore recommends that the National Executive Committee undertake to formulate a plan of political and industrial organization of the United States to guide our members in the activities.

In cities where Socialist, Communist, the L. I. D., the Friends of the Soviets, the Civil Liberties Union and other similar organizations exist, a permanent committee be organized to bring them together in informal conferences to consider practical steps to be taken on matters of concern to all.

Campaign Slogan XII.

Resolved, That the national convention adopt for the Socialist Party the slogan of "Bread, Work, Security and Freedom."

On Third Party Movements—XII.

Third parties offering panaceas in the shape of monetary reforms or presenting "liberal" or "progressive" middle class programs have appeared from time to time and disappeared. Such parties have no permanent place in our political life. They represent no fundamental ideas of social change, and generally become the prey of ambitious politicians and disintegrate.

The Socialist Party, as the party of the workers, cannot co-operate or fuse with any organization that is not frankly based upon the claims and the interests of the laboring population.

While the Socialist Party does not claim a monopoly of labor politics and has always shown its readiness to co-operate with other bona fide movements for independent working class political action, this Convention declares that at this time there are no such serious movements in existence outside of the Socialist Party and that it is, therefore, the duty of Socialists to confine their political activities to the Socialist Party in a determined effort to build it up as an effective and powerful political instrument of American labor.

The convention reaffirms the decision of the Party that local and state organizations may co-operate with genuine labor groups and parties in local or state campaigns, but all such co-operation should be subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee. In all such cases of co-operation the Socialist Party must not give up its right to continue its work of propaganda and organization.

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What Is Socialism? 6 pages.
Why Socialists Pay Dues, 4 pages.
Young vs. the Old World (appeal to youth), 4 pages, illustrated. Price: 35c per 100; \$1.00 per 300; \$2.00 per 1,000; carriage prepaid.
Party Emblem Stickers (size 1 1/4 inches across), 10c per 100; \$1.00 per 1,000.

Paper Bound Books

	Each	Dos.	Per 100
Unemployment and Its Remedies, Harry W. Laidler	\$.25	\$2.25	\$15.00
A. B. C. of Socialism, Fred Henderson	.10	1.00	3.00
Are Radicals Crazy? Stuart Chase	.05	.50	
Case of the Chicago Socialists	.25		
Challenge of Russia, Sherwood Eddy	.15		
Cry for Justice, Upton Sinclair	1.25		
Debs, An Introduction, Walter Hurt	.25		
He Stirreth Up the People, Herman J. Hahn	1.00		
How America Lives, Harry W. Laidler	.10	1.00	5.00
Importance of Oil, John Lee	.25	.50	3.00
Labor's Case in Parliament (Canada)	.25		
Letters to Judd, Upton Sinclair	.15	1.50	10.00
Next Emancipation, Crosswaith-Oneal	.10	1.00	5.00
"New Capitalism" and the Socialist, Harry W. Laidler	.10	1.00	5.00
Old Age Security, Abraham Epstein	.15	1.50	
Poor Old Competition, Stuart Chase	.10		
Power Control, Raushenbush and Laidler	1.00		
Present Day Socialism, Morris Hillquit	.15	1.50	8.00
Primer of Socialism, Art Young	.10	.50	3.00
Public Ownership Here and Abroad	.15	1.50	10.00
Roads to Freedom, Laidler	.10	1.00	5.00
Socialism and Christianity, Lilith Wilson	.05	.50	
Socialism for Today, H. N. Brailsford	.50		
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Engels	.25		
Socialism, What It Is and How to Get It, Ameringer	.10	1.00	5.00
Socialist Fundamentals, Berenberg	.50		
Social Management of American Forests, Marshall	.10	1.00	5.00
Southern Labor in Revolt	.10	1.00	5.00
Vienna Under Socialist Rule	.50	5.00	
Why a Political Realignment, Paul H. Douglas	.10		
Why I Am a Socialist, Norman Thomas	.05	.50	3.00
Workers' World, David P. Berenberg	.05		
Your Unions, Your Future, James O'Neal	.10	1.00	

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Socialist Party of America

549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.

Troops Kill One, Wound Three, in Ohio Strike

Miners' Ranks Hold Against Militia Rule

Two Armed Attacks Take Place Within Two Days in Cadiz District

CADIZ, O.—Guard officers shouted "Fire!", guns flamed, and three Ohio coal miners fell to the ground wounded, in the second armed attack on strikers within four days.

Four hundred strikers, determined to picket the Somers mine of the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. near Adena, marched in orderly formation, unarmed, down the road to the mine. On the road was a notice:

"Warning—Keep Out
"This Road Under Machine Gun
Rifle Fire."

But the miners kept marching. Then the guns blazed.

Among the militia companies is an Akron outfit, composed in part of Goodyear minor executives and clerks. A machine gun outfit, a medical detachment and a gas squad are among the troops guarding the mine.

An Armed Camp

Cadiz, dilapidated center of the strip mining region of eastern Ohio, is an armed camp.

The familiar story of miners' strikes is being retold here. Coal diggers, goaded into industrial rebellion by cuts in poverty wages, have challenged the right of operators to import strikebreakers. Armed guards and deputies escorted the scabs. The miners defended their jobs. A striker was shot to death. Then the troops swarmed in.

Walter Kimball, aged miner, was the man who fell dead with a bullet in his chest when deputies and company gunmen opened fire on the miners several days ago. Ten thousand of his fellow workers followed Kimball's body to the cemetery after a great mass meeting in Smithfield.

Sheriff Wooster of Harrison county rushed to the aid of his coal operator friends with deputies and a sheriff's proclamation forbidding meetings of any kind within a mile of the six principal mines. Sheriffs in two neighboring counties also posted proclamations.

Four thousand miners booed and catcalled as the first detachment of 560 guardsmen went into position, wearing trench helmets, to protect the Goodyear mine. The road by the Somers mine was choked by five miles of marching miners, headed by an American flag.

Attempt a Settlement

As they passed the mine, they looked into the muzzles of machine guns. The soldiers were armed to the teeth with tear gas bombs, sawed off shotguns and automatic rifles.

Militia casualties began soon after they were mobilized. An Akron guardsman was shot through the leg by another guardsman who was reloading his pistol. Miners are urging the national guard officers to disarm their men for their own protection.

Officers of United Mine Workers District 6, headed by President Lee Hall of the Ohio union, will attend a Washington conference called by Secretary of Labor Doak to seek a settlement. Operators have not indicated whether they will accept Doak's invitation to sit in at the conference.

Truck and wagon mines in the Hocking valley field may settle with the union. These mines are small operations employing from two to six miners, who dig coal from open pits in the hillsides.

A Real Job For Jobless

NOW You can tackle a real job for the jobless. Every New York Socialist in this critical time can be of real service by selling the coupons in the books issued by the Emergency Conference on Unemployment.

This is your way of getting at the fundamentals, of striking a sturdy blow in our Socialist campaign for adequate relief, unemployment insurance, the six hour day and the five day week.

If you have not received a coupon book, come to or write Leonard Bright at the Party office, 7 East 15th street, New York City. Get one, and go out and sell those coupons. Every cent will be used for the establishment of Unemployment Leagues, the practical, feet-on-the-ground method of organizing the unemployed. Such leagues have already been formed in Western Queens, College Point, the Lower West Side, Morningside Heights, Harlem, Brownsville and East New York. Five more are about to be started in Brooklyn, four in the Bronx and two in Queens. Calls for help in organizing Leagues have come from outside New York as far as Middletown, Ohio.

Here is an out and out Socialist approach to the tragic failure of capitalism, the expression of our challenge to the system, the backing of our pledge to stand by the unemployed.

DO YOUR PART. SELL THOSE COUPONS AND WE WILL SET UP UNEMPLOYMENT LEAGUES IN EVERY COMMUNITY.

Insurgent Electrician May See Books

Court Also Rules 35 Officers of Local 3 Must Answer Queries

THE members of New York Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers who have gone into court to stop their prosecution by local officials and to bring an exposure of alleged autocratic and corrupt methods used by the officers to maintain themselves in power won an important victory when they secured permission from Supreme Court Justice Frankenthaler to examine thirty-five officers of Local 3 preliminary to trial.

Although the plaintiffs did not receive the blanket authority they had asked to inspect all the financial records of the union, the justice allowed the examination of all pertinent books at the time of the questioning of the officials on the specific points permitted by the court order. Examination of H. H. Broach, president of the International, would be permitted only if the interrogation of the local officials did not bring forth all the desired information.

The local officers might be questioned as to the following matters: blacklisting, debarring, suspending and fining of members; failure to call elections at the proper time; accounting of strike, organization and unemployment funds; preventing members from holding jobs; and the right of the Union Cooperative Insurance Association to do business in New York State. The insurance company is conducted by the International union. It is claimed that the insurance fund established through the employers' contributions on the basis of the number of hours worked by the employees is insured with the Union Cooperative Insurance Association. It is also alleged that the International and the large contractors have conspired to give the latter control of the industry.

YOU CAN ADD TO THE EFFECTIVENESS OF YOUR MAY DAY MEETINGS BY DISTRIBUTING THE MAY DAY EDITION OF THE NEW LEADER. THE BUNDLE RATE TO ORGANIZATIONS OUTSIDE OF NEW YORK, IS TWO CENTS PER COPY, PREPAID.

At a special meeting of Local 3, a motion made by Emile Priess, business manager of the union, and one of the accused officials, was adopted whereby members of the union need no longer apply to the union for jobs but might seek employment wherever they pleased. When one of the opposition made a motion to order the return of the fifty dollar assessment levied in 1929 on the eve of a lockout that never materialized the meeting broke up in fist-fights.

N. Y. Coastwise Longshoremen Rejoin Union

The anxiety of the Clyde-Mallory, Savannah and Morgan steamship lines to cut the wages of the longshoremen employed on their New York piers has led to the re-entrance of the longshoremen handling coastwise trade into the International Longshoremen's Association. They had left the union in 1920 after T. V. O'Connor, then president of the International and since chairman of the United States Shipping Board, had urged them to take a wage reduction.

The present strike broke out when the companies tried to reduce wages from 75 to 67 cents an hour and from \$1.10 to \$1 an hour for overtime, the working week being 44 hours. The union used its influence in having some union truckmen not deliver goods to the piers involved in the strike but it made its greatest achievement when the possibility of withdrawing the longshoremen from the piers of the ocean liners led the railroads to announce that they would not serve the affected piers with lighters. For a time strikebreakers were obtained from among the unemployed at two Salvation Army stations but protests from Joseph P. Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Association and president of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity, put an end to this recruiting. The loading and unloading of the vessels of the companies involved in the strike have been seriously affected.

TYLER AT Y. M. H. A.

Bob Tyler, Y. P. S. L. debater, will talk this Sunday, April 24th, 8 P. M. on the subject "Socialism, Why Not?" in the Buttenwaiser Lounge of the Y. M. H. A., 92nd and Lexington avenue.

Capmakers Reorganizing Blockers Local

Jurisdictional Fight Breaks Out Between Capmakers and United Hatters

By Louis Stanley

The old jurisdictional dispute between the Cloth Hat Cap and Millinery Workers International Union and the United Hatters of North America, both affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has broken out in a more disturbing form than ever. This time it involves the splitting off of members of the Millinery Workers' Union and the consequent internal controversy within that organization.

On April 13 the General Executive Board of the Capmakers' Union expelled Max Golden, secretary-treasurer of Blockers' Local 42, and the entire executive board of the local, revoked its charter and ordered reorganization through registration of loyal members. The reasons given for this drastic action were that the officials of Local 42 had been sabotaging the organization work of the International, even to the extent of not participating in the last general strike, and that they had disobeyed the orders of the International. Golden in particular had refused to appear before the G. E. B. when summoned to do so, and to turn over the books of the local to the parent body.

Golden Turns to Hatters

This incident would have only taken on the character of a factional dispute had not Golden made arrangements with the United Hatters to have the members of his local who stood by him join that union as a new local. This was followed by the signing of a collective agreement between the Hatters and an employers' association that had defied the Millinery Workers' Union. President Max Zaritsky of the Capmakers appealed to President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, protesting the action of the Hatters. Green sent Edward F. McGrady to New York as his representative to take up the matter.

The United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, as the Milliners used to be known, was suspended from the American Federation of Labor in 1918 by order of the A. F. of L. convention until it stopped interfering with the trade jurisdiction of the United Hatters.

The Cap Makers Union remained outside of the A. F. of L. until 1924, when the conclusion of an agreement between the disputing international unions settled the controversy for the time being.

The organizations agreed as follows:

1. The United Hatters was to have full jurisdiction and control over all the factories making men's fur, felt, wool, straw or panama hats—trimmers and operators of same—and over all the factories making entirely and exclusively women's and children's fur, felt, wool, and hand-blocked velvet, panama and body hats.
2. The United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers was to have full jurisdiction and control over all the factories making men's, women's and children's cloth hats and caps and ladies' headgear made of cloth fabrics, straw, combinations, varieties and novelties.

This settlement brought about such cordial relations between the two headwear unions that the 1924 convention of the A. F. of L. permitted the United Cloth Hat and

Building Bosses Post Pay Cut Notices Effective May 1st

Members of the New York Building Trades Employers Association have begun the posting of notices introducing 20 to 35 per cent wage reductions on May 1. The Building Trades Council has declared a willingness to accept a 15 per cent wage cut but the employers claim that the bootlegging of wages in the building trades justifies the more severe reductions that they ask.

It is reported that the unions would rather not sign any agreement at the present time and continue at work until conditions in the industry improve and give them an opportunity to ask for a better contract than the employers are now willing to sign. The Building Trades Employers Association asks that the new agreement extend until the end of 1933.

Cap Makers to change its title to the present one recognizing the jurisdiction of the union over millinery workers.

With the jurisdictional question out of the way the Capmakers proceeded to organize the millinery workers in New York City. A few weeks ago a collective agreement was signed with the employers organized into the Women's Headwear Group. Immediately rumors arose that the United Hatters was chagrined because under the new agreement in the millinery trade certain workers employed on felt hats remained under the jurisdiction of the Millinery Workers' Union. The blockers are employed on felt hats. The Hatters asked that these workers, some few organized, be turned over to itself. At the same time, a group of employers belonging to the National Association of Ladies' Hatters stated that they were interested in labor relations but would not deal with the Millinery Workers' Union. The two developments remained unconnected until the expulsion of the officials of Blockers' Local 42 led to the chartering of a blockers' local in the United Hatters with Golden as manager and the signing of an agreement between the United Hatters of America and the National Association of Ladies' Hatters. This agreement is to last for two years, continues the present wage scales and provides for an arbitration board.

President Zaritsky has notified the employers in the Women's Headwear Group that only blockers in good standing with the International may be employed. Michael F. Greene, president of the United Hatters, has replied with threats to picket any shops where blockers are sent down. The action of the A. F. of L. is awaited.

Chicago Students Lead National Move To Aid Ky. Mine

CHICAGO.—Efforts to enlist 5,000 college students, bring truck loads of food and clothing to destitute coal miners of Kentucky, and launch an investigation into the conditions that exist in the coal mining regions of the south, is being organized on a nationwide scale by University of Chicago students.

The leaders have all participated in mine-relief work. Maynard Van Dyke, a student of the Divinity School, is president. Donald Thompson, who recently returned from work with the Pennsylvania Socialist Party Miners' Relief Fund, is vice-president. Frank Manning, former national director of the Young People's Socialist League, is executive secretary.

Hoan Presents Plans to Aid City's Workers

Mayor Calls Capitalism Dying Order

Milwaukee's Socialist Executive Urges Use of Ballot and Strikes to Win Relief

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

MILWAUKEE.—Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist, presented his newly-elected common council this week with proposals which aim to put the city in the business of banking, public utilities and the sale of coke and milk for the interests of the workers of the city.

Mayor Hoan opened his 17th year in office, following his runaway victory at the polls, with a forthright indictment of the present system, followed by carefully considered proposals by which he plans to wrest an ever larger share of the city's benefits from the owners of industry and transfer them to the workers.

The nation is now witnessing, in the industrial crisis, "the death agonies of a dying system, and the birth pains of the building of a new and better world," Hoan said.

Favors General Strike

The Socialist executive spoke forcefully against wage cuts, which he described as capitalism's method of "digging its own grave." He urged a nationwide reform, the introduction of the six hour work day. The ruling class is too stupid to grant such a change he said, but the workers can win it nevertheless.

"Through intelligent use of the ballot and the general strike," Hoan urged, "the workers should force a rapid reduction of hours."

Milwaukee will act toward this end, Hoan gave assurances. The sewerage commission has already adopted a 40-hour week. He recommended further that all ten-day shift work be placed on a six-hour day basis. He further urged an immediate survey to pave the way for the cutting of the hours of clerical workers.

Hits Private Banks

The contract system of public works came in for sharp criticism at Hoan's hands. He favored direct employment by the city of its necessary labor. This would prevent waste and over-charging since "the city has no incentive to cheat itself." To conserve the city's resources and use them in the most needy channels, Hoan favored consolidation of city and county governments, unifying of administrative and legislative agencies and the consolidation and reorganization of departmental functions where they may overlap.

Coming to the subject of a municipal bank, Hoan touched on a matter very tender to the banking interests. He did not mince words, denouncing the financial power of private banks. He favored a city bank of issue, so that the municipality could be spared the high interest charges of privately owned banks.

Hoan likewise denounced the exactions on consumers of the public utilities companies and served notice he was presenting a resolution for the institution of action on the city acquiring its own public service systems. Hoan reiterated his stand for public marketing facilities, favoring the city going directly into the business of coke and milk distribution to consumers. He proposed further that "the Sealer of Weights and Measures be authorized to market goods when necessary to prevent unreasonable hold-ups in prices on the neces-

Lecture Calendar

(All meetings begin at 8:30 p. m. unless otherwise indicated.)

SUNDAY, APRIL 24

Alexander Richandler, "The Psychological Aspect of Soviet Experiment," 11:00 a. m., Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison avenues; West Bronx Socialist Forum.

Esther Friedman, "Woman—Her Place in Freedom's Cause," 3:30 p. m., 2005 Seventh avenue, Manhattan; People's Educational Forum.

Tyrell Wilson, "The Negro in America," 3:100 Broadway, Manhattan; Morningside Heights Branch, Socialist Party.

August Claessens, "Race Prejudice and Assimilation," 96 Avenue C, Manhattan; 6th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

MONDAY, APRIL 25

William E. Bohn, "The History of Hard Times," 167 Tompkins avenue, Brooklyn; Williamsburg Branch, Socialist Party.

TUESDAY, APRIL 26

Herbert M. Merrill, "Socialism and Invention," 788 Elmore place, Bronx; 7th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

William E. Bohn, "How America Got This Way," 1637 East 17th street, Brooklyn; Midwood Branch, Socialist Party.

James Oneal, "The American Labor Movement," Bellamy Club, 904 Prospect avenue, Bronx; 5th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

Isidor Rubin, "Government Gifts to the Wealthy," 218 Van Sicken avenue, Brooklyn; 22nd A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

THURSDAY, APRIL 28

August Claessens, "The Problem of Unemployment," 3109 Broadway, Manhattan; Morningside Heights Branch, Socialist Party.

FRIDAY, APRIL 29

William E. Bohn, "How America Got This Way," 327 East 9th street, Manhattan; 8th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

S. Romualdi, "The Fascist Menace in Europe," Workmen's Circle School, 21st street and Avenue X, Sheepshead Bay, Brooklyn.

Morris Hillquit, "Topic to be announced," Boro Park Labor Lyceum, 14th avenue and 42nd street, Brooklyn; Boro Park Branch, Socialist Party.

August Claessens, "The Significance of May Day," Auditorium, National Jewish Verband Houses, Matthews avenue, Bronx; Poale Zion Branch.

Cleveland to Hear Sharts On May 1st

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CLEVELAND.—All plans are made for a huge May 1 celebration, to be held at Slovenian National Hall, 6409 St. Clair avenue. Joseph Sharts, candidate for governor, will be the chief speaker. Joseph Martinek, candidate for State Representative, will act as chairman. Entertainment will be provided by singing societies, Yipsels, and other groups.

Dancing in the evening will conclude the program. Publicity is being given in the various foreign newspapers. Each branch is urged to visit friendly organizations to sell tickets. A large number of manifestos will be circulated. Admission will be twenty-five cents. Unemployed comrades can secure free admission through their branch secretary.

Much activity is being shown by the two youngest Cleveland branches. The lecture dance held by the Thirty-second Ward branch on March 30 was very successful. A large crowd attended and much interest was aroused. Over thirty dollars was netted by the affair. The other branch, Jugoslav No. 6, held a lecture and dance on April 17 to raise money to send a delegate to the National Slovenian Convention. A young peoples group is being organized by this branch. Other branches are showing more activity. The Thirtieth Ward Branch is being reorganized by the Action Committee. The Central Branch, meeting at the International Ladies Garment Workers Hall, 1766 East 12th street, will hold an educational meeting every fourth Friday with outside speakers. Plans are under way to organize an English-speaking branch on the west side.

Rand School Announces Spring Term

Large Crowd Expected At Dinner May 8—Concert a Success

DURING the month of May the Rand School will offer special classes and symposiums which are exciting a good deal of interest. The central feature will be a series of symposiums on Labor and Socialism which will serve to summarize all the work done in the various classes during the past year. These will be in charge of Algernon Lee, who will be assisted by instructors inside and outside the teaching staff of the School.

August Claessens will give a course in Public Speaking open to qualified students. Arthur Rosenberg will conduct a class in newspaper publicity designed to meet the needs of Socialist party workers. Party members designated by their branches will be entitled to free tuition in this class. These courses are designed to fit students for effective campaign work.

The fees will be set at a very low figure. Members of the Workers Training Class will pay one dollar for admission to the entire course. Others will pay one dollar for entrance to each class.

The Spring Schedule

The schedule will be as follows: Socialism and labor, Algernon Lee. Mondays and Wednesdays, 7:30 to 9:30.

Public speaking, August Claessens. Tuesdays and Thursdays, 7:30 to 9.

English B, Alice Cohen, Tuesdays 7:30 to 10; English C, Rebecca Jarvis. Thursdays, 7:30.

Newspaper publicity, Arthur Rosenberg, Tuesdays, 8 to 9.

Social conflicts in American history, William E. Bohn, Thursdays, 7:30 to 9.

Fridays, symposiums: May 6, "Is There a Place for Mysticism in the Philosophy of Today?" Ernest S. Bates, Dominic d'Eustachio, May 13, "To What Extent Can the School of Psychology be Harmonized?" Joseph N. Osman, Werner C. Michel, May 27, "Is Proletarian Literature Proletarian or Literary?" E. L. Tartak, Peter M. Jack, David B. Ross.

Gala Dinner Planned

Reservations are now being received for the Rand School dinner Sunday, May 8, at 6 p. m., which is to be held at Webster Hall. A novel program in which Hendrik W. Van Loon, Heywood Brown, Morris Hillquit, B. Charney Vlodeck, and Terry Donoghue will participate, is in store.

In view of the limited number of accommodations which we are accepting, comrades are urged to make reservations immediately. Comrades who wish to arrange to be together at tables with friends, are asked to communicate with the School immediately. The price of the dinner is very nominal, \$1.50.

Concert Great Success

The School wishes to express its deep appreciation to the friends who helped to make Sunday night concert at the Metropolitan Opera House the great success it was.

Credit for the tremendous success of the concert which was held Sunday evening, April 17th at the Metropolitan Opera House is due entirely to the efforts of the Women's Committee of the Rand School, Camp Tamiment and Sandyvillians. Particular credit is due to the chairman of the committees, Mrs. Bertha H. Mailly, Mrs. Jacob Blaufarb, Mrs. Sophie L. Turbow, Mrs. Adolph Warshaw, Mrs. William Karlin, Mrs. Abraham Lehman, Mrs. Adolph Held, Mrs. Ben Josephson, Mrs. Louis Waldman, Mrs. Anna Weiss, Miss Kate Waranoff, Mr. Charles Shapiro, Mrs. Henry A. Pearlman, Mrs. Alexander Kahn.

The house was taxed to accom-

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Many New Jobless Leagues To Be Started in New York

Big Rally Held in Brooklyn; Three Boroughs Are Active

At least a dozen more Unemployed Leagues will be organized within the next few weeks in the Bronx, Brooklyn and Queens, according to reports received in the office of the Emergency Conference on Unemployment.

Friday, May 6, James Oneal and Leonard Bright will speak at P. S. 5, Intervale and Freeman street at a meeting arranged by the Unemployed League of the Bronx, of which Murray Gross is the organizer. Four more leagues are to be established in the Bronx.

In Astoria, Friday, April 29, George H. Goebel will be the speaker at P. S. 5, Academy street, near Grand avenue subway station, where another league will be organized in Western Queens.

The Kings County Executive Committee has made plans for five large open air mass meetings at which the jobless will be organized. These meetings will be well advertised throughout the districts, and amplifiers will be used. The Unemployed League of Bay Ridge and Borough Park will hold its first meeting shortly. Charles Solomon and J. B. Matthews will address the unemployed of Brownsville on Friday, April 27 at 215 Sackman street.

Big Brooklyn Rally

August Claessens will speak at the Morningside Heights meeting of the unemployed next Thursday evening. Establishing headquarters at 240 W. 14th street, the Lower West Side Unemployed League elected officers and an executive committee last Friday, and decided to meet every Friday. With the cooperation of the L. I. D. Recreation Huts the Unemployed League of Harlem was organized last Wednesday afternoon, 100 joining the league. Leonard Bright was the speaker.

The unemployed demonstration at Borough Hall, Brooklyn, last Saturday afternoon was the largest and most enthusiastic that has been held in that county in recent years. Powerful amplifiers carried the voices of the speakers to 2,500 people who lined the sidewalks fronting the square.

Those who spoke were Norman Thomas, Charles Solomon, August Claessens, David Cory and Ethel Schachner. Jack Altman presided. Five hundred signatures were ob-

tained on unemployment insurance petitions, some of whom signified their intentions of joining Unemployed Leagues and the Socialist party.

A number of Communists attempted to disturb the meeting, but they were quickly repulsed. Their attempt to hold a meeting nearby proved a failure. Resolutions demanding relief, unemployment insurance and the six-hour day and five day week were carried by acclamation. Copies were sent to President Hoover, Governor Roosevelt and Mayor Walker.

Leagues Join Saturday

Saturday, April 23, at Columbus Circle, another unemployment demonstration will be held by the Socialist party. The meeting will be addressed by Norman Thomas, and other speakers. The following Unemployed Leagues will participate in the meeting: Western Queens, Astoria, College Point, Brownsville, East New York, Bronx, Lower West Side, Harlem and Morningside Heights, all of whom will also be represented in the May Day parade.

Letters have been sent to unions in New York City urging them, in view of the seriousness of the unemployment situation, to write to governmental agencies requesting the floating of large bond issues for relief, slum clearance, and unemployment insurance. Included is a request that Governor Roosevelt shall call a special session of the legislature without delay to act on proposed unemployment measures.

The Midwood branch so far has made the best response to the appeal to sell coupons so that the work of the Emergency Conference may continue, having forwarded \$13.45. Philip Russakov, in turning in \$4.20, reported that he had no trouble in selling the coupons to non-party members. Louis Sabloff collected \$8. Morris Berman sent in \$10, Abe Strausman, \$5, C. S. Drosopoulos, \$5, Jack Altman, \$3.50, while the Morningside Heights and Sunnyside branches each contributed \$5.

Chelsea Plans for May Day

The members of the Chelsea Branch, Socialist party, and their friends will celebrate May Day with a reunion dinner to be given in the Cherry-lane Restaurant, 42 Commerce street, on Sunday, May 1st, at 7 p. m. Members are requested to make their reservations by writing or phoning to Mrs. Margaret Siban, 51 Le Roy street. Phone Walker 5-3374.

Plans Complete For Big N. Y. May Day Parade

Socialists of Chicago Plan May 1 Parade

Matthews and Burt to Be Among Speakers at Closing Demonstration

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
CHICAGO. — Preparations for the first of May demonstration are now completed. The parade will start at 1 p. m. from Kedzie and Ogden avenues and take the following route: West to Homan avenue, north to Roosevelt road, east to Western avenue, north to Van Buren street, east to Ashland Boulevard Auditorium, corner Ashland and Van Buren for the mass meeting.

The meeting is scheduled for 3 P. M. with these speakers:

J. B. Matthews, author and teacher, chairman of the First World Peace Conference in Holland in 1928 and of the First International Youth Leaders' Council in Germany in 1930. Roy Burt, Socialist Party candidate for Governor of Illinois; well known educator; former miner. Karl Borders, Secretary of the L. I. D., chairman of the Workers Committee on Unemployment; candidate on the Farmer-Labor Party ticket of Cook County.

Dr. R. B. Green, prominent physician, candidate for Coroner on the Farmer Labor Party ticket; Hyman Schneid, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Socialist Party candidate for Congressman-at-Large. Adolph Dreifuss, secretary of the Socialist Party of Cook County, Socialist Party candidate for Secretary of State.

The subject of the speeches will be unemployment and the economic and political demands of the masses.

Comrades are urged to work for the success of the demonstration. Hand bills are ready for distribution in the county office, 3036 Roosevelt road.

Socialists and Unionists To Rally at Union Square

TENS of thousands of New York workingmen and women, as well as thousands of children, will turn out for the greatest demonstration ever staged since the war days to demonstrate their protest against the capitalist system and its resultant evils of unemployment, hunger, war and insecurity, and demand adequate relief in the form of unemployment insurance, the six-hour day, the five-day week, and work, instead of charity.

This parade and demonstration, held on the occasion of May Day, labor's international holiday, will be held on Saturday, April 30th. Arrangements have been worked out which will make this demonstration not only spectacular in size, but colorful as well. There will be a great number of banners, posters and huge signs voicing the demands of labor.

Many divisions, comprising the complete membership of various bodies, will parade under their own bands. All the organizations have issued calls to their memberships calling upon them to assemble at the various meeting points. Every organization has appointed active committees and marshals to rally their membership and conduct the line of march in an orderly and organized manner.

Parade Plans Made
A committee consisting of all the local managers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, including the International officers, Benjamin Schlesinger, president; David Dubinsky, secretary-treasurer, are working actively to make their division the largest in the entire parade. All members of the I. L. G. W. U. in all the locals, are to assemble on the block where the I. L. G. W. U. is located, at 3 W. 16th street, at 11 A. M. An active committee of the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers is energetically working under the leadership of Abraham Miller, to rally their forces at the headquarters at 31-35 W. 15th street. They will be joined at this point by the membership of the Shirt Makers Union, also affiliated to the A. C. W. A.

Many organizations will gather on the entire block of 15th street, between 5th avenue and Union Square. Among them will be the members of the Furriers Union, the Neckwear Makers Union, the Butchers Union, locals 234 and 174; the Painters Union, the Dairy and Grocery Clerks Union, Poultry Salesmen's Union and other smaller unions affiliated with the United Hebrew Trades.

In addition, the following will also gather on 15th street, all branches of the Socialist Party, the Women's Section, the Young Peoples' Socialist League, the Socialist Consumers League, the Progressive Women of the Bronx, as well as a general division of all Socialist sympathizers. All of these groups will assemble at 11 A. M. The Unemployed Leagues which have recently been formed will rally at 240 West 14th street, where they will form a division with the unemployed groups which have been organized by the L. I. D. "Huts."

All the above mentioned bodies from the I. L. G. W. U. down, will form one general division which will parade uptown to 40th street on 8th avenue. This division will be joined by the unit formed of members of the International Pocketbook Workers Union, and the Suit Case and Bag Workers Union, who will form in line at 53 W. 21st street and the Millinery Workers Union who will form their division at the headquarters of their organization at 30 West 37th street. At 40th street the

Thomas and Keeney May Day Speakers In Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. — The Socialist party has announced that Norman Thomas will be the principal speaker at its May Day celebration this year. Other speakers will be Frank Keeney, president of the West Virginia Miners Union; Alice Hanson, recently returned from teaching in the Social Democratic schools of Germany; Maynard C. Krueger, chairman of the Socialist party of Philadelphia, and Franz Daniel, local Socialist organizer. Andrew J. Biemiller, of the League for Industrial Democracy, will preside.

The meeting will be held at the Wishart Theatre, Front and Allegheny avenues, on Sunday, May 1, starting promptly at 8 p. m.

parade will turn down on 7th avenue where the membership of the Button and Novelty Workers Union will join.

While all of these organizations will form one huge parade, another division will parade from the East Side. The Bakers Union, Locals 505, 507, 509 and 79, will start from Allen and Grand streets at 11 A. M. They will be joined by the membership of the Mineral Water Workers Union at Rutgers Square, and parading through the East Side they will be reinforced by the ranks of the Poale Zion Party, the Jewish National Workers Alliance, the Pioneer Women's organization, and the Young Poale Zion, at 2d street and 2d avenue. Proceeding up on 2d avenue they will be joined by the Cap Makers Union at 8th street, continuing up, the parade of this division will be substantially reinforced by the membership of the Workmen's Circle, the Young Circle League, and several thousand children of the Workmen's Circle Schools of the entire city, who will join at 12th street and 2d avenue, coming from the Webster Hall, where a special program will have been staged by the above mentioned bodies.

This entire division will parade up to 22d street, turn west to 4th avenue, where they will be joined by the division coming from uptown, and will form one huge working class phalanx parading on to the demonstration and meeting scheduled at Union Square.

All in all we can anticipate a tremendous, spirited, demonstration in the cause of labor and Socialism, such as will enliven and enthuse the entire movement. Socialists are urged between now and next Saturday, to lend a helping hand in whatever organization they are active, to help make this turnout greater than ever.

Branch 1, W. C., Gives Birthday Presents

Branch One, New York City, of the Workmen's Circle, recently celebrated its 40th anniversary. Among the items on the program of celebration was the disbursing of "birthday presents" to various sections of the Socialist movement. The branch, which is the pioneer Workmen's Circle branch, gave \$50 to the national office of the Socialist party, \$25 to Local New York of the Socialist party, \$25 to The New Leader, \$25 to the Rand School, \$25 to the Jewish Socialist Verband, \$15 to the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society and \$15 to the Tools Campaign to aid de-classed Jews in Soviet Russia.

FREE YOUTH

NATIONAL NOTES
OAKLAND, Cal.—Over 40 people attended the youth rally addressed by National Organizer Hy Fish here. The discussion that followed brought out that most young people were willing to join the YPSL. A circle will be organized, according to Gardiner Wells, who is acting as Secretary. Mrs. Lena Morrow Lewis and David Lyons, organizer of Local Berkeley, greeted the newcomers.

SAN FRANCISCO.—Due to a change in schedule, Comrade Fish could not speak Thursday, at the dinner arranged for him by the local S. P. A. A symposium was substituted instead in which Wilbur Levy, Gardiner Wells, David Lyons, and Wells participated. Fish reports that his finances are low but his spirits are high.

CAMDEN, N. J.—A new circle with 32 charter members has just been organized.

CHICAGO.—The Yipsels cooperated with the General Defense Committee in a protest meeting for the Kentucky miners. George Smirkin, National Secretary, spoke at the demonstration on April 15th at 1618 West Madison.

BRIDGEPORT, Conn.—Fifteen young workers and students applied for a charter at their last meeting at 708 Madison avenue. A Youth rally to celebrate May Day has been arranged for April 30th and thousands of leaflets are being published for distribution.

PHILADELPHIA.—Three new circles have been organized and have applied for charters: Circle 3 Sr., North Phila.; Circle 4 Sr., South Phila.; and Circle 3 Jr., Southwest Phila.

A May Day celebration is being arranged with the Socialist Party. Visiting committees are securing clothes and money for Harlan Kentucky Defense Work.

READING.—A Workers' Theatre has been organized, public speaking classes are starting and a monthly bulletin, called "Forward," is being published. A club or "flight" of Red Falcons has been organized.

LOS ANGELES.—Volume 1, Number 1 of Rebel Youth was published on April 15th and will be published monthly at 1490 W. Jefferson boulevard. Subs are 25 cents per year. Comrades Sheehan and Goldberg have just finished a tour of the southern part of the state and are speaking and organizing in northern cities with National Organizer Hy Fish. The Red Dawn of May Day will be greeted with a dance on April 30th, admission 25 cents.

CLEVELAND.—The Third Annual Inter-Racial Dance will be held on May 28 at the Glenville Masonic Auditorium. Street corner campaign meetings have been started. The first was held at the corner of East 106th street and Pierpont on April 15. Meetings will be held on this corner every Saturday night. Yipsels are doing the bulk of the work in preparing for the miners' defense concert lecture to be held April 19.

NEW YORK CITY
TAG DAY.—Saturday and Sunday, April 23 and 24, have been set for League Tag Days for the benefit of the Harlan County, Kentucky, Miners. All comrades are urged to participate.

DEBATES.—The YPSL will argue the affirmative of the questions: "That Industry Should Be Collectively Owned and Democratically Managed," with the Lincoln Debating Club of the YMCA. The affair will take place on Saturday, April 23, at 8 P. M. at 415 West 23 street. Admission free. The following evening, April 24th, the Vanguard Anarchist Youth Club will make the negative on the question: "Is Parliamentary Action of Value for the Realization of the Socialist Ideal?" The debate will be held at Labor Temple at 14th street and 2nd avenue and admission of 15 cents will be charged.

CIRCLE 1, SR., BRONX.—This group will speak on Marxism on Sunday, April 24, at 4 P. M. at 908 Prospect avenue.

CIRCLE 4, SR., BRONX.—Henry Rosner of the City Affairs Committee will speak on "America's Debt to Big Business" on April 24 at 4 P. M. at 789 Elmsmere place.

CIRCLE 9, SR., MAN.—Abe Wisotzky will speak on "Wages" on Sunday, April 24, at 8 P. M. at 241 East 84th street.

CIRCLE 6, SR., KINGS.—Dr. William E. Bohn of the Rand School will speak on "How America Got That Way" on Sunday, April 24, at 8 P. M. at 167 Tompkins avenue.

CIRCLE 9, SR., KINGS.—Sam H. Friedman will address the circle on Sunday, April 24th, at 7:30 P. M. at 55 Snyder avenue.

AT THE LABOR TEMPLE
Dr. G. F. Beck will speak under the auspices of The Labor Temple, 14th street and Second avenue, Sunday at 5 p. m., on Ludwig Lewisohn's "Expressionism in America". At 8 p. m., Dr. Harry W. Laidler of the League for Industrial Democracy, will lecture on "How the Few Control Industry".

DEBATES — LECTURES — FORUMS

THE COMMUNITY FORUM OF THE COMMUNITY CHURCH
New meeting at Temple Beth-El, Fifth Avenue and 76th Street
SUNDAY, 8 P. M.—UPTON CLOSE
"Behind the News From Asia"
11 A. M.—Presentation of 1931 Medal for Outstanding Religious Service
Speakers: Rabbi Wise, Frank O. Hall, John Haynes Holmes
Daylight Saving

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE
At Cooper Union
Eighth Street and Astor Place
At 8 o'clock
Friday evening, April 22nd
DR. E. G. SFAULDING
"Reason in Compromise, Science and Theology"
Sunday evening, April 24th
MR. S. STANSFELD SARGENT
"Propaganda—Wartime and Peacetime"
Tuesday evening, April 26th
DR. MICHAEL HEIDELBERGER
"Chemotherapy"
Tell them you saw their advertisement in The New Leader.

Bronx Free Fellowship
1591 Boston Road, near E. 172d St.
Sunday evening, April 24th, 1932
8 P. M.—Rev. Leon Rorer Land on "Should Atheists Join The Bronx Free Fellowship?"
9 P. M.—Leonard D. Abbott on "Emma Goldman and Anarchism"
Music : : : Admission Free

LABOR TEMPLE
14th Street and Second Avenue
DR. EDMUND B. CHAFFEE, Director
5 P. M.—**DR. G. F. BECK**—"Ludwig Lewisohn On Creative Expression in America"
7:45—**STANLEY A. DAY**—Organ Recital
8 P. M.—**DR. HARRY W. LAIDLER**—"How The Few Control Industry"

INGERSOLL FORUM
Fyithan Temple, 135 W. 70th St.
Sunday, 8 P. M. Admission 50c
April 24: DEBATE—"There Is A God"
ROBERT E. HULL, Philosopher vs. **WOOLSEY TELLER**
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Organizers' Meeting to Precede Convention

Agenda Mailed To Socialist Party Locals

New York Requests a Change in Voting Basis—Other News of Party Activity

CHICAGO.—The agenda for the Milwaukee convention has been submitted in a supplement to The New Leader to all locals and branches for pre-convention discussion. Trade unionism, war, Russia, organization of women, party press, cultural activities, unemployed leagues, Negroes, international unity, third party movements, and a new declaration of principles are the principal items. The committee has tried to represent the divergent viewpoints expressed in resolutions already sent in for the convention.

ORGANIZERS TO CONFEE

National headquarters announced this week that it was arranging a conference for organizers and secretaries of locals, branches, states and federations for the Friday preceding the convention.

An attempt will be made to hold a similar conference for editors of Socialist newspapers, and one for women and those interested in the organization of women.

State secretaries are urged to rush their delegates' names and addresses. National headquarters will send instructions direct to the delegates, including information about railroads, housing in Milwaukee, credentials and agenda. State secretaries do not need to send individual credentials. Identification by the delegates in Milwaukee will secure their credentials there.

N. Y. ASKS VOTING CHANGE

The New York State executive committee has voted to ask the national executive committee to provide in the national convention rules that in requests for a roll call vote and in votes by roll call each state be accorded the number of votes the delegates represent in proportion to the dues-paying membership of each state. In complying with the request of the N. E. C. that New York out its delegation from 108 to 40 the state committee did so because it did not want to appear that New York desired to control the convention. The committee submitted a table of the membership by states showing that while in some states a delegate may represent but one member in others, like Virginia, the delegate will represent 144 members. The committee considers such a rule fair and proportionate, expressing the will of the members.

Murray Baron, national organizer for West Virginia, will leave for Kentucky this week to speak and look over the relief situation. He will make speaking engagements in Kentucky, Tennessee and the surrounding territory until the Milwaukee convention. Members and sympathizers wishing to arrange meetings are requested to get in touch with National Headquarters, 549 Randolph street, Chicago, at once.

NEW LOCALS REPORTED

CONNECTICUT. Easton: Dorothy L. Allen, secretary, Route 10, Fairfield.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. Washington (Branch No. 2): Miss Florence Jackson, secretary, 1406 Montello avenue, N. E.

ILLINOIS. Belleville: Frank Ripplinger, secretary, 425 Scheel street; Glen Carbon: Joash Critchley, secretary.

MICHIGAN. Greenville: H. H. Hansen, secretary, Route 1.

NEW JERSEY. Bayonne (Y. P. S. L.): Hal Lambert, secretary, 120 West 28th street; Camden (Y. P. S. L.): George F. Yost, secretary, 4663 Lexington avenue, Merchantville.

NEW YORK. New York: (Bronx Italian): U. Spatola, secretary, 1369 Arnow avenue.

OHIO. Akron: Saul Reaven, secretary, 505 Orlando avenue.

OKLAHOMA. Ocala: Marvin Hicks, secretary; Okemah: A. B. Ziegler, secretary.

Michigan

DETROIT. Jacob Margolies, labor attorney, and Scott Nearing, Communist, debated democracy and dictatorship here last Sunday. The followers of Nearing boomed while his opponent was speaking and Nearing made his familiar argument that large masses in Russia were dissatisfied with dictatorship with all the characteristics of a ruling class exploiting the workers.

Missouri

Clarence Senior, national executive secretary, will be the principal speaker at the St. Louis May Day meeting, to be held at 8 p. m. in the Deutsches Haus, Jefferson and Lafayette streets.

Ohio

Cooperation of 72 organizations representing a total membership of about

20,000 was promised at an unemployment conference sponsored by the Socialist party, held in Cleveland Friday. Thirty additional organizations, representing 8,000 more members, expressed themselves as being "in sympathy" with the party's drive for an adequate unemployment insurance bill.

Taking advantage of the anti-capitalist resolution adopted at the conference of Ohio Ministers of Protestant Churches, the state office has written to all ministers urging their active participation in the workers' political struggles being waged by the Socialists.

Oklahoma

A state convention of Oklahoma Socialists will be held Saturday, April 23, at Labor Temple, Oklahoma City. Representation is expected from 68 of the state's 77 counties. A drive to get 5,000 signatures to petitions is now being made, led by Siegfried Ameringer of the American Guardian.

Wisconsin

The Deutsches Haus was not large enough for the enthusiastic mob which gathered in Milwaukee last Monday to celebrate Socialist victory in the city elections. People overflowed from the main hall into the gymnasium, the dining hall, the balcony, the basement and even the stage.

Illinois

For the first time in several years, Glen Carbon will have a mass May Day celebration Sunday afternoon, with Clarence Senior, national executive secretary, as the main speaker.

CHICAGO.—The Socialist campaign banquet committee reports prompt response to its announcement that Norman Thomas, Heywood Brown, Mayor Hoan and others will speak Wednesday, May 25. The banquet will be held on the 24th floor of the Steuben Building, 188 West Randolph, at 8:30 p. m. There are seats for almost a thousand persons, but with the brilliant array of speakers to be present, the committee is certain that only those who get their reservations in early will be able to be seated.

At the last Chicago Socialist banquet, for Norman Thomas, 200 persons who came without making reservations had to be turned away because the hall was packed. Reservations may be made at 549 Randolph, by mail, or by calling Andover 4483.

The Sixth Congressional branch, 3036 West Roosevelt road, announces two meetings, the first and third Wednesday, at 8:30 p. m. of the month, devoted to the national convention agenda. Wednesday, April 27, Delegates Adolph Dreifuss, Meyer Halushka and Hyman Schneid will begin a symposium on "Problems Facing the National Convention." All Illinois delegates have been invited. This subject will be continued Wednesday, May 11, with other delegates leading the discussion.

A special treat for all Socialist party members, sympathizers and friends on Saturday, April 30, at Socialist party center, 3036 Roosevelt road. Prof. Paul Douglas, department of Economics of the University of Chicago, will talk on "Socialists, Communists and Fascists of Europe." Prof. Douglas has made several visits to Europe. A social will be held after the meeting. Admission 10 cents.

Connecticut

WEST HAVEN.—After a number of efforts a local of the Socialist party has been organized in this town. The following were elected officers: town chairman, Charles H. O'Connell; recording secretary, Louis A. Colombo; financial secretary-treasurer, Charlotte Harrington; literature agent, Eugene J. Carroll. The local will meet at the members' homes. The next meeting will be held at the home of Charlotte Harrington, 633 Second avenue, Thursday, April 28, at 8 p. m. Socialists of West Haven have decided to place The New Leader on the newsstands.

NEW HAVEN.—Nomination of state officers will be made at the meeting of the local Monday evening, April 26. The state executive committee will hold its monthly meeting at the Workmen's Circle Center, 72 Legion avenue, New Haven, Sunday, April 24, at 2 p. m.

A conference of delegates representing the Socialist party, the Workmen's Circle branches, progressive unions and individuals interested in the maintenance of "The Commonwealth," the party's monthly paper, will be held in connection with the executive committee meeting.

Martin P. Plunkett of Wallingford, formerly state secretary of the party and now a member of the executive committee, has been put on to do special organizing work in the state.

California

STOCKTON.—After a visit by Hy Fish, the "hiking" agitator, national organizer for the Y. P. S. L., the local sympathizers determined to organize a local of the Socialist party. J. W. Southwick, chairman of the Central Labor Council, 443 East Weber avenue, has volunteered to act as secretary. The fourth local meeting will take place at Labor Temple, corner California and Weber, Tuesday, April 26, when on the

Chicago Socialists Organize Excursion To Milwaukee May 21

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—Arrangements are being completed to have several hundred Chicago Socialists and their friends go to Milwaukee for the opening of the national convention of the Socialist Party on Saturday, May 21st, and Sunday, May 22nd.

Special buses are being chartered for the trip and the total cost will be only \$2.25 each for the round trip.

All interested in reserving places should call Kedzie 4316, Ben Larks or write to Socialist Party of Illinois, 3036 Roosevelt road. Reservations requests must be accompanied by check so that sufficient buses will be ready. In making reservations, please state which is desired either Saturday or Sunday or both.

formerly of Stockton and now of San Francisco, has been invited to be the main speaker. Stockton Socialists should get in touch with Comrade Southwick at once.

Pennsylvania

PITTSBURGH.—Over a 100 University of Pittsburgh students nominated by about 1,300 of their fellow students to a model political convention endorsed the need for a new order based on production for use instead of for profit and called for "a militant labor movement" as the means to realize this end.

This was the response of the delegates to the reactionary stand of university authorities, shown in this case by the refusal on flimsy grounds, to permit the carrying out of the original plan to have prominent members of the Republican, Democratic, Socialist and Communist parties present their viewpoints to the convention. They refused also to permit the appearance of Norman Thomas and William Z. Foster.

The Pitt Socialist Club got out an extra edition of the "Gadfly" in which a sharp letter of protest from Thomas was reproduced. The "Gadfly" also set forth a Socialist platform which the convention a day later adopted almost entirely. Registration for the convention was 15 per cent Republican, 9 per cent Democrat, 3 per cent Progressive, 24 per cent Socialist and 49 per cent Independent which included some Communists.

PHILADELPHIA.—The county central committee has sent a letter of protest to the Jewish Daily Forward for publishing a story which is believed calculated to aid an old party politician. The article questioned was printed in the form of a letter from Benjamin Golder, Republican candidate for Congress, in which Golder attempted to explain away his action in trying to get an injunction against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. According to the letter of the county central committee, the editor of the Forward (Philadelphia edition) in commenting on the letter "expressed satisfaction that Golder had given his assurance that when another case of the same sort presented itself Golder would not receive it." The letter, after reciting Golder's unsavory political record, asserts "that the (Forward) article is universally interpreted by the Jews in Philadelphia as a definite endorsement of Golder's candidacy." The letter concludes with a protest against publication of the article and requests the Forward to immediately announce its opposition to Golder's candidacy.

Philadelphia Meetings. Saturday, April 23, Y. P. S. L. general conference on the Kentucky miners, 8 p. m. at the Labor Institute.

Monday, April 25. Central City branch, 8 p. m., 334 South Camac street; South Philadelphia branch, 8 p. m., 1114 South Fifth street.

Tuesday, April 26. Strawberry Mansion branch, 8 p. m., 3009 Ridge avenue.

Wednesday, April 27. North Philadelphia branch, 8 p. m., 2738 North Reese street.

Thursday, April 28. Lecture, 8 p. m., 545 West Lehigh avenue, Frank Bilder, speaker, "The Development of Imperialism and War."

Friday, April 29. West Philadelphia Jewish branch, 8 p. m., 4154 Poplar street.

New Jersey

BAYONNE.—A Sunday afternoon forum organized by the local Socialist branch under direction of Hal Lambert has boosted party membership from 9 to 26. Business meetings are held every second Monday at the Labor Lyceum, on West 25th street, where the forum also meets. Preparations are being made for a May Day celebration and extensive outdoor speaking campaign.

NEWARK.—County Organizer Rosenkrans reports that four May 1 meetings will be held in Essex County. One will be held in the St. Regis Annex with Walter E. Peck and the Rev. Frank Kingston as speakers; one in the Workmen's Circle Hall, 190

Belmont avenue, with Henry Jager and N. Chanin as speakers; another in the Polish Hall, Court street and Belmont avenue, with George H. Goebel and a Polish speaker; and a fourth in the Labor Lyceum, 14th street, by the German Socialists.

This Sunday at the St. Regis Annex, Ben Fletcher and George Carey will speak on "The Class War in Kentucky." About 100 New Leaders and other literature were sold at the open air meeting Saturday.

Washington, D. C.

Branch 2 of Local Washington, D. C. has passed the following resolutions on questions likely to come before the Milwaukee convention: That the class struggle reference be inserted in the application blank and "that a full recognition of the class struggle be demanded of all new members"; "that the program and policy of the party be one of militant Marxism brooking no deviation towards liberalism, reformism, opportunism, revisionism or compromise"; that the party actively participate in the organization of "revolutionary industrial unions along class lines, and that a national labor committee direct and coordinate such activities"; "that the party make special organizing efforts among the Negroes"; "that the party organize permanent relief and legal defense organizations"; "that the party take cognizance of the fact that the conflict in China is the basis of preparations for an attack upon the Soviet Union and upon Socialism; workers must rally to defend the only Socialist state"; that a "definite machinery for war resistance be set up"; for "a more friendly party attitude toward Russia and disciplining of any members 'who in any way aid the enemies of Soviet Russia'; against 'all participation in coalition governments'; and 'for exposure' of the League of Nations as a tool of capitalism."

New York State

STATE COMMITTEE.—The official state committee met April 16 and organized in the manner provided by the election law. The meeting was called to order by State Secretary Merrill, and Edward P. Clarke of Queens County was elected chairman of the session. Louis Waldman was unanimously re-elected state chairman, Morris Berman treasurer, Herbert M. Merrill secretary and Berman, August Gerber, Julius Gerber, William Karlin, Rachel Fanken, Robert H. Ritchey and Theresa B. Wiley as members of the executive committee. A motion was adopted to elect two delegates and two alternates at large to the national convention at Milwaukee. Merrill and Vladimir Karapetoff, who had previously been endorsed by a referendum of the dues-paying membership of the state, were unanimously chosen to represent the state as delegates-at-large, and August Claessens and Murray Baron, similarly endorsed by referendum, were chosen as alternates-at-large.

BUFFALO.—Local Buffalo at its last meeting admitted five new members. A motion was unanimously adopted requesting The New Leader to publish a "Militant program" so that Socialists could intelligently follow the criticisms published against it. It was the consensus of opinion that it was decidedly unfair for the

editor to attack this program without publishing it. The meeting was addressed by Morris Cohen of the Poale Zionists, who urged Local Buffalo's delegate to vote to allow this group to affiliate with the national organization.

The next meeting will be held on Thursday, April 28, at Carpenters' Hall, 475 Franklin street. The speaker will be the Rev. Rodney Heckman of Trinity Evangelical Church, who will discuss "The Economic Background of the American Revolution."

A May Day meeting will be held Sunday, May 1, at 8 p. m. in the ballroom of the Hotel Lafayette. The speaker will be Gustave A. Strebel, general organizer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. The Buffalo Yipeel Circle will present a one-act play by Upton Sinclair.

Herman Hennig died this week in Buffalo. Mr. Hennig was elected to the corporation counselship in 1883 on the Democratic ticket. Later, however, he embraced Socialism, and during the last two decades had been Socialist candidate on numerous occasions for city or county judgeships.

OLEAN.—Secretary Loeffler of the new Olean local, Catteraugus County, reports that ten more joined the organization at the first meeting held, and still more were expected to affiliate. Nelson Brant of 140 Baldwin street, was elected financial secretary-treasurer.

SCHENECTADY.—The effect of the winter L. I. D. lecture course is still being reflected by revived activity in the local. Five new members were taken in at the last regular meeting, and Schenectady County has again moved to the head of counties outside of the city of New York in the number of dues-paying members. No city in the state has been hit worse by unemployment. News of the big layoffs in the General Electric plant is systematically suppressed by the two daily newspapers.

NASSAU COUNTY.—Cedarhurst and vicinity branch will hold a special meeting Saturday, April 23, at 8:30 p. m., at Socialist headquarters, Bayview and Lord avenues, Inwood. The safeguarding of the Nassau Socialist Home, the arrangement of the summer course of the Nassau Forum, and general activity demand that all members should be present and help make this a banner year.

The Hempstead Forum Friday night of last week had arranged a debate between James O'Neal and Trevor Tisdale of the American Legion. The press carried stories, handbills were distributed and cards were mailed but the Socialist debater did not arrive. A few nervous members rallied to the defense but it was difficult to improvise. We were much disappointed as a few previous speakers had come late. A letter later brought an abject apology from Comrade O'Neal who took the entire blame. It was the first time he had forgotten a meet and he assumed the entire blame.

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Pauline Lord Renews Triumph in "Truth About Blayds"

The Week on the Stage

A NON-WHIMSICAL MILNE "THE TRUTH ABOUT BLAYDS."

By A. A. Milne, At the Belasco.
If you had cast aside love and marriage to devote your life to keep the fires of genius burning within an aging poet; if a whole family had lived its life for the comfort and convenience of that genius; and then upon his death you learned that a colossal fraud had been perpetrated, would you seek revenge, secrecy or retribution? Just such a situation confronts the Blayds household when the greatest poet of the Victorian era passes on into the Elysian fields and immortality.

An all-star cast, headed by Pauline Lord, attempts to solve the problem, each in his own very amusing way. Fortunately the acting is such that this revival of A. A. Milne's play at the Belasco will escape the danger of being put into the whimsical class. The development is swift, deftly handled, the comedy smooth and delightful, all in a very English atmosphere of literary reverence and filial devotion.

Ernest Lawford as the painfully conscientious secretary-annotator leaves nothing to be desired. Quiet acting is something rare on the American stage. Miss Lord is one of those very few actresses who can be dramatically effective without raising her voice above a gentle conversational tone. She can convey with a slight gesture or nuance an impression of cultured ease and poise. Effie Shannon and O. P. Heggie are as pleasing as ever.

During a month of some pretty slight plays, we can be thankful for the relief of Mr. Milne's revival.

A. M.

Yushny's "Blue Bird" At the Cort Theatre

The curtain parts. The beaming face of Yascha Yushny appears; murder is on his lips, for he is said to be the world's most deft and charming macerator of the English language—and other languages as well. A scene of old St. Petersburg, and of rural Russia on the night before Easter. Prayers, church-bells, celebration! The scene shifts promptly. The

In New Play at the Booth Theatre



Dorothy Stickney has one of the principal roles in "Another Language," which will open at the Booth Monday evening. Glenn Anders and Margaret Wycherly are the other leading players.

village gossips are ranged along the samovar. One by one they lampoon their absent friends, in crisp, musical dialogue. Then may come a Russian prison song, aching and plaintive. Then, perhaps, a grand, satiric pageant depicting the bibulous habits of many nations. Then a round of madly-gay peasant dances, a screaming burlesque of Cossack soldiers, or a soul-rending scene of the Volga haulers. The panorama of the "Blue Bird" sweeps on. Drollery, fantasy, fun, heartaches. And Yushny beaming and murdering the language. Music by Tschai-kowsky, Rimsky-Korsakoff, Moussorgsky, Rachmaninoff—other great ones. Allegorical charm. Scenes from opera, comedy, drama, and rarely splendid music.

That is Yushny's "Blue Bird". It's at the Cort.

"The Cohens and Kellys In Hollywood" Now at The Mayfair Theatre

The sixth of a succession of films dealing with the adventures of the Cohens and Kellys is now on the screen of the Mayfair Theatre.

Having been whisked all over the world—Paris, Scotland, Africa and Atlantic City by Universal Pictures, the Semitic George Sidney and the Irish Charlie Murray are now to be seen in the familiar locale of the western film capital, in a comedy entitled "The Cohens and Kellys in Hollywood".

Murray and Sidney are supported by June Clyde and Norman Foster, Emma Dunn, Esther Howard, Dorothy Christy, Edwin Maxwell, Eileen Percy, John Roche, Luis Alberni and Robert Creig. Many screen celebrities are to be seen in some of the sequences. John Francis Dillon directed.

Two Interesting Films On Hipp Screen; Stage Bill Has Popular Names

This is glee week at the Hippodrome. Nina Olivette, the scintillating young star who twinkled so brightly in recent musical comedies, is offering a happy combination of her own personal ability and nine campus cheer leaders. They present song, dance and fun in a collegiate manner that clicks.

The fun is continued by King Bros. and Culley, Harry Foster Welch, Wally Jackson and Edgar Gardner; Col. Fred Lindsay does a most interesting and timely act. "Scandal for Sale," the screen adaptation of Emile Gauvreau's novel "Hot News," which features Charles Bickford, Rose Hobart and Pat O'Brien, is the film thriller.

As an added feature there is Zane Grey himself in "South Sea Adventures," a sport film which was favorably commented upon by critics, columnists and sports editors.

Part of the Biggest Show on Earth



Six of the 800 performers in the Ringling Bros. and Barnum and Bailey Circus at the Madison Square Garden.

Joan Bennett at the Fox Brooklyn in "Careless Lady"; "Vaude Revue" Is Attraction on Stage

There is entertainment crammed in every minute of the new screen and stage program at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre this week. A delightfully fast moving, humorous, romantic film, a glamorous stage revue and a number of surprise novelties go to make this one of the best programs of recent weeks.

The cinema attraction is "Careless Lady", starring Joan Bennett and John Boles, who are supported by a notable cast which includes Minna Gombell, Weldon Heyburn, Raul Roulien and Nora Lane. "Careless Lady" is a smart and romantic comedy in which Miss Bennett gives one of the most delightful performances of her career. John Boles sings a number of new songs in this picture.

This week's stage show is best described as a "Vaude Revue" for it combines the best features of both a vaudeville show and a revue. Produced by Fanchon & Marco and entitled "Aloha", this show has a cast which includes eight individual acts.

GILBERT MILLER presents EDNA HERBERT BEST MARSHALL

There's Always Juliet

A Comedy by John van Druten
"Utterly delightful."
—John Mason Brown, Eve. Post

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BERNARD SHAW

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Leslie Banks in Springtime for Henry

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

BROADHURST THEA.
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CORT Theatre, W. 48th St. . . . 2 WEEKS ONLY YASCHA YUSHNY'S RUSSIAN REVUE "THE BLUE BIRD," with ISA KRAMER A Continental Cocktail of Song, Dance and Comedy PRICES: Evenings \$1 to \$3—Matinee WED. and SAT. \$1 to \$2.50 SEATS NOW ON SALE FOR ENTIRE TWO WEEKS

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JOHN ANDERSON, Journal.

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Now Playing at the Little Theatre

Arthur J. Beckhard presents ANOTHER LANGUAGE

A New Play by ROSE FRANKEN
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A Distinguished Cast, Led by
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MARGARET WYCHERLY
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Children under 12 Half Price Every Afternoon Sat.
Tickets at Garden, Grand Box, and Agencies

Upton Sinclair's "Wet Parade," at Rialto, an Absorbing Film

Walter Huston and Cast Do Fine Work in Movie Adapted From Famous Socialist's Novel

Based on Upton Sinclair's famous novel, the screen production of "The Wet Parade" now at the Rialto Theatre, will give added millions of screen-goers its vivid picture of the struggle which is now on, and which has been going on for almost a score of years.

Made under the direction of Victor Fleming, with a cast including Walter Huston, Jimmie Durante, Dorothy Jordan, Neil Hamilton, Lewis Stone and Myrna Loy, it promises to be one of Broadway's leading attractions during its extended run. Based on an essentially modern theme, it depicts the turmoil of modern living, contrasting the fast hectic life of today with the period before the World War when such things as night life, sophistication and political corruption did not occupy quite so much space on the front pages of the daily newspapers.

There are sensational exposes with dramatic incidents which are said to be thrilling. The picture also has its gayer side, but through it all is an engrossing insight into American life of today, a feat made all the more remarkable by the fact that in directing this picture Victor Fleming never lost sight of the entertainment angle.

Southern plantation life before the World War is dramatically shown in the first episode which is in a measure a prologue. It is here that Lewis Stone in a brilliant performance depicts an aristocratic land-owner who is brought to ruin by drink, leaving his daughter, Dorothy Jordan, and son, Neil Hamilton, practically penniless.

The story then moves to New York and introduces Walter Huston as a drunken ward politician whose son, Robert Young, tries in vain to keep his father respectable. Circumstances bring Miss Jordan and Hamilton into contact with the politician and the natural hatred of liquor shared by the Southern girl and the soap box orator's son gives them a point in common which ultimately develops into romance. The coming of the war, the enactment of prohibition and the sensational second Wilson campaign are all vividly echoed in this sequence.

Scenes From the First Polish Film at the Vanderbilt Theatre



"10 Condemned" had its American premiere at the Vanderbilt last night. Above are some interesting scenes from the picture.

"Ronny" Enters Third Week at Little Carnegie

"Ronny", the new Viennese screen operetta now entering its third week at Leo Brecher's Little Carnegie Playhouse, has received special musical treatment from Emmerich Kalman the composer.

In "Ronny" Mr. Kalman interposed his musical hits in such a manner as to fit in dramatically with the flow of action arising naturally from the plot. Melody, he believes, should be the atmosphere tempering the agreeable rhythm of the scene and nothing more.

"The Famous Ferguson Case" at the Strand

"The Famous Ferguson Case," the second of the groups of special attractions to be shown during the gala anniversary month at the New York Strand Theatre features the wisecracking young Joan Blondell for the first time in the main lead. She appears as an enterprising girl reporter whose assignment is discovering the murderer of William F. Ferguson, a man prominent in the social and financial world.

Supporting Miss Blondell are Tom Brown, Adrienne Dore, Walter Miller, Leslie Fenton, Vivienne Osborne, Funnell Pratt, Russell Simpson and Clarence Wilson.

"10 Condemned" First Polish Picture at the Vanderbilt Theatre

"Poland has given to civilization some of its greatest artists—in music, Chopin; in literature, Sienkiewicz and Joseph Conrad; in drama, Alexander Fredro and Stanislaw Wyspianski, and in art, Jacek Malczewski and Thade Styka.

"There is no reason, therefore, with this background of creative achievements, why Poland should not take its place on the screen with the important producers of the world," said Pola Negri, after she had witnessed a private showing of the first Polish talking picture "10 Condemned" ("10-ciu z Pawlaka") which is now being shown for its American premiere engagement at the Vanderbilt Theatre.

"The stage artists of Poland," she continued, "influenced, as they have been, by the best qualities of the French and Russian schools of acting, possess a finesse and naturalness which lend themselves appropriately to the demands of the talking screen, and the work of the cast in "10-ciu z Pawlaka", individually and collectively, demonstrate that under capable direction Poland can produce films which will bear rigid comparison with the best of other countries."

"Liebeskommando" Due Tues. at Europa

Succeeding "The Theft of the Mona Lisa", the German musical comedy drama which is concluding a four-week engagement, the Europa will present on Tuesday, April 26th, the American premiere of "Liebeskommando" ("Love's Command"), pronounced by European critics as an achievement in Viennese screen operettas.

"Wild Women of Borneo" at the Cameo

"Wild Women of Borneo", an extraordinary adventure through the Far East recording the fantastic beliefs and superstitions of the natives, is the feature film attraction at the Cameo Theatre.

"The Crowd Roars" at The Brooklyn Strand

"The Crowd Roars", starring James Cagney, which opens at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre tonight, is the story of speeding race-track demons, with bodies taut and nerves steeled to meet death, as they dangerously crowd each other along the track in an effort to establish new speed records, and living their own lives with gusto and recklessness.

Joan Blondell is seen in the feminine lead opposite Cagney, and others in the cast include Ann Dvorak, Eric Linden, Guy Kibbee, Frank McHugh, and Charlotte Merriam.

"AMATEUR DADDY"

with WARNER BAXTER and MARIAN NIXON

—On the Stage—
"Roxy Divertissements"
with DOUGLAS STANBURY and Roxy Ensemble

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FRED WARING
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JOHNNY (TARZAN) WEISSMULLER
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in
"DIVE IN"
"ARE YOU LISTENING?"
A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture
with
WM. HAINES
MADGE EVANS — ANITA PAGE
CAPITOL Broadway at 51st St.

NOW! NOW!
He went to his death breathing defiance to the Czar and singing "The INTERNATIONALE!"
Authentic! Amazing! Gripping!
The Tremendous Polish Revolutionary Talking Film Which Is Taking Europe by Storm!
"10 CONDEMNED"
The Intense Drama of the Polish Uprising of 1906 Re-enacted in All Its Sensational Details.
SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT!—This film has English titles enabling anyone to understand it completely.
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VANDERBILT THEATRE 148 West 48th bet. 6th and 7th Aves. 35c UNTIL 1 P. M.

LAST WEEK
"THE EUROPA HAS A HIT!"
—John Cohen, Jr., The Sun.
"Sparkles with originality... charms the most exacting person."
—Mordant Hall, Times.
"THEFT of the MONA LISA"
Sensational German Musical Film Comedy Drama
Easily understood without a knowledge of German
starring
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be Shocked—Startled—laugh a Moral—
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EXTRA—EANE GREY
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John S. Cohen, Eve. Sun
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Twice Daily 2:45-5:45—2 Shows Sunday
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Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Roosevelt Continues Dodging—The Washington Hog Pen—Labor, Unemployment and Prohibition

ROOSEVELT AIMS TO PLEASE ALL

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT'S St. Paul speech has only one importance in a Socialist's eyes. It shows how little medicine the most "radical"—except possibly Bill Murray—of the Democratic candidates has for the desperate sickness of our times. On electric power the Governor says some good words for public ownership and national control, but is careful to commit himself to nothing definite.

For the rest it's words, words, words! He is for all classes at once and equally, which is more impossible than squaring the circle. He wants to save the little man, the farmer, the worker, and the big man easily and by the same undescribed medicine.

By contrast we Socialists again assert: There is a class conflict between an owning class and the workers with hand and brain whether they wear overalls or white collars. We are for the workers on the farm and in the office and factory and mine. Collectively they must become the owners and establish a classless society in which production will be for use, not profit. Men of the middle class, in actuality or in sympathy, for the sake of the larger social good and their own highest need of peace and fellowship may transcend class interest and help us build that new society. They can only do it by conscious choice of the Socialist goal and method and by active cooperation with class-conscious workers in building the Socialist party. Neither Governor Roosevelt nor any other politician, Democratic or Republican, dares to try to show in public debate any other way in this hour as the doom of capitalism grows even more obvious.



NORMAN THOMAS

THE WASHINGTON GRAB

IF Governor Roosevelt really believes that you can serve all classes at once let him watch the show in Washington. Even within the middle class there are sharp differences of interest. Automobile manufacturers want no more taxes on automobiles, candy makers none on candy, etc. But they manage to put up a great front, all of them, against a proper program of income and inheritance taxes in this emergency.

As I know by my experience last week, the papers, all of whom owned by men whose incomes would be hit by income taxes, editorialize in their news columns in favor of sales taxes and suppress arguments for income taxes. They don't even tell the truth about the proposed bill.

They dare not wholly ignore, but they play down, the crisis in unemployment relief for which a middle class congress, mad about "balancing the budget" in the easiest way, makes no provision. These same newspapers talk a lot of selfish nonsense against what they call the "dole" and then accept the dole of second class mail privilege below cost! How many of them have plainly told their readers that first class mail makes Uncle Sam a tidy profit and that his big loss is on second class mail? Yet the new tax law proposes three-cent letter postage and no increase on the rate for papers and magazines which carry immensely profitable advertising!

LABOR, BREAD AND BEER

THE unemployed in most American towns and cities, unless there is prompt pressure on the federal, state and local governments, will have nothing to live on by July 4 but patriotic oratory. The invitation to riot or starve grows daily more urgent. Unemployment, even if business should pick up a little, will grow worse because "economy" programs mostly have been achieved by cutting out public works. Yet the day when we Socialists appeared at the Board of Estimate meeting in New York to argue for some 100,000 workers likely to be jobless by the cut in public works not a single official representing the Central Trade and Labor Council or of the building trades was present. And the only great demonstration that the A. F. of L. leaders have blessed is Mayor Jimmy Walker's beer parade—a parade, incidentally that will do more for Walker than for beer!

To say this, let me assure my good friend Comrade Vladeck (see his review of my book in last week's New Leader) does not mean that I am "supercilious" toward the A. F. of L. or "in favor of prohibition." On the contrary, I am critical of present A. F. of L. leadership because I want to see the A. F. of L. lead labor in filling its necessary role in these times. As for prohibition I have said hundreds of times in speech and writing that I believe it is a failure, productive of more harm than good, and that it should be modified to permit sale of liquor under state authorities—not

for profit. Straight repeal would leave us with a serious problem but it would be better than what we have.

I am still of the opinion which so far as I know I first of all writers in the United States expressed in this very column that prohibition is not properly a party issue and should be submitted to straight referendum or as near to it as we can constitutionally come. Parties should abide by the referendum vote and give it legal efficacy.

PROHIBITION'S PROBLEMS

BUT because I believe that prohibition has failed I do not believe that most of our evils, moral and economic, come from it, nor do I believe that any substitute policy will infallibly clear away the liquor problem. I do not believe that the chief need of workers is more beer, or more legal beer, but more bread. I do not believe legal beer will bring us prosperity and more bread. That is a dangerous illusion cultivated by those who want to turn the minds of the workers away from economic problems. Legalized beer would mean better beer and more honorable work: it would not necessarily mean more work than bootlegging, hi-jacking, and prohibition enforcing mean!

As for taxation, of course I should rather not see expensive bootleg liquor go tax free. But if beer is a poor man's drink I see no merit in taxing it instead of incomes. And if too much liquor is a social curse I do not want to see government sharing in the profits of it. That is not the idea behind the once widespread Socialist belief in public control of the liquor traffic to cut out profiteering in a traffic which in every country, whether legal or illegal, carries with it plenty of terrible social problems which follow intemperance. One can oppose the Eighteenth Amendment without going crazy about the blessings of alcohol on the empty stomachs of the workers.

HITLER AND COMMUNISM

ALMOST before these words will reach most of their readers we shall know how Hitler fared in the Prussian elections. It was a bad omen that he increased his vote in the Presidential run-off at the expense of the Communist candidate. Hitlerism has all the evils of Communism plus some of its own and none of the hopeful economic features of Communism. It is something to think about that Communist appeal to dictatorship and prospective violence has been so easily capitalized against them by their enemy, Hitler, prophet of a reactionary nationalism.

THE GERMAN SOCIALIST POSITION

SO great is the danger of Hitler's crazy, swashbuckling, anti-Semitic "National Socialism" (what a prostitution of a noble word!) that, strongly as I feel impelled to condemn the principle of national coalition governments in which Socialists are partners, I think the German Social Democrats are justified in coalition in this emergency. Their mistake, it has long seemed to me, was in their failure from 1919 on to take a more aggressive Socialist leadership in Germany with a more positive Socialist program. Then they might have avoided the emergency. Yet their failure to take this leadership arose partly out of their post-war determination to keep the peace of Europe—a task in which Americans have given them little intelligent help. If Communists were less dogmatically proud of fooling their allies and would work in good faith there might be some chance in Germany and elsewhere for occasional Socialist-Communist joint action. Communist tactics has made that impossible.

SOME WORTHWHILE BOOKS

SPEAKING of Socialism and Communism, reminds me to recommend two books, neither by a Socialist, of enormous though very different importance, for the light they shed on our problems. I mean Emma Goldman's interesting "Living My Life" (Alfred A. Knopf) and Trotsky's probably classic "History of the Russian Revolution." Out of both books I got lessons the authors probably did not intend. But they are great books. So, too, in its way, is another sort of book, Stephen Raushenbush's "The Fight for Power" (New Republic) which Mac Coleman has already very justly praised.

The Workers and Bourgeois Justice

"Neither Song
Nor Sermon"

HONEST Injun, I wasn't to blame last week for calling the result of the Milwaukee election a "mess." The word I wrote was "news," but the printer made a mess of it.

A party member who does me the honor to read my paragraphs has written me an angry letter about what I said week before last about union men carrying their quarrels into the courts. Here are the outstanding parts of it:

What does A. L. mean by bourgeois conceptions of justice? And if Justice Brandeis and Justice Cardozo are bourgeois, what is A. L., who sets himself up as their judge? Is he "working class"? And even so, does that mean that he is superior to the rest of poor humanity? What is working class ethics, anyway? How does it differ from plain everyday ethics? . . . This whole idea of class-consciousness, and these terms "proletariat" and "bourgeoisie" are entirely foreign to democracy. They belong to Europe of the middle of the last century. With the exception of a very few individuals, we are all workers . . . The very idea of class-consciousness and class strife implies and necessarily breeds violence.

The identity of A. L. is no very deep secret and certainly not an important one. A. L. does not think himself superior to the rest of hu-

manity. He does not think wage-workers in general are personally superior to other mortals. What he is sure of is that the working class is the only one whose economic conditions tend, on the whole and in the long run, to make its members feel and think and act in a socialistic manner.

I freely admit that the words "bourgeoisie" and "proletariat" are not native American nor aboriginal English. Neither are the words "riches" and "poverty" and "capital" and "labor" and "naturalization" and "depression." We've borrowed those and many other words from the languages of wicked old Europe. We need them, for the facts which they denote exist here and now at least as much as in other lands and at other times. Such democracy as we have thus far achieved in this country does not prevent working men from being unemployed, nor prevent capitalists from profiting by their misery.

It is well to be conscious of facts, and not to put a taboo on words that express them.

It is not just a very few individuals who are outside the working class, above it, in a position to ex-

plot it. Those who own the bulk of our productive wealth, who control the country's economic life, and who appropriate the major part of the product, constitute a powerful and self-conscious class.

I don't like this. I wish my class to emancipate itself and, in so doing, to put an end to class rule. No other class is going to do it for us. And the working class cannot do it until it becomes conscious of its interests and its latent power and learns to act as a class.

"Plain everyday ethics," is a delusive phrase. No doubt most civilized persons, regardless of class, agree on some points of ethics, but certainly not on all. Ethical ideals change with changes in the economic structure of society; and at each stage different classes have different notions as to right and wrong.

The late President Eliot said: "The scab is a high type of American hero." The capitalists applauded him. Most decent working men feel that scabbing is at least as immoral as picking pockets. I feel so, but I don't say that President Eliot was a bad man. He was a sincere spokesman of bourgeois ideals. Just what "plain everyday ethics" has to say about scabbing,

I can't imagine.

Our existing system of law, especially that portion of it which deals with property rights, contract, and what it calls "relations of master and servant," embodies mainly the bourgeois conception as to what is right or wrong. The belief that law is an expression of "plain everyday ethics," uncolored by class interests, has been disposed of by Anatole France in these unforgettable words: "The law, in its majestic impartiality, forbids the rich and the poor alike to sleep on park benches or to beg in the streets."

On the whole—that is, except for such modification as working class action has brought about—the law justifies capitalists in hiring labor at whatever terms want may force the workers to accept, and disapproves concerted action by working people to restrict competition in the labor market. Working class solidarity is always on the defensive, the presumptions are all against it, when cases involving it are brought before the courts.

There are few men for whom I have a deeper respect than for Louis Brandeis and Benjamin N. Cardozo. But even such exceptional men as they, being on the bench, are in the main bound to apply

existing law, which is bourgeois law, and can go but a little way in adapting it to working class needs. Even were all judges as upright and as intelligent as these two, the working class would suffer by having the internal troubles of the unions carried into court.

And I emphatically protest against the assumption that, if some individuals or groups appeal from their unions to the courts, it must be because the unions are corrupt and tyrannical. When Vice Chancellor Berry says that, I understand. We have no right to say it, because it is not true.

A. L.

Plan Conference on Militant Pacifism

The War Resisters' League, whose object is to unite men and women who have determined to give no support to any war, will hold its third annual conference on "militant pacifism" from Friday to Sunday, May 6 to 8, at Northover Camp, Bound Brook, N. J. Those wishing to attend should get in touch with Jessie Wallace Hughan, 171 W. 12th street, New York City.