

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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SATURDAY, JUNE 4, 1932

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TO THE TOILERS OF THE NATION

An Appeal For United Political Action To End The Nightmare of Capitalism

TO THE Workingmen and Women of the United States:

The national convention of the Socialist Party sends greetings and hope to you, the laboring millions, in this year of economic collapse, widespread destitution and hunger. The industrial order is not only paralyzed; it is sinking lower every day. Its decline brings ever more human victims into the breadlines. It has swept eight millions of workers out of their employment and has reduced millions of working farmers to beggary.

While this fearful disaster has brought gloom, uncertainty and dire want into millions of toilers' homes, the two government parties in the cities, the states and the nation,—the Republican and Democratic parties—have utterly failed us. Almost three years have passed since the collapse. The jobless and destitute are charity wards.

Committees of the organized farmers and workers have appeared at the state capitals and before Congress. They have paraded our distress in all of its hideous aspects. They have pleaded for legislative relief. They have warned of food riots. They have warned of the mounting anger and despair. They have earnestly asked for a statesmanship equal to the greatest emergency that has faced us since the Civil War.

Misery Multiplies

But to no purpose. The number of the jobless has increased. The breadlines have lengthened. The farmers have been reduced to barter. Wages have been mercilessly cut. Farm prices have sunk below the cost of production. Homes and farms have been lost. Household goods are being pawned to buy food. Families are being broken up. Hunger and overcrowding have brought increasing mental ailments and physical diseases. Unfortunate human beings are being driven to crime and suicide. The sources of relief are being rapidly exhausted and widespread starvation now threatens us.

The legislative representative of the American Federation of Labor in Washington, early in May, declared to a Senate committee that the "doors of revolution" will be thrown open if this drift continues. City central bodies of labor all over the country are also raising their voices in radical protest.

The president of the National Farmers' Union, in a nation-wide radio broadcast, has called the masses to struggle against starvation and political impotence. Greed and avarice have blinded our ruling class, said he. They plunge on to "inevitable doom" and the working masses must take their cause into their own hands.

The Mood of Revolt Grows

The railroad brotherhood chiefs, on May 13, presented a solemn warning to President Hoover. They declared that in the last few years "employment has declined over 30 per cent, payrolls have declined over 50 per cent, and the prices of farm products have declined over 55 per cent—and it is getting worse. The total pay of railroad workers alone has been cut by over \$1,000,000,000."

The heads of the railroad unions refuse to "take the responsibility for the disorder which is sure to arise if conditions continue." They warned the Presi-

dent that we "will not accept starvation while the two major political parties struggle for control of the government."

Everywhere there is fear of blind risings. Everywhere there is discontent with the Republican and Democratic parties and their agents in office. The industrial depression is only equalled by the bankruptcy of these two parties. Masses of the working people are in a mood of political revolt.

Join the Fight for Power

In this solemn hour of unemployment, nation-wide distress and hunger, the Socialist party proudly recalls its steadfast adherence to principle. For more than three decades it has held aloft the banner of independent political action by the working people. It has time after time warned of the collapse of this capitalist system. It has urged the masses to support a party of their own which they could use to serve their own welfare.

Now in this tragic hour of measureless suffering and universal uncertainty, the workers of the nation are not represented in the seats of power.

The Socialist party appeals to you, the toilers of the nation, and all who recognize the need of a fundamental change in our social order, to join with us in the struggle for political power and social justice for the masses. The tillers of the soil and the workers of the cities are an overwhelming majority. We invite the disinherited to join with us in a struggle for the extermination of the Republican and Democratic parties.

Those two parties are owned by the banking and industrial magnates who live on our labor. They stand indicted before the bar of suffering humanity. A vote for them is a vote thrown away. It is a vote that sanctions this universal misery. It is a vote for our enemies. It is a vote against our families and our class. It is a vote for destitution, hunger, unemployment, disease and ruin.

The Party of the Workers

The Socialist party is your party. It is your duty to vote with your party and to strike a blow at the rotting social system and its governing parties.

Working people of the United States, Unite! All power to Labor! Onward to human emancipation! Let us march forward as a great ballot-armed army and build the Commonwealth of Labor and end this nightmare of capitalism forever!

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE of the SOCIALIST PARTY

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|--|--------------------------------|
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Milwaukee, Wisconsin
May 25th, 1932

NEW LEADER

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

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The Critical Tasks Ahead

PREDICTIONS of some sort of an emergency organization to be set up in Washington after the adjournment of Congress have been hinted in recent weeks. This is possible but not certain. The ruling gentlemen at Washington are certainly nervous. Capitalism does not respond to the opiates of Doctor Hoover. The patient continues to sink and Hoover would like to have consulting physicians on hand during the absence of Congress.

In a few weeks the two parties of capitalism will be meeting in national conventions to nominate their salesmen. The latter have the job of selling the hideous system to millions of voters and these millions have it in their hands to overthrow it. All the conditions favorable to a political and social revolution exist in the United States. A proletarian upheaval in the November election would place the whole capitalist system in the hands of the working class to reorganize it on a Socialist basis.

It is too much to expect this but an emergency commission at Washington may also be inspired with the view of coping with this eventuality. Moreover, the next winter is likely to be a critical one with millions of the jobless and the hungry despairing of any relief. A commission of high batters might well be transformed into a committee of public safety to preserve capitalism as well as "law 'n order."

The future is in the lap of the gods and Socialists face tasks that make the war emergency of 1917 sink into insignificance. We are in a race with time. Let us make the most of it in the five months of agitation we have before us.

Soldier Opinion

THE soldier element after every war in which the United States has been engaged has been reactionary but there have been exceptions in the war veterans of the World War. Quite a number of the conscripts in the last war had served in labor struggles and in one way or another had fought for a real democracy against the internal enemy, our ruling classes.

Even within the conservative soldier ranks there is an opinion openly critical of the American plutocracy and this is occasionally expressed in *The National Tribune*, a weekly publication of the soldier element. A recent editorial scores the capitalist leaders of industry because of their policy of wage-cutting and then turns upon the Hoover Administration for adopting the same policy regarding government employees.

"Industry, which is controlled by the big bankers," says the *Tribune*, "has already broken its pledge to continue the American standard of wages, but that does not give the Government a right to follow suit. The maintenance of the present wage scale in the Government would be a rebuke to those who have furthered their own interests at the expense of their employees and their employees' children."

Over and over again the *Tribune* calls attention to the domination of capitalist enterprise by the great bankers and in so doing it is in accord with the Socialist interpretation of modern capitalism. Its sympathy with the working class in industry and government also shows a trend of thought that is welcome. The publication was founded in 1877 and has a long history of conservatism and Republican regularity. Its shift in behalf of the underdog is a welcome sign in an unexpected quarter.

Millions Fed by Federal Rations

NO ONE knows the exact number of the jobless in this country. It is a phase of capitalism that our ruling classes do not care to exhibit in reliable statistics but the report of the Red Cross on the flour being distributed out of the forty million bushels in the hands of the Farm Board lifts the curtain a little so that we can see some of the tragedy.

From this report we gather that three-fourths of the counties throughout the nation have asked for flour and it is also being distributed in Alaska and the District of Columbia. More than ten million people are in receipt of this Federal charity ration. Pennsylvania heads the list with over 200,000 families, Illinois is second with nearly 152,000 families, New York third with about 93,000, New Jersey fourth with nearly 64,000, and Connecticut fifth with nearly 30,000.

The reader will observe that the states with the highest productive powers head the parade of the starving. The rationing of the destitute began early in March and some counties have ordered the second time. Applications for 218,000 tons of live stock feed were also approved to keep cattle alive. When even animals are affected by the economic collapse, what is to be said of the system that can make it appear more absurd?

Thus far there is no sign of recovery. Since the origin of the Socialist Party there has not been such an opportunity for our message. Let us make the most of it.

Art in Competition With Eskimo Pies

ONE of the keenest criticisms of capitalism made by Marx and Engels some eighty years ago was that it had "stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage laborers." It has left "no other nexus between man and man than naked self interest, than callous cash payment."

The United States has carried this debasement farther than any other country. In Europe some canons of honor survive as memories of the days when feudal gentlemen ruled. In this country the capitalist spirit has been unrestrained. Education is measured by the amount of wood pulp turned into paper. Sinclair Lewis did not exaggerate when he also portrayed Babbitt estimating public education by the modern plumbing installed in the schools.

Last week art had its innings when it descended to the sidewalks of New York. Here artists exhibited their paintings by the side of the peddlers selling hot dogs and Eskimo pies. Artists reduced to poverty sought a street market in competition with other commodities and with the view of eliminating commission men. Some obtained enough to pay their room rent; others packed their stock without effecting a sale.

This incident is as strong an indictment of capitalism as the hungry children living in cheerless tenements. The artist is a bondman of capitalism the same as the worker. A free world of Socialism will give free scope to the genius of the artist and make creative work a joy, not a matter of selling wares.

Bright Minds Offer A Jobless Solution

AMONG the bright suggestions for the starvelings of capitalism is a "back to the land" crusade. Henry Ford and Governor Roosevelt support this idea. Agriculture is today a poverty-stricken occupation and the proposal is to shift workers from the city breadlines to the country where they can raise their own foodstuffs.

This may serve these outcasts to the extent of getting some fodder so that they can keep alive but it does not solve their problem and at the same time it would push the farmers to lower levels of distress if generally acted upon. Assume that millions of workers plant little patches of land to raise foodstuffs for their own consumption. There will be that many who will not consume what farmers are raising. The glut of

rural produce will increase and the farmers will be the main sufferers.

Moreover, the millions settled in small areas will be tempted to produce a surplus in addition to their own keep to obtain money for the purchase of other necessities. This will further depress prices of farm produce and further enhance the misery of the farmers. So the bright minds would make a bad situation worse. Their idea of helping the starving is to pile one group of economic outcasts on the backs of another group. They are blind masters of a rotting capitalism who would in their ignorance increase the misery of their victims.

Austrian Socialists Face New Tasks

A NEW situation faces the Austrian Socialists in the formation of a Christian Social-Farmers-Heimwehr coalition cabinet which is a swing away from the Buresch Cabinet which was forced out by the Socialists. Dr. Engelbert Dollfuss is Chancellor and heads the twenty-first ministry in fourteen years. The Heimwehr, the armed bands of reaction, is represented in the Cabinet by two members, one being the former governor of Styria who refused to suppress the armed march on Socialist Vienna last year. However, the Heimwehr is merging into Fascism and the trend is a consolidated Fascism against the Socialists.

The Christian Socialists (Catholic) are going in the same direction. One of their leaders declared that there is no use of appealing to brains and that "to their own damage the Christian Socialists have forgotten that anti-Semitism is a most popular slogan. "A clever cartoonist characterized this attitude thus, "Since the Jewish bankers have no more money, let's throw them out." Austrian Socialists face a sharpening of the hostility between them and the general reaction and they may have to meet bitter struggles in the near future.

It is also reported that Hugo Brietner, the financial administrator of Red Vienna, will resign at the end of this year because of poor health. Like Milwaukee, Vienna is free of debt, one of the very few European capitals that can make this boast, while its housing program for the workers is a remarkable piece of Socialist work. Brietner has earned the right to rest but our Austrian comrades can ill afford to lose his services.

Germany Drifting in The Depression Tide

CHANCELLOR BRUENING is out and Col. Franz von Papen heads the new Cabinet in Germany. The new Chancellor is a conservative Centrist but favors a Franco-German accord which is about the only thing good that can be said of him. The Socialist group informed President Hindenburg that they were not interested in forming a new government while Hitler made his support conditional on an early dissolution of the Reichstag and new elections.

In the State of Anhalt the Fascists last week increased their vote from 97,778 a year ago to 131,525 and the middle parties declined from a vote of 15,012 a year ago to 2,308 last week. This has been the general trend of German elections in recent years. To be sure, Anhalt is a rural state and Socialism has not been strong there but the decay of the middle class parties and drift of their supporters to Hitler runs true to the general trend.

Late in March a Berlin correspondent of the New York Times wrote that side by side with the rise of Hitlerism many Germans are patronizing stargazers while bookshops more and more display works on occultism and magic. The middle class mind turning to sorcery and an empty windbag like Hitler is a curious outcome of Germany's economic prostration. The nation that produced Marx, Lasalle, Hegel and other great geniuses finds a dying class afflicted with mental paralysis.

Jobless workers rioted in many German cities last week and Fascists and Communists clashed. Long rows of shop windows were smashed and the hungry seized food. The outcome? As a fat man once said, "God only knows."

Herriot Heads New French Cabinet

ECONOMIC conditions grow more critical in France as M. Herriot forms a new government. The national congress of the Socialist Party debated three days as to whether it would participate with the Socialist Radicals in the government and finally laid down the following conditions: Peace agreements with other nations embracing reduction of war credits; opposition to the commerce in arms and nationalization of the manufacture of arms; a balanced budget without reducing the social services; State control of banking; nationalization of the railroads; a national monopoly of insurance; a forty-hour week for the workers and a general amnesty for political prisoners.

Herriot rejected most of these demands and he will endeavor to steer a majority support out of the other political groupings. Herriot comes from the old revolutionary city of Lyons and has frequently engaged in battles with the Socialists over municipal affairs. Like most premiers Herriot has announced his program in very vague terms. "I shall serve the interests of France and humanity," said Herriot. "We seek no egotistic privilege, but only to work with all our might, as in the past, to obtain international security." One may read into this anything desired. Of course, Herriot must be a little more definite when in office on specific issues and on the whole it is likely that he will be more reasonable and sane than the reactionary clique that has contributed much to the terrible privations which the masses suffer in Central Europe.

Unsteady Spain's Labor Violence

SPAIN has not solved her problems, by clearing out the old feudal remnants, important as that job was, but is afflicted with the malady that affects the rest of the world. Spain is the last stronghold of the syndicalist movement and last week syndicalist headquarters in many cities were raided. It is reported that hundreds of bombs were discovered and that they had been accumulated for use in some future demonstration.

Early this week syndicalist strikes broke out all over Spain and troops were called out. Numerous arrests were made and it is reported that Andres Nin, said to have been a former secretary to Leon Trotsky, was arrested in Barcelona with twenty others. One of the tragic post-war results has been the division of the working class into antagonistic factions, weakening the whole working class movement, in the face of the imperative need of united action against the ruling classes.

The Russo-Japanese Danger of War

THE resolutions committee of the national convention of the Socialist Party had an important resolution which it was prepared to unanimously report to the delegates. The executive of the Labor and Socialist International, considering Russo-Japanese relations, urges the Labor and Socialist parties to suspend criticism of Soviet Russia if Japan attacks Russia.

This is an obvious Socialist duty for whatever differences we may have with Communism, Socialists know that a war with Russia by any of the capitalist powers can only mean making Russia a colony of the imperialist nations and make the Russian masses conscripts of international exploitation. The bourgeois powers in the role of "liberators" is capitalism masked as piety.

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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The Right Road to Socialism

Party Summons the Workers to Use Their Power To Emancipate Their Class From Capitalism

THE uncompromising Populists in 1896 coined a phrase to express their opposition to surrender of anything to the politics of capitalism. They urged their following to stay in the "Middle of the Road."

We have seen a report of the League for Independent Political Action that surveys various political trends. It includes references to progressives and liberals, Socialists and Communists, the Liberty Party and other groupings. There is no underlying philosophy in the survey. The L. I. P. A. wants a third party and wants some combination of these elements to effect it.

Socialists are frankly opposed to this view. The Socialist movement is based upon the claims and interests of the toilers in industry and agriculture. We have an aim. It is not merely a desire to get a mass of individuals into a political movement to obtain office. The offices are only important to us when they are used to serve our aim. That aim is to use every measure of power we win to strengthen the working class and to prepare ourselves for the task of ushering in a Socialist commonwealth.

Industry and Agriculture

Out of this decaying order of capitalism have come various dissenting political groups. Some hark back to the Populism which sought to give agriculture a place of equality by the side of capitalist enterprise. Capitalism has conquered agriculture and the old aim is impossible of realization. Capitalism itself must be conquered by the working masses in general.

There are also the liberal and "progressive" groups, most of them of middle class views. They seek to cushion the yoke of capitalism, not to remove it. Many of them seek the "good man" in capitalist politics. Many of them hope for the revival of small enterprise. Many yearn to check the onward march of the capitalist dinosaurs that are eating up small capitalists and business men. They want capitalism without its evils. They want to end their own troubles, not to end all exploitation. They want a permanent niche in the robber's burg and fear that the dinosaurs will root them out.

If these middle groups turn to the working masses for help it is not with the view of levelling the fortress of capitalism and releasing all who are in bondage. As one L. I. P. A. speaker put it in Minnesota a few months ago, small business men and capitalists are asked to form a "third party" because their prosperity depends upon the prosperity of the workers. That is, make the packhorse contented so that he will not object to being ridden.

It is of little concern whether the masses are ridden by the upper plutocracy alone or whether middle groups share with the plutocracy the privilege of riding. The fundamental point of the Socialist aim is to see to it that the working masses shall cease to be packhorses for anybody. It is this that guides all our political action. It is this that makes us a party of Labor.

Dying Class

At the very time when capitalism is sinking to lower depths of prostration, when middle class property crumbles before the heavy artillery of the greater capitalism, we are asked to yoke the Socialist Party with middle class groups. Indeed, one L. I. P. A.'er pleads that the working masses be recruited under the guidance of middle class leaders for a "broad" program of reforms suitable to these leaders. That is to say, let the lesser capitalists lead the workers to the political shambles rather than the great plutocracy!

And this occurs when the ranks of the workers are being recruited by the decay of capitalism itself. It occurs when the whole pressure of the depression tends to bring the workers into the field as a fighting force for their class. Important sections of the professional and middle classes are being plunged into the ranks of the workers below. They disappear in the general mass misery at the base of society and out of which comes the revolutionary class that will eventually end capitalism itself.

The middle classes are dying classes. The workers are growing, increasing in numbers, and are being hammered into a solidarity of life and interests. They are the class that must take the leadership in the

struggle with capitalism. To summon a decaying class to this job is to try to roll back the wheel of history. It means to distrust the working class and attempt to use it as a pawn in the political struggle for middle class aims. It is to ask the workers to help save others from extinction, not to struggle for their own emancipation.

Where Socialists Differ

These considerations constitute the fundamental difference between Socialists and all vague third party strivings. If large sections of the workers break with the parties of capitalism, if the labor unions and organizations of working farmers so break, that will be a different matter. With them we can cooperate. Their interests correlate with our aims. They constitute the army of occupation, the army that must occupy the seats of power now held by the police and the retainers of capitalism.

Moreover, it is a mistake to talk of a third party. Another one will be a fourth party and nothing else if we accept the existing party labels as expressing reality.

But it would be more correct to say that the two ruling parties are really one, two sections of one party owned by the capitalist and banking plutocracy. The two sections are kept by funds that fall like manna from the hands of the plutocracy. To make the masses understand this is essential to any sound educational work.

So we Socialists will march straight ahead. We will keep in the middle of the road. We shall turn into no liberal or progressive by-paths; we shall not be lured into any middle class third party swamp.

We shall go to the masses of the disinherited, to the millions who have every interest in destroying capitalism and no reason for preserving it. Socialism without this basic conception is a fraud. With it Socialism has made progress all over the world.

Forward in this political struggle for a huge vote for Thomas and Maurer, the standard bearers of the Socialist Party, and for an earnest struggle to win the very soul of the working class.

President Hoover's Tricky Epigram

"Neither Song Nor Sermon"

President Hoover's Tricky Epigram

PRESIDENT HOOVER'S so-called epigram (that's rather too fine a name for it) that "We cannot squander ourselves into prosperity" is as true and as false as such smart sayings usually are—that is, while formally true, it is substantially false. To squander is to spend aimlessly and foolishly. By using this word in his discussion of the proposed policy of increased expenditure on public works as a method of combatting unemployment, the President quietly slips in the conclusion that such expenditure would be reckless and unwise, and so condemns it without proof. The pity is that thousands of persons who ought to know better allow themselves to be imposed upon by this cheap verbal trick.

We are in the midst of a crisis of overproduction—or call it a crisis of underconsumption, if you will. The two expressions come to the same thing. We are able to produce more foods than can be sold at a profit. For the capitalists, who control industry and whose sole purpose is to get pro-

fits, there is but one way to meet this difficulty—that is, to cut down production to the point where there will be no glutting of the market; and by doing this they disemploy labor and cause widespread misery.

They would rather produce more, if they could sell more at a profit. So they and their spokesmen cry out that the only solution is for the public to buy more goods. President Hoover has joined in this outcry, accusing the people of hoarding their money and calling on them to spend it.

Everyone must know how silly that appeal was. It caused so much indignant laughter that the President himself has dropped it. The mass of the people would gladly buy, but they have not the wherewithal to pay. The rich are buying as much as they desire, and they are not going to buy more just for the sake of spending. That, they rightly say, would be squandering their money.

So, in the ordinary course of capitalist business, we are in a blind alley. We can escape from the dilemma only if organized society takes the matter out of the course of business and deals

with it on social lines. And it could do this in either or both of two ways.

It could restrict production without causing unemployment and misery, by drastically shortening the work-week and thus distributing among all the workers the amount of employment that is available.

Or it could maintain production at a high level, without glutting the market, by taxing away a sufficient part of the capitalist's profits and using this revenue to employ labor in enterprises that will not throw goods into the market.

Both methods are good, from the point of view of Labor's interest and the welfare of the great majority of the people. Both are in themselves practicable. There is only one reason why either or both of them should not be followed. That reason is that the capitalists object to both, and that the masses of the people are not yet alert enough, well enough informed, self-reliant enough, to overrule the capitalists' objection.

What shocks President Hoover

in the public works proposal is the notion of so-called non-productive expenditure—and he makes it clear that by non-productive enterprises he means such as do not "provide a return on the investment." To his thoroughly capitalistic mind the very thought of such expenditure seems irrational, immoral, and almost sacrilegious. The purpose of all economic activities, to his way of thinking, is not the satisfaction of human wants, but the realization of profit.

To be sure, he says that individually we ought to buy more food, more clothing, more furniture, more automobiles and radio sets. But would this not be non-productive expenditure? For the purchasers, yes. We cannot make a profit by purchasing goods for use. Ah, but the capitalists can and do make a profit by selling them to us. That is the important thing from their point of view, and from the viewpoint of their spokesman in the White House.

So what he objects to is not non-productive expenditure in itself, but expenditure of public moneys upon enterprises which,

no matter how useful to the people, would not be profitable to the capitalists.

And that is just what we demand, for a double reason—first, because they are socially useful; and second, just because they are non-productive, in Mr. Hoover's sense of the word. And we demand it, not as an emergency measure only, but as a permanent policy—as a method which, while relieving distress within the capitalist system, can also be made a means of transition to the new social order, in which human welfare instead of private profit will be the guiding purpose of industry.

A. L.

- DO YOU WANT TO INCREASE THE INTEREST IN SOCIALISM?
- DO YOU WANT TO INCREASE THE SOCIALIST PARTY VOTE AND MEMBERSHIP?
- DO YOU WANT PEOPLE TO KNOW WHAT THE SOCIALIST PARTY IS DOING IN THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN?
- SEND THE NEW LEADER AT ALL YOUR MEETINGS. PLACE AN ORDER TODAY FOR WEEKLY BUNDLE OF THE NEW LEADER.

Socialism and Middle Class Revolt

By Reinhold Niebuhr

It is still a question whether the four year presidential program prepared by the League for Independent Political Action will become the basis for a new political revolt in the next election. But it is quite clear what the character of such a revolt would be, should it eventuate. It would be a middle class revolt. It would give an opportunity for those portions of the middle classes who have the social intelligence to understand or who have suffered sufficiently to realize that their economic interests are in conflict with the interests of the overlords who control the Democratic and Republican parties. The character of the revolt would be determined partly by the temper of the political credo which the League has presented and partly by inexorable factors in the American political situation.

The League intended to lay the foundations for a political revolt which would include industrial workers and farmers, which would in fact place these classes in the spearpoint of the political rebellion. Partly because the industrial workers are even more politically inert and docile than the disaffected middle classes and partly because the program was conceived by intellectuals who are not in organic relation to workers movements the actual program which the league has presented speaks the language of a consumers' liberalism rather than that of industrial workers. Its political ideal envisages an economic society which remains essentially unchanged but which is saved from the worst abuses of the present order by the intervention of the political state. The state is to be used to recapture the profits of the few and to spread them among the many; and increased social control is to correct the more flagrant injustices which now result from the anarchy of individualism.

The Worker's Choice

The League stops short of the Socialist principle of the social ownership of the means of production (the inevitable goal of industrial workers, once they are politically conscious) though it espouses this principle in regard to public utilities. In other words it makes the means, which parliamentary Socialists of Europe have used to approach their ultimate goal of social ownership, into a political program without stating the goal in unequivocal terms. It has failed to state this goal, one suspects, partly because the present members of the League are not certain that they believe in it and partly because they believe that the American people are not ready for it. That means that the middle classes are not ready for it, for the League has made up its mind, more or less, that the middle classes are more ripe for political revolt than the workers. It might reason that the workers are no more ready for a Socialist creed than the middle classes and it would have a good deal of evidence for such a conclusion.

But if one takes the political history of western civilization into consideration and does not confine the outlook to the American scene, one can not escape the conviction that any industrial class which arrives at political maturity and fully understands the logic of development in an industrial civilization, is bound to ex-

The Role of the League for Independent Political Action and the Future of Socialism in the United States

press itself in collectivist terms. Middle classes may hold on to semi-individualistic creeds but no workers' group will do so. Since the workers are bound to understand the limitations of capitalist society much better than any middle class group it is inevitable that they should not only demand a more thorough-going reorganization for it but that they should be more urgent in pressing toward their goal.

The day is past when workers in any country will choose between liberalism and Socialism. They can only choose between Socialism and Communism; and they will choose Socialism only if it can prove that it can take solid steps in the direction of the goal of social ownership, which proletarian groups are bound to set as their political objective.

Socialists and the League

Since a middle class revolt is a more immediate possibility in American politics than a proletarian one (a proletarian class being an inevitability but not an actuality) it is quite natural that the League should consciously aim to exploit the disaffection of the lower and the more intellectual middle classes and that its program should be appropriated by them, even if this were not its intention. A middle class paradise (such as America has been) will not disintegrate without an expression of the desire for emanci-

pation of the lower middle classes from the political power of the more potent commercial and industrial groups.

Such a political movement can not expect, however, to gain the support of a political party which is consciously aiming at the organization of the industrial workers. If the League for Independent Political Action expects the Socialists to co-operate with it either in the coming election or in any other it is not thinking realistically. The strategy of the Socialist Party is clearly to move to the left rather than to the right. It must think not of the next election but of the future. If it has any faith in its dogmas and any understanding of the crisis in which the whole of western civilization stands, it will regard immediate possibilities with less interest than ultimate inevitabilities.

There will be a difference of opinion among Socialists on the importance of doing what the League intends to do. There will be some who will regard any break in the crust of American conservatism as a good thing. They will rejoice therefore if the midwifery efforts of the League actually result in the birth of a new party. Others, however, will be justly fearful of the complications such a party may create in the future. A new political party which is based upon the disaffec-

tion of the middle classes can not fashion a new society because these classes lack the cohesion to develop a strong political power and they do not understand the crisis in our civilization well enough to demand sufficiently thoroughgoing changes in the social structure.

Economics and Politics

If a strong labor party is organized, or if the Socialist Party expands to become the instrument of an awakened labor world it may possibly draw a considerable portion of the middle classes into its orbit. But if a middle class party is organized it will prevent the unambiguous conflict between Toryism and radicalism from developing as rapidly as it otherwise would. It will force America, in other words, to pass through several decades of political development which European history has proven to be futile.

Liberalism, even if it expresses itself in a kind of consumers radicalism and accepts a creed of social control, gives modern society no ultimate political program, partly because the middle classes who elaborate such a political creed have no permanent place in the structure of modern industrial society and partly because the program is itself inadequate for the needs of an industrial society.

The inadequacy of the program could be briefly described as a too naive reliance upon the ability of

the political state to equalize the injustices which an economic society, based upon private property, creates. Economic power is the significant power of modern society and as long as it remains intact it will bend political agencies to its own uses. It is conceivable, of course, that a parliamentary Socialism will approach the goal of social ownership by establishing progressive degrees of social control and by equalizing income and wealth through stiff income and inheritance taxes, the proceeds of which are used for social services. But no political party will have either the will or the vigor to undertake such a program if it does not have a goal which goes beyond the objective of social control to that of social ownership and which does not have something of the vehemence which can only come out of class conscious political activity.

If events were not moving so rapidly in the whole western world and if America were not becoming increasingly an integral part of the whole structure of western industrial society it would be conceivable that we would follow the path which European industrial nations have trod about thirty to fifty years after them. In that case the liberal radicalism of the League for Independent Political Action would have real meaning and promise. But if one studies the history of western society and sees how the whole of it is bound together and how the logic which is working itself out in it is certain to affect even so politically an immature nation as America and telescope its political progress, one is inclined to put less weight upon political programs which have the immediate prejudices and convictions of the American people in mind.

It may be important to challenge the pretensions of the Republican and Democratic parties in the next election and it is most certainly important to frustrate the kind of politics which was revealed in the recent sales tax, but it is more important to build a political party which is ready to guide the workers in the political paths into which they will be driven by all the necessities of the historic situation in which they stand.

Amnesty for Fascists

HELSINGFORS, (L.S.I.) — The Finnish Parliament has passed an Act pardoning the majority of those who took part in the Fascist coup d'état at the beginning of the year. The Act does not apply to the ringleaders, the agitators and the financiers of the coup d'état, amounting in all to from 100 to 200 persons, but liberates some 5,000 others. The Social-Democratic group voted against the bill.

The Socialist Victory in France

New Government Will Swing to the Left

By Herman Kobbe

THE legislative elections in France were a notable victory for militant Socialism. Our own party gained some 30 seats (from 101 in the previous general elections of 1928), and the infiltration of Socialist ideals into the lower middle class was shown by the growth of the so-called Radical-Socialist party led by Herriot from 122 seats in the last legislature to 162 in the present.

The Communist vote was heavily cut. They elected 10 of their men as against 13 in the previous Parliament, and of these all but two owe their election to the fact that the Socialist candidates withdrew in their favor on the second ballot. For example, in a Versailles district on the first ballot De Fels, middle class capitalist, came first with 8,031; Peri, Communist, second, with 7,930; De-traves, Socialist, had 2,366, and five other candidates some 6,000

votes. On the second ballot the Socialist withdrew urging his supporters to clinch the defeat of the capitalist candidate, De Fels, by concentrating all working class votes on Peri, the Communist. The final result was Peri, Communist, elected with 12,222; De Fels, Capitalist, 11,277, and two minor candidates trailing.

Thus in most of the districts won by the Communists. But, on the other hand, wherever a Socialist led in the first round the Communists waged a bitter campaign in the second round to defeat the Socialist, and they succeeded in doing so in about 12 districts—some in Paris and others elsewhere, thus making the Capitalists a free gift of a dozen or more seats in the Chamber.

In spite of these suicidal tactics, however, a Left government with a Socialistic program can be formed based on a coalition of our party and Herriot's. This leaves the Communists, who, it

must be remembered, mostly owe their election to Socialist votes, to form a futile and ridiculous opposition in alliance with the various groups of the capitalist parties—now in the minority. Very beneficial results can be expected from the new government. The lot of the growing hundreds of thousands of unemployed will be improved first by emergency measures, and we trust eventually by a long-range constructive program of public works, and aid to farmers. Second, international peace and disarmament will take one or two long steps forward if Herriot—our capable and experienced ally—goes to represent France at Geneva. The peace of Europe looks better today than any time since the set-back of labor in England last Fall.

As a result of the election Socialism now is in a stronger position in France than in any other large country and Communism is pretty well down and out.



NEWSPAPERMEN OF THE NATION who gave the Milwaukee national convention of the Socialist party the widest coverage of any similar party gathering. More than sixty reporters and correspondents were present, including men from all the news services. Many are shown here seated before the platform, where Mayor Hoan (to the right) is presiding.

YOUR BRANCH OR LOCAL SHOULD PLACE A STANDING ORDER FOR A BUNDLE OF YOUR PAPERS. SELLING THE NEW LEADER AT ALL YOUR MEETINGS WILL RESULT IN A LARGER VOTE AND MEMBERSHIP.

Liberty in Kentucky—Try and Find It

By Sam Sandberg

I WOULD have preferred a longer stay in Bell and Harlan Counties. We went there to distribute relief, to test our constitutional rights and to talk to people about conditions. I would have preferred being allowed to investigate, as a student, the living conditions of the miners. I would like to have seen the mines, to have talked to the owners and operators. The school system, the distribution of relief, the company towns—all these things interested me.

But none of these things were we permitted to look into. Despite the fact that our mission was a peaceful and lawful one, despite the fact that no one was obliged to talk to us who did not want to, our relief car was immediately commandeered by duly constituted officials and we were turned over to a self-constituted mob of business men and mine thugs who beat us and ejected us from the state. In the light of my present knowledge, I am convinced that the majority of Kentuckians even do not realize the state of lawlessness which exists in Bell and Harlan Counties.

Despite ominous warnings from newspapermen, despite stories of violence, I was unconvinced. I could not possibly imagine or picture mob violence against a peacefully inclined and unarmed group of sociological students. The outcome completely disillusioned me.

Entrance Into Kentucky

We left Corbin, Ky., Sunday morning, April 10, for Pineville in Bell County. Our group included Lucien Koch, director of Commonwealth College; Harold Coy, instructor in current history, who traces his ancestry to pioneer days; Leo Grulow, newspaperman; Isaac Greenberg, president of the student council, and myself.

The amazing and astonishing part of the entire proceedings which followed our entry was not the beating we received, but the

A Short Visit of a Student Delegation Bears Out Worst Reports of Violence and Class Rule

participation in our illegal ejection of the constituted authorities of both counties.

We entered Bell County quietly. There was not a sign of trouble. As soon as we passed the Pineville city limits, however, things began to happen. Chief of Police Pearl Osborne's car forced ours to the curb, and the chief jumped out and demanded to know what we were doing there.

"We're going to Pineville," Koch replied as spokesman for the group.

Chief Osborne told us we were going right through to the Tennessee line and after some discussion offered to permit us to go to Harlan instead. We explained our peaceful and lawful intentions and our plan to stay temporarily in Pineville, and it ended up by our parking behind his car at the curb opposite the courthouse.

Came Too Early

Then ensued scenes of official inadequacy and impotence impossible to believe. A crowd gathered about quickly. Mayor Brooks, Herndon J. Evans, editor of the Pineville Sun, Chief Osborne and other leading citizens of Pineville were in the crowd.

The dignitaries were determined not to allow us to remain. They offered to let us speak on the courthouse steps (with a view, as we then suspected and later learned, of arresting us for criminal syndicalism, regardless of what we said). We refused. Chief Osborne demanded a peace bond. We explained again that our intentions were peaceable. We were told we were blocking traffic. We moved around the corner. Mayor Brooks told us to get out or he would have our car driven out.

Between these demands, hurried conferences were held by the officials and dignitaries. They did not seem to know what to do about

it. Subsequent developments seemed to show that our early morning arrival had found plans for our reception uncompleted.

Finally Chief Osborne attempted to climb through the window of our car to take the wheel away from Koch. A box of relief tied to the running board held the door shut. In entering via the window the chief's bulk got stuck half way. But he clambered out and then, drawing his knife, he slashed away at the ropes that bound the box to the door. He pushed the box aside, and with the aid of a member of the mob forcibly pulled Koch from the driver's seat and commanded one of his henchmen, whom we later found out to be a Dr. Stacy, to take the wheel and drive us out. Koch was placed in Herndon J. Evans' car.

The Relief "Distributed"

A mad dash through Bell County began. Near a V-shaped bend in the road, we were met by the Harlan County mob arriving tardily to welcome us. Our car, in which we were prisoners, was going so fast that we nearly crashed into one of the Harlan cars. After our car, in response to shouted demands, had turned back on the road to Cumberland Gap to proceed to Harlan County instead, it was stopped by one of the Harlan mob, who drew a gun and shouted: "You're under arrest for reckless driving. You nearly killed me back there."

This man we later identified through a newspaper picture as Deputy Sheriff Lee Fleenor, under murder indictment in the killing of two miners at a relief kitchen. We were to see more of him.

With difficulty Dr. Stacy got it across to Fleenor that everything was O. K. and that he was doing as ordered. At this point, Koch was shifted back to our car, being placed in the improvised rumble

seat, and the motorcade proceeded quickly picking up breakneck speed.

Across the Harlan County line, Dr. Stacy, having relieved himself of dire and profane threats, relinquished the wheel to our recent acquaintance, Deputy Sheriff Fleenor. Preceded by a Harlan County car and followed by a car from Pineville, we speeded through Harlan County and up the side of Big Black Mountain, highest peak in Kentucky.

Two things of pointed interest occurred during our wild drive across the two counties. First was the "distribution" of part of our relief supplies along the public highway by the drivers. The second was the disappearance of a group of newspapermen who had been trailing us from Frankfort, Ky. We later found out they had been ordered to stay behind and not to follow for half an hour.

Exhibition of Americanism

Near the top of Big Black Mountain and within 50 feet of the Virginia line, we stopped. The vigilantes conferred for a few moments. Then one was stationed at the state line to stop all traffic "even if Hoover comes along." One was stationed to stop traffic behind us and a third watched our car.

We were then taken out one at a time and whipped. Koch was first. They forced him to discard his coat, chained his wrist and beat him with a long untrimmed branch of a tree. Coy followed. Then came I, followed by Grulow and finally Greenberg. We were forced to lie on our stomachs and each of us was flogged with a new limb and by a different person. Before the violence was over, members of the mob had seized and were readying a bundle of our Bills of Rights and our statement of peaceful intentions which we

had left at the office of the Governor of Kentucky.

After we were back in the car, two of the mob began to pummel and punch Koch and Coy. Between vicious blows and outbursts of superb profanity, one of them fired questions:

"What do you think of the American flag?"

"What do you think of God Almighty?"

Finally, with the admonishment that "we'll string you if you ever come back," we crossed the state line into Virginia.

A Challenge to Capitalism

An hour later the newspapermen caught up with us in a little town in Virginia. Pictures were taken of the bruises and welts on Coy's back. We drove to Knoxville, Tenn., where we got in touch with attorneys for the American Civil Liberties Union and then proceeded back to Commonwealth College.

Our trip had demonstrated the viciousness which the class struggle will assume as capitalism slowly expires. We focused national attention upon an intolerable state of affairs and proved conclusively that civil liberties mean nothing to the exploiters, to the ruling class and to their miserable and cowardly tools. We showed that they had something to hide and that their blatant ravings on patriotism, Bolshevism, Communism and atheism were simply red herrings to confuse the public.

We were not the first to receive such treatment and undoubtedly we shall not be the last. These invasions are not a challenge to Kentucky; they are a challenge to the ruling class—a demonstration of class solidarity of class-conscious students to workers. And if, as a means of such challenges we can awaken in the minds and hearts of workers everywhere the necessity for a united front for solidarity, then our trip and all such trips will not have been in vain.

British Labor's Rank and File Takes Hold

By Fred Henderson
LONDON.

THE turn of the tide is now becoming quite unmistakable; and the recovery of the British Labour Party after the destruction of its Parliamentary struggle at the last General Election is encouragingly manifest all over the country. Such movements of recovery cannot be expected to be sudden and sweeping; but they have their dramatic moments; their inspiring incidents which reveal the progress that is being made, and enable us to measure something of the extent to which possession of our lost ground is being re-established.

Since I wrote my last letter we have all been rejoicing over such a signal incident; the most significant evidence of revival since the General Election. We have made the first recapture of one of our lost Parliamentary seats; and the result of the Wakefield bye-election has given renewed spirit and confidence to the whole movement.

The MacDonald Government has had extraordinary luck since the General Election in the fact that such Parliamentary vacancies as have occurred—there have been about a dozen of them—have been in constituencies that gave Labour no real chance of testing the general public opinion of the country. They have, for the most part, been constituencies in which class privilege is entrenched, where Labor, in its most victorious days, has made little or no impression

on the well-to-do electorate. Even in such constituencies, the bye-election vote for the MacDonald candidates has shown a great weakening from what it was when reaction swept the country six months ago.

When, however, a vacancy occurred in the Wakefield division, Labor had its first real bye-election chance. It had never been one of our safe constituencies; but we held it in the last Parliament, though only by a minority vote in a three-cornered fight, when Liberals and Conservatives each put up separate candidates and split the capitalist vote in such a way that though we won the seat the aggregate capitalist vote would have had us beaten if it had been united. This is the constituency we have now recaptured; and our win is all the more significant because it is a win on a straight fight; the first time we have ever gained the seat by a clear and absolute majority.

MacDonald's Steady Loss

One swallow, of course, does not make a summer; but taken in connection with the heavy fall in the support given to the MacDonald Government at every other bye-election which has taken place since the beginning of this year, it undoubtedly indicates the flow of a returning tide and not merely a local and isolated freak of public opinion. You will understand how greatly it has heartened us. We are once more on the march, and with a confidence that grows stronger from week to week.

All this, of course, is not to say that our difficulties are over. In Parliamentary representation, we still remain a mere group impotent against whatever designs for reducing the standards of working-class life the MacDonald Government—which in its essential policy is entirely under the control of the reactionary conservative majority which is predominant in this Parliament—may choose to enforce upon the nation. Impotent, that is to say, to prevent reaction from having its way; but not impotent in fighting spirit. In that respect there is an enormous improvement now manifest inside the House of Commons. For the first few months after the General Election, our little group which had survived the debacle and struggled back into Parliament, gave the impression of being rather cowed and depressed by a sense of impotence and overwhelming loss. That has now disappeared entirely. The old fighting vigor and spirit of confident attack is again manifest in our Parliamentary work; and the growing sense that the country is responding to it has given our men an outlook and a demeanor that was lacking when the new Parliament first assembled. All the signs and tokens of renewed life and confidence are evident and in growing force. With complete certainty you may take it that the worst is over; and that from now on the record will be a record of recovering our losses and reestablishing the power which the last Labor Govern-

ment destroyed by their supineness against the two years' betrayal of our purposes into which they permitted MacDonald to lead them. The recovery is essentially the recovery of the rank-and-file; and it is a recovery based upon a very clear determination that no individual leader or group of leaders shall ever again have the opportunity of repeating the performance.

No More MacDonaldism

And while the recovery is thus manifest in the trend of public opinion, the internal difficulties in our own organization are also shaping more favorably. As I pointed out last month, the Easter decision of the I. L. P. against disaffiliation from the Labor Party is a most significant factor in this connection. It was not an unqualified decision. After the experience of the past two years, the definite Socialist force within the Labor Party, while recognizing that its effective work must be in and through the general working-class movement, was bound to insist, as a condition of its continued affiliation, that it should have full freedom for its Socialist work of criticism and education within the Party. It was the failure of the general Parliamentary party to apply that check of criticism and revolt to MacDonald's misleadership that made most of our troubles for us. Nobody now imagines that the general Parliamentary group will ever again give that license of condonement to the possible vagaries of any future Labor Prime

Minister. Nobody, for that matter, imagines that, after the lesson we have learned, any aspirant to leadership revealing even an incipient tendency to MacDonaldism would have the smallest chance of becoming Labor Prime Minister. But you never can quite tell; and the I. L. P., in insisting, as a condition of its continued affiliation, upon effective safeguards for its freedom of action if such conditions should arise, undoubtedly voices a fear which is still widespread amongst the rank and file; and, after what has happened, who can wonder.

Personally, I do not think that the occasion for such fear any longer exists. The party has got clear of MacDonaldism, and has put its house in order against any recurrence of the disease which proved so nearly fatal to us. And there should be no real difficulty in fixing up an entirely amicable arrangement with the I. L. P. The committees of the Labor Party and of the I. L. P. are now in conference together with a view to settling this matter of the conditions attaching to I. L. P. affiliation; and as an indication of the mood in which the question is being handled, I cannot do better than quote to you Maxton's statement of the I. L. P. point of view.

He says: "The I. L. P.'s quarrel with the Labor Party is not primarily one about standing orders or discipline in the House of Commons. They would never have worried about discipline in the House of Commons if the late

(Continued on Page Six)

THE NEW LEADER FORUM

TO CORRESPONDENTS

For many months The New Leader Forum has placed before its readers almost every range of opinion regarding party principles and tactics. This continued to the last issue before the national convention met and nothing is to be gained by further discussion of these inner party issues. The campaign struggle of the party must now have the attention of The New Leader and of the members. Letters on other themes will be printed but we hope to reduce them to a minimum in order to give as much space as possible to propaganda material.—Editor.

AN I. L. P. CLUB

By William Beedie

Several members of the British Independent Labor party now residents in the United States, are forming an I. L. P. and Labor party club. The British papers, "Forward" and "New Leader," have already issued an appeal and excellent responses have been received.

It would be a great favor and a progressive step for the common cause if The New Leader would broadcast through the medium of its valuable columns that all former I. L. P. and Labor party members and friends should get in touch with William Beedie, 83 Halsey street, Brooklyn, N. Y., for particulars of proposed meeting.

Due to the fact that many once active members are strangers in a strange land they are unattached and lost to the labor movement. The formation of a club based on the characteristic habit of channishness of our race would make for more effective work for the common cause. Brooklyn, N. Y.

A PROTEST

By Jacob Panken

The associate editor of The New Leader, Edward Levinson, acted as the correspondent for the New York Herald Tribune at the national convention of the Socialist party in Milwaukee. It might be perfectly proper for him to write Socialist articles for the capitalist press. It was highly improper for him to write falsehoods for the press and marshal acts of the convention in a manner which would be acceptable to a capitalist paper.

I make this statement without any reservation or qualification. Such conduct is reprehensible.

I have not read all of the correspondence sent in by the associate editor of The New Leader, who is on our payroll, to the Herald Tribune, and printed in the issues of that publication. However, my attention was called to his correspondence appearing in the issue of May 24, 1932. That correspondence is false and harmful to our movement. He wrote and had printed the following paragraph:

"Judge Jacob Panken brought on a few tense moments when he charged that the 'formula of the Hoan supporters was that no Jew can lead the Socialist party.' Mr. Vladeck jumped to his feet with an appeal to the chairman that the former judge was 'degrading the convention.'"

The statement that the "formula of the Hoan supporters was that no Jew can lead the Socialist party" was not made on the floor of the convention. It is false and vicious. To attribute that statement to me is a falsification. In the paragraph quoted, he says that "Mr. Vladeck jumped to his feet with an appeal to the chairman that the former judge was 'degrading the convention.'" This is equally false and vicious. Vladeck did not interrupt me, nor did he appeal to the chair while I was making my address in

support of Hillquit for chairman of the national committee.

I cannot bring myself to believe that all or any appreciable number of the Hoan supporters are of the opinion that no Jew can lead the Socialist party. There were a few militants who wanted an American Socialist party instead of a Socialist party in America, and their Americanism expressed itself in a desire to have American names and confining the leadership of the movement exclusively to natives. Undoubtedly, there were a few, unfortunately, in the convention who were stupid, non-Socialist, bigoted and beyond all, utterly opportunistic.

The good judgment of the comrades has prevailed, and we are now in our national executive committee led by Morris Hillquit.

The least that should be expected from a person in the position of associate editor is truth, aside from the fact that he should not for a consideration write for a capitalist paper sensational news reports originating in fiction, viciousness and falsity.

Members of the Socialist party have the right to take employment in the capitalist press. It would be better if all members of the party able to write could find employment in Socialist party publications. That is, however, with this reservation—that even though a member of the party can write, he should only be employed if he is honest, upright, straightforward and has the interest of the Socialist movement at heart.

There can be no doubt in the mind of any one that a journalist employed in an official organ of the Socialist party cannot be permitted to act in the same capacity for the capitalist press—writing for the Socialist press in one manner, and for the capitalist press in an utterly different manner.

Certainly, no Socialist holding the position of editor or associate editor of a Socialist publication can be permitted to act at the same time as correspondent for a capitalist newspaper, when his duties as correspondent or possibly his inclinations are to write in a manner which reflects unfavorably on the party and therefore harmful. The retelling of facts, when colored by comment, give the facts meaning that the comment calls for.

I ask that this statement be not printed merely as a letter. The reason I do so is because in my judgment it involves matters which should be sifted, discussed, acted upon and a principle established.

IN REPLY TO JUDGE PANKEN

By Edward Levinson

I owe Comrade Panken an apology for ascribing to him a statement which was in reality made by Joseph Sharts of Ohio. The difficulty in summarizing in a half hour the proceedings of an entire day of stormy and tense convention debates was apparently too great in this instance. I regret any injury that may have been done the Judge.

At the same time I am at a loss to understand the heat with which the Judge recalls from the sentiment expressed by Comrade Sharts. The Judge, in the course of his address for Comrade Hillquit, indicated his agreement with those who felt that anti-Semitism had much to do with the case. He hinted darkly, and none too vaguely, of "secret letters," etc. I recall his striding up the aisle of the convention, shouting and gesticulating excitedly that he was going to wire to New York (meaning, obviously, the Jewish Daily Forward)

that Comrade B. C. Vladeck had "introduced the subject of Americanism in the convention."

It also seems to me that such a passionate defender of veracity as Judge Panken ought to be more certain of his own statements. He says, "The statement that 'the formula of the Hoan supporters was that no Jew can lead the Socialist party' was not made on the floor of the convention. It is false and vicious," etc. After reference to my notes indicated that this statement had been made by Comrade Sharts, I wrote this comrade in Dayton, Ohio, asking him whether the quotation was not correct. I have today received this wire from Comrade Sharts: "Edward Levinson, The New Leader. Your notes are substantially correct. (Signed) Joseph W. Sharts."

May I add, in reply to the general criticism raised by the Judge: I consider it my duty to write about Socialism and the Socialist party for whatever publication will print what I say without harmfully editing it. In all this writing outside of the Socialist press, as well as within my sole aim is always to advance the best interests of the party. The Judge's unfortunate error in this connection is his apparent belief that "Socialist party" and "Judge Panken" are synonymous terms.

I am afraid the Judge has been infected by the "payroll" ethics" of

capitalism, which holds that a worker must take his opinions where his salary comes from. That is the only way I can understand his reference to the "associate editor (I am really only a humble assistant editor) of The New Leader, who is on our payroll." His threat at the convention to wire the Jewish Daily Forward about Comrade Vladeck's stand is of a piece with his "payroll" reference.

THE PARTY PLATFORM

By Arthur McDowell

Prominently above the platform adopted by the national convention of the Socialist party is reproduced in May 28 issue of The New Leader, appeared the campaign slogan of 1928, viz., "Plenty, Peace and Freedom."

Looking over the platform again my first feeling is that the slogan and the platform don't jibe. Neither do I feel that this slogan is suitable for the 1932 campaign. Even more I don't like the slogan because it has certain middle class idealistic vagueness that is incongruous for a Socialist party.

Comrade Louis Waldman of New York, in nominating Norman Thomas, used the tri-word slogan of "Bread, Jobs and Security." While feeling that "Bread, Jobs and Socialism" might be even better I assumed that something very close to the Waldman slogan would be chosen and used. If I had not definitely expected this I

THE FOLLOWING EDITORIAL WILL NOT APPEAR IN MY CHAIN OF NEWSPAPERS

(Signed) Paul Krooked

CONFIDENCE, confidence is the crying need of the day. We will go further and say that confidence is the need of the hour or even of the moment. In these days of materialism and scepticism there comes to mind the saying of that business leader made famous by Bruce Barton, "Except ye be as little children," etc., etc.

Recently my little son, Yankele, aged two, exclaimed as he lay in his crib sucking the nipple of his bottle, "Daddy, am I correctly informed when told that the mayor of this city receives only \$25,000 a year?"

"Yes, but due to the depression his income or rather his salary was raised to \$40,000."

"Lousy, I calls it," cried the little tyke, hurling his bottle at the cabinet containing my collection of Ming and Sung porcelain. "Can you beat it," he said reflectively, reaching for a lollypop, "you have a mayor who is expected to convocate in the night clubs and invoke in the churches. Between vacations he is expected to be in the city to give his critics the bum's rush. All for a measly \$40,000 a year. Talk about the ingratitude of democracies! It's enough to raise the roof of Sherwood's Mexican Hacienda. I'll bet that Jimmy hasn't even got a garage for every car."

"Daddy," pleaded little Yankele, "before the nurse comes in to change me, promise that you will kick in with something for Jimmy. Come on, promise now!"

As Seabury is my judge, folks, that's how it happened. Guess there's something Eddiequesty and sentimental about me after all.

As I started to say, what the public (City Affairs Committee excepted) needs today is confidence.

(Signed) Paul Krooked.

would certainly have recommended as a member of the convention campaign and organization committee, that the slogan button which the committee recommended as a financing device after the model of the LaFollette campaign medallions, should bear the Waldman or some other closely similar slogan. I believe this to be of more than passing importance.

A MAP OF THE FUTURE

By William Edwards

In a term of study of Socialism longer than that of H. D. Morrison's I have had time to get over the idea of drawing a map of the future. I have concluded that that is one way of wasting time. We could draw up a Declaration of Independence as well as the revolutionists of 1776 did; we do in our platforms; but, when it comes to a constitution, we should be in about the same boat as they were. They didn't say anything about what should be done with fortunes of billions, or railroads, mines, power trusts and other weapons of extortion because they hadn't any, and we know as little as they did about what conditions may be 50, 20 or even 10 years from now. The best we can do is to specify an ideal to which future laws should conform.

The change from the anarchic, dog-eat-dog system to which capitalism has come, to an orderly system of government from below, representing the mass instead of the elite, must be worked out, not by us but by those who will, sooner or later, be elected to bring it about. People who appreciate the benefits we owe to capitalism but determined to abolish the evils of private control.

Ardent young Socialists who think it would be nice to write poetry, paint and do the finer things, may be disappointed. There may be technological unemployment in those lines and they may have to do something else for a living, but if Socialism is worth its salt there should be no Chattertons. Poverty and want will not be considered necessary to bring out genius. Somebody will have to do the dirty work and it may be necessary to compensate the dirty worker at a higher rate than the clean one. Invite a revolution.

Individuals cannot get all they earn because there will be the young, the old and the sick to take care of and government, whether capitalist or Socialist is more or less expensive. Make the aim the abolition of all means by which one individual or class can control the life of another and details can be dealt with as they are met.

Nobody asks for a map of heaven when they join a church, why should they want a map before joining a political party?

Hasting-on-Hudson, N. Y.

British Labor's Rank And File Take Hold

(Continued from Page Five)

Labor Government had been trying to create a Socialist system of society. The quarrel between the I. L. P. and the late Labor Government was due to the fact that, by their actions, speeches, and attitudes, the members of the Government were creating the idea in the public mind that the capitalist system must be preserved at all costs.

Now that Macdonald has gone over with this policy to the capitalist parties, and the Labor Party has, by bitter experience, seen the folly of it, there would seem to be no reason for any continued breach between the I. L. P. and the Labor Party on this issue. It is imperative that, having got rid of our incubus, we should unite our own ranks—as all the evidence shows they are being united amongst the rank and file throughout the country—for the task of regaining power for those clear and definite Socialist purposes from which Macdonald diverted the Labor Government; but from which the millions of the rank and file were never diverted, and to which they stand true today, waiting for effective leadership. For which, indeed, if the effective leadership were not forthcoming, the rank and file would make new effective leaderships of their own. For it is in the rank and file, and not in Parliamentary leaderships, that the life and strength of our cause, and the decision of its purposes, have their source and inspiration.



CHILDREN PLEAD FOR PEACE.—When 2,000 marched through Manhattan streets for peace, no unit was more frequently applauded than this group of children with their banners urging that we "Build Friendships Not Warships."

(Federated Pictures)

Drifting Along

NOW is the time for every good Socialist and true to forgive, forget and forge ahead. The convention is over, Gott sei Dank, we have our candidates, two of the finest who ever trod American soil and now the thing to do is to go ahead and pile up for them the biggest vote ever cast for the Socialist party in the thirty-two years of its crowded existence.

For the moment we are finding a blessed relief from matters political in treating our first sun-burn. It was too darned cold to go swimming over the week-end. As we are no snow-bird, we just took a sun-bath and let it go at that. And a bath of any sort was what we badly needed after riding back from Milwaukee in a day coach, most of the way.

At Milwaukee I ran into my old and always young and dear comrade Adolph Germer and that reminds me that I find on my desk on my return a pitiful plea for relief from the once powerful Illinois Mine Workers Union in whose upbuilding Germer played so important a part. The diggers are just fading out from sheer starvation. There was a piece in The Nation recently describing the pathetic conditions in the Southern Illinois fields and now comes an official appeal from the Illinois Miners' Relief Committee at 610 Illinois Mine Workers Building, Springfield, Ill.

Now while I am not in sympathy with the policies of the present officialdom of the Illinois miners, far from it, the fact that fifty thousand of the finest proletariat this country knows, men of the pits, true mudsillmen are now engaged in a bitter struggle to maintain their present wages and working conditions, is enough to make me second the appeal for funds with all my heart. These men are threatened with a 36 per cent wage cut and they say, "Our only recourse is in the pennies and nickles of the American workers and their friends." Send what you can, comrades, to the relief committee. This is the worthiest of causes.

An unusually long line of creditors was at our door upon our return from the convention, almost enough to make what our jolly friends, the English, call a "queue." We are going to get a traffic cop to keep them in line after this and if anyone steps out for lunch or whatever, our rule will be that he or she doesn't get paid. And that's a good one, too.

One sight which depressed us terribly over this week-end was the spectacle as viewed from the window of a car which was taking us up the Harlem River of the Columbia crew getting a terrible licking from none other than the once lowly Pennsylvania eight. A great many of the comrades suspect us of delayed infantilism because of our interest in Columbia athletics. We admit that it is one of our weaknesses. And of weaknesses we have plenty. Gradually we are getting over it. For there was once a time when Sunday morning was utterly ruined for us if the papers carried news of a Columbia defeat, and nowadays we can choke down our fish-cakes without many tears when the same monotonous word arrives.

It must be that we are perennial under-dogger. Otherwise we should never take any stock in Columbia athletics. It is like being a Socialist. When occasionally you do win, the sweets of victory because of their very rarity are the more delightful.

The awful guff they hand these sweet young graduates, these June days! Here's the Chaplain of Columbia University telling the boys in the very shadow of the Columbia School of Business not to set their hearts on making a lot of money. Over across the way from where he spoke, a lot of high-powered go-getters, disguised as Professors, have been spending all their time and energy showing the lads the tricks of respectable peddling, otherwise called business.

Heigh-ho, it's now twenty-three years since we strode proudly forth from Columbia's more or less ivied halls with a well diploma signed by none other than our idol Nicholas Murray Butler and a firm determination to set fire to the Hudson River. Well, no flames are visible along that noble stream from where we are sitting and yesterday one of our handsomest back molars fell out. Age creeps upon us and fame and fortune remain elusively remote. We are not even attractive enough to have ten-year-old boys give us presents. Why didn't we get to know Billy Block? As one of our comrades said, the gift to our charming Mayor on the part of Paul Block at the cute suggestion of his boy Billy was one of the finest examples of Block-aid this city has yet seen.

And when it came to the altruistic Broker Sisto, what better assisto would a Mayor want than a nice mess of Cosden oil stock?

We'd better quit before this thing grows on us. As Oscar Ameringer said at the convention, there are two things that grow on the body politic in America. One is a Republican boll, the other is the Democratic carbuncle. The free-born American people can always choose between boll and carbuncle, but in either case they get it in the neck.

McAllister Coleman.



Capitalism's Peace Symphony

From "Notenkraaker" (Amsterdam)

BOOKS IN BRIEF

By JAMES ONEAL

ONE of the most provocative books we have read in years is by an anonymous author, Max Nomad, whose *Rebels and Renegades* (New York: Macmillan, \$3) sketches the careers of Erriqo Malatesta, Aristide Briand, Philip Scheidemann, J. Ramsay MacDonald, Leon Trotsky, Benito Mussolini, Joseph Pilsudski, and William Z. Foster. The book reveals extensive knowledge of the revolutionary movement and despite its cynicism its style is vivid and holds the attention of the reader to the end. The publishers' jacket states that he has been an observer of or participant in "the extreme left wing revolutionary movements" abroad and has been "in turn, typesetter, linotype operator, translator, metal worker, smuggler, teacher of languages, journalist and editor."

The book is such a curious mixture of keen analysis and sardonic interpretation of the motives of the men he studies that the question immediately occurs, Why does the author conceal his real name? Is it because he also has become a renegade or has he merely turned sour and decided to translate his cynicism into royalties? Keen and informing as some of his thrusts are, the net impression left upon the reader is that the masses who have organized against capitalism in one form or another are a herd of boobs led by adventurers and crooks. To be sure, some deserters deserve either one or both of these classifications but when the author maintains this cynical attitude towards even Malatesta and Trotsky our patience is exhausted. However much one may disagree with Anarchism and Communism, we cannot follow "Nomad" in his occasionally flippant references to Malatesta and Trotsky although it must be admitted that he deals with them less roughly than with the renegades.

Throughout the book there is also a weary repetition of the word "jobs" to explain trends, actions and motives. Over and over again it appears and even Trotsky is not spared. That "jobs" do have an influence no one will deny but to interpret great mass movement in terms of this factor may be good cynicism but it is grotesque history. Before any phase of the revolutionary movement produced "jobs" there were contests in the rank and file and among leaders who represented trends of thought and this has continued into the modern period. The thesis of "Nomad" is a two-edged sword. He applies it to those who would lead

way to leadership and to those who desired leadership. Beneath both are the masses who are cattle, mere stakes in a game played by men who are charlatans or even something worse.

The old Anarchism approached political action with something like this view and it runs like a red thread through this book, possibly providing a clue to the author's own philosophy. The apostate in any movement for human liberation certainly makes an interesting study but all of them are not cast in the same mould. The same may be said of the "left wing revolutionary" who turns sour, who retires from the struggle and from his cloister finds a simple formula to explain everything. In fact, we feel like asking whether he has not found a "job" more satisfying than in the days when he was a participant in the struggle.

"Read 'Em and Weep"

[It is certain that the slogans listed below will furnish delightful entertainment for the far-sighted individuals who did not "throw their votes away" in the elections of past years. This list may also be used as a memory test. Those who are still guided by them may exercise the inalienable right to bray like donkeys or bellow like bull elephants after the counting of the ballots in the Presidential election.]

Buy now!
Hang the Kaiser!
A war to end war.
Save with safety.
The full dinner pail.
He kept us out of war.
Some people won't work.
A chicken in every pot.
Two cars in every garage.
Don't sell America short.
Don't throw your vote away.
Prohibition is a noble experiment.

No one is starving in this country.

Prosperity is just around the corner.

Everybody who wants a job can get one.

This is a country of rugged individualism.

Workers are buying silk shirts and fur coats.

We pledge that there will be no wage reductions.

Buying good stocks is simply a partnership in America.

An organization (Tammany) that has lived 140 years can't be wrong.

The depression will help rather than hinder the development of the child.

B. B.

The Chatterbox

THERE are two books for you folks that still have the price to buy or the shoe leather to walk and borrow as a sort of antidote for conventionitis, or whatever that disease is that makes otherwise sane people fume and fuss and pother about everything else but the vital questions and principles before them.

One is Dr. Harry Laidler's "The Road Ahead," published by Crowell of New York. The other is "A Picture of America," by Charles Cross, and issued under the imprint of Simon and Schuster, also of this city.

In Comrade Laidler's book we have a much needed propaganda method for bringing the Socialist program and ideal nearer to the plastic consciousness of the American boy and girl. It is artistically decorated by Mary Pugh's excellent wood cuts, and throughout the entire work one senses the restraint and child-angle employed by the author to make his effort seem effortless in its simplicity.

All of you with children growing into the estate selves as their parents to keep this effective chunk of literary chocolate in reach of their growing appetites for knowledge, The child is father of the Socialist movement.

This "Picture of America" is a tabloid composite compilation of pictorial opposites with brilliant arrangement of comment, news and figures on the real American scene. It is rich food for a professor of economics and sturdy fare for the humblest of the subway strap hangers. Everything we have said in a million stump speeches, everything we have seen and felt and left unsaid, the full sum of bitterness and hope, outrage and ideal is made here, and leaves us pretty certain at the end of the photographs and citations that Socialism is the only way out.

Gosh what a book to issue into forty-two million homes some morning before the News, the Mirror, the Graphic and the local Sentinels, Blades and Clarions appear . . . Then the New Day would not be far behind . . . Remember these two books . . . Laidler's "The Road Ahead," published by Crowell, and Charles Cross' "Picture of America," issued by Simon and Schuster . . . These two give you all there is to know about it . . . And the Rand book store can furnish either or both to you immediately.

To Governor Ralph of California

The men who pull the puppet strings gave their commands,

And in the game of puppets well you played your part,
But Death sank never as low as dishonor—
And a lie grows black even in a laden heart.

It may be in the dead of night you will remember
The seal you set upon a man's black fate,
But whether you do or not, be certain that we will remember—

Who bide our time in blood and tears and wait and wait and wait.
MAX PRESS.

Blight

Why upon the first sweet days of spring.
When April stretches up to feel the sun,
And in the meadow birdlings learn to wing
And on the beach the quick sandpipers run,
Must suddenly the world grow full of want
And in the park where laughter should be heard,
Men sit in silence, hungry-eyed and gaunt—
Or beg along the street with shamefaced word?

They have forgotten to be young and glad—
Their empty bodies ache beneath the weight
Of wasted hope that any may have had.
The warmth of April comes a little late—
And though spring wears her usual flowering coat
The finger marks of winter bruise her throat.

WILMA ETHEL CRITTENDEN.

The Comforter

When blind moles
Find sweet lodging in my bones,
And dust is my eternal pillow
What matters then
That we have heard the wind
Create itself of nothing
And lose its laughter in the
Return that laughter in low murmurings?

What matters then
That we have kept green rendezvous
In spring and loved its festivals of rain,
That we have watched long clouds
Lean hard against the sky
Like greyhounds on the turn,
What matters then?

What matters then
That now soft winds or racing clouds
Are daggers in the heart,
And April rain strikes bitter in the face?

EARL LAWSON SYDNOR.

Judging by my contributor's box these days, the depression hasn't affected the poetry mill . . . And during these dog days what a relief to an over-worked propagandist.

S. A. de Wit.

Thomas and Maurer Filed in Forty States

N. E. C. Elects Committee to Run Campaign

Weekly Paper to Be Published for Mass Distribution; Appeal Made for Miners

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

MILWAUKEE — The greatest Socialist campaign in the nation's history with two outstanding objectives—a record vote and the building of permanent party organizations—was decided upon by the new National Executive Committee of the Socialist party when it met here Wednesday, after adjournment of the national convention.

The entire committee, with the exception of Albert S. Coolidge of Massachusetts, was present at the New Randolph Hotel. Unfinished convention business and campaign plans were the order of the day. The Committee elected a national campaign committee to consist of Mayor Hoan, chairman; Mrs. Victor L. Berger, Leo Krzycki, Powers Hapgood, and William E. Cunnea. National Chairman Morris Hillquit, Candidates Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer, National Secretary Senior and Marx Lewis, drive director, are to be members ex-officio.

Senior is to act as national campaign manager, subject to the experiences and needs of the next few months. He is to be assisted by a special man to be in charge of fund raising, and another in charge of publicity and publications. Lewis was chosen for the former job. He is to carry on his activities from the national office. The campaign committee is to select the other workers which the campaign may require.

To Issue Weekly Paper

A leading item in the campaign program, one recommended by the convention, is to be the immediate publication of a weekly campaign newspaper which is to be appropriate for mass distribution.

The N.E.C. approved in principle the text of a declaration on the Negro workers referred to it by the convention. A committee consisting of Hillquit, Thomas and Frank Crosswaith is to edit the declaration. The committee also approved resolutions calling on Socialists to aid the miners in West Virginia, Illinois and Ohio in their struggles for decent conditions and civil liberties. All contributions, it was emphatically urged, are to be sent to the national office of the party which will forward the monies collected. Assistance for the defense in the Harlan, Kentucky, cases, should be sent through the General Defense Committee, the N.E.C. decided.

On a motion by Mayor Hoan, the committee approved the agreement reached between the West Virginia Socialists and the Independent Labor Party of that state, with the proviso that the party is not to surrender its right to organize locals in any part of the state.

When the campaign committee met later in the day, it canvassed the party's situation state by state, and it was found that at the present stage of the campaign, the party is already assured that its national candidates will be on the ballot in fully 40 states. Efforts are to be made in all the other states, but where the expense involved in filing in a small state is too great, it was decided, the campaign funds are to be sparingly used. The committee authorized Senior to spend not more than \$1,500 in getting the ticket filed.

1,000 Cheer Candidates At Dinner in Chicago

As Many More Are Turned Away; \$1,300 Raised for Campaign

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—The national candidates of the Socialist Party were greeted by an overflow crowd at the first meeting of the campaign. Over a thousand people attended a banquet arranged by Chicago Socialists in honor of Thomas and Maurer and nearly as many were turned away due to space limitations.

Stirring speeches were made by a galaxy of Socialist leaders including Morris Hillquit, Daniel Hoan, Charney Vladeck, and Heywood Broun in addition to Norman Thomas and Jim Maurer. Every speaker stressed the great opportunity presented the party at the present time and urged that in the present campaign our chief attention be turned to building the organization rather than catching votes. Hoan predicted a Socialist victory in 1936 if the Party took advantage of its opportunities during the next four years.

Hillquit and Thomas made reference to the wonderful inspiration given the party by contributions from workers, particularly

the Amalgamated locals. Both pointed out that workers could ill afford contributions in times like these and their generous contributions were real proof of the idealism of the Socialist movement.

Altogether \$1,300 was raised at the meeting. Dr. R. E. Green did an excellent job of "schnorrng." One interesting aspect of the money raising was the competition that developed among religions. Contributions were received from Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Evangelical Lutherans, Unitarians, and Quakers. Every Socialist local in Chicago responded with handsome contributions, as did the Workmen's Circle.

William Cunnea, veteran Chicago Socialist, was an able chairman. He and Roy Burt, Socialist candidate for Governor in Illinois, welcomed the speakers and guests from other states on behalf of the local movement.

The banquet gave ample evidence that the Chicago movement is back on its feet and will back the national campaign to the limit. The spirit of the affair was well expressed by the closing words of the chairman: "The national campaign is now opened. On to victory!"

Supreme Court Gives Scottsboro Youths Rehearing of Case

WASHINGTON, (F.P.) — By announcing that it would grant the petition of the seven Negro boys now under sentence of death in the Scottsboro, Ala., race-hatred case, and would review the affair on its merits, the Supreme Court on May 31 stopped the anticipated execution of these prisoners.

When the Court meets on October 10, it will hear arguments on the issues raised by the defense counsel. These arguments involve the question of constitutional rights of accused persons to a fair trial. The trial at Scottsboro, the Supreme Court was told in the preliminary showing which resulted in its temporarily saving the prisoners' lives, was held in a rural courthouse surrounded by a mob demanding a lynching.

B'klyn Membership To Meet on June 5

The entire membership of the many Brooklyn Socialist branches is urged to attend an important county membership meeting on Sunday afternoon, June 5, at 2:00 p. m., in the ball room of the Academy of Music. Norman Thomas will speak. B. C. Vladeck will be chairman. An effort will be made to make it the largest borough meeting in recent history. The King's County delegates to the National Convention will be present.

Recommendations for candidates for representatives in Congress, State Senators, and Assemblymen made by various branches will be presented for final endorsement. Last but not least, the 1932 campaign will be officially opened in Kings County at this meeting. Every devoted Brooklyn Party member is urged to make note of this date, time and place and make no other engagement. We expect a well attended, interesting and effective meeting.

PATRONIZE the firms that advertise in THE NEW LEADER.

Thomas Wins Polls Of Student Bodies At Two Universities

Straw votes of students at the University of Minnesota and at Syracuse University last week gave Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate, the lead over President Hoover, Gov. Roosevelt and other old party men. At the Minnesota University students mock convention, Thomas won on the third ballot with 519 votes out of a total of 1,004. Hoover received 436, Roosevelt 5, and Foster, 28. Thomas received 151 votes on the Syracuse balloting, Hoover 143, Newton D. Baker 10, and "Al" Smith 79.

L. I. D. Meet to Discuss Socialist Plan for America

A SOCIALIST Plan for America will be the general topic for discussion at the June Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy to be held at Camp Tamiment from Thursday, June 23, to Sunday, June 26, 1932. For the last year much has been written about social planning. Many of the plans evolved for American industry were plans for the purpose of ensuring steady profit to capitalists through stabilized prices at a high price level. They had little to do with social planning on the basis of the full use of all of our resources for the common good.

Socialists believe that no genuine social planning is possible under the capitalist system where each corporation is striving to obtain as large profits as possible for itself. This point of view will be represented at the L. I. D. conference.

The subjects of the conference Society, The Political Structure in a Planned Society, The Industrial Structure in a Socialist Society, Cultural and World Planning in a Socialist Society, Roads to Social Planning, Roads to Social Planning: Industrial Building an Effective Movement. The speakers are to be Norman

Swiss Socialists Tighten Zurich Hold By Election Gains

ZURICH (W. L. N.).—Socialist control of the Board of Aldermen of this city, the seat of the Socialist International, was tightened on April 17, when supplementary elections in recently incorporated districts of the greater city, sent 12 Socialists to join their 63 comrades on the board, while the bourgeois parties won only 9 new aldermen. Consequently, the board now consists of 75 Socialists, 65 bourgeois members and 6 Communists. In the election of the Council of the whole Canton of Zurich, however, the Socialists didn't do so well, losing 8 seats to their bourgeois and agrarian opponents. The Communists held their 6 seats. The Socialists have 77 of the 220 members of the new Cantonal Council.

In the Cantonal elections in Basel on April 10, the Socialists won 4 seats, making their representation 38 out of a total of 130.

Rand Commencement To Be Held Friday

Charles Solomon will be the speaker at the Rand School Commencement Friday evening, June 3rd, at 8:30. Algernon Lee, president of the School, will present certificates to one of the largest graduating classes in the history of the institution. The graduates, all of whom have finished at least two years' work in the School, represent a great variety of Socialist and labor organizations.

The commencement will be the occasion for a reunion of the old and new students of the School. The program will include dancing by Ruth Allerhand and her group, and a one-act play, "St. Peter Loses a Soul." Refreshments, dancing, and plenty of opportunity to converse with old friends will be features of the occasion. There will be no admission charge.

N. Y. Socialist Membership Meets June 12

Afternoon Meeting, Dinner in Evening to Hear Thomas, Maurer, Hillquit

AN IMPORTANT and interesting program has been arranged for the membership of Local New York, Socialist party, for Sunday afternoon and evening, June 12, at the Park Palace, 110th Street and 5th Avenue. The afternoon session will begin at 2:00 p. m. and the order of business is the report of the New York City delegation to the National Convention—Every delegate will be urged to be present. The program will be so arranged that there will be time for questions and discussion on the Convention. Admittance to this meeting will be by paid up membership card only.

Immediately following the afternoon session, the banquet will begin. Supper will be served at 6:00 p. m. sharp.

The list of speakers includes Norman Thomas, James Maurer, Morris Hillquit, Heywood Broun, Louis Waldman, B. C. Vladeck, Charles Solomon, Algernon Lee, Jacob Panken, and possibly one or two delegates from other states.

As our candidates for President and Vice-President will make their first appearance in New York City. A capacity attendance is expected. All comrades desiring to attend this important event are urged to make their reservations at once at the city office, 7 East 15th street. The cost is \$1.50 per person and this does not cover the full cost, but the price was set that low to make it possible for as many comrades to attend.

Rand Women's Committee

As a final get-together, the Women's Committee of the Rand School, has arranged a boat ride to Bear Mountain on Tuesday, June 7th. Hudson River Dayline boat leaves West 42nd Street pier at 10 o'clock daylight saving time, and 10:20 from 129th Street pier, North River. Friends of the Women's Committee are invited to join in the trip.

CAMP DAVIS—BUDD LAKE, N. J. Attractive small camp for rest-cure or vacation. All water and other sports. Very moderate rates. Write R. S. DAVIS, P. O. Stanhope, N. J.

A Glorious July 4th Weekend Awaits You At SCHILDKRAUT'S

Famous Pine Terrace Hotel and Camp HIGHLAND FALLS, N. Y. Charming location between Bear Mountain and West Point, overlooking the fascinating Hudson. 50 acres of gorgeous grounds and woodland, for rest and play. Tennis and handball courts. Baseball and basketball fields. Attractive swimming pool and other outdoor sports. Indoor entertainment. Dancing nightly. Saddle horses. Sun bathing park, equipped with showers, an outstanding feature. Rates: \$22.50 to \$30.00 per week (formerly \$30 to \$40) \$4, \$5, \$6 per day (formerly \$7, \$8, \$9) Except July 4th Weekend Write for Booklet Phone Highland Falls 340 or 260

"A Socialist Plan for America" WILL BE DISCUSSED AT THE JUNE CONFERENCE OF THE League for Industrial Democracy

TO BE HELD AT CAMP TAMIMENT, FOREST PARK, PA. From June 23 to 26, 1932

Speakers will include Norman Thomas, Morris Hillquit, Colston E. Warne, Isador Lubin, Pierce Williams, Eveline Burns, Paul Blanshard, Felix Cohen, Louis Waldman, Vladimir Kazekevitch, Algernon Lee, McAlister Coleman, Frederick V. Field, B. Charney Vladeck, Andrew Biemiller, Edward Berman, Louis Budenz, Coleman B. Cheney, Clarence Senior, Phillips Bradley, J. B. Matthews and Harry W. Laidler.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION APPLY TO LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY 112 EAST 19th STREET NEW YORK CITY

National Campaign Fund Nears \$15,000

\$1,500 Voted To File Ticket In 48 States

Success of Drive Heartens N. E. C. in Plans for Great Presidential Campaign

(New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON — The total amount available for the national Socialist campaign as a result of the drive authorized by the national executive committee of the party will be soon in the neighborhood of \$15,000, Marx Lewis, director of the drive announced here this week.

Subscriptions totalling approximately \$10,300 were reported to the newly elected N. E. C. at Milwaukee by Lewis on May 25th, at the conclusion of the fifth week of the six weeks' drive for the preliminary organization fund. Receipts since have brought the total close to \$11,000.

These subscriptions do not include the funds collected by branches and locals, returns on which will not be made until the end of the first week in June, nor two subscriptions from organizations totalling approximately \$2,500.

The announcement that the drive had elicited a response sufficiently large to enable the national campaign committee to proceed with its plans gave impetus to the work of the committee when it met in the office of Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee.

To File In 48 States

The first step to insure a campaign that would reach into every State was taken when, after a careful review of the election law requirements in the various States, the committee appropriated \$1,500 to cover expenses for the filing of the Socialist ticket in every one of the 48 States. It was declared by Clarence Senior, national secretary of the Party, that special work will have to be done in only 18 states. Members of the campaign committee volunteered their services to help do the organization work required to place the ticket in the field.

It was also decided to place several organizers in industrial centers immediately, to begin organizing for the campaign, and that more be sent into the field as soon as they can be obtained and as rapidly as funds will permit.

At the meeting of the national executive committee, Lewis announced that by the end of June fund raising activities will be directed by him from the national office of the party in Chicago, thereby insuring complete coordination of campaign work from one central headquarters.

Local Conferences Called

Returning from the national convention with authority to arrange a series of conferences in the more important cities where Socialist, trade union, liberal, and all other forces in sympathy with the Socialist program may unite for effective action, Lewis began the work of calling such conferences.

In every city having a population of 50,000 or over, and in industrial cities where the population is smaller, an effort will be made to hold a conference, and a local director, who will be a member of the national committee, will be in charge of the arrangements. Before the date is set for the conference a survey will be made of all the sources from which support

Thomas at Bronx Fellowship Sunday

"How To Live a Richer Life," will be the subject of Rev. Leon Rosser Land's address at the 8 o'clock Fellowship Service at the weekly meeting of the Bronx Free Fellowship, Azure Masonic Temple, 1591 Boston Road, near East 172nd Street on Sunday Evening, June 5th, 1932. At the nine o'clock Open Forum, Norman Thomas, Socialist Candidate for President, and Charles C. Webber, will speak on: "What Price Liberty?"

may be expected, and ample time allowed to enable organizations to be represented through their accredited representatives.

In the case of the larger cities, the call will be issued first, since it will require more time in which to enroll and mobilize all available forces.

For the fund raising part of the work, a quota will be set for each city, and a series of suggestions for raising the quota will be submitted in addition to any that may be proposed by the local groups.

To Mail 100,000 Letters

During the summer picnics and other outdoor activities will constitute one of the sources from which most of the revenue is expected. Such gatherings will be utilized both to raise funds and to build the organization for the campaign. In addition to the eight cities which have already made plans to hold dinners, others will be requested to make similar arrangements. In each city a committee will be named to take charge of the fund raising, and to solicit all sympathizers.

A mailing to approximately 100,000 members of Socialist organizations will be undertaken as soon as lists that are now being gathered are complete.

Formation of special committees to solicit funds in organizations that are sympathetic to the Socialist movement is under way, and the names of those agreeing to serve on those committees will be announced at an early date.

In the meantime, the drive to secure a contribution from every party branch and local during the month of June, so that there will be no lull in the activity upon which the Socialists depend to make this a banner year for Socialism will continue.

Money Worth More Now

Beginning next week, a list of the contributors will be published in the New Leader and other Socialist publications. It will include contributions from Socialist party branches, and from individuals, regardless of the amount.

In an appeal addressed to all Socialist party members, Lewis requests that branches and individuals that have funds available for the drive should mail them to him at 907 Fifteen Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

"It will depend mainly on what we do now, not on what we do during the last few weeks of the campaign, as to whether we shall make the most of our opportunity," Lewis declared. "If we can properly prepare the ground now, the campaign will continue to gain momentum, bringing us both funds and votes later on. A dollar now may count for as much as several dollars later on—it may help bring several dollars later on. We have done well so far, but we have a long distance to go in a short time."

"Party branches and locals are reminded that fifty per cent of the proceeds of the drive will be returned to them for their local needs. They are helping the local as well as the national campaign funds."

Socialists of Montana in State Session

Largest Convention Since the War Meets in Helena—Platform Drafted

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

HELENA, Montana.—The largest and most enthusiastic convention since the war was held by the Socialist party of Montana at Helena May 17. All sections of the state were represented by large delegations, and the work of forming an aggressive Socialist movement in Montana at the coming election went forward with harmony and dispatch.

William A. Curtis of Kalispell, John F. Maas of Kalispell, C. L. Williams of Butte, and Mrs. Katherine Held of Sanders County were named presidential electors for Montana.

At a mass convention which was held immediately following the state convention the state platform of the Socialist party was adopted and nominations for various state offices were made. H. R. Schneider of Flathead county was unanimously elected chairman, and S. H. Rivin of Missoula county was elected as secretary of this mass convention.

On the report of the platform committee and their recommendation, the following principles were accepted as the basis on which the Socialist party would appeal for support from the electors of the state:

PREAMBLE

We, the Socialist party of Montana, in convention assembled, reaffirm our allegiance to the principles of Socialism and to the Socialist party of America and pledge ourselves to work for the complete abolition of Capitalism.

Your attention is called to the complete failure of the two old parties, whose incompetency has brought this state and nation to the verge of bankruptcy.

Realizing that a complete collapse of the economic system is imminent, we present the following as a partial plan for immediate relief and reconstruction:

The platform goes on to demand a federal unemployment insurance law, to be met by a federal tax on incomes in the higher brackets; a six-hour work day and a five-day week; a federal appropriation of five billion (\$5,000,000,000) dollars for public works, roads, reforestation, slum clearances and other necessities for the relief of the workers; the doing of all highway and road work directly by the state and counties; state ownership and operation of cement plants for the needs of the public works in the state; state oil refineries; establishment of a state printing plant; payment of the soldier bonus to the veterans of the World war, in full, by the issue direct to them of United States currency; the exemption of taxes on homes to the extent of two thousand dollars (\$2,000), and on farms to the extent of three thousand dollars (\$3,000); steeply increased income and inheritance taxes on higher incomes and estates.

Free medical care and hospitalization in maternity for the workers; amending of the state "prevailing wage scale law," so as to make it effective; liberalization of the State Workmen's Compensation Law; repeal of the Primary Election Law; abolition of all convict labor when in competition with free labor; continuation of and unalterable opposition to the repeal of the Federal Agricultural Marketing Act to promote the effective merchandising

Socialists Name Ticket In Logan County, W. Va.

Keeney Wires Milwaukee Convention of Coal Operators' Terrorism

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

MILWAUKEE.—One of the most dramatic moments of the Socialist national convention was caused by the receipt of a telegram from the West Virginia Mine Workers Union stating that two of their men had been kidnapped because of their activities in organizing in notorious Logan County. This was the fourth of a series of terroristic acts against union and Socialist Party workers, and there is every possibility that a new Harlan County outrage is in the making.

Logan County is famous for the Hatfield-McCoy feuds and for the armed march of 8,000 miners in 1920 who invaded the county to open it up to the union. It has been impossible for any union to enter that field since. In the last month the West Virginia Mine Workers Union has been persistent and courageous in its efforts to unionize the county. Several thousand miners have already been enrolled and there is every promise of the building up of a powerful union there.

With the growth of the union the terrorism grew. B. W. Roberts, secretary of the local, has been kidnapped and beaten up. Another organizer has been shot.

of agricultural commodities in interstate and foreign commerce, and to place agriculture on a basis of economic equality with other industries.

The following were nominated and elected to be the representatives of the Socialist party on the state ticket: Congress, first district, A. N. Brooks, Trout Creek, Montana; Congress, second district, J. H. Matheson, Billings, Montana; Governor, Christ Yegen, Billings, Montana; Lieut. Governor, Harry Haselton; Secretary of State, Charles Payat, Belknap, Montana; Attorney General, John F. Duffy, Kalispell, Montana; State Treasurer, George Lambert, Miles City, Montana; State Auditor, Rose Bauman, Livingston, Montana; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Daniel McCorkle, Conrad; Railroad Commissioner, Charles Brown, Whitefish, Mont.

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They were later released. The telegram to the convention announced that two more men had been kidnapped.

Norman Thomas read the telegram to the convention and Amicus Most, who had just come back from West Virginia, introduced a resolution which was passed unanimously pledging the party's moral and financial aid to the union.

A few hours later another telegram was received from President Frank Keeney stating, "The Socialists of Logan County are putting a full county ticket up for election. This is their answer to the operators' terrorism." It is largely because of the work of Amicus Most and Murray Baron that the Socialist Party of West Virginia is in a position to co-operate actively with the Union, and the near future may again see both the party and the union powerful, as they were before the war, because of this co-operation.

Ohio

Fred Guy Strickland is in Cleveland for a few days of the state-wide tour he is now making. He has already addressed large crowds in Middletown, Dayton, Lima, Akron and Warren. This is Strickland's first tour in many years. Once a popular speaker and in great demand, his return to the movement is being heralded by all who remembered him for the fine work in the past. Strickland, who now resides in Columbus, reports that his trip so far has proven to him that the workers are more willing to listen to Socialism than at any other time in his experience. Whenever he has been, he says, he has seen a revival of the party. After leaving Cleveland he will cover Hubbard, Gallopole, Piqua and other towns in Southern Ohio.

Sidney Yellen, state secretary, reports that Local Middletown has organized, through the efforts of William Griffiths, a council of the unemployed of over 400 members. Eighteen counties are now solidly organized for the Socialist party and about a dozen more are in the process of being organized. "Now that we have our candidates nominated," Yellen said, "Ohio is going ahead full blast and will emerge from the campaign with an increased membership and not less than a quadrupled vote."

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Company Thug Kills I. W. W. Kentucky Miner

Jack Vanetter Is Shot Down In Evart Road

Body of Slain Harlan Worker Found; Trial of Forty Is Begun

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

EVARTS, Ky.—Jack Vanetter, a union coal miner, was shot down by Dillard Middleton, a notorious company gunman and died later in the Harlan hospital. Vanetter was walking down the road when the gun-thug drove past, firing twice, both bullets taking effect. It was a cold-blooded murderous attack, delivered without warning. The murderer drove away leaving his victim where he fell.

The murdered miner, Jack Vanetter, was a member of Coal Mine Workers Industrial Union No. 220 of the I. W. W. and had taken an active part in fighting the wage cuts ordered by the coal operators. He was noted for his dauntless courage and it was this quality which caused the gun-thugs to seek his life. At the union headquarters here I. W. W. local officials said the killing was directly chargeable to the Black Mountain Coal Corporation, an Insull-Peabody concern which has led the attack against unionism in the Harlan fields.

Later Middleton, who bears the title of deputy constable, surrendered saying that Vanetter had threatened his life some months before. Middleton was one of a mob of gunmen who raided and wrecked the General Defense Committee Relief Station here last January.

HARLAN, Ky. — Preparations are now being made for the trials of the 40 miners who were indicted for killing Jim Daniels and 3 other gun-thugs in the Battle of Evarts, May 5, 1931. A special term of court, of 10 weeks duration, has been set and the trials will begin May 31. Captain Ben B. Golden, of Pineville, Ky., who defended Bill Burnett, W. B. Bones and W. M. Hightower, Kentucky miners, tried previously, will also act as chief counsel for the defendants, under the direction of the General Defense Committee.

Two severed hands, two feet and a head pierced by a bullet, preserved almost a year in alcohol, have been turned over to Sheriff John Henry Blair of Harlan county by John Surgener, Harlan merchant. He told Blair the pieces were from a miner who had crawled into the brush to die after the Evarts battle of May 5, 1931. The remains have not been identified.

A mountain man, said Surgener, found the body last summer, partly decomposed, on the hillside not far from the battle scene. Unable to bring the body from the mountain, and fearful of directing vengeance to himself, the hunter cut off the head, hands and feet, and buried the rest of the body. Surgener refused to disclose his name, saying he feared reprisals.

At the time of the shooting, the first report that reached Harlan said 12 men were shot to death, but officers who rushed to the spot found only four bodies. An early report last spring mentioned the possibility that more than four had been killed.

"We have received proof that altogether nine men were killed,

Half Million in Legal 'Fees' Paid by Electricians Union

Charge Is Made Money Went to Secure Political Protection

WINDING up the examination before trial in the suit of fifteen members for an accounting of the funds of Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Jacob S. Solomon, secretary of the organizing committee of the local, gave a list of activities of James E. Smith, former attorney for the union, to prove that Smith had been worth his hire. In former testimony it had been brought out that the organizing committee had paid Smith more than half a million dollars since the creation of the committee in 1926 by H. H. Broach, now President of the International union and then Vice-president, who had come into New York to institute changes in the conduct of Local 3's affairs.

Smith was replaced by Frank P. Walsh as attorney about two months ago after John Holley Clark, Jr., counsel for the fifteen plaintiffs, had succeeded in obtaining a preliminary injunction against the officials of Local 3 restraining the latter from interfering with the membership rights of the members bringing suit. It is Clark's contention that Smith had been retained to secure political protection and that money paid him by the organizing committee had been used for such a purpose.

Solomon testified under questioning by Walsh and Harold Stern who substituted towards the close of the final hearing that Smith had been exceedingly busy taking care of Local 3's interests and that in his capacity as counsel he had frequently had to employ investigators. Mention was made of an instance when Smith spent a good deal of time preparing data for the Federated Press in order to refute in labor circles charges made against the union. In several of the legal cases Local 3 was not actually named as a defendant but the union was behind the suits. Solomon admitted the correctness of Attorney Clark's analysis and summary of the cases handled by Smith which showed that Smith had lost all those in which Local 3 had been named as defendant except two where the union had received a 50-50 break. He emphasized that the attorney had been retained by the union despite such a record. Stern retorted that unions did not engage lawyers because of the number of their vic-

but that the miners buried their own dead to prevent officers from knowing their loss," Sheriff Blair declared.

More than 100 active unionists were rounded up after the affray and about 35 held for murder of the three deputies who were killed. These men are being defended by the General Defense Committee.

Nothing has ever been done about the killing of the miner whose body was found, officers claiming as usual that the miners started it all. Witnesses in the examining trials described seeing wounded men carried past their homes with blood pouring from their wounds so fast that they apparently had no hope of life, but the only miner officially reported killed was Richardson.

Eumors have been rife all through the mountain country ever since the battle. Visiting correspondents were told another variation—that a whole lot more officers had been killed than they did not want to admit losses.

tories but because of their willingness to fight for labor.

Stern made clear that the defendants would take the necessary legal steps to postpone going to trial. This prompted Clark to announce that since opposition to immediate trial had arisen that he would go through with his original intention to cite Solomon for contempt of court. The secretary of the organizing committee had failed to produce the books of the organizing committee for examination of the defendants in accordance with the terms of the court order providing for the hearings and had explained this failure by saying he had destroyed all the records, for fear of spies and enemies of the union. In testimony Solomon held the League for Industrial Rights responsible for a good many of the suits which the union had had to defend. Agreement was made before Referee Robert McC. Marsh that Attorney Clark would include a comprehensive portion of the testimony of Solomon for certification by Marsh in Clark's effort to have Solomon cited for contempt. It is probable that the trial of the suit against the officials of Local 3 will not come up until the Fall.

Cloak Pact Ends In New York City; Negotiations On

Despite the expiration of the agreements in the cloak and suit industry in New York City on May 31 working conditions will remain unchanged while negotiations are continued. The employers are making a drive for the establishment of piece work under the guise of scientific production. The inside manufacturers organized in the Industrial Council of Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers has demanded that "the present inflexible week-work system be supplanted by a system guaranteeing a measure of production based upon scientifically determined standards which shall be predicated upon wage scales consistent with current economic conditions." The jobbers, who belong to the Merchants Ladies' Garment Association, have declared that "it is necessary for the Union to participate with the other groups in the establishment of scientific management procedure in the introduction of labor standards. . . . The union has turned down these demands and insists upon the retention of week work."

The manufacturers have also rejected the union's demand for the limitation of contractors and insists that the remedy lies in another direction. It asks that the union join the Trade Council to which the manufacturers, the jobbers and the contractors already belong and help in maintaining price schedules for contractors. It also calls upon the union to assist in giving publicity to cases where retailers patronize non-union establishments. The jobbers have made similar demands requiring the union's closer collaboration in remedying trade evils.

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Court Rules Bosses Must Abide by Pact Made with A. C. W.

Another case where a collective agreement has been upheld by court action occurred last week when Referee John J. O'Connell appointed by Supreme Court Justice Edward P. Gavegan handed down a decision upholding the compact made between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the New York Clothing Manufacturers Exchange last July. Counsel for the union was Louis Waldman.

The manufacturer involved, Walcoff brothers had sent work out of town to be made by non-union labor. The referee declared that "if it is permissible for labor unions to bring into their membership all the workers in a trade, for the betterment of their own conditions and there is no proof of duress, coercion or a malicious intent to injure anybody, then it is difficult to see illegality or monopoly in an agreement which binds a combination of manufacturers to employ only union labor and binds the unions to work only for such shops." The employer will appeal the case.

Oppose Building Pay Cut

Opposition to the Building Trades Council for accepting the 20 to 30 per cent wage cut offered by the Building Trades Employers Association was declared by a group of unions who formed a temporary organization to resist the wage reductions. The unions in the group are the United Derricks and Riggers' Association; the Granite Cutters; the Metal Lathers; the Marble Cutters, Carvers and Setters; the Machine Stone Workers; Tile Layers' Local 52; Tile Layers' Helper Local 53; Steamfitters' Enterprise Association; Whitestone Association; Marble Helpers and Riggers; Compositors; Roofers; Mosaic and Terrazzo Workers; Mosaic and Terrazzo Helpers; Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association; Slate and Tile Roofers; Stone Setters 84; Plasterers' 60, and Stone Masons 78.

Czech Workers Advance

PRAGUE, (W.L.N.) — Despite a general increase in unemployment and economic difficulties in Czechoslovakia last year the Building Workers' Union succeeded in winning a dozen strikes, signing up 65 new collective agreements and prolonging 10, and obtaining 15 favorable awards from the Wage Tribunal, according to a report just given out here. The union also gained a number of new members, bringing the total up to about 35,000, compared with 12,000 in 1927 when unity was affected among the three then existing building trades unions of liberal tendencies. So far this year, recruiting has been continued with good results.

Stanley At the Debs Club

Louis Stanley will speak on "The Future of Trade Unionism" at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, Wednesday evening, 8:45 P. M. The meeting is sponsored by the Debs Club of the Rand School Fellowship. Stanley is an instructor at the Rand School and has written many articles and books on trade union problems.

American Socialist Society

The last quarterly meeting of the season of the American Socialist Society will be held Friday, June 3rd, at 8 p. m. in the studio of the Rand School. All the members of the American Socialist Society are urged to attend this meeting at which reports on the proposed activities for next year will be submitted.

Labor Bank Control Passes To Capitalists

Open Shop Interests Dominate New Board of Federation Trust

THE PASSING of control of the Federation Bank and Trust Company from organized labor to open shop capitalist interests became a certainty with the announcement of the personnel of the new board of directors. Seven directors represent the A. F. of L. trade unions and seven the business men who invested the additional capital needed to reopen the bank under its own name instead of its being merged with another bank as at first proposed. These fourteen chose as chairman of the board Joseph B. Ennis of the American Locomotive Works, thus giving the majority of the Board of Directors to capital.

The labor members of the Board are William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor; Edward W. Canavan, President of the International Association of Musicians; Edward W. Edwards, President of the New York State Allied Printing Trades Council; John Sullivan, President of the New York State Federation of Labor; Louis Gebhart, President of the New York Building Trades Council; John J. Munholland, Vice-president of the Central Trades and Labor Council, who was a member of the old board is absent from the reorganized body. It is understood that his personal plans made him unable to accept as a labor director.

The business men on the board besides the chairman are J. Homer Platten of the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company; Philip D. Reed of the General Electric Company; Charles J. Hardy of the American Car and Foundry Company; Jeremiah D. Maguire of the Industries Development Company; Richard E. Dwight of the law firm of Hughes, Schurman & Dwight, and Louis A. Zahn of the General Foods Company.

Owen D. Young, Governor Frank D. Roosevelt, Lieutenant-governor Lehman and others helped to secure the new capital. The Federation Bank closed its doors last October when it was called upon to make good its obligations following the death of its President, Peter J. Brady, in an airplane accident. Many unions in New York City have been seriously hampered in the last few months because funds have been tied up in the bank. Under the terms which will guarantee the reopening of the bank depositors will lose one-third of their deposit. Stockholders, consisting practically entirely of A. F. of L. trade unions and trade unionists, will find their shares of stock reduced under the new arrangements from \$100 to \$20 a share and will have the right to purchase additional shares of \$20 par value for \$50 each. The unions will thus lose four-fifths of their investment in the bank.

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War Will Bring Revolution—Vandervelde

Internationals Voice Demands At Zurich Meet

Parties Representing 8,000,000 Workers Are Represented as Executives Confer

THE executives of the International Federation of Trade Unions and of the Labor and Socialist International met in Zurich, Switzerland, while the delegates of the Socialist Party were meeting in Milwaukee. The meeting was a joint conference on disarmament representing 8,000,000 enrolled members of the working class determined to take drastic action against war.

Considering the slow progress made at Geneva and the "ill will manifested by some governments," it was declared that solidarity of the workers is their only hope of preventing war.

Delegations from fifteen nations were present and throughout the sessions of the conference red flags draped the Hall of the People, the Socialist center of Zurich. The common view of the delegates was voiced by Emile Vandervelde of Belgium who said that the world may emerge from the capitalist crisis either through a collapse or a fundamental change led by the workers. Whether the world is to remain capitalist or become proletarian is vital.

Warns of Revolt

Labor's millions, said Vandervelde, must build international peace but should war come they must be willing to turn the war into revolution.

Re-establishment of international confidence, he said, is impossible without these four things—eventually set forth in one of the resolutions adopted by the meeting: A solution of the question of inter-governmental debts; an end to the excesses of tariff protectionism; a guaranty of peace in the East against Japanese imperialism; and a serious step toward disarmament.

French, German and British speakers at the meeting emphasized the danger of the Chinese-Japanese conflict becoming a world-devastating war; the growing distrust of the League of Nations as a cloak for spineless governments, and the destruction to democracy and international confidence worked by Italian and German Fascism; and they agreed with M. Vandervelde that, despite the failure of the Socialist revolt against war in 1914, it must be made certain to politicians that hereafter revolt will come in time of war.

Greetings were received by the gathering from the national convention of American Socialists at Milwaukee.

Dutch Union Bars Confederation With New Socialist Group

AMSTERDAM (W. L. N.).—That the dissident Socialists who broke away from the regular Social Democratic Labor Party of Holland at the March national convention and organized the Independent Socialist Party have slight support in Dutch organized labor was revealed on April 6 at a meeting here of the leading officials and representatives of the Federation of Labor and its affiliated bodies. A request by the Independent Socialist Party for representation on the General Council that coordinates the work of the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions was rejected by a vote of 285,791 to 16,871, with 11,937 abstentions. The meeting instructed the local union groups to act in accordance with this decision. In the meantime, dissension is already rife in the ranks of the new party.

Belgian Labor Bank Gains

BRUSSELS, (W.L.N.)—In the midst of hard times and general financial uncertainty, the Belgian Labor Bank continues to enjoy the confidence of both labor and business elements and to increase its activities. Its report for 1931 shows an increase in deposits from 261,000,000 Belgian francs (worth 2½ cents each) in December, 1930, to 426,000,000 a year later. The bank's business turnover last year was 14,500,000,000 francs, compared with 9,400,000,000 in 1930. Net profits were 6,200,000 francs, slightly less than the year before.

"Nepszava" Gains

BUDAPEST (L.S.I.)—As was recently announced in "Nepszava" the Executive of the Hungarian Party decided to reduce the price of the paper by half from May 1st onwards. The propaganda campaign for the "Nepszava," which the ban on the paper only succeeded in encouraging, was crowned with such success in town and country that it made this reduction in price possible.

Poor Peasants and Workers Treated Like Slaves in Persia

VIENNA (W. L. N.)—That the so-called modernization of Persia by Riza Khan Pahlevi, the former Cossack officer who seized power and was formally elected Shah by the Constituent Assembly in Teheran on December 13, 1925, to which enthusiastic reference is occasionally made in European and American publications, doesn't include any improvement of the condition of the 100,000 or so industrial workers and millions of poor farmers in that ancient kingdom is evident from an article in a recent issue of the Arbeiter-Zeitung here.

The writer of the report is held to be an authority on Persia and has spent considerable time there. As about 80 per cent of the estimated Persian population of 11,000,000 are engaged in agriculture, the agrarian problem naturally comes first. Four-fifths of the arable land is held by a few thousand land owners, who also occupy 120 of the 136 seats in the National Parliament and see to it that nothing is done to disturb their feudal relations with their peasant tenants. So fearfully are these tenants exploited through being compelled to turn over

Argentine Deports 80 Workingmen

Socialist and Labor Groups in Storm of Protest at "Chaco" incident

BUENOS AIRES, (W. L. N.)—Future historians will probably set down the "Chaco" episode as one of the most unusual and disgraceful incidents connected with the semi-dictatorship, headed by the late General José Uriburu, which came to an end on February 20, last, with the inauguration of President Augustin Justo and his government. Only a few days before Justo's taking office, there sailed from Argentina a naval transport named "Chaco" carrying the crews for three submarines being constructed in Italy for this country and, incidentally, taking with it a cargo of deportees numbering about 80.

Most of the prisoners were political and labor leaders who had made themselves objectionable to the Uriburu régime, either by agitating for better working conditions or by demanding the restoration of political freedom. Many of them had been so long in Argentina, that they had lost all ties with their native land and almost forgotten its language. Among the victims were Italians, Poles and Rumanians, fairly sure of being jailed and possibly executed if forced to return to their homeland.

Vigorous protests by Argentine organized labor and the Socialist Party had caused the release of about half of the number originally scheduled for deportation, and ever since the "Chaco" departed, a constant agitation has been kept up in their behalf. All sorts of more or less fantastic reports from Europe as to the possible fate of the deportees, who appear to have been refused admission to almost every country, except England, Poland and Russia, have added to the indignation and disgust of the masses of Argentine workers.

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Yipsel N. E. C. Makes Plans For Convention

THE National Executive Committee of the Young People's Socialist League held a meeting in Milwaukee on May 22, after the Socialist party convention. Comrade Umansky, National Chairman, opened the meeting, with Comrades Smerkin, Secretary, Greenberg, McStroul, Dancis, Wohl and Shulman present. No Jamboree is to be held this year due to the calling of the convention in Cleveland, Ohio, for Saturday and Sunday, July 23 and 24. Each senior Circle will be entitled to at least one delegate to the Y.P.S.L. convention, and circles having more than 20 will be allowed two representatives.

A journal will be prepared for the convention, with greetings and articles by prominent Socialists and Youth leaders. Ads are being sought at the rate of \$25 per page, and pro rata for smaller space allotments. A committee to prepare the agenda for the convention was elected; circles are urged to send in resolutions and suggestions. A constitutional committee was also elected and consists of Umansky, Dancis and Levenstein. Issuance of a youth paper will be presented by Secretary Smerkin. Hy Flash reported on his organization tour.

Montreal Yipsels Jailed for "Sedition"

Four Montreal Yipsels were arrested and charged with distributing seditious literature and interfering with private property on Monday night, May 23d. The "seditious" literature consisted of posters announcing an anti-war meeting called to protest against military training in schools and colleges, war preparations, and the threat of imminent war. The meeting, called by the Montreal Young People's Labor League, took place Friday evening, May 27th, at Morin Hall, 3414 Park avenue.

The arrests came when a squad of Yipsels attempted to flood the town with posters advertising the meeting. Lou Grossner and Ben Specter were arrested while putting up a poster on a pole belonging to the Montreal Heat, Light and Power Company. They were taken to the No. 12 Police Station, where they were allowed, after considerable wrangling, to call up Alderman Joseph Schubert, the recently-elected Socialist alderman. He immediately got in touch with the District Captain, and the two Yipsels were released within half an hour, testifying to the importance of having Socialist Aldermen!

The other two comrades did not fare so well, however. Felix Lazarus and Abe Andrasnik were arrested in the down-town district, and were taken to the headquarters of the "Red" Squad, Station No. 4. The preservers of law, order and the sacred rights of property kept them there incommunicado for a while and finally brought them over to the city jail, where they phoned Alderman Schubert, who came over at 2 o'clock in the morning, and bailed out the two Yipsels.

The trial took place June 2d in the Montreal Courts. The case was handled by Mike Rubinstein, a young Socialist lawyer.

Editorial

It may be sound psychology during these days of darkness to hope for improvement, but the increase of unemployment in industry, the destruction of factories to avoid payment of taxes, the slashes in the wages of civil employees, the breakdown of the inadequate relief machinery the ominous beating of the international war-drums, should suggest the unavoidable conclusion that the country is sinking to so low a point that the only alternative—unless the American young workers deliberately set about to stave off the impending disaster—will be a Capitalist-Fascist dictatorship.

It may sound fantastic to the young man or woman who reads this to believe that the coming Presidential election may be the last one that the American public will face.

But if the trouble is taken to recall that very little time is needed to catapult a country—especially of unorganized workers—into war, and even less time for a military dictatorship to be established, then one must be impressed with the realization that the conditions in America are completely inviting for similarly drastic changes, and without the loss of a moment.

The present leaders in their frantic attempts to bolster up the decaying Capitalist structure have regarded with favor the proposal of Gerard Swope which is an undorned industrial dictatorship. Already Washington is contemplating a committee that is to function between sessions of Congress. And under such a name as the Commission of Public Safety we may see the workers shorn entirely of what few rights remain to them.

Fascism which is a form of Capitalism in its death convulsions, must be fought against now through the organization of every young man and woman coming from the working-class, into a fighting League against Capitalism and the Fascist Danger, and for the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth.

J. J. U.

See America Starve

This fascinating heading arises from a need that has beset the National Office for organizers. Numerous persons have sent in emergency calls for assistants to whip potential groups into shape, and to start circles in most unexpected sections of the country; any number of independent groups have expressed a desire to affiliate with the Y.P.S.L. and are awaiting an organizer who will show them exactly what must be done to become active Y.P.S.L. units; plenty of cities are over-ripe for effective propaganda speeches by our representatives who could plant circles in almost every place they stop. What we want to know is just how many we can count upon for the summer.

Many of us who have become a bit weary of starving at home intend this summer to starve while seeing America at the same time. This period of travel could be used very well for the benefit of the Socialist Movement and the Young People's Socialist League directly. All we have to do is to get the Socialist Party official of the district and the Circle officers to forward letters of recommendation, including a statement of qualifications, and the national office would immediately remit credentials, and would then arrange a series of meetings along any route we choose to take.

Circling The Circles

TIME and distance mean very little to us, and expenses mean even less. In order to convince our Yipsel readers how inexpensively, and rapidly we may flit about from circle to circle, we'll arbitrarily hop over to Montreal in the Province of Quebec, Canada, and then swing over the entire continent within a few minutes. Our Canadian hosts have suffered some casualties, four of the Yipsels having earned the invidious distinction of becoming the guests of the city, as a result of being charged with the distribution of seditious literature and interfering with private property. Since the complete news story appears elsewhere, we'll turn to more important business, as their projected fortnightly journal, of which M. J. Boxer is the exchange editor. We have a flattering letter from his asking for a christening editorial, the invitation has been extended to all of the scribbling Yipsels in the States. The membership of the Montreal unit will soon hit 100.

But the same trouble exists in Buffalo, N. Y., whose Yipsels are pasting stickers all over town bearing the advice: "Vote Socialist." Their picnic next Sunday will be a gala affair. The Yipsels have been treated at their study group with two lectures by May Harris Mainland. The circle and the Socialist party branch are getting a headquarters.

On the other side of the continent Los Angeles, Cal., informs us of the organization of another circle. The charter application has already been received by the national office. In the meantime the executive secretary, Herbert Elstein, has ordered more dues stamps.

An Epidemic

This pleasing habit of buying dues stamps threatens to become an epidemic! Granite City, Ill., has just become affected with it, having received their allotment and also a new charter. For not very far away is East St. Louis where a new unit is about to be established. In St. Louis, Mo., the thriving group will find added duties because of the growing interest in the Y. P. S. L. With the assistance of the Socialist party organizer of Illinois, and the Missouri gang over the river, Granite City and East St. Louis will be welded into tangible shape. A complaint has been received that the Yipsel organizers have been skipping past the St. Louis stronghold. We'll send you organizers when the end of July.

Now, comrades, we'll take a peep at the Northerners in Milwaukee, Wis., where the Yipsels were out in force helping the Socialist party to keep the delegates to the national convention from swearing at their hosts. They've just sent for a big batch of membership cards. One of the suburbs, West Allis, has sent for 100 dues stamps (and believe it or not, has already received them). The Milwaukee groups have drawn up a resolution requesting that the national executive committee appoint George Smerkin as the national director of the league.

Moving southwestward we discover that the Chicagoans had been preparing to tickle the limbs of the law, having gone in league with the Civil Liberties Union to make their Mooney demonstration meeting a real success. Gilmartin, the president of the Kentucky Miners' Defense Committee, Chicago division, addressed their meeting. Some of the Yipsels had left this town to see what other cities there were in existence, and one of them found Detroit, Mich., as well as a functioning circle. The last report from the Henry Ford dumping ground gives us the exciting information of a second circle organized in Detroit. If the Y. P. S. L. of that city continues its present rate of growth when the automobile factories will be taken over by the league within the next few months. Comrades, we need some cars for our "hiking agitators." Some of us will have to be shooting over to Toledo, Ohio, soon, whether we get the autos or not, because a circle is about to be brought into this lovely world. Literature, membership cards, dues stamps and song books have been shipped, and all we need now are members, whom we expect to collect in heaps just as quickly as one of our foot-loose Clevelanders gets busy. Cleveland, Ohio, is awaiting the Yipsels who will hike, ride and fly from all corners of the country, to the national convention of the Y. P. S. L. of America, about the end of July.

Some Helpful Girls

Blairsville, Pa., has just stocked up with dues stamps and supplies. Grace

Morton, the secretary, sets the example to others by attending promptly to her correspondence. We could add in passing that in recent months much ability has been manifested by our young ladies, who have been assuming plenty of work. Among such may be mentioned Pearl Greenberg of Chicago, who is on the N. E. C.; Ruth Hasak of Milwaukee, who is the city secretary; Edith Savino, the St. Louis secretary; Adele Kochman of Cleveland, who is a fiery outdoor speaker; Meta Riseman, who—figuratively speaking—mothers the Detroiters; Louise Gugino of Buffalo, who is answering your letter even before she receives it; Doris Lewis of Montreal, the secretary of the unit; Edna Drabkin, Pearl Waller, the Pessin sisters of Bronx County, N. Y., and the Schachner sisters of Kings County, Ethel being the city organizer. As soon as we receive the letters from those we have omitted, further names will be listed.

A few paragraphs ago we were stranded in Pennsylvania. The Reading comrades are ready to tell us that they've called for (and obtained) 100 junior stamps. The organization in this city of red roofs (and full soon a red administration again) is large enough to afford an executive secretary, Roger Smith, who, it may as well be confessed, serves without pay.

The dues are still being paid even in the neighboring state of New Jersey. The most recent check comes from Orange, N. J., but sad to relate, the heat is affecting the attendance. With such a name, however, the circle will bear fruit. (Note that we have been fined three months dues for the last observation, a most fitting manner of preventing a statement of the obvious). A situation of a curiously parallel sort exists in Boston, Mass., whence \$5 are at hand for stamps, but no membership list. We ask, is this a "pocket borough?"

Then There's New York

Well, comrades, The New Leader is about to go to press, and we must fly to the printing plant somewhere in the city of New York, but first looking over these New Yawkers, who insist on being at the bottom of the list—as a foundation—so to speak. Sometimes we think that the space they consume arises less from activity than the physical room their large numbers of circles takes up. Be that as it may, something is actually going on no matter when we scrutinize

them, to wit: Sunday, June 13, at 10 a. m., the Yipsels, Yipselettes, friends and families (?) coagulate about the Dyckman street ferry, with lunch and athletic impedimenta, for another exploration of the Palisades. Tomorrow night, if we care to stay, Circle Two Seniors of Kings, at 219 Sackman street, will have a discussion of the Milwaukee convention, following the election of circle officers. Or if we don't want post mortems we could hear Abe Belsky discourse upon the class struggle, in Circle Six Seniors, at 187 Tompkins avenue.

The day after we could attend the regular joint meetings of Circles Seven and Nine Seniors, at 3820 Church avenue, at 7:30 p. m. directly after we had our evening meals at the homes of the members. Every Friday night this branch conducts outdoor meetings at Church avenue and East 49th street, while also helping the party.

We'll have to forego listening to Gus Tyler in the middle of next week, who will address Circle Three Seniors, Manhattan, this Wednesday evening at 327 East 9th street; but we might harken to Winston Dancis tonight at Circle Eight Seniors, in the same boro, at 96 Avenue C, on the results of the Socialist convention.

Having come in a day late, we missed a discussion of the militant program at Circle Two Seniors Queens, at 8503 88th avenue, Woodhaven. However, if some of us desire to remain until next Friday we could hear Winston Dancis on the subject of the Socialist convention and the militants at 615 East 140th street, the home of Circle Five Juniors of the Bronx.

When we drop in again it would best be on a Friday because we miss too much otherwise. At Circle Ten Seniors Bronx, for example, we could have heard Aaron Levenstein in the Workmen's Circle school room in the Amalgamated Cooperative Houses, through the courtesy of Circle Ten Juniors Bronx. Or we might have attended the installation of a new circle, Six Seniors, at 2717 White Plains road, with dancing and refreshments (which seem to be always necessary after Yipsel socials). And if we should show up on Thursday coming, we could have the real thrill of seeing a joint meeting of the Socialist party branch and Circle Seven Seniors, discussing campaign activities and having a joint educational program, a combination of knowledge with power.

J. J. U.

ask dad!
he knows...

what it means to be out of work, worried as to how mother and kid sister and brother and you are going to be kept in food and clothing, and where the money for the rent, and the doctor, and the dentist is coming from . . . don't you agree that there is something basically wrong with a system that must periodically starve millions of its workers while a few multimillionaires amass additional millions? . . . we think that there is something wrong, and we know that the evils of this system can be done away with . . . to this end the Y. P. S. L. is educating and organizing young workers and students so that their time and energy may be used to bring about this end.

You owe it to yourself to find out more . . . write: Young People's Socialist League, 7 East 15th Street, New York City; or our National office, 549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois.

N. Y. Socialists Plan Record Picnic July 30

Thomas and Maurer May Start Tour at Giant Ulmer Park Rally

THE great annual picnic of the New York Socialist party, affiliated and friendly organizations will be held Saturday, July 30, at Ulmer Park. A. N. Weinberg is in charge of arrangements and the organization of committees, etc., to make this affair the greatest success now under way.

Besides the great day of amusements, there will be many features to attract a record crowd. The picnic will also be the first great mass rally for the Presidential campaign in New York City. It probably will serve as a send-off for the tour of our candidates for President and Vice President over the country. All organizations connected with or friendly to the Socialist party are urged to cooperate by keeping the date of Saturday, July 30, open and not to arrange affairs in conflict with the picnic.

MANHATTAN

UPPER WEST SIDE.—A preliminary campaign committee meeting in conjunction with the Morningside Heights branch will be held Monday evening, June 6, at the headquarters of the Morningside Heights branch, 3109 Broadway. The following are the members of this committee: Meyer Gillis, P. F. Chaiken, William Halpern and Leon Gibson.

YORKVILLE.—A meeting will be held Thursday evening, June 9, at 241 East 84th street. Voting on ballots for state convention will be on the order of business.

MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS.—The regular Sunday forum will be held at 8:30 p. m. Comrade Ronald Duval will discuss "The Victory of the Left Wing in the Socialist Party," including an analysis of the Left Wing program. An important branch meeting will be held Monday night; all members are urged to attend. The unemployed Union will meet on Thursday. Comrade Duval will speak on "The Pioneer Spirit." There will be other speakers and a street meeting will follow.

17-18-20th A. D.—A meeting will be held Tuesday evening, June 7, at 1536 Madison avenue, at 8:30 p. m.

19-21st A. D.—Branch meetings are held every Saturday evening at the clubrooms, 2005 7th avenue. At the Sunday afternoon forum held in the headquarters, Miss Layle Lane will speak on "The Negro Woman in Politics." Miss Lane is a well known teacher and a member of the Teachers' Union. The lecture will begin at 3:30 p. m.

22nd A. D.—A meeting will be held on Monday, June 6, in the home of Comrades Glnet, 609 West 149th street. The branch has now been officially chartered by the city executive committee. One item on the order of business will be the election of officers and delegates to the various committees, etc.

WASHINGTON HEIGHTS.—The next branch meeting will be held on Wednesday evening, June 8, at the home of Dora Delson, 615 West 164th street, Apt. A-1, at 8:15 p. m. sharp. Every comrade is urged to attend in order to vote for delegates to the state convention, and to nominate candidates for public offices. Amicus Most will report on the national convention recently held in Milwaukee. Street meetings are being held regularly.

CHELSEA BRANCH.—The branch will meet Friday, June 3, at 8:15 p. m. in the Rand School. After a short business session the members will listen to reports from the delegates who recently returned from the national convention.

BRONX

All Bronx Socialists will take notice that the county office has moved to 904 Prospect avenue. All communications are to be mailed to this address.

MEMBERSHIP MEETING.—Sunday, June 5, at 1:30 p. m., a general meeting of the Bronx membership will take place at the Burnside Manor, 85 West Burnside avenue. It is essential that every member make it his or her duty to come to this meeting. The Bronx campaign will begin at this meeting, nominations will be made for all districts and county-wide offices, a report of the convention will be given by the delegates, and other very important matters concerning the coming campaign will be discussed.

CAMP EDEN OUTING.—The county executive committee has arranged an outing to Camp Eden on the weekend of June 25. Arrangements have been made with the Camp Eden management offering our members a pleasant week-end for very moderate prices. A symposium will also take place on current issues. The prices will be \$5.50 including transportation

and \$3.75 without transportation. Buses and automobiles will leave 904 Prospect avenue on Saturday, June 25, at 1:30 p. m. All comrades who have automobiles and can accommodate passengers will please get in touch with Murray Gross, 904 Prospect avenue.

2nd A. D.—At the last meeting Comrades Schlesinger and Mollin were recommended for Assemblyman and State Senator respectively. A campaign committee headed by Comrade Minkoff was chosen. Active work will begin June 9 with a series of open air lectures by August Claessens at corner 167th street and Gerard avenue. A branch meeting will be held on Tuesday, June 7, at 8:30 p. m. at Paradise Manor.

4th A. D.—The next regular meeting will be held on Tuesday evening, June 7, in the Bakers' Union headquarters, 1351 Boston road. On Saturday, June 4, the branch is holding an entertainment and dance in the Bellamy Club, 904 Prospect avenue. Admission is 25 cents.

8th A. D.—On Sunday, June 19, the branch will have an automobile outing to Silver Lake, leaving 20 East Kingsbridge road, at 10 a. m. The price is \$1 round trip, which is practically the cost of fare by railroad. All are urged to bring their own lunch. There are fire places available and every accommodation for picnicking. The place is considered the nicest in Westchester County. On June 9, there will be a branch meeting at which Samuel Orr and Esther Friedman, delegates to the national convention, will report.

AMALGAMATED BRANCH.—A special joint meeting of the branch and the Jewish branch will take place Monday, June 6, at 8:30 p. m. in the assembly rooms of the building. Comrades Sarah Volovick and Louis Hendin will report as delegates to the national convention. Admission by membership card only. The executive committee elected an open air meeting committee and decided to have a picnic in June.

BROOKLYN

DOWNTOWN.—The branch will hold its regular monthly business meeting Friday evening, June 3, at 8:30 p. m., at 122 Pierrepont street. A full attendance of the members is expected. Street meetings at Court and Carroll streets and Clark and Henry streets, Brooklyn, are held every Friday evening at 8:30 p. m. (except the first Friday of each month when our business meeting is held).

BRIGHTON BEACH.—The branch at its last meeting obtained donations from members for the city office emergency fund. It also decided to launch a cooperative enterprise by which it expects to raise enough funds to enable it to carry on big activities.

WILLIAMSBURG.—Branch announces an interesting series of lectures on "America—The Dream and the Reality," by Dr. William E. Bohn, director of the Rand School. This series of six lectures will be delivered at an outdoor forum to be held every Thursday evening beginning with June 9, at corner Tompkins avenue and Hart street, at 8:30 p. m.

11th A. D.—The next branch meeting will be held on Monday, June 6, at 8:30 p. m. in the home of Dr. David Breslow, 1010 President street. Dr. Breslow will report on the national convention. The membership is instructed to attend the boro meeting at the Academy of Music this Sunday, June 5, at 2 p. m.

16th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday evening, June 10, at the Workmen's Circle Center, 7212 20th avenue, at 8:30 p. m. Comrade Emil Bromberg will render a report on the national convention.

17th A. D.—At the last meeting of the city executive committee this new branch was chartered. With more than a dozen comrades to begin with, the branch is expected to grow in membership and activity.

Bensonhurst unit of the Socialist Women of Greater New York will meet on Wednesday, June 8, at 2 p. m. in the home of Mrs. Taubkin, 2017 72nd street.

19-20th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Friday evening, June 10, in the home of Comrades Weil, 88 Harmon street, at 8:30 p. m.

QUEENS

COUNTY CONVENTION.—Socialist branches of Queens County will hold an annual membership meeting Tuesday, June 14, at 8 p. m. at Monroe Court community room, rear 43-13 47th street, Sunnyside. Nominations will be made for Congress, the State Senate and for six Assemblymen. There are branches now in every Assembly District in Queens.

SUNNYSIDE.—Standing room only has been the rule at the meetings of late. At the last meeting which was held at the time of the national convention, accounts of the proceedings written by a reporter on the spot, were read and discussed and greatly enjoyed. Members of the branch are active in raising relief funds for the 600 striking shoe workers in the I. Miller factory in Long Island City.

ROCKAWAY.—On Wednesday, May 25, a business meeting was held in Comrade Hodge's home and I. Braverman was elected financial secretary. A card party was given for the benefit of the branch in Comrade Klein's home Saturday, May, 28. Refreshments were served. It was decided that Sunday mornings should be devoted for canvassing enrolled voters

A committee of ten volunteered to devote their time to this work. Samuel A. DeWitt will deliver a series of five outdoor lectures under the general heading "Pictures of America." These talks will be given every Monday evening in the large space at the Station Plaza, Far Rockaway, L. I. The first lecture will be held on June 6, at 8:30 p. m. A meeting of the branch will be held on Wednesday, June 8, in the home of Comrades Trevas, 460 B. 38th street, Edgemere, L. I.

Street Meetings

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

SATURDAY, JUNE 4

Jamaica, L. I. (front of Town Hall). Speakers, John Davidson and others. Central avenue and Stockholm street, Brooklyn. Speakers, Joseph A. Weil, I. Grossman, H. Schachner.

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

122nd street and 18th avenue, College Point, L. I. Speakers, Samuel A. DeWitt, H. H. Layburn.

110th street and Broadway, Manhattan. Speakers, Ben Blumenberg, Zekor Antonsen.

Harrison and Richmond avenues. Port Richmond, S. I. Speakers, Walter Dearing, Irvin Sternfels.

MONDAY, JUNE 6

138th street and 7th avenue, Manhattan. Speakers, Frank Crosswaith, A. C. Parker, Frank Poree, Victor Gasper, Amicus Most.

Hinsdale street and Sutter avenue, Brooklyn. Speakers, Frank Rosenfarb, A. Platoff, A. Kaufman.

Avenue J and East 14th street, Brooklyn. Speakers, Morris Rosenbaum, Louis Epstein, H. Schachner. Station Plaza, Far Rockaway, L. I. Speaker, Samuel A. DeWitt (first of a series of five lectures).

6th street and Avenue B, Manhattan. Speakers, David Kaplan, Walter Dearing, J. Schuler, Jacob Bernstein.

TUESDAY, JUNE 7

179th street and St. Nicholas avenue; Dyckman street and Sherman avenue, Manhattan. Speakers, Max Delson, John Herling, Morris Miller, Edwin Kopper, Fred Hodgson, Amicus Most.

Steinway and Jamaica avenues, Astoria, L. I. Speakers, Leonard C. Kaye, E. Steinberger, J. D. Sayers.

139th street and St. Ann's avenue, Bronx. Speakers, Herman Salzman, D. Gollub, Tyrell Wilson, Abe Wisotsky. 21st street and 8th avenue, Manhattan. Speakers, Henry Rosner, Ed Gottlieb, Ben Blumenberg, Mary Hillier.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 8

Allerton and Cruger avenues, Bronx. Speakers, Sam Klieger, Dave Gollub, Al Breslau.

Longwood and Prospect avenues, Bronx. Speakers, John Davidson, T. Wilson, Aaron Levenstein.

THURSDAY, JUNE 9

137th street and Broadway, Manhattan. Speakers, Chester Williams, Ruth Shallock, Ronald Duval, John Herling.

Tompkins avenue and Hart street Brooklyn. Speaker, William E. Bohn (first of a series of five lectures). Lydig and Cruger avenues, Bronx. Speakers, Tyrell Wilson, John Davidson, Abe Wisotsky.

167th street and Gerard avenue, Bronx. Speaker, August Claessens (first of a series of five lectures).

7th avenue and 11th street, Manhattan. Speakers, Ed Levinson, Ed Gottlieb, Walter Dearing.

179th street and St. Nicholas avenue; 158th street and Broadway, Manhattan. Speakers, Max Delson, Edwin Koppel, Fred Hodgson, Morris Miller, Amicus Most.

133rd street and Lenox avenue, Manhattan. Speakers, Frank Crosswaith, Arthur C. Parker, Frank Poree, V. Gasper.

Broome and Clinton streets, Manhattan. Speakers, Max Edelson, A. N. Weinberg, H. Schachner.

Ditmars and 2nd avenues, Astoria, L. I. Speakers, E. Steinberger, John D. Sayers, Z. Antonen.

FRIDAY, JUNE 10

72nd street and Broadway, Manhattan. Speakers, J. J. Coroneil (in a series of lectures), A. Regaldi, chairman.

125th street and 7th avenue, Manhattan. Speakers, Frank Crosswaith, Arthur C. Parker, Frank Poree, V. Gasper.

Avenue St. John and Fox street, Bronx. Speakers, J. Umansky, M. Metelker, Samuel Orr, I. Polstein.

Tremont and Marmion avenues, Bronx. Speakers, H. Woskow, H. Salzman, Al Breslau.

Clark and Henry streets; Court and Carroll streets, Brooklyn. Speakers, E. Young, H. N. Perimutter, Spear Knebel, Frank Klein, Joseph G. Glass, Sam Safranoff, J. Davidson.

Pickin avenue and Bristol street, Brooklyn. Speakers, J. Altman, Judah Altman, Amicus Most.

Utica avenue and Eastern parkway, Brooklyn. Speakers, August Claessens, Jack Schuler.

East 17th street and Kingshighway, Brooklyn. Speaker, James Oneal.

East 4th street and Bright Water Court, Brooklyn. Speakers, A. Fishman, Z. Antonen, M. Kurlinsky.

UNION DIRECTORY

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THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, Local 2, 161 West 14th Street, New York City. Phone Chelsea 3-2148. Benjamin Schlesinger, President; David Dubinsky, Secretary-Treasurer.

AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA, New York Local No. 1. Office, Amalithob Bldg., 205 West 14th St.; Phone Watkins 8-7784. 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 Weiss, Fin. Secretary; Emil Thelen, Rec. Sec'y; Joseph J. O'Connor, Treasurer.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24. Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union. Downtown office, 949 Broadway, phone Spring 7-4548; uptown office, 30 West 37th Street, phone Wisconsin 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 P. M. Manager, N. Spector; Sec'y-Treas., Alex. Rose; Organiser, I. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelovitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Resnblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodou.

MILK WAGON DRIVERS' UNION, Local 584. U. of C. Office: 285 W. 14th St., City. Local 534 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 19th St. Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at Beethoven Hall, 210 E. Fifth St. Chas. Hofer, President and Business Agent; Max Liebler, Secretary-Treasurer.



NECKWEAR CUTTERS' UNION, Local 6369. A. F. of L., 1123 Broadway. Phone Chelsea 3-7248. Regular meetings 1st Monday of every month at Irving Place and 15th Street. Gus Levine, President; A. Weltner, Vice-President; E. Meyer, Recording Secretary; A. L. Berner, Financial Secretary and Treasurer; William R. Chisling, Manager.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11016. A. F. of L., 7 East 15th Street. Phone Algonquin 4-7082. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer.

PAINTERS' UNION, Local 499. Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers. Regular Meetings every Wednesday Evening, at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street. P. Wollensack, President; Fred Wolf, Secretary; Peter Rothman, Fin.-Sec'y.

BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS OF AMERICA. District Council No. 9, N. Y. C. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council. Meets every Thursday evening, Office 82 West 15th St. Tel. GRamercy 6-5000. C. A. Hoffman, Sec'y; Robert Sembrat, Fin. Sec'y; Tressa; L. Lefkowitz, Pres.

PAINTERS' UNION, Local 261 Office, 63 East 106th Street. Tel. Lehigh 4-3141. Exec. Board meets every Tuesday at the office. Regular meetings every Friday at 210 E. 104th St. M. Galt, Fin. Sec'y; Tressa; L. Lefkowitz, Recording Secretary.

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

POCKETBOOK WORKERS' U. N. O. N. New York Joint Board, Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. General office, 53 West 21st St., New York. Phone Gramercy 8-1023. Charles Kleinman, Chairman; Charles I. Goldman, Sec'y-Treas.; Philip Lubliner, Manager.

NEW YORK TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6. Office and headquarters, 24 West 16th St., N. Y. Meets every 3rd Sunday of every month at Stuyvesant Hall, 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. Fabry, J. G. Brambrick, John Sullivan, Organizers.

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

WAITERS & WAITRESSES UNION. Local 1, 11 East 28th St.; Tel. Ashland 4-3107. Sam Turkel, Pres.; Louis Rubinfield, Sec'y - Treas. Regular meeting every 2nd and 4th Thursday at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th St. Always Look for This Label Workers Eat Only in Restaurants That Employ Union Workers

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

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 42 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

A Sincere Drama of Love Across the Years at the Selwyn

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

YOUTH'S BRIGHT LEXICON

"A THOUSAND SUMMERS," A new romantic play by Merrill Rogers. With Jane Cowl, Franchot Tone and Osgood Perkins. At the Selwyn.

The lines from Swinburne's "Itylus," in the program, beginning "Swallow, my sister, oh sister swallow," seem to have little connection with this play—save that they give its title, unless they imply that we also are asked to swallow. But the drama's dose is not an unpleasant one; and the occasional slowness of the dialogue is more than balanced by the rich charm of Jane Cowl as the no longer wholly gay bird, the sincere and earnest power of young Franchot Tone as the virgin youth, and the easy yet understanding breeziness of Osgood Perkins (who has too small a part).

Two themes are developed as the plot of the play runs on, producing a slight shifting of interest; we cannot quite feel whether it is the woman's story, or the boy's, that is uppermost in the playwright's mind. There is, for her, the familiar fate of an aging woman who loves a lad—she thirty-six, he scarce of age; and Sheila quotes "Candida" to remind the boy that when she is three-score he will be something or other much less. In the end—after what may have been a fatal hesitation—she goes forth to Paris to meet her Nell, who kneels now in adoration of her superior wisdom, charm, savoir faire, but who will inevitably recoil one day from her first greying hairs. After all, what is a woman to do?

On the boy's side is the problem of weakening youth and bright desire. Sheila has, in an amusing yet touching scene, promised Neil's aunt that through her no harm will come to him. Both women interpret the phrase as meaning Sheila will not give herself to Neil. And in the big moment, when hearts and bodies are attuned in sweet desire, she turns, she runs, away. Her misgivings are justified. Fresh from her kisses, roused but unsatisfied, Neil walks out with the coarse and bold kitchen wench, and from her learns that love is lust and lust is bestial, beastly. Sheila calls to him too late; damage has been done her best efforts and sweetest gift through years may not undo. Is it not better, she feels, for a sensitive lad's first taste of love to come from a sensitive fine woman? Should she have respected his aunt and withheld? Not to mention her own desire. After all, what is a woman to do?

It does seem, in truth, that Sheila would have been more like herself had she yielded to her desire and to the youth. But after all, it is none of our affair. The minor figures in the play, the uncle and aunt from the States, are engagingly real; the boy is quite convincing; and any lapses in the portrait of the woman are well covered by Jane Cowl.

In Next Week's Opening at the Shubert



Frank Morgan of "Band Wagon" fame has one of the important roles in "Hey Nonny, Nonny!" a new intimate revue by the Lief Brothers and Mike Cleary.

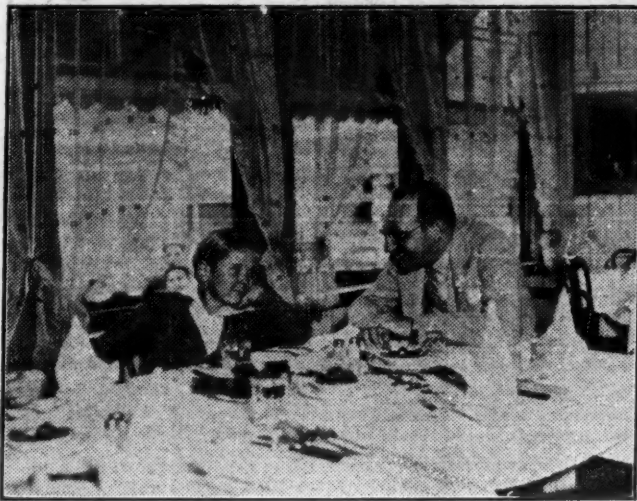
FAITHFULNESS IN FASHION

"CYNARA." By H. M. Harwood and R. Gore Browne. (Samuel French).

Women have a way of saying—at indiscreet moments, and in condemnatory tone—that a woman can get any man she really wants. More often they keep such remarks back, for "Monogamy is the woman's invention. Men don't really believe in it. . . Women capitalized chastity, and got us to subscribe for the shares. It's paid them well enough, too. Now the bottom's out of the market."

"Cynara" is a sensible play about intelligent, well-meaning men and women; it tells the tale of a man who, loving his wife deeply, is won by the woman who wants him. Disaster follows, and a stir that tests their lives; yet all the time Dowson's words are true: "I have been faithful to thee, Cynara, in my fashion." After the prologue, the play advances with light-footed fancy, delicately tracing the primrose way—to the everlasting bonfire. For Doris grows too fond of the gentleman, and prefers death to desertion. And after she had won the beauty-contest (song supplied by Noel Coward). But Cynara recognizes that faithfulness has its degrees; her husband's frankness, that at first seems brutal, is finally disarming; fire tempers steel. "I can't go on always being sorry, feeling there's something I ought to be ashamed of. I don't say it's easy for you to forget—I don't say it's possible—but if you can't, it isn't any good to me. And don't come with me because you're sorry for me—that's no good to me any more! If you come, it must be because—well, not because I want you. It's got to be because you want me? You understand?" His wife takes his hand in understanding, as the curtain falls on a sensitive and well-wrought play.

An Important Executive and a Famous Movie Star



Charles C. Moskowitz, General Manager of Palisades Amusement Park, acts as host to Little Jackie Cooper while Jackie tells him what a thrill he got out of that skyrocket ride.

Concerning France's Leading Director, Rene Clair, Whose Latest Film, "A Nous La Liberte," Has Been Widely Acclaimed by the Press

Rene Clair, the brilliant French director of "A Nous La Liberte," which is now being shown at the Europa Theatre for an extended run, is only 30 years of age, a surprising fact, if one takes into consideration that his fame is truly international.

Clair's early life was rather uneventful; born in Paris, he had to go to school and had to study his three R's together with his music, as most good or bad little boys do, and hated it with the best of them. After graduation he became a newspaper man, was more or less successful and loafed all over Europe to his heart's content. During this period he wrote and published a number of books, one of which "Adams," a novel with Charlie Chaplin as its central character, achieved a limited measure of success. Back in Paris in 1926, he became identified with a group of young artists, known as the "advance guard," who were interested in modern art in general and that of the cinema in particular. Thus he produced a number of silent pictures, like "The Phantom of Moulin Rouge," "The Imaginary Voyage," "The Italian Straw Hat," "Entr'act" and others.

Finally, with the advent of the talking picture in France, in 1930, the young director saw his real chance; the combination of the spoken part and the technique of the film created new possibilities which fascinated him. And, out of his enthusiasm and his inborn skill, he created the three French masterpieces of the audible film "Sous Les Toits de Paris," "Le Million" and "A Nous La Liberte," all of which have become international sensations.

"The talking film may cost less than the silent film if one lets the actor talk ad infinitum," Clair said in a recent interview. "But this, while it is done, spells disaster. The motion picture must at all cost remain a visual art, and to bring theatrical dialogue to the film would hopelessly ruin all that I hope to achieve. The audible film must be even further away from the stage than the silent film. On the stage everything we learn about the plot and counterplot is contained in what the actors say; in the talkies, on the other hand, the basic value must be achieved through the action of the picture in itself."

His third audible film, "A Nous La Liberte," has just finished a

sensational 15-week run at the Rialto Theatre in London, and is being claimed as one of the most brilliant films of the year in Berlin. "A Nous La Liberte," a social satire, is now in the third week of its engagement at the Europa Theatre.

"Symphony of Six Million" to Run at R. K. O. Houses

RKO Keith's 58th and 81st Street Theatres are presenting "Symphony of Six Million," Fanny Hurst's story taken from the turbulent soul of our great city, told as only she can tell it and brought to life by such sterling screen artists as Irene Dunne, Ricardo Cortez, Anna Appel, Gregory Ratoff and Lita Chevret. This is the picture's first showing away from the Times Square section, where it played extended engagements at the Gaiety and Mayfair Theatres.

Wednesday these two popular mid-town playhouses introduce Kay Francis in her first starring role, "Man Wanted."

PLYMOUTH W. 45th St. Eves. 8:20
Mats. Thurs. Sat. 2:30

8th MONTH!
Longest Run Hit
in New York!
JOHN ANDERSON, Journal.

"Counsellor at Law"

by ELMER RICE
with OTTO KRUGER

Last 2 Weeks
Leslie Howard
in PHILIP BARRY'S New Comedy
THE
ANIMAL
KINGDOM

"The Season's Most Gratifying Adventure."
—Percy Hammond, Herald Tribune.
STAGED BY GILBERT MILLER
EMPIRE THEA. E'way & 40th St.
Evenings at 8:40
Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:30

The Little Carnegie Announces Its New Summer Policy

The Little Carnegie Playhouse, long known as a "run" theatre for outstanding continental screen attractions, adopts a new summer policy of limited engagements and exclusive New York showings with the current offering of "Liebe ist Liebe" or "Love is Love."

During the summer months, all pictures will play the Little Carnegie for only two weeks and all attractions shown will not appear elsewhere in New York this season. This policy is made possible through arrangements recently secured with the leading producers of France and Germany, whereby a great number of excellent films are available for current release.

Among the foreign hits that will come to this intimate playhouse during the next three months are the German films, "Die Blumenfrau von Lindenau" ("The Flower Lady from Lindenau"), "Yorck" and a Lillian Harvey release, and the French productions, "David Golder," "Le Bal" and "Les Cinq Gentlemen Maudits" (Five Accursed Men).

Otto Kruger Replaces Paul Muni as Star in "Counsellor-at-Law"

Otto Kruger, who has been playing the role of George Simon in the Chicago company of "Counsellor-at-Law," opened in that same leading part last Monday at the Plymouth Theatre, replacing Paul Muni, who has been featured in this comedy for the eight months of its successful run. The supporting cast including Jennie Moskowitz, Louise Prussing, Anna Kostant, Martin Wolfson, Constance McKay, etc., remains the same.

ARTHUR J. BECKHARD presents ANOTHER LANGUAGE

A New Play by ROSE FRANKEN with
A Distinguished Cast, Led by
GLENN ANDERS
DOROTHY STICKNEY
MARGARET WYCHERLY
JOHN BEAL

BOOTH THEA.—45th W. of E'way
Eves. 8:30—Mats. Wed. & Sat.

Henry Hull 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. 8:30; Mats. Wed. and Sat. 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.

FAY Bainter

in "EDGAR WALLACE'S BEST PLAY."—Gabriel, American.

THE MAN WHO CHANGED HIS NAME

with FRANK CONROY
BROADHURST 44th Street West of Broadway
Eves. 8:30; Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40

"The Best Play of the Spring Season"

MICHAEL BLANKFORD & WALTER HART present —Pollock, Brooklyn Eagle

"MERRY-GO-ROUND"

AVON THEATRE West 45th Street. Evenings 8:40.
Matinees Thursday and Saturday.

"A play that holds your interest relentlessly."

—Brown, Eve. Post

"A drama of considerable emotional impact."

—Atkinson, Times

Timely Film and Interesting Stage Revue at Fox Brooklyn

Exciting Drama Is 'Man About Town' on Screen At Fox Brooklyn; Stage Presentation Is Colorful

The first real inside story of political life in the nation's capital, as portrayed in Warner Baxter's newest starring film, "Man About Town," is to be seen this week at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre.

This cinema shows with startling candor the manner in which are developed the secret alliances, the private negotiations and the curious treaties that in the past have led to international entanglements. In "Man About Town," Mr. Baxter has a role that differs from those which he has played in his most recent pictures. As a suave gambler who has to match his daring against the cunning of international spies, he gives a performance that stamps him as one of Hollywood's most versatile actors. An exceptionally competent cast is in support of Mr. Baxter. Among the players are Karen Morley, Conway Tearle, Leni Stengel and Allan Mowbray.

The spectacular revue on the stage this week is Fanchon & Marco's "Swiss Movements" Idea, a brilliant extravaganza chock-full of entertainment thrills. Among the large cast are: America's Own Lucky Boys, Billy Dooley, Frances Lee, Bert Prival, Joseph Pope Jones, Sunkist Beauties.

Hal Beckett, the Fox Theatre featured organist, presents a medley of popular songs, while Freddy Mack and the Fox Symphony Orchestra offer a distinctive overture.

Joseph Schildkraut to Appear With Eva Le Gallienne in Many New Plays in Coming Season

Joseph Schildkraut and Eva Le Gallienne will again be seen together in "Lilliom" at the Civic Repertory Theatre in October. The reunion of these two artists, who first appeared in the Molnar play at the Garrick Theatre in 1921, will mark the opening of the sixth season of the Civic Repertory Theatre.

Mr. Schildkraut will be seen in his original role of "Lilliom" and Miss Le Gallienne will again appear as Julie. Mr. Schildkraut will become a permanent member of the acting company, appearing opposite Miss Le Gallienne in many new roles. He will be seen for the first time as Armand in "Camille," he will also play Romeo to Miss Le Gallienne's Juliet and later in the season he will appear with Miss Le Gallienne in "Gruach," a new play by Gordon Bottomly founded on the early youth of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth.

BROOKLYN

FOX BROOKLYN
Flatbush Ave. & Nevins St.
Now—WARNER BAXTER
in
"MAN ABOUT TOWN"
with KAREN MORLEY
On Stage—New Revue with
8 - BIG ACTS - 8
FREDDY MACK and ORCHESTRA

In Fanny Hurst's Story of a Big City



Anna Appel and Ricardo Cortez in a scene from "Symphony of Six Million," which will be the screen attraction this week at the 58th and 81st Theatres.

Edgar Wallace Mystery At the Cameo Theatre

Edgar Wallace's mystery melodrama film, "The Ringer," which is now at the Cameo, features in its cast an American actress, Carol Goodner, who has been a success on the British stage.

This film was produced under Edgar Wallace's supervision and was made shortly before his death. The cast was selected by the author himself and many of them appeared in the original stage production. Patric Curwen, who played the role of Lt. Osborne in "Journey's End," is prominent among the players.

As an added attraction the Cameo is offering a motion picture, "Mexico," the land no one knows. It shows many interesting and unique scenes of Mexico and presents the Diego Rivera, famous Mexican artist, now in the United States at work on one of his gigantic murals.

'The Dark Horse,' With Warren William, Opens At the Winter Garden

"The Dark Horse," starring Warren William, who achieved fame as "The Mouthpiece," opens at the Winter Garden Theatre on Wednesday evening, June 8th.

William, in a role somewhat similar to the one he so successfully presented in "The Mouthpiece," is the campaign manager of a dark horse, nominated by his party through necessity. Played by Guy Kibbee, the role of Zachary Hicks "the statesman from the sticks" is an excellent piece of satire on many of our necessary politicians, and with William as the man behind the campaign, "The Dark Horse," while more biting, takes its place with "Of Thee I Sing" as a burlesque commentary on our governmental politics.

Supporting Warren William and Guy Kibbee are Bette Davis, Vivienne Osborne, Frank McHugh.

GARBO
in **"AS YOU DESIRE ME"**
—ON STAGE—
YORK and KING
IN CURIOSITIES
BUNCHIE ORCHESTRA
CAPITOL Broadway at 81st St.

Ann Harding's Latest, "Westward Passage," At the Mayfair

Starting today, Ann Harding's latest Radio starring film, "Westward Passage," will be launched on the screen of the Mayfair Theatre.

Adapted from the novel by Margaret Ayer Barnes, "Westward Passage" tells the story of a young wife who tests the theory that a woman's first love is the dominant passion of her life. With one romance ended on the rocks of divorce, she gambles for happiness in a second marriage and meets unexpected problems when her first husband unexpectedly appears on the scene and renews his wooing.

Playing opposite Miss Harding are Laurence Olivier and Irving Pichel. Juliette Compton and Zasu Pitts are among the featured players, as is Bonita Granville, the charming little daughter of Bernard Granville, who plays the role of Miss Harding's young daughter.

A model of radio city will be on display on the mezzanine floor of the Mayfair, starting today.

Roxy Theatre Orchestra And Stage Company to Present Ravel's 'Bolero'

"Bolero," Ravel's famous modern concert piece, will be featured by the Roxy Theatre in the stage production to be presented today. The Roxy Theatre Symphony Orchestra under the direction of Dr. Hugo Riesenfeld, will play this number from the pit as the background for the stage action.

Gomez and Winona, dancers who presented the "Bolero" when they were the stars of "Crazy Quilt," will be featured in this scene. The ballet corps, Roxyettes and Roxy Male Chorus will assist them.

ANN HARDING
Sensational in the drama of a Divorced Wife who dared to look back
"Westward Passage"
with
LAURENCE OLIVER
MAYFAIR 47th St. & B'way
—On the Stage—
AT THE ALBEE ONLY
BERT LYTELL
IN PERSON
LEW POLLACK & CO.
and Other RKO Acts
ALBEE Albee Square BROOKLYN

HERE'S THE ANSWER—
to the most sensational love problem that ever faced a generation!
in Faith Baldwin's **WEEK-END MARRIAGE**
A First National Picture with
LORETTA YOUNG
ALINE MacMAHON
NORMAN FOSTER
GEORGE BRENT
STRAND B'way & 47th 35c to 1 p. m. Monday to Friday

On the Fox Brooklyn Screen



Warner Baxter and Karen Morley in a scene from "Man About Town," which has its first Brooklyn showing at the Fox. A new Fanchon and Marco revue is the stage attraction.

At the Hindenburg

A new German film is at the Hindenburg Theatre on West 48th street, a military farce comedy entitled "Der Schrecken der Garrison" or "The Terror of the Garrison."

Modern Youth
following in the wake of Mad Red Russia! Engulfed in a new crazed world of free thought, free life and free love!
FORGOTTEN COMMANDMENTS
A Paramount Picture with Europe's New Sensation
SARI MARITZA
MARGUERITE CHURCHILL
GENE RAYMOND
IRVING PICHEL
POPULAR PRICES
Continuous from 9:30 A. M.
RIVOLI
United Artists, B'way at 49th

Tiffany Thayer
author of "13 Men," "Call Her Savage," "The Greek" and "13 Women" now gives the screen his most sensational story!
"STRANGERS OF THE EVENING"
A Tiffany Picture with 10 Stars!
—On the Stage—
COMPLETE! INTACT! in LEW LESLIE'S
"RHAPSODY IN BLACK"
With 75 Sepian Stars
New York
Paramount

The Paramount Offers "Rhapsody in Black," "Strangers of Evening"

Tiffany Thayer's first book to reach the screen and Lew Leslie's sensational stage success, "Rhapsody in Black," will be the attractions at the New York Paramount starting today.

"Strangers of the Evening," adapted from Thayer's best selling comedy mystery, "The Illustrious Corps," features Zasu Pitts, Eugene Pallette, Lucien Littlefield, Tully Marshall, Theodor von Eltz and Miriam Seegar.

Direct from a transcontinental tour on which it shattered all road records, Lew Leslie's "Rhapsody in Black" will be presented complete and intact as the new stage presentation at the Paramount.

The musical score of the Leslie production is by George Gerahwin and Fields and McHugh.

Garbo in "As You Desire Me" at Capitol

The Incomparable Garbo, who appears as a platinum blonde, in her latest screen characterization as "Zara" in "As You Desire Me," will grace the Capitol's screen for the week beginning today.

Garbo's newest Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer starring vehicle is a filmization of the New York dramatic hit by the noted Italian playwright, Luigi Pirandello, with dialogue continuity by Gene Markey. George Fitzmaurice, who recently scored with his production of "Mata Hari," again directed La Garbo.

Eric Pommer Production
MONTE CARLO MADNESS
An UFA Picture
A First Division Release with
HANS ALBERS
SARI MARITZA
—ON THE STAGE—
A Gorgeous Colorful Spectacle
MONTE CARLO
KUZNETSOFF and NICOLINA
PATRICIA BOWMAN
ROXY THEATRE MALE CHORUS
BALLET CORPS—32 ROXYETTES
and GOMEZ and WINONA
in "THE BOLERO"
HUGO RIESENFELD
Directing the Roxy Theatre
Symphony Orchestra of 30
Always Cool and Comfortable
ROXY 7th Avenue
7th & 50th St.

"THE GRANDEST SOCIAL SATIRE THE TALKING CINEMA HAS YET OFFERED... HILARIOUSLY AMUSING... DELIGHTFUL MUSICAL SCORE."
—World-Telegram
RENE CLAIR'S "A NOUS LA 3rd Week LIBERTE"
(LIBERTY for US!)
5% DIALOGUE AND 100% UNDERSTANDABLE WITHOUT THE SLIGHTEST KNOWLEDGE OF FRENCH
EUROPA 154 W. 53th St. 35c
CIB. 7-9120
UNTIL 1 P. M. CONTINUOUS

GRAND HOTEL
with
GRETA GARBO
JOHN BARRYMORE
JOAN CRAWFORD
WALLACE BEERY
LIONEL BARRYMORE
A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture
ASTOR BROADWAY 45th STREET
Daily—2:30-8:50; Sun. & Hols.—2-6:50
(4 Shows Sat.: 2:30-6:50 & Midnight)
Mat. (Exc. Sat.) 50c to \$1.00
Eves. 50c to \$2.00

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

(Socialist Candidate for President)

Congress Guards the Heavy Incomes—Three Principles for Jobless Relief—Taking Over the Industries—The Bricklayers' Battle

THE SENATE TAX BILL

SINCE the Senate has finally passed a new tax bill, it is probable that before long the Senate and House bills will be compromised and taxation will begin in earnest. It is clear from the Senate and House bills that the best anyone can say for them is that they could be worse. A general sales tax was not adopted. Otherwise the bill has been written to protect as far as possible the income tax paying group. These are the people who are articulate. As a group they control the press and they are the contributors to the campaign funds of both old parties. That and no economic argument whatsoever explains the failure to tax incomes and inheritances more sharply and the inclusion of sales taxes on so many articles.

PRINCIPLES OF JOBLESS RELIEF

NOW that Congress has fooled itself and the people into thinking it has balanced the budget, sheer necessity will compel it to vote some direct relief to the unemployed. This it will do as badly and as inadequately as possible. It may then vote a bond issue for public works. Some of the proposals do smack of the pork barrel more than of real help to the unemployed. Most of the proposals give no protection at all in the form of guarantees that this bond issue is to be repaid out of surtaxes on incomes and inheritances. Aside from this basic condition which Congress is likely to ignore the following principles ought to guide the terms of any so-called prosperity loan!

1. It should be adequate in amount. A lot of little dribbles won't help in starting work on a large scale.

2. As far as possible, public works should be ultimately productive of some direct revenue to the government in behalf of society. The types of public works which are most valuable are these: (a) large scale reforestation. The return from this would be slow but sure not only in the value of the lumber but in flood protection. There are millions of acres in America that ought never to be farmed but ought to be put back in woodland. Some of these acres are already in the hands of the states on account of delinquent taxes. Here is a field for very constructive state and federal action for the establishment of public forests. (b) Housing. As we have frequently argued, this is the chief need, and probably at least 85% of the money put into providing housing through public housing authorities would be repaid. (c) Electrification of rural areas. This would be the basis of a socially owned power system. Unfortunately to prepare plans for these three types of public works would take time. Hence in the beginning public works probably must be pushed through road building, etc.

3. Public work contracts should be so awarded as to give different sections of the country equality of treatment in proportion to their need as determined by the number of unemployed. The government employed this principle in drafting an army. It could be employed in taking men out of the tragic army of the unemployed. This cannot be done by having Congress list a long line of road buildings, etc., to which it votes appropriations. That merely means log-rolling and a general rush for the pork barrel.

TAKING OVER INDUSTRY

WHY talk about "transferring" natural resources, public utilities, etc., to social ownership? Why not expropriate the expropriators by confiscation? Capitalism does plenty of confiscating, why should not Socialists declare for it?

I confess a good deal of sympathy with these questions which were raised at the Socialist Convention. Yet I think the Convention did a very wise thing when by an overwhelming vote it refused to be tied to the method of confiscation. Here are my reasons:

If and when the owners are only the comparatively small group of men who now control our economic life, it would be as reasonable and probably more practicable to recover for society what the great mass of workers with hand and brain has created by one act of confiscation than by a process of condemnation with compensation and then heavy taxation. If the situation should drift to violent resistance to peaceful revolution, of course the answer would be confiscation.

Today, however, in spite of the high degree of concentration of wealth and the higher degree of concentration of control in America, millions of workers of all sorts own or think they own something. It may be a farm on which they live, a home, an insurance policy or a savings bank account. Insurance companies and savings banks have invested their money, very largely in public utilities. Announce to the world that this transfer of ownership which Socialists want means outright confiscation and the immediate effect will be to frighten this great mass of workers over to the side of the big owners. It is not our economic and political overlords who will do their own fighting. It is the workers whom they fool or persuade to take up their battle. No better slogan than confiscation could be devised to turn the battle against us.



NORMAN THOMAS

If a Socialist movement were already so strong, its plans for carrying on so well formulated and so ready to be put into effect, that the worker would be sure that he would at once get better protection than his insurance policy or his savings bank account gives him, the situation would be different. That day has not arrived in America. Nor is it any answer to this argument to say that Capitalism confiscates. It does it by impersonal processes like inflation and deflation and the fact that it does it is one reason why the worker has begun to be so suspicious of capitalism. He is looking for more, not less security. If he thinks soberly about history he may wish as I do that the freedom of chattel slaves in America had been purchased with money rather than at the immense cost of civil war.

What then do we propose instead of confiscation? Probably a combination of two methods neither of which would exclude confiscation under a grim situation which may make it necessary. The first of these methods is competition. It is quite likely, for instance, that in many districts a public power plant would drive out the private system of power distribution. A genuine federal system for socialized banking might rapidly win the field from private banks without actually confiscating them. The second method is purchase. Not at the owner's price, but at something near a reasonable valuation under present standards. That would be little enough in the case of some coal mines. If the owners would not sell, the principle of condemnation could be invoked. Usually the purchase price should not be in government bonds but in bonds of the new socialized industry which should be amortized within thirty years, which would bear low interest instead of the present high rate and the income which should be subject to the same heavy taxation which we would use not only to support government activities, but to hasten the transfer of wealth. If—as is probable—it should not prove wise or possible to socialize everything at once, this system would be fair to those who own the property socialized first as compared with those whose property (to which they have no better moral right) is socialized later on. It allows time for adjustment, and minimizes the danger of throwing millions of workers over to the owning class in a kind of panic. Such panic Ramsay MacDonald shamefully but successfully used in the last British campaign to scare the workers in regard to the safety of their savings.

These points were well summed up by our friend and Comrade Karl Whitehead of Denver when he wrote: "The industries and natural resources shall be acquired by voluntary purchase, by condemnation, by initiating business in competition with private business, or by any other available means, including the means by which the slaves were freed and the breweries and distilleries were abolished, namely by confiscation and whenever necessary." Given the America of today, the immense desirability of bringing about Socialism in our complex society with a minimum of violence and disorder, the psychology of the workers themselves, and the strength of the working class movement, I emphatically believe that there are today better means of transferring ownership than confiscation, and that armed with the power to condemn and the power to tax, a society bent on socialization creates far more antagonism than it wins support by insisting on confiscation as the sole means of asserting social ownership.

MY SPACE is almost filled and I have no room to say some things about the Communist immediate program and the false Communist attacks upon us. Our main job is to fight Capitalism and not Communism. But there is something about Communism that later I hope to say.

THE BRICKLAYERS' FIGHT

MEANWHILE I must take space to say a good word for the Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers Union, for their struggle against the Mason Builders Association who have provoked a struggle for what is in effect the "open shop." The issue of wage cuts was submitted to a Board of Arbitration, as provided by agreement, which board consisted of Professor Joseph P. Chamberlain, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and Milton Mayer. The Board recommended a cut far less than the employers wanted, so they rejected the recommendation. The men submitted interesting statistics to show that the principal cost of building was not labor cost and certainly not the cost of bricklaying. They also proved that wage reduction means reduction in purchasing power and hence prosperity. Finally they showed that although bricklayers' wages are high on an hourly basis so irregular is work that the average annual wage by the 1931 standard was only about \$1800 a year.

I think some of the building trades workers are now paying a price for taking so little interest in the general business of organizing labor as it is hard to maintain organized islands of labor in great unorganized seas. But in this struggle I think justice and the interest of the workers is on the side of the bricklayers in fighting against a twenty-five or more per cent cut in wages.

700 Socialists In Cleveland Peace Parade

Y. P. S. L. Organizes Demonstration on Memorial Day — Busick, Fish Speak

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CLEVELAND.—With numerous banners and posters, slogans and speeches, over 700 Cleveland workers joined in with the Young People's Socialist League in demonstrating against war Decoration Day on the Public Square in mid-afternoon.

William H. Busick, Socialist organizer in Los Angeles, as the main speaker said, "The capitalists have always shown themselves to be efficient in wars of destruction. During the last war every man was told to

either fight or work. The Socialists want a chance to prove their efficiency in war—in wars of construction. We will put out the slogan 'Work or Starve.' Instead of destroying homes we will begin building beautiful working class apartments as the Socialist administration did in Vienna. Instead of manufacturing bandages, we will manufacture cloth for clothing for the workers."

Hy Fish, national organizer for the Y. P. S. L., also spoke. He said, "While the bosses are thinking only of former wars, the workers must be considering the future wars. Future wars must be stopped. We can only stop them by organizing a strong Socialist movement to fight against their approach."

"In speaking of wars," Comrade Fish said, "we mustn't forget the class war. The owning classes have stopped at nothing in their war with the workers. The leaders of the working class have been not only jailed and deported, but they have been murdered in cold blood. The workers will never stoop that low. Other methods can be found. Our methods must be intelligent and sane—our methods must be winning methods."

Other speakers were Morry Tanenbaum, Leo Perry, Harold Katz, Bob Garvin and Max Wohl. Adell Kochman acted as chairman.

The sales of New Leaders and literature were beyond expectation.

Many of the audience handed in their names as interested in joining the Socialist party and the Y. P. S. L.

Illinois

CHICAGO.—The next regular meeting of the 6th Congressional District branch of the Socialist party will be held Wednesday, June 8, 8:15 p. m. Three of the Illinois delegates to the national convention will give their views on the proceedings. The delegates are Fannie Schneid, Morris Franklin and Ben Larks. All members are urged to attend and bring their friends.

New Jersey

The state committee will meet Sunday, June 12, at 2:30 p. m., at 105 Springfield avenue, Newark. The state executive committee will meet Thursday, June 9, 8 p. m., at the same address.

UNION COUNTY.—The second annual Union County picnic will be held at the Polish National Home, Roselle street, near Ziegler avenue, in Linden, June 5. A varied program has been arranged. Dance music will be provided by the Paragon Radio Aces. Judge Jacob Panken will be the guest speaker. The picnic will start at 1 p. m. and continue until midnight. The picnic will be the beginning of the campaign. It is hoped that the proceeds will give our national and

state fight a good start. All comrades must attend and bring their friends.

Connecticut

BRIDGEPORT.—Morris Hillquit recently addressed one of the largest meetings ever held in this city to hear a Socialist speaker. It was a big educational and financial success. Fred Cedarholm presided and Jasper McLevy introduced Hillquit as the man who had helped to place the compensation act on the state statute books twenty years ago. For a week after people were discussing his lecture on "The Socialist Program."

New York State

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—The committee will meet at People's House, New York, Saturday afternoon, June 4, at 4 p. m. The business will include the appointment of a special committee on state convention agenda and platform.

STATE CONVENTION.—A special rate of fare and one-tenth for the round-trip will be available for delegates and visitors to the Utica state convention July 2, 3, and 4. The New York Central Railway is making this rate general for all week-end excursionists.

NASSAU.—The Hempstead branch of Local Nassau County announces that delegates and alternates to the state convention will be chosen at a meeting to be held at the Tivoli Gardens, Lakeview, next Wednesday eve-

ning, June 8. Members of the Cedarhurst and Vicinity branch will be invited to be present and participate. Nassau County was allocated two delegates by the state executive committee.

ROCKLAND COUNTY.—Jean J. Coroneo will be the speaker at the get-together meeting of the Rockland County local at New City on Sunday. Charles Solomon is scheduled to speak at a similar meeting at Spring Valley June 19.

POUGHKEEPSIE.—Local Poughkeepsie advises the affiliation as new members of 14 Vassar College students. This local is striving to catch up with Local Rockland County in membership and activity.

BUFFALO.—Local Buffalo will meet June 9, 8 p. m., at Carpenters' Hall, 475 Franklin street. The special order of business will be the election of four delegates and four alternates to the New York State convention. The committee on party headquarters will report. At its last meeting the local received reports of the national convention as submitted by Robert A. Hoffman, delegate; Mrs. Elizabeth C. Roth, alternate, and Rev. Herman J. Hahn, visitor. A number joined the party. All members were pleased with the actions of the convention. Mrs. May Harris Mainland, Socialist speaker from New York, held numerous Buffalo meetings recently with good results.