

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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SATURDAY, MAY 14, 1932

Price Five Cents

THE "BOY FRIEND" ON PARADE

Beer Cry Raised to Hide Scandals of Tammany Misrule

By NORMAN THOMAS
TO THE PEOPLE
OF NEW YORK:

Close to a million of you are unemployed. The number is increasing and the need is increasing far more rapidly with the exhaustion of savings. It is the first business of the City not as a matter of charity but justice to help you.

What does the city of Wall Street, Walker and Tammany do? It gives you two and a half million dollars a month for the months of June and July although at the very lowest and most inadequate estimate to meet the most urgent needs six and a half million dollars a month are needed from the City of New York. Even Walker and Wall Street will not want to tell you that the much advertised block-aid makes a difference. It is now aiding 4,903 family heads—twice as many as the funds now in the hand of the Gibson Committee actually provide for. Yet this means a reduction of 8,000 family heads from the 20,000 once employed by the Emergency Work Bureau of the Gibson Committee. The New York City Home Relief Bureau has recently dropped 20,000 from its roll. Another 30,000 registered for relief will not even be investigated. New applications which had been coming in at the rate of from 900 to 1,200 a day have stopped completely. The average relief for a family has fallen from \$7 a week to \$3 a week. This is New York, the richest city in the world!

But its Mayor leads the march not for bread which he might help to give but for beer which he cannot give.

The Mayor has told you that his heart bleeds for you but that he cannot help the poverty of his government. Especially does his heart bleed for the small home owner who is likely to be driven onto the streets by heavier taxes.

His heart did not bleed for any home owners when after the depression had begun he voted enthusiastically for two separate salary grabs, one of which raised his own salary by \$15,000 a year.

His heart did not bleed for the small home owner when year after year he blithely refused repeated requests of the Socialists Party to consolidate offices and to clean out the administration from the hands of Tin Box politicians, each making his pile.

His heart did not bleed for the small home owner when first in the Equitable Bus fiasco, next in the B. M. T. bus deal, and then in the Queens Bus franchises he fought tooth and nail to give these gold mines to private companies controlled by his friends—don't forget that Jimmy's other name is "the boy friend"—although these companies offered less than half of what other companies offered and still less than the City could have got by insisting on its rights. In the case of the B. M. T. bus franchise alone the city could have easily got another 10 million dollars, and that would have immensely strengthened the City's financial credit and borrowing power.

Who cares? The Mayor leads the Beer Parade!

That's only part of your ground for complaint, workers of New York. Not only has the Mayor not done anything to save for the city the two and a half million dollar increases in high salaries which have been voted since he took office.



Drawn by Elliott.

He has also done nothing at all to protect the interests of the workers. He has repeatedly ignored the socialist demand that the seven-day week on the bus lines and the subways be wiped out. His whole idea of the economy which he says the bankers force on him has been to rescind or defer three hundred million dollars worth of public works which would have given full time employment to a hundred thousand men.

Who cares? The Mayor leads the Beer Parade!

New York is a city of racketeers, a city of the third degree, a city where even justice goes to the man with the longest pocketbook or the biggest pull. New York is a city of slums. One third of our people still live in old law tenements, fire traps, in some of which more than a score of people have been either killed or injured within the last month. Socialist Vienna in the midst of her poverty is wiping out these slums, but not New York.

Who cares? The Boy Friend leads the Beer Parade!

Make no mistake about it, when we socialists call your attention to these things we are by no means denying that legal beer would be infinitely better than the legalized hypocrisy of the present situation. We simply assert what no honest man can deny; namely, that James J. Walker well knows that this parade will do more for Walker than for beer.

Neither are we wasting our time by attacking one man, our Playboy Mayor. He has been an exceedingly useful showpiece and mouthpiece for the political and economic system behind him. When his usefulness is over he will be cast aside—already there are signs that the political rats are deserting his sinking ship—but the system will go on, not only in New York but in all America unless and until workers with hand and brain awake and organize their own cooperatives, their own unions, and, above all, their own political party. We shall make a beginning when we see clearly that in starving America bread is more than beer and work more than wise-cracks.

NEW LEADER

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

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SATURDAY, MAY 14, 1932

Farmers Worry the G. O. P.

THERE is weeping in the upper section of the Republican nobility at Washington. The broad agricultural belt west of the Mississippi River has, since the Civil War, with a few exceptions, been a region loyal to the only party "fit to govern." However, the farmers do not think kindly of being pitched out of their farms and being reduced to peasants seems to them to be a poor return for the votes they have given to the G. O. P.

"Economic conditions in the West," reads a dispatch from Washington, "resulting in the sale of a large number of farms for taxes and to meet mortgage obligations, have produced a situation unfavorable to the Republican party. The wave of protest against the party in the West is attributed chiefly to losses suffered by farmers which, in some states, have reached more than half the number of farms."

Queer farmers, to be sure! For decades they had been warned to avoid Socialism as a plague. Once place Socialist rebels in power and the farmers would be compelled to "divide up." So the G. O. P. has warned the tillers of the soil and the warning was heeded. Now with the public powers in the hands of the G. O. P. the sheriffs and banks have been dividing up the farms and in the process the farmers have nothing left. So Republican politics has proven to be the most costly luxury these farmers have ever indulged.

But there is a refuge for the farmers. The Democrats are willing to take them over and with big bankers and capitalists financing the party the farmers will continue as mudsills as before. The Socialists outside both parties await the outcome, knowing that the workers in all industries must eventually make war against both parties and put an end to the legalized plundering.

The Property Revolution

IN A RADIO broadcast President Green of the I. A. F. of L. emphasized the anti-social effects of the modern machine order which does not equitably distribute the benefits to be obtained by the use of machines. The argument was sound-but his reference to the age which preceded the machines omitted one consideration that is vital to an understanding of modern capitalism.

"During the hand-labor era," said the speaker, "the tools which were used were made and operated by hand and goods and commodities were produced by hand labor. As a result of this training men and women became skilled and highly efficient." All of which is true but the speaker failed to consider the revolution that accompanied the passing of this hand-tool order.

Its distinctive feature was that workmen owned the tools, the shop, the raw materials and the finished product. They own nothing in industry now, not even their labor power which becomes the property of the capitalist buyer. Today the ownership of the tools (machinery), the plants, the raw materials and the finished product is vested in the capitalist or corporation. A revolution in ownership and property relations has taken place in the passing of the tool-order and the coming of the machine-order.

President Green declared that American Labor refused to emphasize "class lines" and yet the revolution has produced marked class lines and they cannot be ignored if we are to understand what has happened. The revolution in property relations is basic for it has reduced the former workman to a dependent.

Hunger Revolts Forecast

WHEN Edward F. McGrady warns a Senate committee that a revolt of the jobless is impending if federal relief is not given we may be sure that the situation is grave. "The doors to revolution are going to be thrown open and leaders of the country ought to know it." He added that the labor chiefs are losing their patience with the government.

Meantime acute starvation has been warded off a few months in large cities like Chicago, Philadelphia and New York by certain emergency measures. Closing of hospitals is threatened in Chicago and Cleveland and a charity agent in Philadelphia relates a horrifying tale of families going one and two days without food when relief stopped for eleven days, and of mothers begging coins to buy bread.

Even the nitwits of the governing machine at Washington are getting it through their thick heads that something must be done. Certain Republicans hint that Hoover will not veto an amendment to the Reconstruction Finance Act permitting the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to purchase municipal and state bonds issued for relief purposes and Democrats talk of federal loans to states for hunger relief.

The skies grow darker over American capitalism. Socialist thunder will follow in November if our army of liberation does its work well.

Concentration of Capital and Power

A CHART published by the National Industrial Conference Board "demolishes the popular belief . . . that manufacturers sell primarily to independent wholesalers and also demonstrates that the middleman is not so important a figure in the channels of trade as formerly." So reads an announcement by that organization which adds, "In earlier days of American industry the selling of manufactured goods was largely separated from their production, and a group of middlemen known variously as selling agents, factors, brokers, manufacturers' agents and commission houses intervened between the manufacturer and the wholesaler."

In other words, the upper capitalist class is eliminating the middlemen. That class is slowly taking over the wholesale and even the retail functions of distribution. Of nearly 60 billion dollars worth of sales in 1929, 47.6 per cent passed through wholesalers and one-third of this business was handled by the manufacturers' own wholesale branches. Sales to independent retailers were 19.8 per cent of the total, 2.1 per cent of which passed through the manufacturers' own retail branches.

We pass this information on to those who talk of the middle classes as the "backbone" of the nation. The ruling class is removing that "backbone" which has been more of a string of jelly than anything else. Concentration of capital and power in the hands of the upper plutocracy proceeds apace and the class lines become more glaring. The Socialist interpretation of capitalism is verified by this trend.

Democracy Finds A "Miracle Man"

A FEW leading Democrats are preparing to market a "miracle man" who, as President, will be expected to lead us out of the depression. Hoover played the part in 1928 but his job was to keep capitalism as a going concern. Al Smith, John W. Davis and Charles H. Sabin, the banker, will next week pay their respects to Owen D. Young as a "dark horse" to be entered if Roosevelt fails to land the convention prize. Young also has the advantage of being a "fat cat," a gentleman with mountains of cash.

Who is Young? He is one of the power and electric barons of the new capitalism. More and more does the Democracy climb into the upper reaches of the plutocracy. Its collection of millionaires in the post-war period is as imposing as that of the Republicans. Young is also a company union magnate.

Sponsoring the power magnate is Al

Smith who but yesterday rose out of the mudsill class to heights of financial bliss. The Democracy, once carrying the banner of the small farmer and the mechanics of Eastern industry, has stored it in the party's museum and today it carries the Jolly Roger of our modern Captain Kidds. If Andy Jackson looks down from the battlements of the blessed upon his heirs he certainly will indulge in some of the choice oaths for which he was noted.

Taboos and Magic To Cure Depression

PAUL LAFARGUE once wrote that despite the crass materialism of capitalists and bankers in piling up loot they are essentially superstitious. They cannot understand the mysteries of their own order. They stand in awe before the gigantic powers that capital has developed. Like our barbaric ancestors, that which they cannot understand they view in terms of mysticism.

So a hotel proprietor in Maine has raised a taboo against talk of the depression on his premises. A placard reads: "Here, we pray, the ghosts of gloom may never be conjured by echoes of that unhappy word, 'depression'." Lafargue would have selected this as a classic of capitalistic voodooism. A rabbit's foot passed to each guest to ward off the jitters might well be added to this taboo.

Just as interesting is the magic powers of a conjuror recently ascribed to President Hoover by a Washington official at a Republican dinner in Jackson Heights a few days ago. Hoover, he declared, had saved the nation from economic destruction and he denounced the impious criticism directed against Herbert. He asks us to believe that a collapsed house is ready to be occupied.

Such bright minds should be pickled in jars so that our descendants living in a Socialist world may observe these curios of a rotting civilization.

Increasing Costs Of Government

THE rising cost of government, city, state and federal, is becoming an increasing theme of discussion and President Hoover recently made it the subject of a message. With declining revenues it is natural that this question should come to the fore.

All sources of information indicate that the per capita cost has been increasing much faster than the growth of population while the cost per unit in the expansion of industries declines. Then it is claimed by specialists that there are more persons giving their time to political and party work in the United States than in all the nations of Europe. The two facts are closely related.

In no other country has the politics of capitalism become so degraded and mercenary as in this country. Capitalist politics has many of the features of American industry. It is an industry itself with its big magnates at the top, its state and district magnates, and the city professionals below. The capitalist party machines have become parasites on public funds. Jobs, bureaus and departments have been multiplied to take care of party hacks and mercenaries. Tammany is the classic model.

Here is the main source of the increasing costs of government. Enough public funds are wasted on these parasites to finance a complete system of unemployment insurance throughout the country. The hacks are paid out of public treasuries but most of their time is given to private organizations, their political machines. The capitalists and bankers who whine about this are in revolt against their own shadows.

Moscow Lifts Ban On Small Traders

THE great hydroelectric plant, Dnieprostroy, in Russia was tested at a "formal opening" two weeks ago. Three turbines of nine separate generating units hummed while the workers cheered but power for actual use will not be transmitted till August 1. Its cost is estimated at \$110,000,000 and will not be completed in all its units till the spring of next year.

A recent decree by Stalin and Premier Molotoff permits peasants to sell part of their grain in the open market at their own prices. The food and general goods shortage had become very grave and it is expected the decree will also revive petty manufacturers who will trade their wares for grain. This revival of "private capitalism" extends even to members of farm collectives who are permitted to privately trade. Moreover, the government grain collections in the coming harvest are fixed at 4,300,000 tons less than the 1931 figures although a greater harvest is expected. Even the agricultural tax will exempt profits of private trading.

What has happened is that the peasants in many collectives have permitted grain to rot and in other instances they have hidden it for their own use. The collectives have in some cases served as fortresses of resistance for the peasants who have refused to part with grain unless they could get the manufactured articles they wanted. On the other hand the Soviet needs the grain for the purchase of materials and machinery abroad and the smaller collections will reduce these purchases.

Playboy Fascists In Germany

FASCISTS in the German Reichstag again resumed their stormy tactics when on Tuesday it was necessary to suspend the session. A Hitlerite heroically demanded the end of reparations and this was followed by a general denunciation of the breaking up of the Fascist storm troops. General Groener answered that the storm troops had prevented peace and this was countered by Fascist claims that the troops had held back Bolshevism.

In Hesse the Supreme Court has annulled the elections to the Diet which gave the Fascists a gain of 27 seats last November because the election board had barred the candidates of the Economic party on the ground of faulty petitions. The ruling dissolves the Diet and a new election is ordered.

Hitler plays the clown in Brunswick. Last month he filed charges against himself with the Minister of the Interior, a 100 per cent Hitlerite, the basis being an article in a Berlin paper saying that Hitler had informed foreign correspondents that France had inspired the decree dissolving his storm troops. Hitler accused himself of a "breach of duty." The Ministry dismissed the case.

Depression Disturbs Latin-America

LATIN-AMERICA continues to be afflicted with the depression fever. Arturo Alessandri, former President of Chile and with "socialistic" views, was elected to the Senate by a huge majority over four other candidates. He is expected to lead the fight against the government of President Montero.

Peru has an upheaval. Revolutionaries seized two cruisers, locked up the officers, and it required planes and submarines to subdue the mutineers. The government charged the revolt to Communists but it appears to have its origin in the movement led by Haya de la Torre, founder of Apra, or the Socialist Labor party. De la Torre, who was the closest rival to Sanchez Cerro in the last Presidential election, was arrested. President Cerro declared martial law for fifteen days and Lima was patrolled by mounted troops following an Apra demonstration against the arrest of de la Torre.

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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250 Delegates in Milwaukee Next Week For Socialist Party National Convention

Sessions Open Saturday In Municipal Auditorium

Several Thousand Expected to Attend Gathering
—N. E. C. Meets Thursday and Friday—
Agenda Committee Report Presages Hard
Fought Debates

By Edward Levinson

SOcialist leaders of the nation, delegates and alternates to the Milwaukee convention, and a host of other active Socialists will entrain early next week for Milwaukee where the weekend will see the 15th national convention of the Socialist party in full swing.

When National Secretary Clarence Senior calls the roll Saturday morning, he will face delegations representing a Socialist party revived and definitely victorious over the forces of apathy and reaction which threatened for a decade to swamp it.

Some 250 delegates are expected. The number of out-of-town visitors will probably be three times that number, while Wisconsin Socialists in attendance will swell the attendance to thousands. Maine and California, several Southern states and the states in the Northwest will send delegates. Many will travel by train, others by easy stages including stopovers for campaign and organization meetings. Still others will come by motor car, while a good delegation of young Socialists will hitch-hike.

Conference on Organization

While the convention will not open until Saturday morning,

party executives and others in cities, towns and states will put in a busy day Friday when organizers, secretaries, literature agents and other active Socialists will meet for a conference on organization problems. This gathering will take place in a large committee room of the Municipal Auditorium.

At 10 a. m., the conference will take up problems of organization in large cities, with Julius Gerber of New York, William M. Busick of Los Angeles and Leo Kryzcki of Milwaukee, leading the discussion. At 2 p. m., Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport, David George of Hopewell, Va., and Amicus Most of West Virginia, will open a discussion on Socialist problems in small towns and rural areas.

While local party officials will convene on Friday, the national executive committee will already have been in session for a day Thursday and Friday, the N. E. C.

will meet at the New Randolph Hotel for the ironing out of questions involved in opening and carrying through the convention.

Saturday's Program

Registration of delegates will begin Saturday morning at 8:30 a. m. The big Milwaukee Municipal Auditorium, one of the best-equipped auditoriums in the country, will house the convention and its various committees. The auditorium is located at 5th and Kilbourne, three blocks from the New Randolph, the official convention headquarters and hotel.

The first convention session will take place at 10 a. m., with National Chairman Morris Hillquit delivering the opening address. Creation of committees, by election or appointment, will then follow, after which the convention will take an adjournment, probably until the evening session at 8 p. m. The delegates who are not occupied with committee work Saturday afternoon will be the guests of the Milwaukee Socialists for an automobile ride through the city. This will be but one of the occasions on which Milwaukee Socialists will show their hospitality. On Friday evening, Mayor Daniel W. Hoan will tender an official City Hall reception to the members of the N. E. C., delegates and visitors.

Nominating Time Undecided

Sunday will be a day of hard work, with business sessions at 10 a. m. and 2 p. m. While the exact order of business has not been formulated as yet, it is likely that consideration of the platform will come up on Sunday. It is possible that nominations of the candidates for president and vice-presi-

dent may take place Sunday afternoon. Some propose nominations for Sunday while other delegates feel the nominations should be the closing order of business.

Sunday night two networks of the National Broadcasting Company will carry Socialist addresses from a mass meeting to be held in the main hall of the auditorium.

Monday and Tuesday the convention will buckle down to hard work again, with resolutions, questions of party policy, organization and campaign methods to the fore.

Many issues will be vigorously discussed and debated in the course of the convention. The debates will, to a great extent, follow the lines laid down in the clashing resolutions and statements of policy submitted by various party locals and drawn up for the consideration of the convention by the special agenda committee.

The Agenda Resolutions

This committee, consisting of Hillquit, James Oneal and Harry W. Laidler, reported April 23d. It submitted a proposed declaration of principles, together with an amendment treating of the question of Socialist tactics during a transition period.

Three resolutions on trade union policies for the Socialist party and its members were reported by the agenda committee. One outline proposes Socialist tactics for winning over trade unionists to Socialism, while another proposes the creation of a group in opposition to the American Federation of Labor.

On Russia there were also three resolutions presented by the

agenda committee. On the problem of war and peace, the agenda committee received and reported four resolutions. There are thirteen resolutions reported by the committee on organization and organization policies. These include resolutions on moving the national headquarters from Chicago to Washington, on organization of women, on the party press, on "red week," on cultural activities, cooperatives, the Negro workers, unemployed leagues, "international unity," proposing a new Federal constitution, on a "contact committee," another proposing a campaign slogan, and a final one "on third party movements."

Many New Faces

On all these questions, as well as on any others, delegates will have the privilege of proposing resolutions from the floor and there is no doubt that many will avail themselves of this privilege.

Veterans of the Socialist party will meet with scores of newcomers when the convention convenes. The largest delegations will come from New York, Pennsylvania, California, Illinois and Wisconsin, while a number of other states will also send good-sized delegations.

The delegates will meet in the midst of the most critical situation that has faced the workers of the United States since the famous St. Louis convention when war flames were soon to sweep the country. There is no doubt that out of the earnest, hard-fought debates there will evolve a Socialist party determined to make the presidential campaign of 1932 a red letter event in the history of the movement.

National Radio Networks to Carry Convention Addresses Sunday

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

MILWAUKEE. — Powerful radio stations of the National Broadcasting Company will carry Socialist convention speeches to all corners of the nation Sunday night, May 22d, from 8 to 9 p. m.

The broadcast will consist of part of the evening session, or addresses by leaders of the party to be selected by the National Executive Committee. If the nominees for president and vice-president have been chosen by that stage of the convention, they will be heard over both the "Blue" and "Red" networks. If the nominating session is held Sunday night, part of it may be broadcast.

At any rate Socialists with radios will be assured of good addresses when they tune in. If the candidates are not yet chosen, speakers will be drawn from among Norman Thomas, Mayor Hoan, Morris Hillquit, James Oneal, Heywood Brown and others. While many stations on the "Red" and "Blue" networks have indicated they will broadcast the addresses, acceptance of the speeches by many stations on the chains will be decided by the amount of popular interest Socialists at home can stir up. Under the system by which the National Broadcasting Company works, it accepts a broadcast for its major stations and then "offers" it for the consideration of its local affiliated stations.

The N. B. C. is offering this program as follows:

8 to 9 p. m., New York daylight saving time, on the entire basis

- Rush your orders for the Convention Number of *The New Leader* which will be issued May 28th.
- This number will have a full report of the proceedings and special articles by Norman Thomas, James Oneal, Heywood Brown, McAlister Coleman, Algeron Lee and Edward Levinson.
- In bundles of 100 or more, the price of *The New Leader* is two cents per copy prepaid.
- This issue will be ideal for distribution. It will contain the national platform and pictures of the candidates.

Blue network, which includes the following stations and cities:

WJZ—New York
WBAL—Baltimore
WBZ—Boston
WWSB—Springfield
WHAM—Rochester
KDKA—Pittsburgh
KGAR—Cleveland
WJR—Detroit
WLW—Cincinnati
KWK—St. Louis
WREN—Lawrence, Kansas
KOIL—Council Bluffs
KWCR—Cedar Rapids

From 8 to 8:15 p. m., only the program will be offered also to the Red network and all the supplementary stations:

Northwest Group
WTMJ—Milwaukee
WIBA—Madison
KSTP—St. Paul
WBOC—Superior
WDAY—Fargo
KFYR—Bismarck
Southwest Group
KVOO—Tulsa
WFAA—Dallas
WBAP—Fort Worth
KPRC—Houston
WOAI—San Antonio
WKY—Oklahoma City
KTBS—Shreveport
KTHS—Hot Springs
Southeast Group
WEVA—Richmond
WPTF—Raleigh
WWNC—Asheville
WIS—Columbia, S. C.
WJAX—Jacksonville
WIOD—Miami
WFLA—Tampa
Clearwater
Southeastern Group
WSM—Nashville
WMC—Memphis
WSB—Atlanta
WAPT—Birmingham
WJDX—Jackson
WSMB—New Orleans

The N. B. C. does not guarantee that all these stations will take the program. It is up to the local Socialists to persuade the station managers to do so. Get someone to call on the manager of your favorite station, if it is listed, and

ask that this program be put on. Write letters, or call the station, to find out if it will be available, and at what time.

After you know that you can get the program, gather all your friends, Socialist sympathizers, and party members around your radio and make up a group to listen in. Thousands of such meetings can be held, all over the country. See that your local newspaper announces the program and meetings.

Let the Socialist party, 549 Randolph street, Chicago, Ill., know if such a meeting is going to be held so that we can announce at the meeting how many such groups there are!

Chicago Campaign Banquet Booming

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—The banquet in honor of the Socialist candidates for president and vice-president, which will be held in Chicago on Wednesday, May 25th, will bring out another overflow crowd. In

addition to numerous individual reservations which have been made, the following unions will be represented: The Joint Board and all locals of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; the Joint Board and all of the locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers; the waiters, carpenters, bakers, typographical union, butchers, furriers, cap makers, millinery workers, musicians and news writers. The League for Industrial Democracy and the Farmer-Labor party are also cooperating.

Reservations should be sent at once to the Socialist Banquet Committee, 549 Randolph street, Chicago. The banquet will start promptly at 6:30. Reservations are \$1.25.

Md. Socialists Hold Convention Tomorrow

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

HAGERSTOWN, Md.—The state convention of the Socialist party will be held here tomorrow. The convention will convene at 11 a. m. at Odd Fellows Hall. The Baltimore delegations will come in a specially chartered bus. The morning session will elect officers and act on organization plans. The afternoon session will be devoted to the national convention agenda. A retabulation of the state vote by a special committee has resulted in the election of Elizabeth Gilman, Charles E. Bernstein and Dr. Samuel Neistadt as delegates to the Milwaukee convention. A feature of the state convention will be addresses at an evening mass meeting by Amicus Most, organizer in West Virginia, and David G. George, Virginia state secretary.

Convention Delegates Leave N. Y. Thursday

The New York delegation to the Socialist national convention at Milwaukee has arranged to leave for the West on the "Chicagoan," a New York Central train which leaves the Grand Central terminal at 10:30 daylight saving time Thursday evening, May 19th. Transfer will be made at Chicago to the Milwaukee Railroad, the Milwaukee terminus of which is only a few blocks from the Auditorium and the principal hotels.

Harlem Organizes To Aid Tenants

Frank R. Crosswaith, director of the Peoples' Educational Forum which holds its sessions each Sunday afternoon at 2005 7th avenue, New York City, announces the formation of a "Tenants' Aid League."

According to Crosswaith, "The Tenants' Aid League" will undertake: (1) To utilize every legal and decent means to arouse public opinion against such landlords. (2) To organize tenants and lead them in their struggle for relief from the tentacles of such landlords. (3) To secure competent legal and other assistance for tenants in distress, irrespective of race, creed or political attachments."

The officers of the Tenants' Aid League are Thos. D. Emptage, president; Frank R. Crosswaith, vice-president; Fred Meyers, secretary. Max Delson, outstanding member of the New York Bar, will act as legal advisor.

Do We Need a New Political Allignment?

By Albert Streiff

ALL kinds of groups and leagues are bobbing up to urge a new political alignment, most of them led by self-styled liberals, who are wrong on every public question, especially in choosing candidates for public office. They helped to elect Wilson to keep us out of war; after he got us into war they gladly supported the war. In the last election they supported Al Smith, the great "liberal." Now that Roosevelt is in the field they discover that Raskob, financier and munition magnate, picked Smith, financed his campaign, and that he was the tool of Wall Street as much as Hoover. They are now swinging to Roosevelt who, they claim, believes in "progressive" ideas and power development.

In one thing the liberals can be depended upon; they are all afraid of the Socialist party because of its name, although there is a clamor for Socialist relief measures. These liberal groups predict that the Socialist party will never amount to anything and they never lose an opportunity to belittle it.

I am not surprised at the antics of the liberals. They run true to form. Any political racketeer can call himself a "progressive" and a liberal. Since the last election I repeatedly stated that in the 1932 election all kinds of parties will steal a few Socialist planks, hawk them as original ideas to save suffering humanity, and enter the campaign for the purpose of dividing the discontented vote.

Oregon Experiences

The old parties, especially in a pinch, are not above financing different groups and leagues who devote most of their time denouncing the Socialist party, and muddling up the political waters. Again, in times like these with so many busted businessmen and disappointed politicians ready for the poor house, it is to be expected that they will try to get to the public pie-counter, in the hope of recouping their stock losses, even if it is necessary for them to advocate a few Socialist theories.

One does not need to be a political wiseacre to recognize the different elements I have described. No one will deny them the right to run as many candidates as they choose. But, there is no excuse for a Socialist to get excited

Oregon's Sad Experience With a "Progressive" Governor--- The Socialist Party and L. I. P. A. Tactics

about the accusations of these so-called liberals and progressives that the Socialist Party will never amount to anything because of prejudice against the party. If we take the liberals and progressives seriously it is a foregone conclusion that we cannot grow. It is because I realize that some party members never tire of hob-nobbing with this element and also parrot the slogans of this nomadic element that prompts me to relate our experience with it in Oregon, especially in Portland, in the last election.

In the last state election there were three parties in the field, Republicans, Democrats and Socialists. A bitter feud developed within the Republican organization with the result that disgruntled and disappointed politicians, ably assisted by the Evening Telegram, owned and controlled by the Fleishacker interests of San Francisco, California's utility magnates, occasionally mentioned in the Tom Mooney affair, and the owners of many of Oregon's utilities and large manufacturing establishments, like paper mills and wood working plants, etc., organized an assembly of electors and nominated Julius Meier, Oregon's richest man and merchant prince, to oppose the Republican nominee for Governor, without entering any opposition candidates against the regular Republican state nominees.

The Meier Followers

Sure! The liberals now fell over one another to get on the Meier band wagon. They were the most active ones in the nominating assembly. Some of them became Meier's spokesmen. During the nominating session one of them shouted, at the top of her voice, "At last! At last! Oregon has an opportunity to nominate and elect a real, big business man," and assured the audience that Meier was the long looked for Moses who was to lead the people out of the political and economic wilderness by introducing water power development in the state and harnessing Oregon's huge water supply.

Even the Communists and the Socialist Labor Parties failed to enter candidates in this election. Many of their members actively supported the Meier candidacy.

Others bitterly assailed the Socialist candidate for not withdrawing from the race. Even some half-baked Socialists, with liberal tendencies, insisted that the Socialist candidate withdraw to insure the election of Julius Meier. Some old-time Socialists who never miss an opportunity to denounce organized labor, execrate preachers and viciously assail active Socialists as reformers who have forsaken Marx, lost no time in enlisting in Meier's cause.

Meier had an unlimited campaign fund. The Municipal Ownership League, headed by Carl D. Thompson, was his most ardent supporter. With the result that even to this day anyone speaking on behalf of municipal electric power is immediately grouped with the Meier crowd. Of course, under the promise of doing all things for all men, many other groups joined the Meier banner. Big business was promised a big business man's administration and efficiency in government. Farmers were promised cheap power, lower taxes, better roads, prosperity and a market where they could sell their goods at a high price. Organized labor was promised work, even though some of Meier's companies were reducing their forces. The dregs were promised law enforcement, while the wets pointed with pride to his personal habits. The radical Jews were elated because one of their race obtained the nomination.

The Promises Betrayed

Any school child should have known that the promises were impossible of fulfillment. Money talks! Meier was elected with the biggest vote ever given a candidate in this state. Since his election he has forgotten his electric power and other promises. He has filled nearly every one of his appointive offices with millionaires. His Industrial Compensation Board is hiring corporation lawyers to resist collection of claims by injured workmen. He pushed a state constabulary bill through the legislature in opposition to labor. Instead of electric power we have police power and his board of education abolished the school of journalism while they made every effort to retain a high priced football coach.

It should interest Socialists to

know that these liberal elements are now the very ones who claim the public is prejudiced against the Socialists and that it is necessary to organize a third party. The very ones who held opposition meetings to the Socialists have now joined hands with Rev. Whitesmith, chairman of the League for Independent Political Action, to organize a third party and split the Socialist vote.

It might be well to relate that Ernest M. Whitesmith, of Eugene, requested the N. E. C. of the Socialist Party to engage him as an organizer at \$2,000 a year, even though he carried no card in the party, nor contributed to its support, and has either been unwilling or unable to organize a local in his own town, reputed to be honeycombed with Socialist sentiment. How does it come that Whitesmith suddenly discovers that the public is prejudiced against Socialism and that we need a new party with another name?

The L. I. P. A. Tactics

Before Howard Y. Williams, executive secretary of the L. I. P. A., appeared in this state a week ago, Rev. Whitesmith approached a committee of the Socialist party and suggested that we withdraw from the field and support candidates selected by their group and act as an educational body to instruct their nominees in the art of political science. With the debacle of the liberals in this state still fresh in our minds we turned this proposal down cold.

Williams came on the scene, made a Socialist speech, belittled the Socialist vote, claiming the public was prejudiced against the party, asked for the organization of a third party, which would either run candidates of its own, or endorse candidates of other parties, but not of the two old parties. This ought to interest our liberals and militants who also use a lot of big words. The Socialist party is out of reckoning because of public prejudice, candidates with a Republican and Democratic label will not be endorsed. Then whom do they expect to endorse unless it is some Communist running on an Independent ticket without a label? I am sure if Williams had openly supported

the Communist party he would have stood better chances of winning the respect of intelligent listeners who are not interested in smoke screens.

The Socialist party in this state, while still a small group, by its untiring effort has been able to increase the vote for our legislative ticket in Multnomah County (Portland) from 15,000 to 21,000 votes. We Socialists have a sneaking idea that it is this increasing vote which is disturbing the calculations of the old parties and that accounts for the sudden appearance of third party advocates who shout from the house tops that the public is prejudiced against Socialism. The increasing vote speaks for itself and certainly does not indicate the public is prejudiced against the Socialist party, or it would refuse to vote for our candidates under any circumstances. The prejudice, of course, is in the minds of the liberals.

I am sure if we obtained the co-operation of Eastern Socialists when on western speaking tours in only a small degree it would help us considerably. But no! It seems as if some of the speakers for the League for Industrial Democracy, while in Portland, are afraid to mention that they are working for the Socialist party, or even take the trouble to speak for the Socialist party, but have no hesitancy in appearing before other groups who never overlook an opportunity to attack the party. That may be wisdom but we fail to see it. I am sure Eastern comrades would strongly resent it if we conducted ourselves in this manner.

All these tactics are injurious to the party and I insist that there is no prejudice against the party, but people are confused with the multiplicity of parties that advocate Socialism or a few Socialist ideas under different names. Besides, a liberal still has the simple lesson to learn that capitalist editors would combat Socialism under one name as quickly as under its true definition whenever it commences to challenge their power. To my notion the good name of the Socialist Party, in this country, is growing faster than the public is able to absorb the socialist philosophy. So let us stay with our name and we will win out sooner than we think.

For a Peace-time War on Slum Housing

By Henry J. Rosner

WE are now completing the year of depression and nowhere on the economic horizon are there to be seen any signs of business recovery. The widely heralded legislation for financial reconstruction sponsored by the President of the United States has thus far proved a complete fizzle. His Reconstruction Finance Corporation as was pointed out in last week's New Leader has guaranteed J. P. Morgan's bank loans but has encouraged no banks to extend credit to business men. This is a prerequisite under the present system, if our factories are to operate to capacity again. Neither has the Glass-Steagall law, liberalizing the conditions under which the Federal Reserve System may extend credit had any wholesome effects. The truth is that both bankers and business men, activated by the profit motive, see no point in attempting to return to normal economic activity just so long as the demand for the goods produced remains far below normal. That must continue to be the case until the

purchasing power of the masses of workers is restored.

According to the New York State Department of Labor's index of factory payrolls, total wage payments to factory workers in New York State declined 50 per cent in March, 1932, as compared with March, 1929. This is the result of both unemployment and wage cuts. In other words, the working class today can spend only one-half as much in dollars as they could three years ago. In the same period the cost of living has dropped 17 per cent. Working men still employed today at the same wages as in 1929 can buy 17 per cent more. Theoretically therefore, the actual decline in purchasing power has been only 33 per cent. It is well known that those with jobs feel so economically insecure at present that they are banking as much money as possible for the rainy day of unemployment. In no other way can the increase in savings bank deposits in recent months be explained. The increased purchasing power arising out of the decline in the cost of living has found its way into the vaults of great majority of workers and

savings banks, rather than into active circulation. The probability is that the actual decline in purchasing power is close to 50 per cent. This brings us to the dilemma of capitalism in the present situation.

A Previous Emergency

The jobless cannot be returned to their work unless the purchasing power is restored, but purchasing power cannot be restored unless the jobless are first returned to employment. It is a vicious cycle which must be broken and private business in the past three years has demonstrated its utter inability to cope with the problem.

Here is an emergency situation requiring emergency measures by the federal government. The federal government is the logical agency to restore the purchasing power of the workers. The Socialist party for many months has recommended that this can best be done by a great program of slum clearance and rehousing. It will accomplish the double purpose of putting millions to work and of providing decent homes for the

their families now miserably housed in old tenements and shacks. Thus far our pleas have fallen on deaf ears.

Our request has ample precedent. Once before in an emergency situation the United States government went into the business of building homes for workers but that is a period of our history our rulers would like us to forget.

The U. S. Housing Corporation

Shortly after the United States entered the World War, it became increasingly clear that war materials could not be effectively manufactured unless housing facilities were provided by the federal government in places like Bridgeport, New London and Erie. In these cities huge war industries were built overnight and skilled labor flocked in from all over the country to man the new factories. Because of a lack of adequate housing facilities, these workers were crowded together in old, unsanitary structures. Many skilled workers finding the situation intolerable quit; others attracted by high war-wages, stayed on, but were inefficient because of un-

healthy living conditions.

To meet the situation the United States government created the U. S. Housing Corporation. Its funds were provided by Congress and it was charged with the duty of building homes for war workers. Between July 25, 1918, when its appropriation was first available and the armistice in November, plans had been gotten under way for 128 projects in 71 communities. Specifications had been completed for 83 of these; 60 contracts had actually been let and on 40 construction had been started.

After the Armistice, both plans and contracts, where work had not been started, were canceled. Even projects in process of construction were abandoned. Homes for 38,000 people were completed. These were models of their kind and have been universally acclaimed by architects and city planners because of their beauty and comfort.

For a War on Poverty

In 1918 the United States government found money to build homes for workers so that the latter could be more efficient in

(Continued on Page Six)

Everything Is Jake In Texas

ANY note of cheer is welcome these days, so we bid you boys and girls to take heart over the glad news about the newspaper situation in El Paso, Texas, as reported in the current issue of "The American Federationist," the official cheer-up journal of the American Federation of Labor.

We are solemnly informed by E. R. Carpenter, "Federationist" correspondent, that:

"At El Paso, Texas, the newspapers show a slight improvement due to the fact that more stores are advertising bankrupt sales."

Goody. If there were a universal flood, the "Federationist" would undoubtedly rejoice over the fact that it resulted in quite a sale of raincoats to the survivors.

At all events the A. F. of L. ought to keep a close watch on bankruptcy. At the Philadelphia convention of the I. L. G. W. U. Morris Hillquit told the delegates very flatly that the A. F. of L. was suffering from "spiritual bankruptcy" and got a big hand.

Mental and spiritual bankruptcy is not however a monopoly of the A. F. of L. or the old parties. I have run into quite a good-sized mess of it lately. Fate or something, maybe just human curiosity, has led me into several debates with various wings, winglets and their spokesmen and spokeswomen of the New York Communists.

When my distinguished opponents have finished telling the audience that I am a bourgeois traitor to the working class, a yellow coward who does not dare go out on the revolutionary front, and so weiter, they seem to have very little left except to hint that the members of the other Communist factions are just as bad. One of these orators in a fine frenzy announced that the leaders of another outfit were traitors and fakers, but nevertheless the working people should put their faith in Communism, because it was the only hope left. This same orator said that I had expressed my deep contempt for the workers in articles appearing in The New Leader. When I mildly asked for proof of this, my opponent read aloud a piece I wrote in this column about the unemployed road workers up in Westchester County, New York. I had been up there to help them organize. They struck and failed and, as usual, there was a lot of blacklisting. At about that time it was announced that the wealthy hunting set of Westchester was running out of foxes to hunt and I made the suggestion that they use the unemployed road workers for game, since they had already taken them for a long ride. Now this was "wrote sarkastick" but from now on I am going to see to it that every copy of The New Leader which falls into Communist hands is marked "feeble attempt at humor," "essay in satire," etc.

A bleak, humorless, tight-lipped outfit, these Baricade Boys with their everlasting "theses," their dreary pronouncements, their windy and eternal repetitions of obvious falsehoods in a jargon that would make a Choctaw Indian on a long binge sound like another Demosthenes by comparison.

I am, however, looking forward to a real debate or symposium or whatever its sponsors want to call it, when this Friday night, Norman Thomas and Harry Elmer Barnes and Jay Lovestone discuss Socialism, Liberalism and Communism at the New School Auditorium in New York City. I hope oodles and oodles of Liberals will be there, because it's about time that some of them found out what these philosophies are all about. Harry Barnes is a delightful personality with a magnificent equipment of very real and very subtle irony. He knows his times, but gosh darn it, he apparently doesn't know yet that the Socialism of Norman Thomas has nothing to do with what Dr. Barnes calls "robust liberalism." I figure Norman will make that mighty clear. Furthermore, for all his shouting for Communism, Dr. Barnes, in my opinion, would be the most unhappy of mortals, if he should ever take the step into the camp of the extremists. I'd give him less than a week in their company before he would leave in well justified disgust.

This interesting event is being held for the benefit of the Unemployed Leagues organized by the West Side branches. Even though this is a last-minute notice, hustle over to the New School tonight.

Leonard Bright of the Emergency Conference on Unemployment is looking over my shoulder as I write this and he says to tell you all that Unemployed Leagues have been formed now in fifteen different working class districts in Greater New York and that a big campaign for organizing the unemployed is going on in Newark. How about your town? If you want to know how to get started on this invaluable work write for particulars to Leonard Bright, at 7 East 15th street, New York City.

By the way, if any one is interested I'm back again five nights a week, all except Sunday and Monday, on WEVD, chattering away about what I think is significant in the day's news. So give us an ear some night and drop us a line in care of WEVD panning or praising, however you feel.

McAlister Coleman.



The Spirit of War

—Drawn by Kapecoh.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

By James Oneal

AMONG the worth-while contributions to American history in recent years we may include the volume by Louis M. Hacker and Benjamin B. Kendrick (*The United States Since 1865*, New York: F. S. Crofts & Co. \$5). The authors bring their narrative down to 1930, concluding with a brief consideration of the "specter of insecurity" and a forecast of the "future of America." Their interpretation is economic, social, political and cultural and the first section is devoted to the conquest of the farmers by Eastern capitalism, the best and most fearless section of the work.

Having brought the farmers under the yoke of an increasingly fat and powerful capitalist plutocracy, the latter turns to imperial conquest and the expansion and consolidation of its banking and industrial enterprises. The politics of the two capitalist parties correlate with the economic conquest and the farmers rise in revolt and are crushed in the battle of 1896. The "short and glorious war" with Spain brought overseas loot, followed by Roosevelt's program for reforming the ruling class so as to cushion the yoke borne by the working and middle classes.

Woodrow Wilson and the World War signalize the emergence of the greater imperial republic based upon mass production and a vast merger capitalism with more intensified exploitation of the wage workers and the complete deflation of the farmers. Agriculture, once an aristocratic occupation of country gentlemen, sinks to the bottom of the social system as the banking and capitalist magnates ascend to more dizzy heights of wealth and power. Hidden in old layers of thought are the Kluxers and prohibitionists. The greater imperialism is the era of their emergence to bedevil thinking through the period of Coolidge-Hoover "prosperity." The collapse of 1929 is followed by disillusion, gloom, and unemployment with workers and farmers unprepared for their tasks.

The survey is excellent and the wealth of information presented is invaluable to the reader but the last two pages are almost an anticlimax. This often happens in the case of scholars who attempt to draw conclusions. The Beards in their "Rise of American Civilization" become almost mystic on the last page of their notable work. Hacker and Kendrick forecast the social legislation that

must replace capitalist-individualist policies but declare that whether the plutocracy undertakes this in its feudal industries or the government through taxation is "a detail in method." On the contrary, it is the difference between a new-style feudalism enforcing a new-style serfdom and the masses wresting concessions from the plutocracy. They also vision an "intellectual aristocracy" to replace "a moneyed aristocracy." The pack-horses at the bottom of society apparently have no other role to play in the overthrow of capitalism than to be led by an "intellectual aristocracy." It is a queer ending to an informing history.

A revised and enlarged edition of a study of American politics by Harold R. Bruce which appeared five years ago (*American Parties and Politics. History and Role of Political Parties in the United States*, New York: Henry Holt & Co., \$3.75) has been brought out by the publishers. The historical section relating to the parties, campaigns and issues has been brought down to 1931 and the book as a whole, as the author writes, "has been so thoroughly rewritten and so much enlarged as to necessitate a complete resetting of the type and the preparation of new plates throughout."

Prof. Bruce has provided a very handy volume in text book form which is satisfactory as a factual presentation of the development of parties, party organization, methods, machinery, nominations, campaigns and conventions. The value of the book is also enhanced with numerous charts, maps, tables and illustrations. He is mainly concerned with the mechanics of party organization rather than an interpretation of parties in terms of an unfolding background of economic change, expanding population, and changes in interests and classes. Each chapter is followed by a selected bibliography. Among the studies of this kind this one ranks with the best and an excellent index makes it all the more serviceable.

"Part of our work is the promoting of the circulation of The New Leader," is the statement made in a letter sent by the Chelsea Branch of the Socialist Party to enrolled socialist voters. The branch has also sent sample copies of the paper and members will canvass those who have received them. The plan is one that should be followed by other organizations.

The Chatterbox

Atlantic Ocean Anthology

HILDA G. CLAESSENS

There is a great and definite emptiness
For your children now, and for the man
Who here remains to carry on alone, a trebled task,
Since you are gone.
For us who knew you in the desperate years,
And listened to your passionate voice
Against the sweating shops,
There is an acrid sense of having lost
Something deeply good and ir retrievable.

Leaders come, flare flambeaus of themselves
Upon the hills, light up the darkened space
And oft as not they go
Or fall, leaving in our minds a memory
Of light and silhouette.

Then, there are the ones content to stay
Upon the stifling plain, enmeshed by those
Who need the closer guidance, and the touch
Of hand to hand; the homelier service
Where one points the way by stone and bog,
Waiting for each step to print a firm
And steady onwardness.

You have been one of these. We have not sung
Your name in blasty chords, we have not writ
Your deeds for the ephemeral years to desecrate
With tame oblivion, once brighter, shinier news
Came tumbling down before our hurried sight.
You have been quite a part of all our real selves,
Much like our too familiar hearts, much like the sun
That shines through far too many days,
And by its constancy we may forget how needful
Are the light and warmth of it.

Now that you have ceased to be
We reach a fearful hand unto our breasts
To measure and perceive a beating there.
And we renew our gratitude for common gifts
Profusely given by the common sun.

Wife and mother, these you had fulfilled
As selflessly as all the chores you carried through
Along the pathway of our selfless dream.
And those of us who knew and loved you utterly
For the high-lowliness in which you served,
Found fire and counsel in your thoughts,
And trudged right on because you walked with us,
Will have so much of you to live and measure by,
As we go on and on along your cherished way.

Rest well, and know that it were worth the pain
Of having fevered through this life
Enough to have your thoughts fall down like rain
Upon parched earth, and give the withered roots
Of sapless grass, the strength to rise into the sun again.
S. A. de Witt.

Mill Girl

Here is the place
Under this ground
Where not a trace
Of her can be found
By Hunter or Hound.

Brief is the pathway.
Cut through the loam
Clean to the wintry
Box and the bone,
That carried her home.

Whoever tries
To follow her here
Though the dread whistle
Cries for his ear
Will not reappear.

This is her kingdom,
Her earth and her sod,
These rocks are her brothers,
SHE is this clod
Forgotten by God.

MURRELL EDMUNDS.

In A Nutshell

In former stages of society famine appeared only when the earth refused her harvests. In capitalist society famine sits at the hearth of the working class when granaries and cellars burst with the fruits of the earth, and when the market is gorged with the products of industry.—Paul Lafargue.

The industrial war of capitalists . . . has this peculiarity, that its battles are won less by means of enlisting than of discharging its industrial recruits. The generals, or capitalists, vie with one another as to who can dispense with the greatest number of his soldiers.—Karl Marx.

There are some crimes which become innocent and even glorious by their renown, their number, and their success. Hence it is that public robberies become proofs of talent, and seizing whole provinces unjustly is called making conquests.—La Rochefoucauld (1613-80).

THE NEW LEADER FORUM

THE N. Y. STATE CONVENTION

By Edward P. Clarke

At the last meeting of the state committee it was voted to hold the state convention in Utica about July 4. It seems to me that this action was most unwise and that the state convention should have been called for New York for the following reasons:

1. Out of 103 delegates assigned, 71 or over two-thirds, are coming from the metropolitan area which means a tremendous unnecessary expense for travel which the movement cannot afford. The metropolitan area has 2,500 of the members, while the up-state organized locals have but 300 members, exclusive of the foreign branches, a proportion of 8 to 1.

2. Before July 4 the locals and members will be called on to buy national convention special assessment stamps, state convention special assessment stamps, take space in the national convention souvenir journal, campaign for the \$50,000 national campaign fund and make preparations to raise state and local campaign funds.

3. In view of the fact that the state owes approximately \$7,000, including unpaid obligations of the 1930 state campaign and including \$1,700 back salary to State Secretary Merrill, Jan. 1, 1932, the movement cannot afford to waste a single dollar on a junketing trip to Utica for the 70 New York delegates.

In these times a political party of the workers should concentrate its resources on propaganda, printed and oral. The hundreds of dollars travel cost to Utica will not make a single Socialist but the campaign managers next summer and fall should have available every cent that we can save. If we have so much money to throw away, why not reimburse in part at least our self-sacrificing, hard working state secretary for what he has uncompensatedly deprived himself of, for the sake of keeping the state office functioning?

Last year the proposed national convention was abandoned on account of lack of funds. Let us change the place of our state convention before it is too late and husband our scanty resources.

Sunnyside, L. I.

MILITANCY

By Louis Marcus

I wish to express my appreciation of Comrade Oneal's article "Socialist Party and the Militant Program" in The New Leader. It is a clear and concise statement based not on emotion but on cold facts which are confronting the Socialist movement here and abroad; the historical retrospection especially merits attention for the lesson it conveys to young comrades, who are carried away by platitudes couched in revolutionary phrases.

Militancy is not a novel idea; we have had it with us ever since the birth of the Socialist party in one form or another, the Socialist League organized in 1917 advocated the same measures and employed the same tactics as the militants are doing now, having resulted in the demoralization of the party in 1919. The height of militant folly is best exemplified in the resolution adopted by Maine comrades demanding the appointment of a national labor committee whose duty shall be to organize the unorganized, to agitate for aggressive industrial unionism and to abandon all compromise with less than a Socialist goal. If the Maine comrades had any historical knowledge, they would see the futility, even the danger of such a move. The S. L. P. and the Communist party have tried that and what a mess they have made of it. Not only have they incurred enmity of organized labor, but instead of organizing the unorganized, they have helped disorganize the organized. Socialist interference in the internal affairs of trade unions is a retrogressive step which will inevitably lead to the detriment of the Socialist party.

Boston, Mass.

THE INTERNATIONAL

By Arthur G. McDowell

I am a member of the Socialist party, not merely a political party of the working class but an entire movement for a complete and revolutionary overthrow of the private profit-taking, labor-exploiting society and its capitalist ruling class. My allegiance was given to this movement long before the political state in which I live permitted me to vote. The record of my party is a long and honorable one in the leadership of the vanguard of the American working class. When the supreme test of that revolutionary leadership with its responsibility for the international interests of the labor movement came in the great imperialist war of 1914 to 1918, the American party stood fast, and in spite of the terrific cost kept faith with International Socialism.

How then today do I read in official party utterances that we, the Socialist party of America, with our costly bought war record, yoked since

1923 in the same international of parties with those very parties and that very leadership that in 1914 in England, in France, in Germany surrendered their working-class leadership to imperialism, capitalist dictatorship and its ultimate crime, war; how is it that I read that we must comport ourselves with modesty and self-abasement in the company of such important "Socialist" personages as the leaders of the German Social-Democracy and the thrice-betrayed English labor movement?

True, we are small in numbers and in parliamentary prestige, but we are great in our steady allegiance to the highest interest of the working-class, in our discipline of those who in the hour of the great test would have led us into the arms of our capitalist enemies in the name of democracy, and in our revolutionary purpose. It is not for us but for the Otto Brauns who even now boast of their 1914 patriotism, to be abased and silent in the councils. But they are not, and the reason is plain to see. As late as 1921 Comrade Hillquit pointed out that between the numerically small anti-war parties and the powerful and numerically strong war-credit parties, there was no sound basis for the reconstruction of the Second International. That was just as true in 1923 as in 1921, yet we entered the reconstructed Labor and Socialist International without any open confession of error by the leaders of the parties that had surrendered to their particular national imperialism in August, 1914.

In a recent article Norman Thomas traces the present highly unpleasant plight of the German Social-Democracy to their vassalage over Revolution in 1919, but partially excuses them on the grounds of their leaders' desire to keep the "peace of Europe."

Is this the Norman Thomas who came to the Socialist movement in the testing time of war? Not 1919, Comrade Thomas, but 1914 is the date when the leaders who today would press the struggle against Hitler's Fascism, embraced that of the Hohenzollern under the guise of war. Today, the Communist Party of Germany is adding the advancement of the arch-enemy of the working class, the embattled bourgeoisie, and as Trotsky, one of their own leaders, has warned, if with tacit Communist aid the Fascists seize state power, it may well mean the destruction of the Third International, just as Socialist deputies voting war credits in Germany and France in 1914 destroyed the Second International.

With this object lesson before us let us plainly assert that the American Socialist Party is an historically "left" party within the Labor and Socialist International as at present constituted; let us proudly declare that we feel none too comfortable in the company of those who so signally failed us and the international working-class, until they have openly acknowledged their 1914 error and mended their ways towards the revolution.

And lest some patriot quote to me the hoary note about building our party here and not worrying so much abroad, I shall pass by the slurring implication that I am not, and refer him to the Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx which distinguished between the rank and file proletarian and the Socialist first on the grounds that the Socialists "point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality."

Chicago, Ill.

SOME QUESTIONS

By H. D. Morrison

During the twenty-five years of my study of Socialism, I have yet to discover any sort of a rational explanation of the theories (some say dreams) and dogmas of Socialism. There are tons of literature that simply make the old stereotyped raw assertions—as to what Socialism will do for the worker-slave—create a new social order, etc. When I talk to a "prospect," he usually asks some questions such as, "How can you figure so that each workman in a factory of 100 and more will get the full value of his hour-time?"

There will be a difference of opinion as to the hour value of each man's labor. Will all workmen, doing necessary useful social labor and drawing pay from the state, get the same wage per hour?

How many Socialists, even among the intelligentsia, can give a satisfactory answer to this and other questions, of the basic principles of Socialism? By simply converting privately owned property into collectively or socialized property, will not solve the problem of Socialism.

The practical details of the socialized state, the modus operandi, have got to be planned and blue-printed before socialization is begun. Now I suggest that The New Leader Forum devote space to planning for Socialism.

Fruitland Park, Fla.

THAT PROPOSED DEBATE

By Harry Lapatin

I am simply amazed at the interpretation which Comrade Chas. Sunasky has given to the refusal of the New York City Central Committee to sanction a debate at Madison Square Garden between Norman Thomas and William Z. Foster. His letter is entirely misleading and highly exaggerates the situation.

The New Leader asked the Central Committee to pass on this debate, since it had been suggested by the Federated Press for the purpose of raising funds for all parties concerned. The Central Committee refused, by an overwhelming vote.

It was not "a lack of faith in the ability of Comrade Thomas to interpret the Socialist philosophy, nor a 'lack of faith' of the members of the C. C. 'both in themselves and in the Socialist philosophy,' nor were there any 'sentimental reasons' involved. Surely, any sensible Socialist knew that the crystallization of 'the differences between the Socialist and Communist parties' were not involved. The issue at hand and the only one as I saw it at that meeting—was whether we were to give our brethren of the would-be 'left' an opportunity to hood down one of our finest leaders, whether we considered a few dollars in our empty coffers more important than enduring a debate which would turn out to be a shameful display of the lowliness of the Communist mob as we know them especially in New York.

Mind you, no one doubted Comrade Thomas' ability to present our point of view in a forceful and convincing manner. From past experiences, the lesson weighed upon us that Communists have no need or desire for what Comrade Sunasky would want, namely, intelligent discussion and crystallization of issues.

THE MILITANTS

By George Field

Once more we hear from the "Militants." Almost a page of it, in the issue of May 7th. I trust they are satisfied.

My mind harks back to a few days ago, the April 30th parade in New York City. I marched behind the grand old figure of Algernon Lee, and as I went along on that inspiring, sunny day, I was thinking of a certain "Militant" dance at which skits were employed to caricature Comrade Lee and others in the same fashion and with the same spirit as employed by "Daily Worker" cartoonists. That, to my mind, is the outstanding omen of what continued organization by "Militants" as a group, is leading to.

I submit a harmonious situation in the Sunnyside Branch as proof of the fact that complete avoidance of "Militant" discussions and subsequent bitter antagonisms, can start us once more on the path to constructive effort. Why not get to work for the Socialist ideal instead of talking so much about it?

For a Peace-Time War On Slum Housing

(Continued from Page Four)

the manufacture of instruments of destruction. It also found plenty of money for cannon and munitions. In 1932 there is no money for a war on the poverty of the slum and unemployment.

The U. S. Housing Corporation should be revived at once. Its efficient personnel should be recalled. Most of its engineers and architects are idle because of the terrific decline in private construction. They would welcome an opportunity of this type. The federal government should turn over to the corporation at least five billion dollars, raised by a federal bond issue, to be used in the construction of model homes. That sum would be only one-seventh of what is required to provide decent homes for one-third of America's population now living in sub-standard dwellings.

If the interest charges on the bonds were paid out of heavy income and inheritance taxes rather than out of rentals, beautiful homes similar to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Apartments on Grand street could be built to rent at \$25 or \$30 a month.

A program of this kind in addition to wiping out the slum, the ugliest product of capitalist industrialism, would break the vicious cycle of depression by restoring the purchasing power of the workers necessary to economic revival.

A Socialist Tour in Pennsylvania

Coal Miners Eager for the Message of the Party

By Marie MacDonald

It has been a heart-stirring venture going through the mountain districts of Pennsylvania, in the heart of the soft-coal mining district where the depression has left its mark upon the toll-worn and disillusioned miners. The Socialists in Pittsburgh are making a determined effort to spread the message of Socialism and are meeting with great response. Wherever we went a plea came from the workers for help to start more party organizations. We were met with open arms in Fayette City, Cassandra, Black Lick, Burgettstown, New Castle and Strabane. On all sides we saw that want and privation has eaten deeply into the hearts and minds of these people. In spite of this they are yearning for knowledge of a way out of their misery.

In the mining districts we met the backbone of American industry and the sight is not good to see. The depression which hit them early, left them without proper clothing, with scanty food and hovels unfit to live in. But in the face of this, there is a bravery about these people that is deeply touching. Their faces light up with a great radiance at the sound of the message of Socialism. There is no doubt that this is the time for us to work. The demand is urgent. Many would give gladly of their time and work if expenses were available.

We went to Cassandra with Comrades Lieberman, Schwartz and Mrs. Lieberman, and the long, cold ride through the mountains was just a part of our daily effort to bring a message of cheer. In Cassandra, the miners were on strike. Usually they ask for more pay; for better working conditions; and for the right to maintain their union. This time they asked for one thing only, and that was a chance to share in the available work. The night shift had been laid off. The men asked for reduced hours and an equal division of work. This was denied. For thirteen long weeks these people have been demanding the right to eat.

Scabs Cared For

Here you see clearly the power of the state protecting wealth against the striking toilers. Scabs were being well taken care of. Places were provided for them at a nearby hotel. Transportation with police escort was given them—the escort of the arrogant state police. Great trucks were in readiness to carry the strikebreakers.

After our meeting was over, we all went on the picket line. The state sends its emissaries of power to be on hand at 4 o'clock sharp, just before the mines empty. The state troopers came in great, shiny cars, warmly clothed and properly equipped, with a look of arrogance and power on their faces. There they parked, ready for action to convoy the scabs safely to their destination.

But the strikers were on hand—young and old alike—men and women together. They formed a picket line from the pit of the mine, stretching bravely far along the road. The strikers did a noble piece of work. Of their women, the secretary of the union said, "Why, they are the backbone of the strike. They have more fight in them than the men."

But the men had plenty of fight. They were ready to do every kind

of work connected with the business of winning, of keeping themselves alive. The younger people there spoke good English, had an alert understanding of the situation and showed a keen interest in wanting to know more about the world outside. They were especially eager to know more about Socialism. Perhaps the saddest thing in this struggle is that the strikebreakers were such pliable tools of their masters. Not a spark of understanding; not a spark of rebellion; but instead, plain, brazen bravado. It is easy to be brave when the state troopers are with you.

Black Lick An Inspiration

The high light of our trip was Black Lick, an example of what our Party can do. The knowledge and understanding of the Widdowsons is what makes their home the central meeting place for the young people. Mrs. Widdowson is a Socialist from stem to stern and radiates a fine spirit of intelligence and kindness which has imbued the entire family.

The Widdowsons dedicated a great, big room in their home for the use of the young people. Here the young people, think, work and play together. The meeting at Black Lick was a great success because the young people went into the homes of their elders and brought them to the theater. Black Lick is an American town and in this American town the Socialist party is popular. It is in the small towns that we have our greatest duty as well as our greatest opportunity. The comrades all work like beavers—everybody on the job.

What we need is just a little money now to make it possible for our army of willing workers to give their time to the cause of liberation. The urge for Socialist organization is so strong that in New Castle several of the old members who came all the way from Sharon made a request to organize a local in their city. Similar requests are coming to us from all sides. We have the workers, but we need the money.

The Party's Need

It is amazing how the comrades in the outlying districts look forward to the coming of Comrade Dave Rinne. They seem to know that he will appear upon the scene of action with a kindly smile and a great mass of literature under his arms. That he will open the meeting, call for the collection, distribute the literature and get the comrades together in the kindest way possible. He is fortified with a great courage that is born from the knowledge that Socialism will bring a greater degree of happiness and security to the human family. He is always ready with a smile and a promise, saying, "I will be back again with pictures this week." He is heartily welcomed on all sides.

An opportunity was given me to meet many Socialists at the hospitable home of a Pittsburgh comrade. Many were gathered together for a heart to heart and a head to head talk. It was fine to see so many of our young comrades who were eager to learn more about our movement. They want to, make themselves more useful and efficient. All in all, the trip through the miners' country was one that gave me great heartaches, but also great hope. What we need is enough money to put our Party workers to work.

The Proposed Socialist National Platform

Draft Submitted to Milwaukee Convention by the Special Agenda Committee

Below is a tentative draft of the 1932 platform of the Socialist Party. It was drawn up by the convention agenda committee, consisting of Morris Hillquit, Harry W. Laidler and James Oneal, and appointed by the national executive committee of the party. This draft is to be submitted for the consideration of the delegates to the national convention of the party which will convene in Milwaukee next Saturday, May 21st.

THE Socialist Party demands a job and living income for every man and woman willing to work.

This is the least the workers have a right to expect in a country with natural resources, machinery and trained labor sufficient to provide a secure and comfortable life for all.

Today, in every city of the United States, jobless men and women by the thousands are fighting the grim battle against want and starvation, while factories stand idle and food rots on the ground. Eight to ten million wage-earners and salary workers are hunting in vain for jobs, while other millions are only partly employed.

These millions are facing the fourth winter of unemployment, with their scant savings exhausted or swept away in bank failures or in depreciated securities. Many of them are compelled to depend upon the pitifully inadequate dole handed out on the breadlines and at home as the one alternative to starvation. Even this dole is no longer available to increasing thousands, as private and public relief funds near exhaustion. It is appalling to think what this will mean in the months ahead in home evictions, in hunger, in disease, in increased crime and suicide, in starvation and utter demoralization of body, mind and spirit.

Nor is the situation essentially different among our farm population. Tens of thousands of farmers continue to be driven from their homes through farm foreclosures and tax sales while other thousands are virtually penniless.

We are facing a breakdown of the capitalist system. This breakdown the Socialist Party has long predicted. In the last campaign it warned the people of the increasing insecurity in American life and urged a program of action which, if applied, would have saved millions from their present tragic plight.

The American people, however, preferred to cast their votes for the two old parties, equally controlled by the great industrialists and financiers. They elected Mr. Hoover, the typical capitalist "engineer," to stimulate and continue economic prosperity.

But hardly had Mr. Hoover taken office, than business began to show signs of drastic decline. Then came the Wall Street crash, followed by futile conferences of great business leaders, by daily prophecies of returning prosperity, by faith cures and incantations, by the appointment and the discharge of Presidential committees, by doles to capital, wage and salary cuts, high tariffs and other measures calculated to reduce the power of the masses here and abroad to buy goods, thus intensifying industrial stagnation. Neither the Republican nor the Democratic party has supported a single measure to provide work on any considerable scale.

The Republican party has proved utterly incapable of coping with the devastating business depression which is on us. The Democratic party, if it had been in power, would have been equally powerless to preserve or restore prosperity to the country. For both parties support and are in turn supported by the capitalist system of wealth production, and recurring business depressions and industrial crises are inseparable from that system.

Under capitalism, the few own our industries. The many do the work. The workers are compelled to give a large part of the product of their labor to the few. The many in the factories, mines, shops, offices and fields obtain but a scanty income and are able to buy back only a part of the goods that can be produced in such abundance by our mass industries. The few obtain vast fortunes. In 1929, 511 of them, securing a million dollars or more a year, obtained a total income equal to that of a million or more of the average workers in the country. The few put aside large sums in new industry to turn out more goods which the many are unable to buy. Goods pile up. Factories close. Men and women are discharged. The nation is thrown into a panic.

As the industrial system advances, the difference between the capacity to produce and the power of the masses to buy becomes greater. During the years 1922-1929, while net corporate income increased at the rate of 7 per cent a year, average real earnings of wage workers increased at about 2 per cent. Even in those "prosperous" years, from a million and a half to three million and a half were out of work.

The present acute depression reflects this growing lack of balance and is bringing us nearer and nearer to the end of the capitalist economic order. Temporary recovery might ward off the final collapse. But the economic and social forces that hasten the end of capitalism and prepare the foundations of a new economic order will continue irrespective of temporary palliatives.

Only when the principal industries of the country are owned by the people and operated by appropriate public agencies for the use and benefit of the whole population rather than for the enrichment of the privileged few, will it be possible to organize our industrial life on the basis of planned and steady operation without periodic breakdowns and disastrous crises.

Under such a socialistic order, every increase in the power of the workers to produce would immediately result in shorter hours and higher income rather than in

greater insecurity and want. If the community of workers owned the industries, it is inconceivable that they would permit themselves to starve in the midst of abundance.

The capitalist order means not only increased insecurity, but increased concentration of economic power in the hands of financial and industrial magnates. The middle classes are being forced into ever greater dependence upon organized capital, while the life savings of small investors are being daily confiscated by the nation's racketeers of speculation.

There is a sharp conflict of interest between the capitalist classes and the working masses and there is perpetual warfare, open or covert, between them. Big business is still engaged in a war against any attempt of labor to organize, and in many parts of the country it is denying labor its most elementary civil rights. The continued imprisonment of Mooney and Billings, in spite of the accumulated indisputable proof of their innocence, is indicative of this disregard of essential justice for the workers.

Capitalism not only spells widespread economic disaster and class strife, but carries with it an ever present threat of international war. While boasting of their efforts in behalf of peace, the Republican and Democratic parties, backed by their capitalistic masters, have been fostering those policies of nationalism, militarism and imperialism which, unchecked, can lead to but one end—another world conflagration.

From the unemployment, the economic collapse, the wastes and the wars of our present capitalistic order, only the united efforts of workers and farmers, organized in unions and cooperatives and, above all, in a political party of their own, can save the nation.

The Socialist party is today the one democratic party of the workers whose program would remove the causes of class struggles and class antagonisms inherent in the capitalist system.

It proposes to transform the principal industries of the country from private ownership and autocratic management to social ownership and democratic control. With this aim in view, the Socialist party enters the present campaign with the following program:

Workers' Right Amendment

The Constitution of the United States shall be amended by adding thereto Article XX reading as follows:

Section 1. The Congress shall have power to establish uniform laws throughout the United States to regulate, limit and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age; to limit the work time and establish minimum compensation of wage earners; to provide for the relief of aged, invalidated, sick and unemployed wage earners and employees in the form of periodical grants, pensions, benefits, compensation or indemnities from the public treasury, from contributions of employers, wage earners and employees, or from one or more of such sources; to establish and take over enterprises in manufacture, commerce, transportation, banking, public utilities and other businesses and industries, to be owned and operated by the Government of the United States or agencies thereof for the benefit of the people, and generally for the social and economic welfare of the workers of the United States.

Section 2. The power of the several states to enact social welfare legislation is unimpaired by this Article, but no such legislation shall supersede, abridge or conflict with any Act of Congress under this Article, and such states and all local political subdivisions of the same shall have the power to establish and take over enterprises in manufacture, commerce, transportation, banking, public utilities and other business conducted within the respective territories and not established or taken over by the Government of the United States, to be owned and operated by the governments of said states or local political subdivisions of the same for the benefit of the people.

Social Ownership

1. The establishment of National Planning Boards to coordinate industry and to assist in the maximum utilization of our economic and financial resources for the common good.

2. The socialization of our mines, forests, oil and power resources; our public utilities dealing with light and power, transportation and communication; our land and other key sources of economic power.

3. The operation of these industries by boards of control in which the wage-earner, the consumer and the technician are adequately represented; the recognition in each industry of the principle of collective bargaining.

Banking

1. The socialization of our credit and currency system, and the establishment of a unified banking system, beginning with the complete governmental acquisition of the twelve Federal Reserve Banks through the substitution of government subscribed stock for the capital stock held by member banks.

2. The extension of the service of the Postal Savings banks to cover all departments of the banking business and the transfer of this department of the Post Office to a government-owned banking corporation.

Unemployment and Labor Legislation

1. A Federal appropriation of \$5,000,000,000 for public works and roads, reforestation, alum clearance and

decent homes for the workers, a portion of this appropriation to be available to states and cities.

2. A Federal appropriation of at least \$2,000,000,000 for immediate relief for those in need to supplement state and local appropriations.

3. Legislation to establish a six-hour day and a five-day week.

4. A comprehensive and efficient system of free federal, state and municipal employment agencies.

5. A compulsory system of unemployment insurance with adequate benefits based on contributions by the government and by employers.

6. An adequate system of old age pensions.

7. A comprehensive system of health insurance.

8. Improved systems of workmen's compensation and accident insurance.

9. Abolition of child labor.

Taxation

1. Steeply increased income and inheritance taxes on the higher incomes and estates.

2. Land values taxation.

3. A constitutional amendment authorizing the taxation of all government securities.

Tariff

1. The drastic reduction of tariff rates, with a view to the abolition of the protective tariff.

2. The calling of an international conference for the purpose of mutual reduction of tariffs.

Agriculture

Many of the Socialist party demands elsewhere in the platform, including those for the socialization of the electrical, the railroad and other industries, the reduction of the tariff, and for an enlightened international policy, would be of distinct benefit to the farming population. Every advance in living standards among the city workers means greater prosperity to agriculture. The ultimate goal of socialism in agriculture, as in industry, is a society in which exploitation of man by man will be a thing of the past.

As special measures of agricultural upbuilding, we propose:

1. The adjustment of tax burdens, so that a decreasing proportion of taxes shall come from a levy on farm property; an increasing proportion from income; inheritance, excess profits and other forms of taxation.

2. Increased federal and state subsidies to road building, educational, health and other community services in country districts.

3. The acquisition by bona fide cooperative societies and by federal, state and municipal governments of grain elevators, stockyards, storage warehouses and other distributing agencies and the conduct of these services on a non-profit basis. The encouragement by the government of farmers' cooperative societies and of consumers' cooperatives in the cities, with a view of narrowing the price spread between producers and consumers.

4. The socialization of the Federal Land Banks and the Intermediate Credit banks and the extension by these banks of long term credit to farmers at low rates of interest.

5. The creation of government export and import boards with exclusive power of handling farm products exported from and imported into, this country.

6. Social insurance against losses due to adverse weather conditions, such as hail, drought, cyclone and flood.

7. The creation of national, regional and state land utilization boards for the purpose of discovering the best uses of the farming land of the country in view of the joint needs of agriculture, industry, recreation, water supply, forestation, power, transportation, etc., and to prepare the way for agricultural planning on a national scale.

8. Experiments on a wide scale with socialized farming and cooperative farming, with government aid, with a view to determining the most socially efficient forms of farm ownership and operation in our modern economic life.

9. Cooperation with other nations in the planning of agricultural production and distribution on a world scale.

10. The creation of a federal marketing agency for the purchasing and marketing of agricultural products.

Civil Liberties

1. Federal legislation to enforce the First Amendment to the Constitution so as to guarantee freedom of speech, press and assembly and to penalize any official who interferes with the civil rights of any citizen.

2. The abolition of injunctions in labor disputes.

3. The immediate repeal of the Espionage law and other repressive legislation, and the restoration of civil and political rights to those unjustly convicted under war-time laws.

4. Legislation protecting aliens from being excluded from this country or from citizenship or from being deported on account of their political, social or economic beliefs, or on account of activities engaged in by them which are not illegal for citizens.

5. Modification of the immigration laws to permit the reuniting of families and to offer a refuge to those fleeing from political or religious persecution.

6. The enforcement of Constitutional guarantees of

(Continued on Page Eight)

The Current Trend of Russian Communism

Signed articles of contributors do not necessarily mean that they represent the declared policies of the Socialist party and of The New Leader.

By Abraham Cahan

RADICAL thought in this country is strongly tinged with pro-Soviet sympathy; overflowing with it, in fact. What used to be "parlor-Socialism" and "parlor-anarchism" has become parlor Communism. That this tendency should affect some of our younger comrades was to be expected. Nor is there anything striking in the fact that in some of these cases it has reached a point where an indorsement of Bolshevism has practically come to be regarded as an integral part of a Socialist program.

That the "interesting Russian experiment" is achieving Socialism the young American comrade now believes more readily than he might if the failure of Capitalism was not quite so obvious. America's distress is often urged as evidence of Russia's happiness.

Do our pro-Soviet comrades think they are correctly informed regarding the regime of which they approve? Are they sure they know how the Russian people fare under it? Americans will pass judgment upon a most complicated situation in a country whose life and language are Greek to them. True, the destinies of a foreign land may be open to us through the medium of books, periodicals, accounts and discussions by competent observers. If there are two antagonistic points of view, then, if the foreign student has ample access to both sides, he may be able to reach a conclusion. Soviet Russia, however, as a subject of study, is, with extremely few exceptions, not a case in point. Owing to special circumstances, a fair acquaintance with it is practically forbidden fruit to them. There is not a European country but is infinitely better informed about Soviet Russia than we are. We get floods of publicity literature and an avalanche of propaganda tracts under all guises, but very little that would help us know what is really going on under the Bolshevik rule. One reason is that the Russian government, which spends millions of dollars on press agent work in every country, has been giving special attention to its publicity-machinery in the United States, with an eye to commercial credit. Nor have American business interests been slow in returning the compliment. Anything that might be interpreted as an unfriendly attitude toward the Soviets is regarded as an unwise policy for our press to pursue. This by the way, has probably been one factor in bringing about the pro-Soviet and parlor-Communist fad, which is followed by a considerable section of our intelligent-sia.

The Press and Russia

Foreign correspondents in Moscow are, as a rule, not much given to dwelling on the seamy side of Soviet reality, but there are exceptions. Some of the German or English newspapermen, for example, have been known to present a good deal of the unadorned truth regarding the Russia of today, though some had to leave the country as a consequence. Somehow, the American press has been less fortunate in this respect. Some American correspondents in Russia display a pro-Stalin attitude pure and simple. If now and then a cable of theirs tends to show that not all is gold that glitters in the official Soviet reports, a subsequent paragraph or two may contain an unexpected interpretation calculated to undo the "mischief." Others are non-partisan, but obviously not in a position to tell the full truth. Of late one or two of the Sunday papers and

Propaganda and Censorship Keep True Soviet Picture From American Observers, "Forward" Editor Says

weekly magazines have published some striking articles presenting the other side, but so far these have been swamped in the usual sea of pro-Soviet matter.

At present Russia is writhing in the throes of an economic tragedy recalling the catastrophe of 1921 that forced Lenin to abandon his military communism for the Nep (New Economic Policy). The situation, which is the direct result of Stalin's system of compulsory collectivization of farms, ruthlessly dispossessing and exiling millions of hard-working and efficient peasants, is of the gravest nature. The Russian people is a people in tatters and in the grip of famine and dire misery. Only a very few get enough to eat while a new pair of shoes or a cotton suit is a luxury of which only members of the Red Army and of the GPU (secret police) and people belonging to the upper crust of the Communist Party are assured.

The queues in front of the co-operative stores are longer than ever. People stand for hours waiting for a chance to buy a dozen potatoes or a pound of salt and very often returning home empty-handed. A man of twenty-five who looks like fifty and has lost his teeth through scurvy, the result of malnutrition, or dead horses lying by the roadside—sights of this sort are too common to attract attention. Hundreds of the people living near the frontiers flee to the neighboring countries risking the bullets of the border guards rather than continue their intolerable existence at home. Hundreds of thousands of rural families have been torn apart and destroyed by the Communist "shock brigades" of the collectivization department.

Near the Breaking Point

There is a limit to endurance. The mood of the Russian masses has become so alarming that some monumental changes of policy have been made quite abruptly. The whole tide of brutal collectivization has come to a sudden stop

and some of the inhuman decrees of a year or two ago have been reversed. One of these bore upon peasants who tried to retain private possession of a goat or some chickens, part of their own property. This had been declared a crime and it was punished in a most cruel manner. This rule was recently replaced by one according to which the farm collectives are to provide every peasant family with a cow and some chickens to own as private property. Whether they will be equal to fulfilling the engagement in the near future is more than doubtful. The promise, however, is extremely significant.

The very latest decree signed by Stalin and his Prime Minister Molotov implies a return to Lenin's Nep of 1921.

The American public has but a vague idea of these things. All one hears is that the Russian peasantry has been merging their farms in the collectives of their own free will, that the plan has been a huge success, and that the farmers are happy. Also, that the entire Five Year Plan is a colossal success. I have not the faintest doubt of Stalin's sincerity, but what he is trying to build is not Socialism. If it is, then Attila and Tamerlane were Socialists.

I say "trying to build," because his plans and methods are a dismal failure, and all the Tamerlane-like horrors of his system are as fruitless as they are senseless. He is a man of indomitable courage and remarkable astuteness, effective in building up a political machine and in destroying one's rivals rather than a judge of mass psychology and one who can appraise a historical situation. He is not a thinker, of course.

He has destroyed politically, and in some instances in a literal sense, absolutely every member of Lenin's old guard, every one of the men, who played an important part under that leader, replacing them by a group of his own henchmen. When the Five Year Plan

was first conceived the other influential leaders whom he had not yet unhorsed opposed it as strenuously as they dared. This he treated as an act of disloyalty "to the party," forcing them to make a public "retraction" and otherwise to debase themselves before him. No one took their retraction seriously. It is an open secret that men like Rykoff, Lenin's prime minister, and Bucharin, his leading associate as theorist and interpreter of his doctrine, and several other founders of the present regime, regard the collectivization scheme and the whole Five Year Plan as a very unfortunate venture, but they are all completely out of the picture.

The Five Year Plan

A number of the things I saw during my three months' stay in Russia in 1927 aroused my admiration, but these were all minor features. They had no organic connection with the roots of the system as an economic, political and moral entity. They had nothing to do with the essence of Bolshevism. That was before the adoption of the Five Year Plan. Those praiseworthy details are still there, but in matters of supreme importance, including the daily needs of the people, things have been going from bad to worse.

The Five Year Plan has received no end of sensational advertising as a magic performance that is turning the impossible into a reality. As a result of the boundless publicity bestowed upon it, even some hard-headed Americans have succumbed to the impression that Stalin is duplicating the great industries of America overnight. The plan is almost wholly devoted to the building of basic industries on a gigantic scale. Those in a position to study Russian facts at close range without being afraid to speak their minds, are convinced that the scheme is a most woeful mistake.

As a matter of fact Russian Communists no longer deny the harrowing misery which their "building of Socialism" is entailing on the population. "It is for the benefit of the next generation and for the entire future of humanity we are doing it," they say. In Russia one hears words like this at every turn, and in numerous instances there is the ring of genuine faith and ardor to them. On one such occasion I ventured to ask by what right their party sacrificed a whole living generation to the welfare of one still unborn. To which I received the retort that the young generation of today is far from feeling unhappy; that its sense of working for their cause, the greatest in history, is a source of joy which other people fail to realize.

The Youth and the G. P. A.

It cannot be denied that there is a considerable amount of religious ecstasy for that cause, but it is mechanical and the "regulation thing" is infinitely more widespread. Boys will be boys. In a recent series of articles the Comsomolskaya Pravda, official organ of the Young Communist League, presented a picture of life among the young people of that vast organization in a spirit of anxiety, sex and money being the prevailing interests, while duties are shirked and professions of fervor are mere cant. Nor is the average member of the Russian Communist Party less human than his younger comrade. "Careerism" or the process of feathering one's nest by means of intriguing, time-serving, foot-licking and false pretenses of every variety, is common in that party.

In addition, there is something which was comparatively little known under the old regime. There is a passion for spying upon one's friends and for informing against them to the Gpu (secret police) which is partly a matter of self-preservation and partly one of the methods of getting on in the world and which is energetically encouraged by the Gpu, the most powerful and influential branch of the government. Universal suspicion and distrust of intimate friends, including your own children, are rife. The people are afraid of their own shadows.

The official press—there is no other—is full of the cheapest and most glaring falsehoods and of nauseating flattery of the Big Boss, Joseph Stalin. The average capitalistic newspaper is a model of truthfulness and decency by comparison. Free speech has been so ruthlessly stamped out that one looks back to the censored newspapers and publishing of pre-war times with yearning.

Those of our American comrades who declare for Sovietism due to what they get through sources in English will discover some day that their attitude is based on inadequate and one-sided material.

Proposed Socialist Platform

(Continued from Page Seven)

economic, political and legal equality for the Negro.

7. The enactment and enforcement of drastic anti-lynching laws

International Relations

1. The reduction of armaments, leading to the goal of total disarmament by international agreement, if possible, but, if that is not possible, by setting an example ourselves. Soldiers, sailors and workers unemployed by reason of disarmament, to be absorbed, where desired, in a program of public works to be financed in part by the savings due to disarmament.

2. The recognition of Soviet Russia and the encouragement of trade and industrial relations with that country.

3. The cancellation of war debts due from the Allied governments as part of a program for wiping out war debts and reparations, on condition that such cancellation does not release money for armaments, but promotes disarmament.

4. The entrance of the United States into the World Court and the adherence of the United States to the Optional Clause providing for affirmative jurisdiction.

5. The entrance of the United States into the League of Nations under conditions which will make it a more effective instrument for world peace.

6. The repudiation of the clause in our post-war treaty with Ger-

many attributing to Germany the sole guilt for the World War.

7. The creation of international economic organizations to deal with problems of raw material, investments, money, credit and tariff from a world, rather than a national viewpoint.

8. The abandonment of every degree of military intervention by the United States in the affairs of other countries. The immediate withdrawal of military forces from Haiti and Nicaragua.

9. The refusal to use American military forces for the collection of debts in foreign countries or to permit American financial or military control of foreign countries, with special reference to Latin America.

10. The abandonment of our special interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, and the reorganization of the Pan-American Congress into a Congress of equals dedicated to the advancement of economic well-being and cultural advantages in all the countries of the Western Hemisphere.

11. The withdrawal of United States military and naval forces from China.

12. The complete independence of the Philippines, and the negotiation of treaties with other nations safeguarding the sovereignty of these islands.

13. The abolition of conscription. The abolition of R. O. T. C. units and of military training camps.

14. Prohibition on the sales of munitions to foreign powers.

Committed to this constructive program the Socialist Party calls upon the nation's workers and upon all fair minded and progressive citizens to unite with it in a mighty movement against the present drift into social disaster and in behalf of sanity, justice, peace and freedom.

Renewing his subscription, Robert Teller writes, "It's too bad that there are not more papers like The New Leader. The regular press, almost without exception, is united to confuse the people about Socialism."

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The Militant Program for Socialism

[Signed articles of contributors do not necessarily mean that they represent the declared policies of the Socialist party and of The New Leader.]

By Franz E. Daniel

BEFORE me is the fifteen-page pamphlet called "A Militant Program for the Socialist Party of America," with the sub-title "Socialism in Our Time." What an uproar has been caused by the publication of this innocent-seeming document! All across Socialist America, wherever alert-minded members come together, there is discussion of its contents pro and con, and now down here in Philadelphia, as one of the endorsers of the program and as a delegate to the Milwaukee convention, I am trying to test out the worth of the ideas set forth by the Militants, in the light of my experience as an organizer. At once the questions arise: Are these ideas of the sort that will further the growth of our party? Is this program one that should be adopted at this particular juncture in our affairs? Will the acceptance of all or part of the Militant program tend to weaken us or strengthen us in the bitter battle that is ahead?

On the answers to these questions, rather than on matters of the personalities of the Militants or their opponents, depends, it seems to me, the real significance of this program. Those of us who work for Socialism outside of New York and, happily or otherwise, are removed from the tempests which whirl around 15th street, are frankly not interested in the exchange of personalities which have filled The New Leader of late since the appearance of the Militant program. We are looking for an instrument, a weapon, if you will, whereby to destroy capitalism and bring in Socialism in our time.

Principles, Not Personalities

If the program provides such a workable instrument or in any way help to bring about a rebirth of Socialism in America, we are not vastly concerned with the careers of either the authors of the program or their opponents.

Now I believe that from this very practical point of view, there is in the Militant program a wealth of material that may be used to advantage by all of us concerned with everyday Socialist propaganda and organization, and I furthermore believe that to dismiss this program as a mere aberration of impetuous youth or the more sinister foreshadowing of a bolt from the party as so many of its critics have done, is simply to adopt an ostrich-like attitude. All of us have made and are making mistakes, none of us is beyond criticism. The document before me is by no means a flawless gem. It is a frank exploration into fields of activity which many of us feel have been sorely neglected of late

A Critical and Constructive Program Intended to Advance the Interests of the Socialist Party in America

and as such it deserves the serious consideration of those who realize the stern tests which lie ahead of us.

At the outset, it is stated by the program committee which signs the pamphlet that the program was "drawn up for the consideration of the rank and file of the members of the Socialist party and the delegates to the national convention at Milwaukee." Here very evidently is the attempt to lay the groundwork for discussions of issues which are pressing today, rather than the finished statement of a well-rounded philosophy. Indeed the authors and endorsers of this program take it for granted throughout that the fundamentals of Socialism will be understood by their readers. It is a matter of the underscoring of certain of these fundamentals in the crucial year of 1932 with which they are concerned.

Trade Union Policies

Naturally then, in view of the challenge of our times, they reassert the Marxian conception of the class struggle and say that when that conception is abandoned, "not only in theory but in practice, as well, that moment Socialism loses its significance." They point out the dangers of the pursuit of political power and parliamentary prestige as exemplified in both Great Britain and Germany. While Socialists in those countries may maintain, says the program, that peculiarly perplexing situations have driven them to "gradualism" and all sorts of unholy alliances, no such conditions obtain in the United States today. Do any of our Socialists doubt this? Does not every contact with rank and file workers in America persuade us that what is needed here is an aggressive Socialist party, definitely moving to the Left? Or is it true that the bitterness engendered by the Communist-Socialist bickerings, particularly in New York City, has blinded many of the critics of the Militants to the very genuine yearning for an indigenous radical party that will make articulate the desire of the masses for sweeping social change?

This brings us directly to the relations of the party to trade unionism and the definite proposals made by the Militants for ending our present quiescent attitude toward this entire problem. They suggest, among other things, the appointment of a national labor committee of the Socialist party to be charged with the coordination of our labor activities; the employment of competent field organizers "whose duty it shall be to seek out situations in the industrial field where their services can be most useful to the workers, whether they are organized or are seeking to organize"; the rendering

of aid by such organizers to the organization of the unorganized; the setting up of an information department to keep our members informed as to industrial situations; the urging of our youth to participate directly in the struggles of the workers; adequate and continuous machinery of relief; more vigorous efforts in the line of workers' education; greater activity on the part of Socialists in their trade unions; a larger coverage of labor news by our press.

The Coming Campaign

Here is a concrete program for re-establishing our party upon a firm labor base. Taken together with the recommendation of the Militants for a disciplining of our card-carriers who are at the same time union members, yet who abandon all their Socialism the moment they enter their union meetings, these suggestions seem to me to be most pertinent to our present situation. This trade union program is not De Leonism. It is not Communism. It is plain Socialist sense. The tragic feature of this whole business is that such obvious Socialist activities should have to be advocated by party members at this time and that such advocacy should be so bitterly criticized by those inside the higher councils of the party.

In regard to the conduct of the coming campaigns, the Militants again go back to fundamentals and decry mere "reformism" which has characterized so many of our municipal campaigns of late. I do not believe that Socialism can be sneaked over on the electorate. I think it is true as the Militants contend that "Socialist majorities mean very little unless those majorities are animated with a revolutionary determination to press for power for the transition to Socialism. It is a fundamental principle of Marxism that Socialism cannot be achieved as a result of a series of reforms within the frame-work of the capitalist state." No Militant contends that this implies that we should not discuss such immediate demands as unemployment insurance, etc. Militants are not interested in the debating society into which the Socialist Labor party has been turned because of its contempt for the realities of the American scene. They do insist that discussions of immediate issues must be carried by Socialist campaigners to their logical Socialist conclusions and they feel that in the past all too often this has been neglected.

Again it is strange that such a pothole should be raised over the proposal that delegates to the Labor and Socialist International be elected in the future, rather than picked at random from those fortunate comrades who have the boat-fare to Europe, as at present. Just why defenders of democracy should be so gripped over the idea that representatives of the Socialist party of America abroad should be chosen by the rank and file for whom they supposedly speak, passes my feeble Philadelphia comprehension.

Russia and Socialists

Our attitude toward Soviet Russia has been thrashed and re-thrashed so often in these columns that there is no need in dwelling upon the Militant stand again. Suffice it to say that while opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat in this country where democratic instruments are still at hand for the emancipation of the workers, the Militants state that "a setback to the workers of Russia would mean a terrible blow to international Socialist hopes, while their victory spells the hastening of the universal triumph of So-

cialism." They urge us to "do all in our power to guard against capitalist attacks upon a government engaged in creating Socialism" and to "oppose with all our strength those who lend aid and comfort to the enemies of Socialism by indulging in anti-Soviet propaganda." May I simply add that, in my experience at any rate, I have found this to be the attitude of the majority of the workers who are entirely out of sympathy with the fantastic tactics of the American Communists, but who nevertheless look to Russia as the one hopeful spot in a dark world.

Finally I return to my original contention, that there are matters

worth our whole-hearted and most thoughtful consideration. In this critical time in our party history anything that will tend to clarify our thinking and translate that thinking into effective action should be welcome. The Militants who represent no small body of opinion in the party must and should be heard. To those of us outside of New York, it seems their program comes at an opportune time. At all events it is nothing to be treated with the contempt shown by some of its commentators who either do not understand or who fear its implications. In the coming campaign we shall need all of our Socialist integrity, energy and intelligence. To this end, I feel that the Militants in their program have made a most stimulating contribution.

Unemployed Win Places On Chicago Relief Councils

CHICAGO.—Cook County relief authorities have decided to yield to united insistence of the organized unemployed and grant advisory councils in each relief district. The three unemployed unions, the Unemployed Councils, the Workers Committee on Unemployment and the Workers League of America will each elect three representatives to speak for them on the district board.

L. I. D. Group in Cleveland

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—After an interesting and inspiring talk by Mary Fox, national secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy, a group of Cleveland members meeting at the Goodrich Settlement House on May 6 decided to form a Cleveland chapter. Dr. Newcomb of Cleveland College and Edward Newman of the Young People's Socialist League were chosen to call together an executive group at a luncheon meeting to work out definite organization plans.

600 Ohio Students Name Thomas for President

COLUMBUS, O. (FP).—Stand-patters will have plenty to worry about when the present college generation comes out to seize the "leadership" they have been exhorted to take, if Ohio State University students are a fair sample. In a mock state political convention, they nominated Norman Thomas for President and Herbert A. Miller, sociology professor dismissed by Ohio State last year, for Vice-President.

Six hundred students taking part in the convention denounced the Republican and Democratic parties as "empty, meaningless and unable to meet the problem of the day." Pres. William T. Kirk of the Liberal Club urged students to "quit voting for horse and buggy parties in the day of synchro-mesh transmission." The convention favored unemployment insurance, government ownership of railroads and public utilities, recognition of the Soviet Union, lowered tariff, two more years moratorium and abolition of military training in colleges.

DEBATES — LECTURES — FORUMS

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Socialists Dig Down to Build Campaign Fund

12,000 Attend Opening of W. C. Sessions

Unification With Mass. Independent Group Marks Boston Sessions

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

BOSTON.—The joint convention of the Workmen's Circle and the Independent Workmen's Circle of Massachusetts meeting in Bradford Hall is an inspiring affair. On Sunday a great mass meeting filled the Boston Arena, which seats 12,000 people, with many standing in all parts of the great building.

Leo Arkin, manager of the Boston office of the Jewish Daily Forward, welcomed the delegates and visitors and the speakers were greeted with enthusiasm. Loud cheering greeted the Young Circle League and the Independent Circle as they marched into the hall behind their respective banners.

The convention is being held to unite the two organizations. The speakers at the mass meeting included Joseph Baskin, Morris Hillquit, Norman Thomas, Nathan Chavin and Comrade Elkin, president of the Massachusetts organization. Delegations were present from many New England cities.

The sessions of the convention the first few days were taken up in organization routine and listening to reports and the greetings extended by various organizations. The real problems of amalgamating the two organizations are being worked out toward the end of the week.

Among the greetings received by the convention was a telegram sent by The New Leader. George E. Roewer of Local Boston of the Socialist party also personally spoke to the convention in the name of the national party weekly. The telegram was as follows:

"The New Leader sends hearty greetings to the unity convention which forecasts a greater and more powerful fraternal organization of the workers. The reunion comes at a time when solidarity is more essential than ever before. To meet the grave problems which face the masses throughout the world. We hope that your decisions will be fruitful and inspire the members with the determination that the ideals of the Workmen's Circle shall be realized within the lifetime of many now living."

Thomas and Barnes To Clash on Friday

A highly interesting discussion of interest to radicals of various shades of opinion will take place at the New School for Social Research, 66 West 12th street, New York City, on Friday, May 13, when Harry Elmer Barnes, Norman Thomas and Jay Lovestone will present their views on Liberalism, Socialism and Communism. In a recent column in the Sipples-Howard press, Dr. Barnes explained briefly why he was a Liberal, and added that if he decided to become a radical he would rather embrace Communism than Socialism. McAlister Coleman, who was prompted to chide Dr. Barnes for his attitude to Socialism in a letter quoted in the Evening Telegram will be chairman. The symposium has been arranged by the Upper West Side Unemployed League. Tickets are on sale at the Rand Book Store and the New School for Social Research.

Branches, Individuals Respond All Over Nation

Spirit of Sacrifice Promises Great Campaign, Drive Director Says

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—Subscriptions of \$1,500 marked the third week of the Socialist Opportunity Drive, Marx Lewis, drive director, announced as three weeks of the six-week period came to a close.

Additional subscriptions, resulting from the circularization of lists by hundreds of Socialist locals and branches throughout the nation, may bring the week's total to almost \$2,000. It is estimated that the total for the three weeks is between \$7,000 and \$8,000, with some collections still unreported.

A subscription of \$1,000 by Cuyahoga County, Ohio, in which Cleveland is located, the first response to a mail appeal issued by members of the Committee of One Hundred, several \$100 subscriptions, one of them from California, and an energetic drive by state and local organizers kept building up the total of the war chest on which Socialists rely to wage the 1932 national campaign.

Cleveland's lead was being followed by Dayton, where a banquet will be held immediately after the national convention. B. C. Vladeck, manager of the Jewish Daily Forward, is expected to deliver the address of the evening.

Detroit Plans Dinner

Detroit will make an effort to raise most of the \$500 assigned as the quota for Michigan, Francis King, state secretary, informed Lewis. A Detroit dinner will be considered following a meeting to be addressed by Norman Thomas May 16.

Newark Socialists will hold a conference and dinner immediately after the national convention, at which plans will be made to raise Newark's quota. Trenton is closely on the heels of Newark.

"I can assure you that the Trenton branch will raise its quota for the drive," Michael Charnofsky, local secretary, wrote Lewis. "I shall return the lists to you fully subscribed shortly."

At a special meeting of Local San Francisco, \$100 was subscribed to the fund, and part of the subscription collected immediately. R. W. Anderson, veteran Socialist of Los Angeles, is taking charge of drive activities in that city. "We need some more subscription lists," he advised Lewis during the week.

Message from Sinclair

Upton Sinclair, famous novelist, writing from Pasadena, Calif., to Lewis, said:

"It seems to me that the Socialist party has the greatest opportunity in its history during the 1932 campaign. It is purely a question of our ability to reach the people, for they are now ready for our message—in every part of the country and in every rank and occupation."

"Good luck to you in your drive for funds. I fear the number of dollars will be few, but each dollar will do a lot of work."

Indications are that as the appeal circulates through California, the state's quota will easily be met.

Three of the Socialist language federations—the Finnish, Yugoslav and the Italian—are making the appeal for funds from their own headquarters. In every city active supporters of the drive are the branches of the Jewish Socialist Verband.

Negro Socialists will also do their part, Frank Crosswaith, a member of the Committee of One Hundred declares, in announcing that the proceeds of a Decoration Day dance, to be held in New York on May 28, will be donated to the campaign fund. Frank J. Kahrs, secretary of Branch Staten Island, N. Y., announces that his branch subscribed \$31 to the fund. From Oneida, N. Y., Frank Stuhlman, sending in his own contribution, and those of Walter Tildesley, H. Hawks, Charles Rich and William Quackenbush, assures the national committee of the active cooperation of Oneida.

Illinois Plans

Martin B. Heisler of Alden, N. Y., sends his contribution of \$25, one of several from that part of the state.

M. M. Klein, secretary of the 30th Ward branch, Cleveland, reports that an enthusiastic meeting of the branch resolved itself into a special organization for the conduct of the drive.

While activities on the part of the drive workers in Milwaukee and Chicago have been dispensed with, due to the dinners which will be held in both cities in connection with the convention, individual contributions and subscriptions of branches are being received from both cities. The 13th Ward branch, Milwaukee, was among the first of the Milwaukee branches to respond.

Ben Larks, state secretary of Illinois, is considering a series of meetings while many of the delegates are in the state.

With every branch that has written in so far subscribing something, the oft told story of Socialist devotion again reveals itself. A letter received from H. M. Wooten, secretary of Local Gary, Ind., is typical of many that have been received.

"As our treasury is too low to send out the letters, we distributed them to the comrades attending the meeting last night to give to the rest of the comrades," Wooten wrote. "Just to show you how conscientious the comrades feel about this drive, the one who started off the contribution blanks has been out of work for seven months, didn't have carefare to attend our business meetings. The first week he worked he paid one month's dues, then directly after contributed \$1 to the campaign drive. Says he won't have the money until the last day in May though as every cent was spent until then. He is only working three days a week."

Lewis Urges Action

"In the responses received so far, practically every state is represented," Lewis declared. "Since the exact amount raised already will not be known until the lists are returned, and since most of the personal appeal has only just reached those residing in the widely scattered sections of the nation, the cash returns can only be estimated. That in the three weeks that the drive has continued so much progress, in these times, should have been made is a tribute to the devotion of the comrades."

"But even more important and more encouraging than the cash returns, whatever they may be, is the spirit which the drive has shown to exist. 'Bloody but unbowed' would perhaps best describe the condition of thousands of Socialist workers who though they stand on the brink of starvation face the future confident that in Socialism will they and their fellow workers come into their own. They close their ranks,

Wife of James Carey Passes Away in Boston

Socialists of an older generation will regret to learn of the death of Clara L. Carey, wife of James F. Carey, the first Socialist to be elected to the Massachusetts Legislature. Mrs. Carey died last week at the Evans Memorial Hospital in Boston, following an illness of six months.

Comrade Carey and his wife left Haverhill, the city which he represented in the legislature a number of terms, about fifteen years ago. They settled on a farm in East Surrey, Maine, and for years many of their Socialist friends in New England spent weeks with them during their summer vacations. On several occasions Comrade Carey undertook speaking tours for the party during his residence in Maine. In recent years he and his wife gave their entire attention to the farm.

The funeral services were held from the home of Comrade Carey's niece, Mrs. Roy Colby, of Newton, N. H. The New Leader is informed that Comrade Carey will take up his residence in Haverhill again.

I. W. W.-Communist Debate

A debate will be held Saturday, May 14, at 8 p. m., between the I. W. W. and the Communist League of America (Opposition), in the Labor Temple, 14th street and Second avenue. Subject, "Is the Program of the I. W. W. Sufficient for the Emancipation of the Workers?" C. B. Ellis, editor of the "Industrial Worker," will represent the I. W. W., and James P. Cannon the Communists. Frank Palmer of the Federated Press will preside.

and press forward, for what they feel is the final battle for the conquest of human happiness.

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

More Groups Join Ohio Jobless Council

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CLEVELAND.—A growing sentiment for jobless insurance was shown at the second meeting of the Cleveland branch of the Ohio Association for Unemployment Insurance when 17 more organizations sent delegates. The total number of groups now affiliated is 87. The Consumer's League and the A. F. of L. Members League favoring Unemployment Insurance sent over fraternal delegates.

Plans were made to start effective work in other parts of the state. The greater the demand for unemployment insurance the better chance do we stand to get a liberal and adequate bill passed at the next legislature, stated Joseph Martinek, Socialist candidate for State Representative.

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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 6 P. M., Saturday up to 1 P. M.

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French Socialists Gain 17 Seats in Chamber

Reaction Loses; Herriot Is Seen New Premier

Communists Lose Two Seats While "Socialist-Communists" Gain Six

THE French elections last Sunday revealed a decided swing to the Left parties, that is, away from the reaction of Poincare and of Tardieu which, on the whole, has dominated French internal and foreign policies during the post-war period. The Socialist Party won 17 new seats in the Chamber of Deputies, the Communists two, and the Socialists, who are outside of the Communist International, six. The Socialist-Radicals, the party of Edouard Herriot, made the largest gains, 47 more seats, and Herriot will likely head the new government. The representation in the new chamber compared with the old is shown in the following table:

Party.	Before Election.	After Election.
Conservatives	8	5
Democrat-Republicans	90	76
Independents	26	28
Popular Democrats	19	16
Left Republicans	101	72
Independent Radicals	90	61
Radical-Socialists	109	156
Repub. and Ind. Soc.	32	36
Socialists	112	129
Socialist-Communists	5	11
Communists	10	12
Totals	602	602

Of the 615 seats there are still 13 unaccounted for but returns from these constituencies will not alter the relative strength of the parties.

Cachin Is Defeated

The election followed the assassination of President Paul Doumer by Paul Gorguloff, a Russian. One report declares that Gorguloff is abnormal and another that he is sane. Former President Millerand denounced him as a Communist which is countered by a vigorous denial by the Communist International.

Papers found in Gorguloff's apartment show that he is not a Communist and that he had a scheme for a "national popular Pan-Russian republic" headed by a "green dictator" who was to be Gorguloff himself. The documents further defined his view of a future Russia as "neither Communist, Socialist, monarchist, Jewish nor foreign." His crime appears to have been prompted because he had been expelled from France after a license to practice medicine had been refused and because of French recognition of Soviet Russia. The assassination apparently did not affect the election results.

Marcel Cachin, leader of the independent Communists, was defeated. Leon Blum, Socialist leader, had already been returned to the Chamber. There was practically no disorder except in Bordeaux where several thousand Socialists, parading in celebration of their success, collided with conservative bands.

The French Socialist Party is-

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• In remitting funds to The New Leader for subscriptions renewals or any other purpose, do not send cash; send money orders, or checks.

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

sued an election manifesto in April in which it appealed to "the whole army of labor" to support its program. "Every mind capable of reflection," said the manifesto, "must be struck by the rapid march of events, which very forcibly confirms the Socialist criticism and displays the present regime in its true guise of impotence."

The Socialist Appeal

The document contrasted the advance of technical science in industry with the breakdown of the capitalist system, denounced the capitalist diplomacy of the government, the financiers and speculators, and concluded with the following appeal:

"The circumstances of the moment demand courageous and rapid action to bring about the birth of a new order and to save civilization."

"The regime of the financiers must be abolished; capitalist production which has caused misery to arise in the midst of plenty must give place to a social system of production; peace must be established by the reconciliation of the peoples and the abolition of the nationalist parties; all the resources of the nations must be devoted to increasing the welfare of the individual and his social guarantees, giving him better education and more physical and mental health, and making science and art and the whole of human knowledge the heritage of all, accessible to all."

"Let the army of labor set out on its march, disciplined and resolute behind the scarlet banner of Socialism, for the achievement of this program of common-sense and humanity."

"In the night of capitalism a light is gleaming which will guide your footsteps towards the true Republic towards a civilization based on order, security and peace."

"To the polling booths for the Socialist candidates!"

"Workers, cast aside your own chains and free the world!"

"Long live the Social Republic!"

Socialists Hit Moore Before ILGWU Meet

Krueger Attack On Phila. Mayor Brings Applause of Delegates

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA.—J. Hampton Moore, Mayor of Philadelphia, was branded as a "poser" in his "friend of labor" attitude before the International Ladies Garment Union convention by Maynard Krueger, local chairman of the Socialist party. Krueger spoke under orders from the Socialist Executive Committee who were incensed by Moore's opening speech at the convention. The Mayor had attacked all radicals as betrayers of workers.

"Mayor Moore, in his address, said he was a friend of labor," declared Krueger, "but he merely pretends. He said he came here out of respect to the late Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, and the work Gompers was doing for labor."

"Mr. Gompers thought differently. When Mr. Moore was in Congress Gompers publicly charged that Moore was the worst enemy of labor. When Moore was in Congress he opposed every bill that had the slightest semblance of favoring labor."

"In his first term as Mayor, 360 arrests were made during a dress strike, and all the prisoners were later released because there were no charges that could be placed against them."

"The Mayor said he had seen labor in its ups and downs and had always been a friend to the laboring classes. But he is a poseur—he merely pretends. Moore said the radicals defied the flag and the Constitution but he merely wraps himself in the flag and says that all who oppose him oppose God."

Krueger was enthusiastically received by the delegates and his speech exposing Moore's vicious anti-labor record was read into the convention minutes.

Steamfitters' Union Refuses to Allow Cops To Man Union Job

An attempt by the Tammany-controlled police department to circumvent the plain provisions of the law was defeated last week by the Steamfitters' Union. A new police station is under construction at Barkley and East Tremont avenues, the Bronx. A temporary heating plant has been operated there by a member of the steamfitters union, licensed by the Fire Department as prescribed by law. Two policemen suddenly appeared at the station house, sent to take over operation of the plant. The steamfitter refused to show them how the work was done.

While George Coan, the steamfitter, was on his way home from work that evening, he was dragged from a bus by the policemen, who then brought him back to the station house and forced him to show them how to operate the heating plant. The steamfitters union then protested to the police department and to William Curry, Tammany boss, who responded with a courteous letter of acknowledgment.

Labor Editor Named Mayor of St. Paul

ST. PAUL, Minn.—(FP).—William Mahoney, editor of the Minnesota Union Advocate, has been elected Mayor of St. Paul after a hot race in which he defeated the incumbent, Mayor Bundle. Mahoney ran on the Labor-Progressive ticket.

The issues in the campaign were expressed by Mahoney as follows: "I pledged my candidacy to purge the city of the insidious influence of gangsterism and racketeering in public affairs with its unlawful tribute of many millions every year, and the establishment of reduced gas, electricity and telephone rates through the media of new franchises, involving a saving of more than \$1,500,000 to the consumers and taxpayers of St. Paul. The great problem before the voters of St. Paul was to lay the foundation for a new and necessary industrial order."

Reservation Books Open For Eden "Militant" Parley

Over 30 reservations have already been made for the "militant" unofficial Socialist conference which will be held at Camp Eden, Cold Spring, N. Y., although two more weeks remain before the conference will open. Much interest has been aroused in the conference among Socialists in the East unable to go to the national convention of the Socialist party, as announcement has been made that first-hand reports will be made by several delegates who will be in Milwaukee from May 21 to 25.

Philadelphia ROUND TRIP 3.75

HOURLY EXPRESS SERVICE	One Way
BALTIMORE	\$4.00
WASHINGTON	4.75
BOSTON	3.00
RICHMOND	7.50
PITTSBURGH	8.00
DETROIT	13.50
CHICAGO	17.00
ALBANY and TROY	4.00
ROUND TRIP	5.00

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Street Meetings

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

MONDAY, MAY 16

138th street and 7th avenue, Manhattan. Speakers, Frank R. Crosswaith, Arthur C. Parker, Frank Pore, Victor Gaspar.

TUESDAY, MAY 17

180th street and St. Nicholas avenue; 158th street and Broadway, Manhattan. Speakers, Max Delson, E. Koppel, Bob Delson, Fred Hodgson, M. Miller.

THURSDAY, MAY 19

Dyckman street and Sherman avenue; 170th street and Broadway, Manhattan. Speakers, Max Delson, E. Koppel, Bob Delson, Fred Hodgson, M. Miller.

7th avenue and 11th street, Manhattan. Speakers, Walter Dearing, E. P. Gottlieb, and others.

133rd street and Lenox avenue, Manhattan. Speakers, Frank R. Crosswaith, Arthur C. Parker, Frank Pore, Victor Gaspar.

FRIDAY, MAY 20

72nd street and Broadway, Manhattan. Speakers, Eliot White, Jessie W. Hughan, A. Regaldi. 125th street and 7th avenue, Manhattan. Frank R. Crosswaith, Arthur C. Parker, Frank Pore, Victor Gaspar.

Clark and Henry streets; Court and Carroll streets, Brooklyn. Speakers, E. Young, D. M. Cory, H. N. Perlmutter. Spear Knebel, J. G. Glass, Sam Safranoff.

Fox street and Avenue St. John, Bronx. Speakers, Tyrell Wilson, I. Poistein, H. Salzman.

Utica avenue and Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn. Speakers, M. Kurinsky, Chas. Sunarsky, and others.

Pittkin avenue and Bristol street, Brooklyn. Speakers, Jack Altman and others.

SATURDAY, MAY 21

125th street and Roosevelt place, 12 A. M. (Noon) Manhattan. Speakers to be announced.

McKinley Square, 160th street and Boston road, Manhattan. Tyrell Wilson, John Davidson.

Jamaica, L. I. (front of Town Hall). Speakers to be announced.

Central avenue and Stockholm street, Brooklyn. Speakers, Joseph A. Weil, I. Grossman, S. P. Ulanoff, H. Schachner.

Junction and 38th avenues, Elmhurst, L. I. Speakers, H. H. Layburn, L. C. Willard, W. J. Cordiner.

122nd street and 18th avenues, College Point, L. I. Speakers, A. C. Wlenfeld and others.

"Enclosed is my renewal for the most effective paper published in the world," writes Saul Lewis of Pa. "It may be necessary to deprive oneself of a meal occasionally," writes this enthusiastic booster, "but it is impossible to get along without The New Leader."

WANTED A CAR to take me to the Milwaukee convention. Willing to supply pleasant company and share expenses. Jack Altman, Rand Book Store, 7 East 15th Street.

Workmen's Circle Camp Ready for 1932 Season

The Workmen's Circle camp at Sylvan Lake, Pawling, N. Y., is going to be bigger and better in 1932 than ever before. In addition to Mr. A. Brooks, Barnet Wolff has been appointed to the management. The camp grounds are being beautified so that they will have the aspect of a lovely park. Sylvan Lake is one of the most beautiful lakes in the State of New York and on the shores of the lake, a sandy beach has been built. A new baseball field has been laid out fine enough for a world series game. Additional boats have been purchased so that the guests will have ample opportunity for rowing. New tennis courts have been added. Handball courts, basketball courts, indoor baseball grounds and a running track are also provided. Milton Farber is to be athletic director.

The social activities are also being increased and improved. The children's department is under the direct supervision of L. Meltzer and T. Bernstein. The camp has accommodations for 450 children and 500 adults. It is one of the largest and finest institutions of its kind in the country. All the bungalows have up-to-date sanitary appliances. For further information, communicate with the Workmen's Circle camp office at 175 East Broadway, telephone: Orchard 4-5992 and 4-6000.

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5,000 Sign Petitions of W. Va. Socialists

Party News From the States Presages a Fighting Campaign

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—After a vigorous campaign, marked by bitter opposition of the politicians, the Socialist party filed over 5,000 signatures to a petition nominating their candidates for office. A full State ticket was filed and three congressional, two senatorial and eight County tickets. Scared by the progress shown by the Socialist party in the State in the last few months, the opposition used methods of intimidation, coercion against people signing the petitions. Numbers of newspapers carried articles stating that the signatures had been gathered under false pretenses and that those votes would be disfranchised.

The Independent Labor party, with which the Socialist party is cooperating, filed party tickets in Kanawha and Boone counties. The opposition to them was particularly bitter because of the fact that the Independent Labor Party and the Socialist Party have been working together with the West Virginia Mine Workers Union. Relief has been cut off from those who have been identified with the work of these organizations. West Virginia Mine Workers Union is continually growing in strength and has recently invaded the notorious Logan County, where they have met the bitterest opposition, including beating up and shooting of their organizers.

A whirlwind campaign in Kanawha and Boone Counties has been held. Amicus Most and Marcus Kornstien for the Socialist Party and Tom Townsend, Frank Keeney, Brant Scott and George Scherer, have been holding meetings, marches and parades in these two counties for the last week of the campaign. The local politicians are obviously scared and there is definite hope of being able to elect several of the candidates for the Independent Labor Party, including a number of Socialist party members.

A comic note to the campaign was caused by the endorsement of Tom Townsend running in the Republican primary by the State Federation of Labor and by William Green of the A. F. of L. It seems Mr. Townsend had appeared before the Senate Committee endorsing the nomination of Judge Parker to the Federal Circuit Court. Judge Parker is notorious for his anti-labor injunctions and anti-Negro rulings. Mr. Wm. F. Green wrote a letter on March 7 to a citizen in West Virginia, stating that he was opposed to the nomination of Tom Townsend. About a month later another letter was written by him to the President of the State Federation of Labor, heartily endorsing Mr. Townsend as a "friend of labor." Both letters have been reproduced and given wide publicity by the opposing candidates.

J. H. Higgins, State Secretary of the Socialist Party, announces a drive for funds to carry on the campaign and urges party members and sympathizers to send money to the state office at Star City, W. Va.

NEW LOCALS REPORTED

ARKANSAS, Mena (Commonwealth College): Rose Kastenbaum, sec.

CONNECTICUT, Bridgeport (Y. P. S. L.): John Claffari, sec., 273 George street.

KANSAS, Atchison: O. P. Bell, sec., 423 Commercial street.

MISSOURI, Springfield: Wm. Langeley, sec., 1842 West Walnut street.

MONTANA, Roundup: N. H. LaPierre, sec., Box 884.

OHIO, Toledo (Y. P. S. L.): Pansie Jo Vaughn, sec.

WEST VIRGINIA, Fairmont: Mary Magro, sec., 415 Penn avenue.

WISCONSIN, Kenosha (Women's Branch): Mrs. Ruth Kuehul, sec., 1015 58th street.

STATE CONVENTIONS

INDIANA: Indianapolis, May 28. Ed. Henry, 545 Warren avenue, Indianapolis, in charge.

KANSAS: Topeka, May 16, 17. Ross Hull, 401 West 1st street, Garnett, in charge.

MARYLAND: Hagerstown, May 15. M. Neistadt, 1029 East Baltimore street, Baltimore, in charge.

MISSOURI: Columbia, May 15. Louis Martin Wolf, 453 East Park avenue, Webster Grove, in charge.

Indiana

INDIANAPOLIS—A new party branch was organized last week at 349 East St. Joe street and two more branches may be organized soon.

W. S. Santisteban of Local Colum-



SOCIALIST CAMPAIGNING IN WEST VIRGINIA.—Above, Rev. Harlow, fighting miners' preacher, a member of the Socialist party, talking Socialism to a group of miners at Cold Fork. To his left is Amicus Most, Socialist organizer. To the right is the New Leader agent at Gallagher, West Virginia. He is one of the evicted coal miners now living in a tent colony.

bus went through the town on still advertising: "Up in the air about your job? Come to our May Day meeting and find out what to do about it." Powers and Mary Hapgood will give two months to the party this summer, organizing and campaigning for the fall elections.

Tennessee

New locals are expected to be formed in Allardt, Knoxville, Chattanooga, Ravenscroft and Nashville, following an organization tour by Murray Baron. Eli Cohen and Sam Block traveled with Baron.

Washington

SPOKANE—Three thousand marchers were in the May Day Socialist parade, each wearing a red ribbon. When it was over the party fed 2,000 jobless workers. About 200 Communists parade and denounced the Socialists as catering to the capitalist class. 210 new members joined the party on May Day. Propaganda meetings are held each night with an attendance of from 800 to 1,000 people.

Virginia

Comrades Ansell and George will leave May 15th for the National convention, stopping in Hagerstown for the Maryland Convention. Until June 1st a Committee of Richmond comrades will handle necessary state office work.

HOPEWELL—The Local has expelled from membership the following: J. P. Rice, Wm. P. McKay and Jessie F. Burkett. In addition, a number of members have been "dropped" from the rolls. A new Executive Committee, headed by W. F. Billings, chairman, is proceeding to put the Local over the top with a bang.

RICHMOND—Upon the return of Comrade Ansell, our candidate for Mayor, we will open a real campaign to last until election on June 14. Among the speakers who will address the many meetings to be held are: Ansell, David George, W. F. Billings, John J. Kafka, Prof. G. Gary White, Murray Baron, Amicus Most and P. H. Guichard. The campaign will be run in cooperation with Local Hope-

NORFOLK—J. E. Miller, organizer, who has done such excellent work in building the Local, will stay here to manage the Municipal campaign. A large campaign Committee has been formed and plans vigorous work.

Minnesota

MINNEAPOLIS—A Socialist unit has been instituted at the University of Minnesota composed entirely of students, by State Organizer Linn Thompson. The students are looking forward to hearing Norman Thomas, May 20th. The Twin City has now three party locals, St. Paul, Minneapolis and the State University. Mr. Hudson, 4648 West Lake Harriot boulevard, was temporary secretary.

Ohio

CLEVELAND—A pledge of \$1,000 toward the National Campaign Fund was made by Local Cleveland at the meeting of the City Central Committee May 2. Plans are being made for a campaign dinner. The newly organized League for Industrial Democracy Chapter will be asked to cooperate. A campaign fund contribution ticket is being sold which also admits the holder to the Annual Socialist picnic July 31 at Pintar's Farm, East 260th street, off St. Clair. A send-off supper for the delegates to the National Convention is being arranged by the Jewish Branch for May 15. The proceeds will go toward delegates expenses.

A group of open air meetings are being arranged by the Young Peoples Socialist League for May 17 when Alfred Baker Lewis and several Boston Yipsels will be in Cleveland. It is also planned that Comrade Lewis will take part in a symposium at the Glenville Corner Club.

Massachusetts

NORTHAMPTON—The newly re-organized Socialist local now numbers more than seventy members, with additions daily. The local pa-

per gives front page announcement and reports of open meetings, and we have had to move to a larger hall. In April Professor Colston E. Warne of Amherst College spoke on "The History of the Socialist Movement," and on May 4 Professor S. Ralph Harlow of Smith College conducted a round table discussion on "Why I Joined the Socialist Party," with Prof. Harold U. Faulkner of Smith College, Mrs. J. B. Dickson, Director of the Hampshire County Progressive Club Forum, Mrs. Paul Williams of Amherst, and Rev. T. Barton Akeley, pastor of the Amherst Unitarian Church, participating. The officers of the local are: Northampton Organizer, Rev. T. Barton Akeley; Secretary, Mrs. Rose Levin; Financial Secretary, Angelo Conz; Literature Secretary, Eugene H. Cushman; Social Chairman, Mrs. Harold U. Faulkner; Young People's Organizer, Professor Paul Williams of Massachusetts State College; Workers' Education Chairman, Prof. Harold U. Faulkner of Smith College; Campaign Chairman, Prof. Elliot Grant of Smith College. Membership includes representatives from various trade unions, and from Italian, German, French, and Polish local groups. So-called "intellectuals" and workers find the association mutually stimulating and helpful.

On Tuesday, May 10, a group of young people met at the home of the Northampton Organizer to form a Young People's Socialist League.

BOSTON—Monday, May 16, at 8 P. M. there will be a meeting of all those who are going to take an active part in the coming campaign. All members are urged to be present and tell what evening or evenings they can give each week to party work. Members who have autos can be of great help by volunteering to take speakers to some of the meetings. Those who intend to help but cannot attend the meeting should write telling what evenings they have free. With our increased membership, we should be able to hold at least five times the number of street corner meetings that we held in 1930. Members now have the opportunity of deciding how large a vote they want Massachusetts to get in the coming election.

Connecticut

NEW HAVEN—At a regular meeting of the New Haven Local permission was granted to a group of students to organize a Yale branch of the Yale party. A number of the students attended the meeting and told of a very enthusiastic meeting that they had held at the college, where twenty-three had signified their intention of joining the Party. A number of this group are willing to help out in coming campaign, especially during the summer.

New York State

OLEAN—Local Olean took in ten more new members at its last meeting. John Cooper has been elected Organizer, Robert Gore Literature Agent, and Nelson Grant as Financial Secretary-Treasurer. Temporary Secretary Frank P. Loeffler, 1312 Washington street, is Secretary of the Local. Summer plans are being formulated.

MOUNT VERNON—The Norman Thomas meeting last week, Friday evening, was eminently successful from every standpoint. The efforts of Thomas, and of Samuel Orr of the Bronx, who also spoke, resulted in fifteen applications for membership, twenty for the organization of a circle of the Y. P. S. L.

YONKERS—Weekly open-air meetings are in progress in Yonkers. McAlister Coleman of New York opened the series last week, and on Friday of this week Rev. Elliot White of New York was scheduled to speak at the corner of Main street and Warburton avenue. Sol Marcus of New York is scheduled to speak in Yonkers on May 25th.

NASSAU COUNTY—The Norman Thomas meeting May 5th in Inwood was a huge success. Several hundred attended the biggest gathering the Cedarhurst and Vicinity Branch ever



had. Those present heard a brilliant lecture by Thomas and State Secretary Merrill, and they all had a very pleasant time in our beautiful Socialist Hall. Rev. Dr. E. W. Shrigley presided. Both the Hempstead and Cedarhurst Branches worked for the success of the meeting.

ROCKLAND COUNTY—Local Rockland County formally opened their campaign and celebrated the first anniversary of its charter at a dinner and dance at the Villa Lafayette, Spring Valley, on Tuesday evening (May 10). Three new members were enrolled and contributions totalling \$40 were made to the campaign fund. Speakers were Sam H. Friedman, State Secretary Herbert M. Merrill and Merrill Crawford. Comrade Thomas W. Davis, organizer, presided.

DEBATE AT THE MORONS

"Is the Church Dying?" "Will Religion Live?" will be debated by Rev. E. H. Emmett and Mr. J. T. Kewish at "The Morons" Dinner-Discussion Club, Thursday, May 19th, at 7 P. M. The debate, which will take place in the Pythian Temple, 70th street near Broadway, will mark the 236th session of The Morons.

R. H. Ritchey of Albany, sends in three subs. He is confident that more will follow soon.

FREE YOUTH

NATIONAL NOTES

NEC MEETING—The members of the YPSL NEC will hold a meeting in Milwaukee during the evening of Saturday, May 21. Circles are urged to send to 536 W. Juneau avenue organization suggestions, resolutions and items for the agenda.

READING—Opens forums will be held on four consecutive Tuesday evenings at the Universalist Church. On May 24th, Ex-Mayor Stump will speak on "Youth's Place in Socialism" and on May 31st, Aaron Levenstein will speak.

ALBANY—Twenty-one were present at a lively discussion on "What Is Socialism?" on May 4. "America's Way Out" was discussed at the next meeting. Future meetings will be held at the Workmen's Circle on Wednesday evenings at 8 P. M.

MT. VERNON, N. Y.—As a result of Comrade Thomas' lecture, many Yipsel prospects have been secured. An organization meeting will be held on Friday, May 13, at 8:15 P. M. at 201 South 3rd avenue, corner 3rd street.

YONKERS, N. Y.—Efforts to organize a circle will continue, with a meeting scheduled for Monday, May 16, at 8:30 P. M. at 57 Riverdale avenue.

FAIRMOUNT, W. VA.—A new Yipsel group has been chartered in this mining region. Mary Magro of 415 Penn street is secretary and the circle expects to do its share of work in cooperation with the live Party local.

NEW YORK CITY

PEACE PARADE—Members of the YPSL will march with the Socialist Division of the Anti-War parade on Saturday, May 21. Our lines will form at 15th street and 5th avenue at 1 P. M.

BRONX RED MAY RALLY—Why Socialism will be the subject of the Rally scheduled for Friday, May 13, at 8:30 P. M. at the Paradise Manor, Mt. Eden and Jerome avenues. Louis Waldman, former candidate for Governor, Gus Tyler and W. Dancis are among the speakers.

FINANCIAL SECRETARIES of each circle will meet this Saturday, May 14, at 2 P. M. at the city office. Record books must be brought.

WILLIAMSBURG HIKE—The District Council has arranged a hike for this Sunday, May 15. Comrades are to meet in front of headquarters, 167 Tompkins avenue, at 8:30 A. M. sharp.

CIRCLE 8, SR. MAN.—The circle Curtain Club will present "The Goal" by H. A. Jones, May 14 at 8:30 P. M. at 96 Avenue C. Dancing and refreshments will follow. Admission 25 cents.

CIRCLE 3, JR. BRONX.—Jack Altman will speak on Socialism and Youth at the circle rally on Friday, May 20, at 8 P. M. at 908 Prospect avenue.

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N. Y. Socialists To See Films Of Movement

German Pictures to Be Shown at Rand School Saturday

KEEP JUNE 12TH FREE
Party members and branches in Greater New York and neighboring towns should not make engagements for Sunday, June 12. Keep it open. Important announcement next week.

THE GERMAN SOCIALIST MOVIES
Two films, one depicting the German Socialist Movement for the past eighty years, and the other film the youth movement in Germany will be shown this Saturday, May 14, at 3:00 p. m., at the People's House, 7 East 15th street. These pictures show all the German Socialist Party has gone through from the day when Karl Marx started the New Rheinische Zeitung to the present day; the party while under the leadership of Liebknecht, Bebel, and Lasalle, the Socialist Party under the Bismarck Anti-Socialist Law, the Socialist Party during and after the war, in the first days of the Republic and to the present day.

The Youth picture shows the children's Republic, and shows the Socialist Movement among the young people of Germany, including the camp the Party has for the children and which is run as a children's Republic. The picture has just been imported by the German comrades and the showing is arranged by the Committee on Education of the Party. The admission fee is only 15 cents. Comrades and particularly those with children should see this picture.

MANHATTAN

CHELSEA.—The next meeting will be held Friday evening, May 20, at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street, at 8:30 p. m.

UPPER WEST SIDE.—The Executive Committee will meet Tuesday, May 17, at the home of Comrade Chalkin, 741 West End avenue, at 8:15 p. m. The Open-Air Meeting Committee will meet next Monday evening, May 16, at the home of Comrade Gibson, 160 Claremont avenue.

MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS.—The debate between McAlister Coleman and Earl Browder on "Which Party Works for Socialism—Socialist or Communist?" will take place Sunday, May 15, at 8:00 p. m. at 3109 Broadway. A large Socialist representation is important. A branch meeting will be held Monday at 8:00 p. m. Classes in Socialist fundamentals are held each Friday at 4:00 p. m. until further notice.

19-21st A. D.—The branch has decided to give a Decoration Day Dance Saturday evening, May 28 for the Opportunity Fund Drive. Comrades of other branches are invited. Branch meetings are held every Saturday evening at 2005—7th avenue, at 8:30 p. m. The speaker at the Sunday Forum meeting at the same place at 3:30 p. m., May 15, is William E. Bohn, on "Some Peculiarities of American Democracy."

EAST HARLEM.—The opening celebration of the new headquarters of the Harlem Branches will be held on Saturday evening, May 14, at 8:30 p. m., at 1536 Madison avenue, near 104th street. The place will house the activities of the 17-18-20th A. D. and Harlem Jewish Branches, Workmen's Circle School, and the Y. P. S. L. The program for the grand opening includes music, entertainment, refreshments. August Claessens will assist on the program.

WASHINGTON HEIGHTS.—The Executive Committee has decided to give up headquarters for the Summer, but to carry on an active campaign at street meetings, which in the next few weeks will be held on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Canvassing continues to be successful.

22ND A. D.—At the meeting to be held Monday, May 16, at 9:00 p. m. in the home of Comrades Gismet, 609 West 149th street, Leonard Abbott will speak on "Rebel Authors I Have Known."

BRONX

MEETING OF UNEMPLOYED.—Another of the series of Unemployed meetings will be held on Wednesday, May 18, at 8:00 p. m., at P. S. No. 43, 136th street and Brown place, near Brook avenue. Speakers, George Goebel and Leonard Bright. Murray Gross, chairman.

PROTEST MEETINGS.—On May 14 as a protest against Mayor Walker's Beer Parade, street meeting will be held in every district of the Bronx all evening to emphasize the need of bread and unemployment relief as the vital issues of the moment.

1st A. D.—A meeting will be held Thursday, May 19, at 8:30 p. m. in the Workmen's Circle Center, 615 East 140th street.

3rd A. D.—The branch has started its campaign with the institution of an outdoor forum every Friday night at Avenue St. John and Fox street.

Socialists Mourn Death Of Mrs. August Claessens

Wife of N. Y. Socialist Organizer Loses Brave Fight to Live

THE Socialist and labor movement has suffered an irreparable loss in the death of Hilda Claessens, wife of August Claessens and until the time of her illness the chairman of the women's section of the party.

Mrs. Claessens died Tuesday morning at her home, 208 East 17th street, after battling the ravages of cancer for more than half a year. She was conscious nearly to the end, recognizing her friends and exchanging a word with each of them despite the well-nigh unendurable pain.

Funeral services were held at the Rand School Thursday morning, with Norman Thomas, Morris Hillquit, Esther Friedman, William Karlin, Algernon Lee, Rachel Panken and Jacob Panken as the speakers. Interment was at Mount Carmel Cemetery in Queens.

Wherever Socialists gathered for the past few days there were hushed voices and moist eyes as the death of Hilda Claessens was discussed. Her brave fight against the disease that finally carried her off, and her devotion to the movement and to her husband had endeared her to every member of the movement. Simple, unassuming, unpretentious, absolutely without ambition for herself, she was one of the best loved Socialists hereabouts.

Hilda Claessens was content to do what she could to advance the cause of Socialism, and to allow the glory to go to others. At a dinner to her husband several years ago she was called on to speak and told the comrades present that her contribution to the movement was her husband, that she knew that by having a husband working for the party she would have little of his company for herself, but she was glad to make that contribution to the cause she loved. Utterly sincere in everything she said and did, everyone knew she spoke directly from the heart, and that that

was the very keynote of her life.

Hilda Goldstein was born in Russia in 1890, and was brought to New York in 1904. She worked as a neckwear worker, and later as an organizer of the Neckwear Workers' Union. It was in 1911 that she met August Claessens when she was a full-time student in the Rand School and he was her teacher of public speaking. They were married shortly thereafter, and then began one of the really harmonious and happy marriages. They were constantly speaking together, and in 1915 they toured the country as far as California, combining a visit to the Panama-Pacific Exposition with a propaganda tour.

Like all other active Socialists Hilda Claessens often ran for office, but to her was allotted mainly the ground floor work, the job of talking to people heart-to-heart. She was so sincere, so human, so forthright and honest that it is possible that she won more friends for our cause by her transparent sincerity than many a gaudy orator.

Stories about Hilda Claessens are told that illustrate the sort of woman she was, how she pushed her baby in a carriage to a noon-day meeting, left a friend or a brother in charge of the carriage, mounted the platform for her talk, and then quietly resumed the job of alighting the child; how August would stay home with the babies while she went out to speak, how she gave a whole life uncompromisingly to the cause that illuminated her life and her husband's.

Hilda Claessens was not a flashy character, but she was pure gold. She was the stuff of which real people are made, and it is a source of consolation to her friends that they appreciated her in her lifetime and did not wait for her to die to begin to realize what manner of woman she was.

The recognition of the solid worth and sterling character of his helpmate and comrade is the sole consolation his comrades can give August Claessens and his two daughters.

A resolution typical of the sentiments of many Socialists and organizations was passed by the Debs Branch 665 of the Workmen's Circle, of which Mrs. Claessens was a member.

W. M. F.

The director is Tyrell Wilson. A very useful means of advertising all of the meetings which the branch will hold has been created in the mimeographed Socialist Party Bulletin. The leaflet is distributed at regular intervals in the district.

5th A. D.—The second of the series of lectures by August Claessens is "Nature and Nurture—Man's Conflict With and Mastery Over Nature," at the Bellamy Club, 904 Prospect avenue, on Friday evening, May 13, at 8:45 p. m. sharp. On May 20, the third of the series of lectures will be on "Our Social Environment—The Data of Psychology."

7th A. D.—The branch invites the members of other branches to participate in the May Festival and Entertainment Saturday evening, May 14, at the Workmen's Circle School, 789 Elmsmere place. Gertrude Weil Klein, aided by a number of Yipsels, will entertain with some interesting skits, and Judith Wisnietzky and Ethel Wettstein will also entertain. Admission 25 cents.

4th A. D.—The branch is moving to 1353 Boston road, the offices of the Bakers' Union. Meetings are held on the 2nd and 4th Tuesdays of the month, and the next meeting will be held on May 24. A street corner meetings is held every Saturday evening at McKinley Square. Canvassing of old members and enrolled Socialists is being carried on. A message of sympathy was sent to Comrade Claessens.

BROOKLYN

BORO PARK.—Discussion group meets Monday nights. Social evening, Thursday, May 19. Plans have been made for a dinner-dance to be held on Friday evening, June 3.

DOWNTOWN.—On Friday evening, May 20, Dr. Leon R. Land will speak on "The Need For A Strong Socialist Movement in America," at 122 Pierpont street.

11th A. D.—At the meeting on Monday, May 16, Henry Rosner will speak. The meeting will be held in the home of Evelyn Cohen, 201 Eastern parkway.

MIDWOOD.—The following branch officers were elected for the ensuing term: Organizer, Isidore Rubin; Financial Secretary, Meyer M. Raphael; Recording Secretary, Peter Goldberg; Treasurer, Isidore Fried; Educational Director, Joseph Tuvin. So far the branch has raised \$44 for the City Office Drive. William M. Feigenbaum was the speaker at the last meeting. The Executive Committee will meet on Sunday, May 15, at 11:00 a. m. sharp. At the branch meeting on Tuesday, May 17, Isidore Rubin will be the speaker.

18th A. D., BRANCH 1.—There was an excellent outdoor meeting held last Friday night at Eastern parkway and Utica avenue, with Eliot White, Charles Sumarski and Judah Altman.

as speakers. There will be an important special meeting of all the branches included in the 6th Congressional District at 3820 Church avenue, on Thursday evening. Nominations for Congressman and State Senator will be made. On Saturday evening, May 14, a free for all card party and social will be held.

21st A. D.—On Friday, May 13, at 8:30 p. m., the branch is holding an enrolled voters' meeting at the 4 Unitarian Church, East 19th street and Beverly road. The speaker is William M. Feigenbaum. His topic, "How Can You Abolish Unemployment?" McAlister Coleman will be chairman.

16th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday evening, May 13, at 9:00 p. m., at Workmen's Circle Center, 7212—20th avenue. Preceding the business meeting S. Romualdi will speak on "The Menace of Fascism."

23rd A. D.—The open-air meetings on the avenue are proving to be very successful. There will be a joint meeting in Williamsburg on Monday, May 16, for the nomination of the Congressional and Senatorial candidates. A resolution was passed asking the City Central Committee to state the Socialist position on "Block-Aid." The agenda of the coming National Convention was discussed by the membership. On Sunday, May 15, at 7:00 p. m., the Brownsville Labor Lyceum Association will tender a luncheon to the Bazaar Committee for their work in making the Bazaar a success. Admission 50 cents.

BRIGHTON BEACH.—The branch will hold an Entertainment and Dance on Saturday evening, May 14, at 48 Ocean place, near 2nd street, off Brighton Beach avenue. Admission 50 cents.

THE NEW DEAL.—The May issue of the New Deal, a recently organized Socialist publication in the 8th Congressional District has just been issued. The paper, which is edited by William Morris Feigenbaum and Harry Haskel, is intended to spread the truth in preparation for the coming Socialist message throughout the district. The May issue contains articles by B. G. Vlodeck, Harry W. Levinson, and Harry Haskel. A special feature of the May issue is a story about the recent approval of polluted beaches by the Health Department and the charge made editorially in the New Deal that the welfare of millions of persons who will swim this summer at Coney Island and Manhattan Beach will be endangered in order to protect heavy investments there.

QUEENS

ASTORIA.—On Saturday, May 14, at 8:30 p. m., a card party will be held at the home of Comrades Steinberger, the proceeds of which will go to the various drive for funds.

UNION DIRECTORY

BONNAE, SINGER EMBROIDERERS, TUCKERS, STITCHERS AND PLATE-ERS' UNION, Local 68, I.L.G.W.U., 7 East 15th St. Phone Algonquin 4-3657-3658. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union. E. L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattab, Manager; Morris Fishman, Secretary-Treasurer.

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

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

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th Street, New York, N. Y. Phone Tompkins 5-5400. Hyman Blumberg, Sidney Resman, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, Amalgamated Bank Bldg., 11-15 Union Square, 3rd floor. Telephones Algonquin 4-6500-1-2-3-4-5. Sidney Hillman, Gen. President; Joseph Schlossberg, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL CAPMAKERS—Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, Office, 133 Second Ave.; Phone Orchard 4-3360-1-2. The council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday. S. Herzkowitz, Sec'y-Treas. Operators, Local 1—Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

INTERNATIONAL UNITED STATES AND CANADA, Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, 9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. IRonsides 8-8306. Morris Kaufman, Gen. Pres. and Sec.

FURRIERS' JOINT COUNCIL OF N. Y., LOCAL 101, 105, 110 and 115 of The INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS OF U. S. and C., 28 West 31st Street. Phone Penn. 6-7932. Meets every Tuesday at 8:00 P. M. B. Merkin, Manager.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers Union, Office and headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn; Stage 2-0798. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, I. B. Hertzberg; Vice President, Sam Groll; Business Agent, B. Kalmikoff. Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, H. Heib.

HENREY TRADES, 175 East Broadway; Phone Drydock 4-8610. Meets 1st and 3rd Monday 8 P. M. Executive Board same day, 5:30 P. M. M. Tigel, Chairman; M. Brown, Vice-Chairman; M. Feinstein, Secretary-Treasurer.

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

LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY
A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to protect the legal rights of the Unions and their members S. John Block, Attorney and Counsel, 225 B'way, Rooms 2709-10, New York City. Board of Delegates meets at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street, New York City, on the last Saturday of each month at 8:00 p. m.

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

LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA, New York Local No. 1, Offices, Amalgamated Bldg., 208 West 14th St.; Phone Washington 9-7164. Regular meetings every second and fourth Tuesday at Arlington Hall, 19 St. Mark's Place. Albert E. Castro, President; Patrick J. Hanlon, Vice-President; Frank Schell, Fin. Secretary; Emil Thenen, Rec. Secretary; Joseph J. O'Connor, Treasurer.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, Downtown office, 660 Broadway, phone Spring 7-4548; uptown office, 50 West 37th Street, phone Wisconsin 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 P. M. Manager, N. Spector; Sec'y-Treas., Alex. Rosenberg; Organizers, I. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman; Lucy Oppenheimer, Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodoss.

MILK WAGON DRIVERS' UNION, Local 684, I. U. of T. Office: 258 W. 14th St., City. Local 534 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at Beethoven Hall, 210 East Fifth St. Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at Beethoven Hall, 210 E. Fifth St. Chas. Hofer, President and Business Agent; Max Lieber, Secretary-Treasurer.

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

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11016, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th Street, Phone Algonquin 4-7070. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer.

PAINTERS' UNION, Local 498, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers. Regular Meetings every Wednesday Evening, at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street, P. Wollensack, President; Fred Wolf, Secretary; Peter Rothman, Fin.-Sec'y.

PAINTERS, DECORATORS OF AMERICA, District Council No. 9, N. Y. C. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council. Meets every Thursday evening. Office 63 East 23rd St. Tel. GRamercy 5-0500. C. A. Hoffman, Sec'y; Robert S. M. B. of F., Fin. Sec'y - Treat I. Goffowity, Pres.

PAINTERS UNION, Local 361, Office, 62 East 106th Street, Lehigh 4-3141. Exec. Board meets every Tuesday at the office. Regular meetings every Friday at 310 E. 104th St. M. Gaff, Fin. Sec'y - Treas.; H. Greeninger, Recording Secretary.

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

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

TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6, Office and headquarters, 34 West 16th St., N. Y. C. Meets every 3rd Sunday in every month at Stuyvesant High School 15th St., East of 2nd Ave. Phone Tompkins Sq. 6-7470. Austin Hewson, President; Daniel McCauley, Vice-President; James J. McGrath, Secretary-Treasurer; J. J. Fahey, J. J. Bambrick, John Sullivan, Organizers.

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

WAITERS & WAITRESSES UNION
Local 1, 11 East 38th St.; Tel. Ashland 4-3107. Sam Turner, Pres.; Louis Rubin, Sec'y-Treas. Regular meeting every 2nd and 4th Thursday at Beethoven Hall, 210 East Fifth St.
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WATERPROOF GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, Local 29, I. L. G. W. U., 3 West 16th St. Phone Chelsea 3-2677. Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p.m. Benny Weisberg, Manager; Joe Kessler, Secretary-Treasurer.

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

Edgar Wallace' Last Mystery Bright at the Broadhurst

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

"THE MAN WHO CHANGED HIS NAME." By Edgar Wallace. At the Broadhurst.

Proving that a rose by any other name is not sweet at all, and that more cowards die many times before their death, Edgar Wallace sends the last of his mysteries—he having solved the eternal mystery of death—to the Broadhurst. There is no crime committed in the play; but every moment hovers upon the brink of murder. A wife, who for a moment contemplated unfaithfulness, finds her would-be lover a welcome guest in her home—and then discovers that her husband has changed his name! That is strange, but it is horrible, too, when the discovery comes that the original name is that of a man who has murdered his wife and her lover—murdered them while seeming truly friendly.

So throughout the play Fay Bainter and the bewildered and frightened man who had wanted her, wait to be killed.

The play reminds me of one of those clocks with an all-glass case. It runs smoothly, goes round well enough, knows when to strike—but you can see all the works. Act as well as he does, Frank Conroy cannot make his part human: the husband is just a human-like machine for instilling terror into the minds of the others—yet it is a good machine, and the play holds its measure of excitement and power.

English Version of 'Trapeze' Soon Ready

Because of the popular success of E. A. Dupont's "Trapeze," which stars Anna Sten and is now entering its third week at the Little Carnegie Playhouse, an English version is being readied for disbursement in this country.

Since it is well known that neither Anna Sten nor the other members of the cast speak English, it may be puzzling to the uninitiated to learn that in the English version all the original cast appear and speak English with no trace of an accent. This is accomplished by the method known as "dubbing," and many difficulties other than technical have to be overcome in its process.

Many celebrities of the stage were used in making the English version of "Trapeze," and those who have seen the first "rushes" state that Anna Sten's "double's voice" fits her perfectly.

Thus a great picture is made enjoyable and understandable to everyone who witnesses it.

'Too True to Be Good,' Now in Its Last Week At Guild Theatre, Is Not George B. Shaw's Last

The general impression that "Too True To Be Good," George Bernard Shaw's play now being presented by the Theatre Guild at the Guild Theatre, is the Irish playwright's last has been dispelled by his own announcement that he is at work on another.

No one knows how the story started that "Too True To Be Good" was his final contribution to the theatre. Perhaps, it was the fact that it concerns itself with so many subjects instead of just one. This may have given it an air of valedictory. Mr. Shaw calls it "a collection of stage sermons by a fellow of the Royal Society of Literature."

There is something unusual, to be sure, in the fact that Mr. Shaw preaches on so many subjects in his latest play. Heretofore he has been content to limit himself to a single crusade in each script. It started with his first play, "Widowers' Houses," in which he concentrated on the slum rent question, to the exclusion of all else.

In the years that have followed—and there have been forty of them in which he has been active as a playwright—he has followed the same policy. In "Arms and the Man," militarism served as a target; in "The Devil's Disciple" it was religious puritanism, in "The Man of Destiny," romanticism, in "The Doctor's Dilemma," the medical profession, in "Misalliance," the relationship between parents and children, in "Mrs. Warren's Profession," the social evil, in "Heartbreak House," post war conditions and in "Back to Methuselah," creative evolution.

However, in "Too True To Be Good," he has chosen to scatter his fire. He takes a shot at every head that appears on the horizon. In the three acts he pays his respects to the state of the world in general, modern young women, the medical profession, religion, atheism, internationalism, snobbery, crime, communism and even the beneficent qualities of fresh air. And he makes each subject vital and interesting.

"Too True To Be Good" is in its last two weeks at the Guild Theatre. In its cast are such excellent players as Beatrice Lillie, Hope Williams, Hugh Sinclair, Ernest Cossart, Claude Rains, Leo G. Carroll and Alexander Clark, Jr. It is one of Shaw's few plays to achieve a run before appearing in book form.

In Amkino's New Soviet Film at the Cameo



An interesting scene from the Russian film "Siberian Patrol" adapted from "The Armoured Train" and now at the Cameo.

Conrad Veidt Gives Fine Performance in 'Congress Dances,' New Ufa Film at the Rivoli

Remember Conrad Veidt in "The Man Who Laughs?" Remember how he chilled you with his gruesome masks and misshapen body? In "Congress Dances," which is now at the Rivoli and which, by the way, is a story of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Veidt doffs his masks and plays the part of Prince Metternich, the scheming Chancellor of Austria, with nothing more than his histrionic talent to put him across.

One often wonders why actors like the late Lon Chaney and Conrad Veidt stumble upon their ability to act the part of maniacs and other psychopathic characters. In Veidt's case it was merely an accident. Back in 1916 he was the featured player in Max Reinhardt's German Theatre. He had previously refused several motion picture offers, for he had an aversion to portraying silent parts. However, the offers finally became too tempting and he surrendered.

His first picture was called "The Mystery of Banglor," in which he appeared as a maniacal Hindu. It was a great success, and Veidt's fate was fixed. From that time on he became noted for his portrayal of psychopathic delineations, his chief pictures being "The

Cabinet of Dr. Caligari," "Lady Hamilton," "Lucrezia Borgia," "The Last Company" and the above-mentioned "The Man Who Laughs."

His portrayal of Prince Metternich in "Congress Dances" is said to be without doubt the finest of his career. It is a thing of subtlety, a sort of tongue-in-cheek characterization of the sly Austrian Chancellor who was not averse to throwing a pretty girl at the head of a European ruler if it suited his purposes. In fact, Metternich put over many a deal by laying a philandering trap for some monarch.

AT RKO 81ST THEATRE

RKO Keith's 81st Street Theatre is presenting Maurice Chevalier in "One Hour With You" his comedy triumph that played four weeks on Broadway recently. Jeanette MacDonald, Genevieve Tobin, Charlie Ruggles and Roland Young play important roles in this merry screen musical.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents REUNION in VIENNA

A comedy by ROBERT E. SHERWOOD
Martin Beck Theatre
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Evenings 8:40

Matinees Thurs. and Sat. 2:40

TOO TRUE TO BE GOOD

A New Play by
BERNARD SHAW

GUILD THEATRE, 52nd St.
West of Broadway
Eves. 8:40. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40

EUGENE O'NEILL'S Trilogy

"MOURNING BECOMES ELECTRA"

1st Perf., Homecoming, 8:30 to 7 p. m.
2d Perf., The Hunted & Haunted,
8:00 to 11:10.

PRICES—\$1, \$1.50, \$2, \$2.50, \$3

ALVIN THEATRE
52d St., West of Broadway

Palace Announces New Summer Policy Of Continuous Shows

The Palace, ace vaudeville theatre of the world, announces that starting today, Saturday, May 14, a summer policy of ten modern vaudeville acts to run continuously from 11 in the morning until 11:30 at night will go into effect. The Saturday midnight performances, known as "Celebrity Night" at which the stars of stage, screen and newspaper headlines gather, are to be continued as in the past.

The new policy is in no way to affect the standard of attractions always seen at the Palace. The usual stars, foreign novelties and famed headliners of variety shall make up the programs.

There will be a marked reduction in prices, also believed in line with current conditions. The matinee tariffs from Monday until Saturday will be 25c and 50c, a thousand seats at the latter price. Weekday evenings, after six p. m., are to be 25c to 75c and the Sunday evenings will range from 25c to a dollar.

'Two Seconds' Due at Winter Garden May 18

"Two Seconds," starring Edward G. Robinson, opens for its world premiere at the Winter Garden Theatre on Wednesday evening, May 18th, replacing "The Mouthpiece," which, at that time, will have completed a four-weeks run. There will be no advance in prices for the Robinson opening, the new picture being shown for the first time immediately following the final presentation of the current feature.

Mervyn LeRoy, who directed "Five Star Final" and "Little Caesar" two Robinson successes, is responsible for the megaphone work in "Two Seconds."

EDNA BEST HERBERT MARSHALL

There's Always Juliet

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

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

Leslie Howard in PHILIP BARRY'S New Comedy

THE ANIMAL KINGDOM

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

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EMPIRE THEATRE, E'way & 40th St.
Evenings at 8:40
Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:30

THEATRE PARTIES

Party Branches and sympathetic organizations are requested when planning theatre parties to do so through the Theatrical Department of THE NEW LEADER, Phone ALgonquin 4-4622 or write to Bernard Feinman, Manager New Leader Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th Street, New York.

"The Best Play of the Spring Season"
MICHAEL BLANKFORTH & WALTER HART present —Pollock, Brooklyn Eagle
"MERRY-GO-ROUND"

AT THE AVON THEATRE

"A play that holds your interest relentlessly."
—Brown, Eve. Post

SEATS ON SALE 4 WEEKS IN ADVANCE

W. 45 St. Eves. 8:40.
Mats. Thurs. & Sat.

"A drama of considerable emotional impact."
—Atkinson, Times

Workers' Theatre
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PRESENTS
FRIDAY EVE., MAY 20, 1932
SATURDAY EVE., MAY 21, 1932
SUNDAY EVE., MAY 22, 1932
WALTER HASENCLEVER'S

"GENTLEMEN WANTED"

Social Satire in 3 Scenes
Direction by DAVID ROSSI
at the

DEBS AUDITORIUM
Tickets at 50 Cents
at the Rand Book Store

PLYMOUTH W. 45th St. Eves. 8:20
Mats. Thurs. Sat. 2:20

"There is fine material all through it and writing of great sympathy and humanity."
JOHN ANDERSON, Journal.

"Counsellor at Law"

by ELMER RICE
with PAUL MUNI

Henry Hull in Springtime for Henry

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

SHUBERT THEATRE
44th St. West of Broadway
Eves. 8:00; Mats. Wed. and Sat. 2:00

Fox Brooklyn Offers Fine Program of Stage-Screen Fare

'Young America' at the Fox Brooklyn Treats of Vital Problem; New Colorful Revue on Stage

"Young America," Frank Borzage's most recent addition to his list of cinema successes, is the featured screen attraction at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre this week. Treating of the problems faced by modern youngsters, this film tells a powerful story in a tender and human manner. It is wide in its scope, deft in its handling and genuine in its drama. And it contains those same elements that made Borzage's "Seventh Heaven" and "Bad Girl" such great pictures.

This film is truly an arresting one and is certain to give everyone who sees it a better understanding of youthful Americans. An exceptionally competent cast headed by Spencer Tracy includes Doris Kenyon, Beryl Mercer, Ralph Bellamy and Tommy Conlon.

A new Fanchon and Marco revue called "Stitch In Time" features this week's gala stage show. This unique presentation offers countless laughs, daring dances, luxurious settings against a whimsical and imaginative background. The nine individual acts which are included in this large cast are: Joe and Jane McKenna, Tommy MacCliffe, The Five DeCardos, Harriet Mortimer, Freda Sullivan, Carl Torney Dancers, George Kaye, Hal Beckett and Freddy Mack and his Fox Theatre Orchestra.

'The Street Singer' in Return Engagement At Capitol Theatre

The Street Singer (Arthur Tracy)—who, upon his last appearance at the Capitol Theatre "stopped the show cold" at every performance—will be one of the all-star features at the Capitol for week beginning today, the other stars including Edmund Lowe—Burns and Allen—Victor McLaglen (with Charles Judels)—Fifi D'Orsay—Cab Calloway and his Orchestra.

"When a Feller Meets a Friend"—starring Jackie Cooper and Charles "Chic" Sale with Ralph Graves—will occupy the Capitol's screen for the week.

BROOKLYN

FOX BROOKLYN
Flatbush Ave. & Nevins St.

FRANK BORZAGE'S
"YOUNG AMERICA"
with Spencer Tracy - Beryl Mercer
Doris Kenyon - Tommy Conlon
—Colorful Stage Revue—
● "STITCH IN TIME" ●
9 BIG ACTS
FREDDY MACK AND BAND

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EXOTIC SCREEN STAR
POLA NEGRI
In Person
Hear her glorious voice as she sings "PARADISE"
MILTON BERLE—Others
ON THE SCREEN
BILL BOYD in
"Carnival Boat"

In New Ufa Film at the Rivoli



In "Congress Dances" the Ufa Picture in English Form at the Rivoli. Lillian Harvey, above, is assisted by a celebrated European Cast which includes, among others, Conrad Veldt, Lil Dagover and Henry Garat.

"Grand Hotel" Coming To Brooklyn May 16—A World Famous Play

The Majestic Theatre will open its doors Monday, May 16, to the much-heralded and long-awaited "Grand Hotel," which comes to Brooklyn at the end of its fifty-six week run in New York, its twelve-week sellout engagement in Chicago, and its sensational country-wide tour. The original production and cast will be seen.

The Brooklyn engagement of "Grand Hotel" will conclude this famous stage play's long and successful run. It will be the last time this play can be seen by the theatregoers with this original cast and its original production just as it first opened on Broadway.

The Negroes' Votes

SINCE the end of the Civil War the Negro voter has become an important asset in politics. In the South he is practically eliminated by the hosts of Democracy while the Republicans more and more in that region also turn to a "Lily White" policy. This Republican trend in recent years has been checked somewhat by the large migration of Negroes to the North so that the political heirs of Lincoln are somewhat puzzled. Tossed between a desire to eliminate the Negro in the South and fears that this policy will turn Northern Negro voters from the party, the G. O. P. leaders are uncertain what to do.

William F. Nowlin presents a study of the Negro in our political life ("The Negro in American National Politics, Boston: The Stratford Co., \$2) since 1868. One may observe in this book an increasing disinterest in the Negro people after the G. O. P. made use of the race in consolidating the power of Northern capitalism. In national conventions, campaigns and administrations the Negro more and more has receded into the

Shepard Traube, Director of Jane Cowl's New Play, Is City's Youngest Dir.-Mgr.

When Jane Cowl comes to town next week at the Selwyn Theatre in "A Thousand Summers," a new play by Merrill Rogers, one will be able to see on display the handiwork of one who is, according to all available statistics, New York's youngest director-manager. He is Shepard Traube, aged twenty-five, sprung from Gotham's own educational system, and already the co-producer of three professional productions.

A little over two years ago, directly upon his graduation from New York University, Traube joined the Hedgerow Repertory Theatre in Rose Valley, Pa. After a brief period there, he returned to New York and became connected with the MacGowan and Reed office where he served as play-reader and stage-manager for Jane Cowl's production of "Twelfth Night," thus making himself known to Miss Cowl. Shortly thereafter he set himself up in the publicity business and handled several important accounts, at the same time contributing critical articles on the theatre to many leading periodicals. Last April he helped to produce at the Provincetown Theatre "Precedent," the play concerning itself with the Moony-Billings cause celebre which attracted great attention. This fall he set about the production and direction of "No More Frontier."

Early this spring, he purchased the rights to "A Thousand Summers" and persuaded Miss Cowl to play its chief role. Miss Cowl brought him into communication with Arch Selwyn, the distinguished manager of many successes, and an arrangement was soon concluded whereby Traube became the co-producer and director of the production. Thus, within the period of one year, the energetic young man has connected himself with three productions of quality.

'City of Song' Holds Over at Hindenburg

"City of Song," new German language film co-starring Brigitte Helm and Jan Kiepura, has been cordially received both by American audiences and large sections of New York's foreign-born population, and will continue indefinitely at the Hindenburg Theatre in West 48th street, where it opened last Monday night.

background. He gets enough political jobs from the parties where he proves to be an asset to answer any charge that he is not "recognized" and in this respect he is regarded as party merchandise as labor is. A few union leaders get jobs and thus labor is also "recognized."

The book is more of a factual survey than an interpretation and as such it will be useful to those interested in the status of the Negro in American politics.—J. O.

On the Fox Brooklyn Screen



Tommy Conlon as he appears in "Young America," the new film feature at the Fox. A New Fanchon and Marco Revue is the stage attraction.

'Siberian Patrol' at the Cameo, Strong Russian Film Adapted From 'The Armoured Train'

"Siberian Patrol," now at the Cameo theatre, is a film version of one of the most popular stage plays ever produced in Russia, "The Armored Train." It was produced by the Moscow Art Theatre four years ago, where it is still revived frequently, and it is now playing in more than 150 other theatres in the Soviet Union.

"Siberian Patrol" does not reproduce the entire play, but one picturesque incident, which is complete in itself. It is set amidst the deep winter snows of Siberia and, incidentally, contains some beautiful scenes of snow and forests.

The picture was directed by M. Z. Protozanov, one of the oldest and best known of Soviet directors. Incidental music, much of it based on Siberian folk songs, was written by the composer Shenshin. The music is skillfully combined with the rhythm of the changing scenes.

GRAND HOTEL

with
Greta Garbo
John Barrymore
Joan Crawford
Wallace Beery
Lionel Barrymore
A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture
ASTOR BROADWAY & 45th STREET
Daily—2:50-8:50; Sun. & Hols.—3-6-8:50
(4 Shows Sat.: 2:50-6-8:50 & Midnight)
Mat. (Exc. Sat.) 50c to \$1.00
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Dramatic Episode of the Intervention

SIBERIAN PATROL
CAMEO 42nd ST. & B'WAY
Opening of Giant Soviet Plant "MAGNITOGORSK"—Hockey Game Between Moscow & Leningrad—Sports in Moscow Stadium
EXCLUSIVE SOVIET NEWSREEL

'State's Attorney,' With John Barrymore, Continues at Mayfair

"State's Attorney," starring John Barrymore and having among an imposing cast, Helen Twelvetrees, William (Stage) Boyd, Jill Esmond, Mary Duncan and a host of other featured players, is to continue for a second week at the Mayfair Theatre.

"State's Attorney" brings a new chapter into what goes on in the lives of prosecuting gentlemen, telling a straightforward tale of rum, romance and rivalry. As matters stand, this picture will continue at the Mayfair until Thursday evening, May 19th.

At the Hippodrome

"Behind the Mask," a screen shocker, will be the feature attraction opening a week's engagement at the Hippodrome Theatre starting today. Told in a thrilling and breathless manner, "Behind the Mask" stars Jack Holt, while the balance of the cast boasts of Constance Cummings, Boris "Frankenstein" Karloff and Edward Van Sloan.

The eight acts of vaudeville on this same program is headed by Mike Bernard, the American pianist, and brother of the equally famous Sam Bernard. Mike Bernard, popularly known for his piano accomplishments in partnership with Jack Gurney, who made a name for himself with the famous Roxy Gang, with Mme. Schumann-Heink and several operatic presentations offer a program of better grade popular songs. Rita Royce with Sid and Al Reiss and Miss Tina colorfully offer a series of rhythmic dancing.

THE INTERNATIONAL HIT

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Now the Hit of New York
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"... will hold your interest from start to finish."—Daily News.
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Anna Sten
in E. A. DUPONT'S
"TRAPEZE"
Surpassing his "VARIETY"
Little CARNEGIE
145 West 57th Street
35c to 1 P.M.

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

The Costigan Relief Bill—Congress Serving the Rich Again—The Elections in France—Our Bankers

BACK THE COSTIGAN BILL

ALL workers, all lovers of justice should at once use whatever power they have in their localities and whatever ability may be theirs to make Congress act to demand the passage of the Costigan bill which would provide \$500,000,000 for direct federal aid to the unemployed. The bill is only a beginning of what Congress should do, but it is a beginning along right lines instead of along the wrong lines of the Wagner bill on which I have previously commented. Sixty per cent of the amount is to be apportioned to states on the basis of population, 40 per cent is an emergency fund to be administered under a federal committee. The principal fault of the bill is that it does not specify that the five hundred million dollar loan for this purpose must be repaid by surtaxes on incomes and inheritances. The bill is nevertheless more nearly in line with the first steps in the Socialist immediate demands than anything since the defeat of the original LaFollette-Costigan bill, which defeat was partly due to the failure of workers to organize effective demonstrations in its behalf. Unless this bill is passed rapidly by the Fourth of July such unemployed as cannot live on patriotic oratory or on their own ruggedness will have to starve or riot.



NORMAN THOMAS

BALANCING THE BUDGET—AND SERVING THE RICH

THE Senate's latest attempt to balance the budget is another triumph of class interest over both sound financing and humanity. On the face of it the Senate's income tax rate and schedule of graduated taxes seem better than the schedule in the House bill. Like the House bill the Senate bill makes no attempt to block the leak of riches into tax exempt bonds, and unlike the House bill, it permits capitalists to wipe out incomes by charging losses from sales of securities although their normal income may still be the same. Also it exempts dividends from taxation in personal incomes. The result is that the Treasury Department estimates that the House bill would have yielded in additional revenue from all income taxes \$298,000,000 whereas the Senate bill will yield \$287,000,000, a reduction of \$11,000,000 even though the Senate bill rates are higher. Moreover the Senate bill keeps a great many sales taxes which are wholly opposed to the increase of purchasing power in America. Three-cent postage is kept although two-cent postage is already making a profit for the government for that class of service. The original House tax on amusements by the Senate is extended to apply to all admission tickets above 10 cents. That means that the poor man must help balance the budget every time he goes to a movie. Under the House bill only admission over 45 cents would have been taxed. This will increase the yield in the amusement tax by 70 million dollars. One of the worst features of the Senate bill is that it lowers the proposed House rate on the estate and gift tax. That rate should have been very stiffly increased.

These are samples of what's happening. It must always be remembered moreover that in this balancing of the budget no provision has been made for unemployment relief. Let the workers understand clearly that this kind of a tax bill is part of the price they pay for voting Republican and Democrat and always supporting the parties of an owning class.

ECONOMIES

ONE way to help balance the budget is by economies. Those economies should not cripple the social services of the government nor should they reduce the wages of already ill-paid civil service employees. They should reduce military and naval ex-

penditures to the bone. They should cut out or reduce retirement allowances to officers many of whom on retirement take well paying jobs. Moreover they should cut out or at least greatly reduce payments to ex-soldiers who were not injured in the war. Because a man who volunteered or was drafted in the World War is injured five or six years later in an automobile accident or by falling off a step-ladder gives him no special claim on his fellow workers. He is entitled to help on the basis of unemployment, the same as other workers. One might not object to special help for these veterans or their families if it were not at the price of a proper system of help for the unemployed and for farmers crushed down under a burden of debt. If the unemployed would organize as the veterans have done they would be better off. The Socialist party offers the way.

THE GAINS IN FRANCE

THE results of the French election give one no reason to hold a jubilee but they were definitely encouraging. At least the French had too much sense to answer Hitler by a swing to the right. The really important factor is not so much the increase in Herriot's party, which despite its name, Radical Socialist, is only moderately liberal. Rather it is in the increase of the strength of our own Socialist comrades behind Leon Blum.

They ought to be a far more powerful factor in the new Parliament than in the old for winning the peace of Europe and hastening the triumph of the Socialist cause.

FOR HILDA CLAESSENS

WE cannot begrudge to our comrade, Hilda Claessens, the release that death has brought from great pain. We can tell her husband and her children how deeply we miss her and how much greater than any power of words to express is our sympathy for them. The Socialist party had no more loyal and devoted comrades than August and Hilda Claessens. Their love for each other strengthened their love for their cause and their capacity to serve it, and it was the kind of inspiration to us all that ought to find expression in the quality of our own service until the years bring us to the rest that she has found.

USUAL BANKING POLICIES?

LACK of time and space prevent my commenting on matters of some importance which have been called to my attention by comrades and friends. Among other things, I have been told that my comment two weeks ago on Lee, Higginson and Company was too sharp in that I implied conscious collusion between them and Krueger in what was virtually a fraudulent scheme. I am willing to agree that what Lee, Higginson did was quite in line with common banking practice in the mad gambling days of this dying capitalist epoch. For the rest I am trying now to find out whether this famous firm of bankers was partly victim and partly partner in wild and reckless gambling or whether it was simply in the class of the countryman to whom the smart guy sells the Brooklyn Bridge for a couple of hundred dollars. If so, Lee, Higginson and Company, unlike the countryman, managed to resell the bridge to other innocents. Any way you look at it the episode is an amazing commentary on capitalist banking in the United States, but I want to be fair and therefore I seek further light.

A Glean of Hope from France

"Neither Song
Nor Sermon"

FOR the last year or two about the only bright spot in Europe, from one point of view, has been the young republic of Spain, where the Socialist party has shown itself strong enough to compel steady progress in the right direction and wise enough not to undertake tomorrow's task before today's task is done. Substantial as are its achievements, and full of promise for the future, Spain is, however, relatively too small a country, and too far from the center of the continent to exercise any very powerful influence upon the European situation as a whole. For this reason the outcome of this month's parliamentary elections in France, though in itself less momentous than the Spanish revolution of 1931, may for the time have even greater significance for the world as a whole.

The increase of the Socialist delegation in the French lower house from 112 to 129, out of a total of 615, while it is of course gratifying, would not under ordinary circumstances be regarded as a possibly epoch-making event. It is so regarded for two reasons. In the first place, it comes at a time when reaction in its worst forms has been gaining ground everywhere north and east of the Rhine and the Alps, and when this reaction was everywhere being strengthened in one way or another by the policies of the French government. Laval and Tardieu, by their effective obstruction of

all efforts toward readjustment of reparations and war debts and toward concerted reduction of armaments, have done far more than Hitler to stimulate the revival of militaristic nationalism in Germany; and at the same time, by this authority, French money has been supporting Pilsudski and his colonels, Horthy and his counts, and that extraordinary gang of swindlers that misgoverns Rumania. Anything that tends to check these policies at Paris, brings a ray of hope for peace, democracy, and social progress all over the Continent.

In the second place, the gain for the Socialist party in France does not stand alone. It is accompanied by a gain for the Socialistic Radicals (not Radical Socialists, as our newspapers always call them) and a loss, not for the moderate elements so much as for the parties on the right. Our party's advance is only part of a general swing against all that Tardieu represents.

I know there is another way of viewing these things. The Bolsheviks wish always for a weakening of the center parties, even though the right should gain more by it than the left. A good many of our parlor revolutionists and so-called "intellectual radicals" in the United States share this view. So, I am sorry to say, do some within our own party. Class-conscious workingmen know better. But I must leave that general question for a time when I have more space in which to discuss it.

I know too that it is not wise to count chickens before they are fully hatched. Herriot will no doubt be premier before these lines are in type, but just how the new ministry is to be definitely constituted may not be known till later. It will have to be a coalition ministry, since no one party has more than about one-fourth of the membership of the chamber. Herriot is a very able man, and in some ways genuinely progressive. But he is not the least little bit of a Socialist, and he is not at all willing to make his premiership dependent upon the support or consent of the Socialist party if he can avoid it. There is still the possibility that he will be able to form a coalition with parties somewhat more conservative than his own. In such case, even though the parties represented in the ministry have altogether but a narrow majority, it might be comparatively safe, for the simple reason that the Socialists on one side and the reactionaries on the other could not very well both vote against it on any one issue. Even so, however, a government headed by the Socialistic Radical leader can hardly fail to be an improvement over those which have preceded it.

And speaking of bright spots, the Austrian election got overshadowed by the interest in the German presidential and Prussian legislative contests. Our brave comrades in Austria more than held their own, and the Fascist gains were made at the expense of elements not much less reactionary than themselves.

In taking Max Zuckerman, death has robbed our labor movement, industrial and political, of one of its truest and finest—I won't say leaders, but chosen servants, for that is what he was and what he wished to be. One cannot picture Zuckerman striving for personal advancement or glory, and we never knew him to refuse an actual call to duty. Had he been less modestly devoted, he might have been more widely known, but his service could hardly have been greater. His last years were darkened by loneliness, and yet he went on with his work while strength remained. He has richly earned the long rest he desired.

Of Hilda Claessens I cannot trust myself to write. Young, active, loved and loving, with so much to live for, so much to do and such will to do it—the loss is too senselessly cruel to be spoken of calmly.

A. L.

Socialists in Peace Parade In New York Saturday

AN anti-war parade arranged by the peace-loving organizations of New York City and which will be participated in by the Socialist party will take place on Saturday afternoon, May 21.

It will start at 1.30 from Washington square, will proceed up Fifth avenue to 23rd street, then to Madison square, up Madison avenue to 59th street, and west to Columbus Circle, where a mass meeting will be held.

Every effort is being made to muster the forces of the Socialist party to help swell the ranks of those who will demonstrate against war and imperialism and for Peace and Total Disarmament. Circulars are being distributed announcing that the Socialist party contingent will assemble in front of the People's House, 7 East 15th street, to join the parade on Fifth avenue as it passes 15th street.

Progressive labor organizations of New York City have also been communicated with in the hope that they, too, will take part in the march for Peace.

To make the Socialist party section as colorful as possible the cooperation of the Rebel Arts group has been sought for the making of one or more floats to depict graphically the Socialist opposition to War.

Among the organizations that will be represented in the parade, in addition to the Socialist party, are, the New York Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, War Resisters League, Committee on Militarism in Education, Bronx Free Fellowship, Young People's Socialist League and the Pioneer Youth.

Tucker P. Smith will be chief marshal.