

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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German Socialists Hold Ranks Despite the Hitlerite Terror

DESPITE the Nazi terror, German Socialists held a national conference in the Reichstag building late in April, according to information just received from the Labor and Socialist International. The Socialists chose the Reichstag building knowing that the Nazis might disperse the conference. Later events show that the Nazis had already planned a date for taking over the party papers and buildings and rendering the party helpless.

All districts were represented except Hesse-Cassel where numerous arrests had been made a few days before the conference, a large proportion of the delegates coming from the factories as workers. A delegate from Brunswick in reporting the sadist terrors in that region brought tears to many delegates and a storm of applause greeted his tribute to the martyrs of the movement.

True to Socialism

It was a mixed conference of old and young members who yielded nothing in support of their Socialist, democratic, and international convictions even under the most trying circumstances. The trade unions were sharply criticised by Otto Wels and other speakers. The unions had been penetrated by Nazis, many trade union officials had been



ROBERT LEY
Who has been placed in charge of all labor organizations by the Nazi regime. Dr. Ley was arrested last year for a brutal assault upon Otto Wels, Socialist leader, but his punishment was remitted because of parliamentary immunity under the republic the Nazis so savagely attacked.

oust, and active unionists had been compelled to flee from the wrath of the terrorists, but the Socialists held that too many of the trade union officials had adapted themselves to Fascist ideas, and this is intolerable.

When the conference met the party organization had been completely destroyed by some districts while in others it was intact. Over 100 delegates were in attendance and on the evening of the conference a number of Berlin party organizations held quiet membership meetings at which reports were heard.

The speech of Otto Wels met an approving response from the delegates. [The speech was reported in part in last week's issue of this paper.] He declared that it would be shortsighted to seek the causes of the present plight of the party merely in the errors of individuals. "As scientific Socialists we know that there is no panacea for unemployment and that the transformation of the economic system so as to give humanity the possibility of a more rational existence can only be accomplished after the most arduous struggle. National Socialism has certainly not the power to put an end to the world economic crisis for Germany or to nullify the effect of the loss of the war on our position in regard to foreign affairs."

Hitler Isolated

Wels declared that the Hitler regime is now more isolated than Germany was during the World

War and that the Jewish boycott had opened the eyes of the masses in other nations. Socialists could not reckon upon any changes in Germany from without as the masses "will never receive their freedom from foreign bayonets. They must will it and work for it themselves."

A Medal On His Breast, But Chains On His Feet



By Will Dyson in the London Herald

"We are internationalists," said Wels. "We remain faithful to the international idea of May Day. It is important for me to emphasize that, as my personal resignation from the Bureau of the International has repeatedly been misinterpreted. . . . For us there can be no submission or accommodation. We cannot act as if the differences between ourselves and the National

Socialists were not so very great. No, the difference is enormous!

"Genuine Socialism is the realization of the ideal of humanity; it is inconceivable without intellectual freedom, and a party that ceased to fight for the equal rights of all citizens without distinction of religion or race could no longer bear the name of the Socialist-Democratic Party."

The Unions

Wels went on to consider the trade unions which for decades had worked in fraternal cooperation with the party. Wages and social assistance had been maintained at a higher level than in most of the victorious countries. If the fraternal relationship between party and unions changes it will be a terrible blow to the movement. Wels continued:

"It would be a hopeless undertaking to seek to purchase the life of the organization at the price of abandoning the idea. If the idea is abandoned, the organization dies too. But if the organization is destroyed by force from without, the idea still lives in millions of hearts and heads and ensures the rebirth of the organization."

Wels declared that no system of government had endured forever and the question is what would replace Hitlerism. Socialists cannot renounce opposition to the mode of thought now dominant, for this thought in the end favors Bolshevism. "Even if individuals have failed us, the history of our times will tell of the silent heroism of (Continued on Page Six)

SOCIALISTS CONTINUE BATTLE ON FASCISM FROM SWISS EXILE

GERMAN Socialist exiles in Switzerland, including Breitscheid, Dittmann, Hilferding and Crispian, believe that international Socialism will emerge stronger than ever despite the temporary triumph of Hitler in Germany. This is the message that Dr. Otto Nathan, former economic expert of the German government and now a refugee in New York, brings to the United States. Nathan met the German Socialist refugees in Switzerland. They avoid the German frontier, as the Nazis have made some raids across the border and kidnapped German revolutionaries.

Dr. Nathan declares that the refugees keep the fighting spirit alive and that they have not lost contact with the working class movement in Germany but are working with it. Dr. Nathan resigned his position on March 6 and left Germany six weeks later, visiting Switzerland, Belgium, France, Luxemburg, and England. Everywhere he was amazed at the marked revulsion of sentiment against Hitlerism within two weeks after the Fascists started their lynching debauch.

He believes that the Hugenberg Nationalists are stronger in the government than is generally believed. There is a deep antagonism between them and Hitler's crowd but Hitler will not find it easy to oust his allies. However, the situation changes so rapidly in Germany that nothing can be predicted with assurance.

Dr. Nathan lectured in the United States in 1930-31 and for six months served as economic advisor to the President's Emergency Committee for Employment and lectured at American universities and for other groups and organizations.

LABOR WOMEN TO MEET

LONDON.—The national conference of Labor Women will be held in Hartlepool Tuesday, May 23, and will be in session three days. The Labor Women are affiliated with the Labor Party.

An elaborate agenda has been prepared. At the conference last year credentials were issued to 600 delegates, 427 from Women's Sections, 59 from Divisional Labor parties, 16 from local Labor parties, 7 from Cooperative organizations, 9 from Socialist societies, 50 from trade unions, and 32 from other organizations.

Twelve women candidates have already been selected to run for Parliament in the next election.

Heavy Gains Won by The Spanish Socialists

THE recent municipal elections in Spain, far from resulting in a setback to the Socialists and to the Republic, as was widely reported, were in fact a remarkable victory for the Socialist builders of the Republic.

The Socialists and Republicans entered the municipal elections under the most unfavorable conditions. Polls were held in 2,478 municipalities, in most of which none but Monarchist councillors had been elected two years ago. The communities voting were long considered the most backward in the country, where there had been little Socialist propaganda, and less labor organization. In addition, the women were voting for the first time, and they were counted upon to cast a solid vote for reaction.

Here, then, were the results in

2,192 of the towns 1,826 Socialists were elected—a clear gain of 1,826. Of 16,031 councillors elected in these backward regions 5,048 were supporters of the Socialist-Republican government, while an additional 4,754 were elected representing other Republican parties, a total of 9,802—or five-eighths—in regions hitherto considered solid for the old monarchy. In all of Spain 26 Communists were elected.

ATTENTION ALL N. Y. ORGANIZATIONS!

**SOCIALIST PICNIC
JULY 29TH AT ULMER
PARK, BROOKLYN.**

**DO NOT ARRANGE
CONFLICTING DATES!**

Watch for further
announcements!

WALLHEAD QUILTS I.L.P.

RICHARD C. WALLHEAD, several times national chairman of the British Independent Labor party, member of Parliament for several years for Keir Hardie's old seat at Merthyr Tydfil in South Wales, and one of the very few old-time Socialists who remained with the I.L.P. after it seceded from the Labor party last August, has finally quit that organization.

His resignation followed the action of the I.L.P. at its Easter conference in quitting the Labor and Socialist International and seeking alignment with the Communist International, and in calling for the establishment of Socialism by means of "works councils," or Soviets. Wallhead felt that all essential differences with the Communists had disappeared, and that the new "united front" was in effect the acquisition by the tiny

Communist party of a lot of new members, and nothing else.

Wallhead is one of the most popular Socialist propagandists of Great Britain. During the war he served time in jail as a war resister.

The I.L.P. has also received a cablegram from Moscow regarding its decision to approach the Communist International. One paragraph reads that the I.L.P. cooperation with Communists occurred "at a time when German Social Democracy has passed over to the camp of Fascism and when the march of events has demonstrated the bankruptcy of the policy of class collaboration."

The Moscow executive still cultivates fiction when it charges that German Socialists have become Fascists, while the policy of Moscow in signing peace pacts with capitalist and Fascist governments is regarded by Socialists all over the world as "class collaboration" of a particularly objectionable type.

NEW LEADER

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SATURDAY, MAY 20, 1933

Roosevelt's Address

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S address to 54 nations came two days after Secretary of State Hull's warning of general world bankruptcy made to newspaper correspondents and one day before the delivery of Hitler's bombast. Hull declared that the statesmen had learned nothing in the post-war period and might have to be kicked into some comprehension of what is going on. All sorts of restrictions had almost closed such world markets as London, Amsterdam, Calcutta and Shanghai.

The President's address was based upon fear of the outbreak of war in Europe. The disarmament conference has reached no satisfactory conclusions in over a year and the World Economic Conference to meet soon "must come to its conclusions quickly." It must "establish order in place of the present chaos by a stabilization of currencies, by freeing the flow of world trade, and by international action to raise price levels."

But in the meantime, says the President, keep your dogs of war in leash. Some governments want to "enlarge their territories" and others fear that they will be invaded. Don't hit somebody or there may be a general war. All of you sign a pact not to hit anybody and then let's get together and really reduce arms. If some government starts a raid we'll know where the responsibility lies. Naturally, Germany isn't mentioned, but the President refers to the need of preserving "individual human rights." This is probably meant for Adolf.

To Our Contributors

THE NEW LEADER has for years received many manuscripts from volunteer contributors for which the editor is grateful. Many contributions have been used; others have not despite any merit they contained. Our space is limited and only a small percentage of the articles offered have been accepted.

A mass of this material has accumulated. Following our usual summer arrangements, with this issue we publish a 12-page paper and we will have less space for contributed articles. Moreover, many articles having distinct merit have been declined because of their length and we warn all contributors that nothing exceeding five typewritten pages can be considered and even shorter articles will be given preference.

We suggest that contributors first write to the editor to ascertain whether a certain type of article would be considered before writing it. When some event or trend becomes conspicuous, such as Technocracy, Hitlerism, etc., we receive more articles than we can use and a number of contributors are thus disappointed. We are heartily grateful for the fine cooperation of all contributors but many will avoid disappointment if they will write us first.

Moreover, manuscripts have accumulated to such an extent that only a small fraction are available. Finally, we do not have the staff that would enable us to give immediate attention to articles as they are received. Delays occur with consequent misunderstanding when no immediate answer is received. Comrades should understand that we live in a depression period and that we have had to economize on help and that there is a limit to the work that an editor can do with no office assistance to aid in keeping up to date with correspondence and contributors.

The World We Live In

A Socialist View of the Week

WINDOW SHOPPER

By William Allen Ward

THE north wind bit with the Sharp teeth of a rodent. . . Before the window a jobless man Paused . . he was looking at an overcoat! Again the wind cut with sharp teeth. . .

"Come on," barked a cop, "you don't look Right to me. . . Gimme yore jimmy . . . Sorter winder shoppin', I guess . . ."

and in Chicago the Dealers' Council and the Independents have raised the price of milk one cent a quart. In New York State a strike was averted by an increase of one cent ordered by the State Milk Control Board after 300 farmers threatened to blow up milk stations and milk trains. One farmer declared he had no more than 45 cents in his pocket any day since April and witnesses said that farmers were "losing their minds" and their health. What's wrong? Production for sale instead of for use.

Later: Fourteen companies of Wisconsin militia have been called by the Governor of Wisconsin to be ready for the strike zone. Some 2,000 strikers battled with the soldiers on Wednesday, a thousand militiamen fought strikers with clubs and tear gas, and 200 strikers have been jailed.

The Penalty of Wooing The Intelligentsia

THE workers of Great Britain have their experience with the intelligentsia in the Socialist movement as we have here, and the passing of Lady Cynthia Mosley is a case in point. Wife of Sir Oswald Mosley, both were lionized when they joined the Socialist movement. In 1932 they founded a Fascist movement and have led a handful of blackshirts in London. They had been exceptionally "revolutionary," representing a bombast type not unfamiliar to us.

Some 25 years ago our party members in a referendum voted Joseph Medill Patterson into the party executive committee shortly after he joined the party. He was a millionaire but party membership proved to be a pleasant diversion for him. Not long thereafter he left us to return to his lounge in the club between his duties on the Chicago Tribune, the most reactionary daily in the Middle West.

As Victor Berger used to say, he should have been put on ice for some years to see whether he would keep. So with the Mosleys and Heywood Brown. Not till we learn that our main job is to win the working class and become a proletarian party in principle and action will Socialism win the soul of the working class and avoid these experiences.

Hitler Regime Most Hated in the World

THE day before Hitler spoke to the Reichstag a Berlin wireless to the New York Times reported that German exports had declined 10 per cent in April. It should be remembered that this is a pre-boycott figure and the May figure is likely to go to a lower level. Washington, London, Paris and Rome are united in blocking a bigger army for Germany, and Rosenberg, Hitler's agent, left England last week a creature humiliated by the hostile reception he received everywhere. At Rome Göring offended Mussolini by his pompous attitude and the Duce plays safe by refusing support to Hitler. France is determined to act against Hitler if his storm troops get funny on the border.

The Nazi leaders are now uneasy because they are just realizing that their regime is isolated, and the nation-wide Jewish boycott in this country is certain to cost them still more. The general reaction against Hitlerism may now turn into the old dangerous myth that all Germans are "barbarians." French reactionary circles have cultivated this idea and they point to the stupid and brutal followers of Hitler to justify it. France is ready to crush the Hitler re-

gime, but any attack from the outside is more likely to help Hitler than to unseat him. Moreover, any regime set up in Germany by foreign pressure would not serve the German working class.

We believe with Otto Wels that the future of Germany lies in the hands of the German workers and he rightly opposes intervention. The workers of each nation must settle accounts with their own ruling class.

A French march against Germany on the ground that all Germans are "barbarians" is just as stupid as the Hitler creed directed against Jews. Socialists everywhere must be on their guard against any transformation of the hatred for Hitler into a policy that cannot be reconciled with the best interests of the German workers and the workers of the world. French imperialist policy itself has contributed much to the coming to power of Hitlerism in Germany.

Hitler's speech to the Reichstag on Wednesday was like a man treading on eggs. The cocky Adolf, who has been spitting fire for years and who threatened to wipe out all enemies of the "fatherland," became a cooing dove. The cooing was for the outside world, but to soothe his sadist followers there was a note of bombast here and there in the speech. Adolf reminds us of some of the fire-eaters of the old South who welcomed the Civil War, with the exception that Adolf walked right up to the cannon's mouth and then fainted. Our fire-eaters at least marched on, several of them, however, committing suicide when they realized that "our peculiar institution" had been destroyed by Grant's cannon.

Other Sectors of A Sick Europe

AUSTRIAN Socialists live a dangerous and precarious life between two hostile gangs of Fascism. Last week the Heimwehr paraded in Vienna while Nazi crowds greeted them with howls and stale eggs. Heimwehr men in turn attacked Socialists, in one instance firing into a Socialist's home. On Sunday Dr. Hans Frank, Bavarian Minister of Justice, landed in Vienna in an airplane and caused a row. He is a Hitlerite and from Munich had broadcast a threat of intervention in Austria's affairs. Hitler may attempt to fly to Austria to visit his parents' grave, and that may cause another row. His native village recently refused to make him an honorary citizen.

Leon Blum has again been chosen leader of the Socialists in the French Parliament and in Belgium the Chamber was the scene of attacks by Socialist members against Foreign Minister Hymans over a bill giving plenary powers to the Cabinet for three months to consider financial problems. Several thousand Communists demonstrated in the streets, took possession of two stores, and the police locked them in instead of driving them out!

Danzig, under the rule of the League of Nations, gets an outbreak of Nazism. There will be an election on May 28, and the Nazis seized the Socialist unions. A general strike was called, Socialists asked Poland to intervene, but the strike was only partly effective. The Free City's constitution was violated when Danzig police permitted Nazi forces to help execute a judge's order to confiscate union property.

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 opinions 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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By James Oneal

Abolishing Private Property!

THE MODERN CORPORATION AND PRIVATE PROPERTY.

By Adolf A. Berle, Jr., and Gardiner C. Means. New York: Macmillan. \$4.50.

OCCASIONALLY a book appears that has extraordinary significance and this one easily falls into this class. It may well rank above any book in the past twenty years in its interpretation of American capitalism. With the alteration of a few phrases here and there and some expansion of the interpretation in terms of class backgrounds, it is a book that Marx might write if he were living.

Millions of people still think of American capitalism in terms of private property in the means of production and distribution. The fact is that American capitalism has almost abolished this "private property." We may add, that private property for millions of farmers and workers has, in this depression period, been practically wiped out. Homes, farms and other small assets of the working masses have disappeared as though a fissure in the earth had swallowed them up.

What we have is a ruling oligarchy of 200 great corporate empires that are rapidly gathering in the wealth and capital of the nation but within these feudal empires private property is almost abolished. Socialist economic historians have traced the emergence of the capitalist owner out of early shop enterprises through various phases of industrial development into the trust era; they have shown that the former capitalist who managed enterprises was replaced by the functionless owners who are useless and parasitic.

This book carries the investigation into the higher corporate period of our time and the authors show the further trend toward functionless masters. The major industries of today are in the hands of 200 corporations and capitalist property in the old sense is rapidly disappearing. "The translation of perhaps two-thirds of the industrial wealth of the country from individual ownership to ownership by the large, publicly financed corporations vitally changes the lives of property owners, the lives of workers, and the methods of property tenure," they write. "The divorce of ownership from control consequent on that process almost necessarily involves a new form of economic organization of society."

The corporate capitalism that has emerged since the end of the World War has some of the aspects and powers of the old feudalism, its ruling barons having little of the responsibilities that were vested in and exercised by the feudal masters of a former age.

The machinery, raw materials, and plants of production are passing in ever growing degree under the sovereignty of huge centralized groups and this "disolution of the atom of property destroys the very foundation on which the economic order of the past three centuries has rested." The rate of centralization of control is startling. The authors estimate that if the wealth of all corporations continues to increase for the next twenty years at its average annual rate for the twenty years from 1909 to 1929, "70 per cent of all corporate activity would be carried on by 200 corporations by 1950." A still more rapid growth occurred from 1924 to 1929 and if this continues only thirty years will be required to concentrate "all corporate activity and practically all industrial ac-

Two Hundred Giant Corporations Are Destroying the Basis of the Capitalistic System and Creating a Feudalism Served by Human Robots.

tivity" within 200 giant companies. These industrial empires have created a "new form of absolutism" which makes the individualism of the economists utterly absurd.

Moreover, the investors in these enterprises can exercise no control as a series of legal devices permit a handful of masterful men to dominate the giants and this change, the authors contend, has released "the community from the

obligation" to protect these "passive" owners in their implied property rights. The absentee and workless kings have "cleared the way for the claims of a group far wider than either the owners or the control" and it remains for us to assert our claims.

What is obvious in the modern industrial enterprise is that it has become collective in structure but absentee and functionless officials

control it. Capitalism is wiping out capitalist property and to think of the capitalistic system in terms of such property is to be blind to the fact that the old system is rapidly passing away. The type of industrial organization required for a Socialist society has developed within the old system. Collective ownership is required to correspond with the collective structure of industry itself. The authors do not stress this conclusion although it is implied in their study.

These industrial empires are assuming some aspects of the state. The big corporation "involves a concentration of power in the economic field comparable to the concentration of religious power in the medieval church or of political power in the national state." To permit free rein to the ruling class is to incur the "danger of a corporate oligarchy coupled with the probability of an era of corporate

plundering" for even now the empires "compete on equal terms with the modern state."

Here is an arsenal of facts for the Socialist educator. Moreover, reading it leaves us with the impression of the need for a more revolutionary Socialist Party, a party that will concentrate all its resources on reaching the working class, that will give its attention to making known the basic revolution in the property system in the past thirty years; and that will give less attention to a multitude of "issues" that are pale ghosts compared with this amazing revolution in post-war capitalism.

Herman Cahn, a Marxist, wrote a notable book, "Capital Today," in 1918, which is known to few Socialists. His study was devoted to an examination of the financial structure of capitalism and he forecast the present insolvency. Berle and Means reveal the character of modern corporate capitalism allied with the great banks and the Socialist who reads both will understand that no flabby sentimental socialism will serve the movement in these days of a rotting social system.



"Officer, what are you arresting that man for?"
"He's a radical. He's endangerin' our sacred institooshuns."

ARGENTINE NOTES

Argentina.—The Socialist President of the Municipality of Santa Rosa, Sergio Lopez, was shot to death by a wholesale butcher who owed a large sum of money to the city for taxes which he refused to pay. In retaliation the authorities prohibited the merchant from increasing the number of cattle to be brought into town for local consumption. The butcher ignored the ruling of the authorities, who, in turn, further restricted his privileges. The butcher thereupon sought out the President and shot him dead.

Chacabuco.—This town recently celebrated the first anniversary of its Socialist administration. The Socialists took control at a bad time, when the town's finances were in a deplorable state and the people sorely afflicted by the crisis, making their securing of control a sort of Greek gift, succeeded in materially remedying conditions, bringing about a marked reduction in the price of meat (which had often been promised by the politicians of the other parties but never realized), improvement of streets and roads, and turning over to the local medical board all hospital services, etc.

Buenos Aires.—In answer to a request for raising the state of siege made by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and presented to the President by three Socialist Deputies, the former declined to do so for the present, while at the same time assuring the Deputies that so far as the approaching elections and responsible newspapers are concerned the state of siege does not apply.

Upon their return from an anti-

War Congress held in Montevideo, the thirty Argentine delegates were arrested and sent to jail, after having been subjected to a tear gas attack. The police seized a large number of documents.

This action of the city comes just at a time when a survey revealed that there are over two hundred thousand apartments vacant in New York City.

The urgency of this situation is

To a Frail Starveling To Stop Her Piteous Cry

By Carl Strauch

Upon reading in the newspapers the statement of a politician that the economic depression is working spiritual benefits for us.

AH Sally, don't cry,
Here are rosebuds to eat,
And deep in the forest
The berries are sweet.

And I have great store
Of strawberries wild;
Four are a feast
For such an elf-child!

And cool silver leaves
That sparkle with dew,
And food more ethereal
Than ever you knew.

And when you have fed
And drunk of my store,
I'll urge my poor wits
To hunt you some more.

And every new day
You'll forget the coarse food,
Potatoes material
And butter-bread lewd,

And cabbage and beans
That choke up the heart,
And jellies and creams
And plump apple-tart

Your mother would set
Before you each day,
The wily old Eve
In her Eden-old way.

Your mother did wrong
To snare with a bowl
Of steaming hot porridge
Your immortal soul.

Ah Sally, be glad
You're rid of the old ways!
The material goes.
The spiritual stays.

And every new day
You'll learn to eat more
And more spiritual food
The heavens may pour.

Because you will be
A spiritual thing,
And eat without mouth
And sans voice you will sing!

My spiritual Sally,
Ethereally pure,
You'll show the old sceptics
What the soul can endure.

And you will forego
The rose-petals even
And strawberries wild,
And that will be heaven,

Where bright angels rest
Under blossoming trees
And feast in pure joy
On a slow April breeze.

Demonstration Planned by Workers' Unemployed League

DUE to the economy program forced upon the city by the bankers, the Home Relief Bureau has stopped practically all rent and light payments for the unemployed of New York. Thousands of families will be evicted in the next few weeks unless immediate action is taken.

to be met by the widest protest possible. The Workers' Unemployed League, at a conference of a number of trade union and other groups, is laying the plans for a demonstration, tentatively planned to parade through Wall Street, past the banks that are forcing this condition, up Broadway to the City Hall where a delegation is to present the demands of the unemployed to the Mayor.

For this purpose the trade unions and fraternal and political organizations of the workers will be called together to make this protest as representative as possible. Socialist branches holding street meetings in the next week are asked to devote themselves to this topic.

A tentative committee consisting of Alfred Moss of the Harlem Workers' Unemployed League, Saul Parker of the Washington Heights U. L., Jack Altman of the Bronxville U. L., Abraham Wienfeld, Amicus Most and Jean Cornell of the executive committee of the U. L., Esther Friedman of the Women's Committee, Julius Gerber of the Socialist Party, Joseph Tuvim of the Socialist and Labor conference on Unemployment, and members of the Tenants' league, and of the Y.P.S.L. has been set up.

ANTI-EVICTION LAW

Passed by the historic State of Indiana

It shall be unlawful for any person to remove or dislodge or to attempt to remove or dislodge any undomesticated racoon in any manner from any hole, den, pocket, cavity or hollow in any tree, or from any cavity, or den in or among rocks wherein such racoon has secreted itself for security or protection or in which it maintains its nest or den.

The New Leader is grateful to the Bronx Tenants' Emergency League for this touching example of capitalist concern for our furry friends. The League has announced that it intends to write to the Indiana legislature to discover why the same protection was not extended to skunks.

By Henry J. Rosner

Faith Cures to Lighten Debt Burdens

THE ardent defender of American institutions of Private Property shouts Bolshevik when the radical urges public confiscation of private industry in the interest of the many. He shrugs his shoulders, however, when he hears of a foreclosure of a home or a farm because of non-payment of interest or principal on the mortgage. In his code this is not confiscation, although tens of thousands of workers and farmers in the past three years have lost their property because loss of income has made it impossible to meet their obligations to their creditors.

No one knows the exact extent of the losses thus sustained, but several studies indicate that it is tremendous. A survey recently made by the Federal Home Loan Bank reveals that the number of real estate foreclosures in 414 representative communities in the United States has risen from 37,000 in 1926 to 139,000 in 1932, an increase of 300%. The Department of Agriculture reports that foreclosures and bankruptcy of farms have doubled since 1929. Men are deprived of their homes and farmers of their means of life, but the conservative mind does not recognize that as confiscation because the mortgagor gave the mortgagee the right to foreclose unless certain definite payments are made.

It matters not that economic conditions beyond the individual's control have so reduced his earning power that he cannot pay his creditor. The sanctity of contracts must be preserved.

Price Decline

Obviously, the farmer whose income has been cut in half by the decline in prices for his products should not pay the 1928 interest rate of 8% in 1933. Similarly with the small home owner whose income has been wiped out completely because of unemployment or has been cut 25 to 50 per cent because of part-time employment and wage slashes. He should not pay 6 to 8 per cent interest on his mortgage in 1933.

Millions of farmers and homeowners have managed to save their properties by meeting their obligations but only by depriving themselves of income needed for life's necessities. To a considerable extent the extreme duration and depth of the present depression

TOULOUSE IS NOW A SOCIALIST CITY

PARIS.—The Socialist party scored another striking success at the polls in the election of M. Hyon to the Regional Council at Toulouse, thus gaining complete control of the city. Toulouse is now again a Red City. Hyon polled 4,181 votes in a field of four, gaining an absolute majority on the first ballot.

At the same time the Socialist candidate Berlia topped the poll in a by-election for the Chamber of Deputies, but was not elected because he did not win a clear majority. At the run-off election he will in all probability be elected, adding one more to the great Socialist bloc in Paris.

The total vote was 19,321, of which there were 9,108 Socialists, 6,837 Radicals, 2,314 for the candidate of the Right, and 947 Communists. Berlia gained 1,000 over the Socialist vote in the previous election.

Roosevelt Presents Program to Congress Designed to Protect Home-Owners in the Present Mortgage Crisis —How Would His Law Work Out?

can be traced to the fact that millions of potential customers for the products of American industry find the money to meet the interest and principal on the mortgage by denying themselves and their families of needed commodities. The payments are made to lending institutions and individuals owning the mortgages who neither re-invest nor spend but hoard.

The Roosevelt Administration, unlike its predecessor, has presented a program to Congress purporting to correct this situation which, despite favorable newspaper publicity, cannot solve the problem. The measures fall into two categories.

1. The use of federal government credit to refinance home and farm mortgages at lower rates of interest, and

2. A very uncertain inflation.

Proposed Corporation

It is proposed to create a federal government corporation called the Home Owners' Loan Corporation which is empowered to enter into negotiations with holders of mortgages on homes valued at \$15,000 or less and exchange the bonds of the corporation for the mortgages. The federal government guarantees 4% interest on the bonds while the Corporation reduces the interest rate on the mortgage to 5% and extends the amortization period to 15 years. The government through its agency will take over home mortgages up to \$2,000,000,000 on easier terms to the homeowner.

In the event of unemployment a moratorium of 3 years as to interest and principal may be de-

clared. Much the same set-up is proposed for farm mortgages. The Federal Land Banks are empowered to exchange \$2,000,000,000 of its bonds paying 4% interest and likewise guaranteed as to interest by the Treasury for farm mortgages. The farmer's rate will be scaled down to 4½%. The rate on mortgages now held by the Federal Farm Land Banks is likewise reduced to 4½%.

The trouble with the whole plan is that it is likely to prove more of a boon to the creditors than to the debtors.

The aggregate mortgage debt on urban homes is \$21,500,000,000 today. It is apparent that this huge volume of mortgages can't be refinanced with \$2,000,000,000. What about relief for the other 90%? Evidently they are to be added to

the great army of forgotten men.

It is not hard to imagine what types of mortgages will be turned over to the government. Savings banks, life insurance companies and building and loan associations will make a mad rush to get rid of mortgages which are likely to be defaulted. It will be good business to exchange a sure 4% guaranteed by the federal government for an uncertain 6 or 8 per cent. The other 90% will continue to sweat and groan under the burden of debt. In the majority of cases the "sound" mortgages are held by the individuals who have made terrific sacrifices to preserve their homes and meet their obligations. Otherwise their's would not be the "sound" mortgages, that is to say, those which have been met regardless of the social injustice of a legal and economic system which takes no cognizance of a reduced ability to pay.

Farm Mortgages

Much the same situation will prevail with reference to farm mortgages. There are \$12,000,000,000 in farm mortgages outstanding today. Approximately 1/6 are held by the Federal land banks and more than 1/2 are held by insurance companies, banks, mortgage companies and about 30% by individuals. The \$2,000,000,000 owned by the land banks will automatically have their interest rate lowered from 5½% to 4½% per cent. One-fifth of the rest will be refinanced. \$4,000,000,000 or only one-third of the total farm mortgage debt will be reduced. There will be the same wild dash to exchange a certain 4% for an uncertain 6%. The probability, therefore, is that the government will hold the bag for \$4,000,000,000 of the "sour" mortgages while approximately 80% of the debtors will get no relief.

The federal government will undoubtedly have to pay large sums from public funds in the future to pay the interest on the guaranteed bonds because of the poor character of mortgages which will be taken over.

I recognize that substantial aid will be accorded the 20% lucky enough to become debtors of the federal government. The public authorities will not deal harshly with them in the event of default. Amendments to the law will probably be made to extend the 3-year period of grace in such cases and foreclosures will be rare.

At the same time, it is an unwise social policy for the taxpayer to make good the losses of lenders. It would be much better to spend such funds on constructive public improvements which would put men to work and add to the wealth of the community, especially since there are much sounder methods for lightening the burden of debt.

A great many at the moment hold that the problem will be solved by inflation. It is hard to see how this will be the case under the very moderate inflation proposed by the President. From the farmer's standpoint, for example, the prices which he now receives must be restored to pre-depression levels. Farm prices have declined 35% since 1926. It is not likely that these prices can be raised that much through currency manipulation.

(Continued next week)



By Gertrude Weil Klein

Ten Cents a Shirt?

SIX hundred people struck this morning (Wednesday) in the third lap of the organization campaign the shirtmakers are carrying on in their terribly sweated industry. New Jersey is the present scene of action, and Elizabeth the town where three plants are completely tied up and several others severely crippled.

When we went out there last night a committee of five, Lipskey and two other officials of the shirtmakers' union and Abraham Miller, secretary-treasurer of the Joint Board of the Amalgamated, and myself, my spirits were as damp as the weather. Miller had a toothache in his whole head, which didn't add anything to the gaiety of the occasion.



G. W. Klein

Organization work had been carried on for weeks, Miss Angelo, a local girl borrowed from the dressmakers' union, going from house to house, but when the meeting was called to order less than a hundred workers were present, half of them girls who were plainly frightened. One girl was telling a group that she had made 34 cents in the last two days of work. Surely, you would think, here are girls to whom you can say, "What have you got to lose?" And yet they very definitely felt they had something to lose. A job, any kind of a job to these girls seems worth holding on to.

Stitch, Stitch, Stitch

Another girl was talking about the time her shop was told they would have to make a small stitch for the same money they were getting for a large stitch. A small stitch takes more time and since they work piece-work the earnings were cut almost in half. In this case the girls spontaneously walked out, and they won their strike, though they had no union to back them up. But after a few weeks

The Shirtmakers on Strike in New Jersey—The Drive for Unionization Is Going On.

the old conditions prevailed again. A few months later and they were even worse. Instances like this remain in the people's minds.

Then, when the organizers tell the workers that the boss is offering them a raise now, but will take it back and more, too, as soon as the union leaves the field, it strikes these little roots of remembrance, and you see heads shaking in assent and half the battle is won. The second half. The first half is getting them into the hall to listen to you. Very often an organizer who has just come on the scene knows of no definite promise of increases, but 100 times out of 100 it is safe to say so, because the promise of an increase in wages is the invariable result of an organization drive.

Also speeches by the employers. Suddenly the most tight-mouthed boss becomes your best little buddy and enters into long orations to "his" people. But somehow this does not seem to go as big today as it might have once upon a time. Not with the men, anyway. You don't have to do any arguing with the men today. They've graduated out of the A-B-C stage. They understand pretty much what it's all about, and there are some young fellows coming along who look like good solid material. In fact, this seems to be the psychological moment for organization work. Even though it isn't possible to break through to the girls all at once, there are men everywhere in the industries who are doing some hard thinking. And the girls and women will be carried along with them.

Building a Union

That doesn't sound as though

YOUR BRANCH SHOULD PLACE A STANDING ORDER FOR THE NEW LEADER SELLING YOUR PAPER AT ALL MEETINGS WILL RESULT IN A LARGER VOTE AND SOCIALIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP.

we've made much progress, does it? That's the way unions have always been built—by men, carrying with them the small proportion of women workers. But today the men are the small proportion and the women are far from ready to carry their part of the job. That's something the unions will have to do some thinking and acting about pretty quick.

One woman at the Elizabeth meeting gladdened everybody's heart and did more, I think, in her short impromptu speech to weld that group together, especially the girls, than any of the rest of us. She just happened to hear that an organization campaign was in progress, and having once been a shirt worker she came down to urge the shirt workers to stick together. "I wish there had been a union in those days," she said, telling about her days in the sweatshop. "You don't know how lucky you are that there is a union ready to fight for you." She has two daughters in shirt shops in Elizabeth and she was on the verge of writing to the union to come in to Elizabeth and try to do something about conditions.

Abraham Miller had the people absorbed with his stories of early sweatshop days. "They used to call me the lawyer in the shop," he said, "because I came to work at six o'clock in the morning. I don't know what time the others got there, but when I arrived large bundles of work had already been completed. Six o'clock seemed early enough for me, especially since we worked until nine or ten at night, but they called me the lawyer."

The drive in Pennsylvania is practically over which brings both the Connecticut and Pennsylvania shirt industries under the Amalgamated banner.

Of course, this is just a beginning. This is a fight for an entering wedge, for control first, before any marked material gains can be made. Wage increases are gained in all instances but they are not great enough to bring wages up to a decent living standard. This will have to come by gradual and persistent pressure. At any rate, for the immediate future, there is no danger that we'll be buying shirts in the Ten Cent stores.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

Furriers Unite to Smash Communist Domination

A CAMPAIGN to break the Communist reign of terror and control in the fur market was begun Monday by the Fur Workers' Union, affiliated with the A. F. of L., under the leadership of Samuel Shore. For several days squads of union members have covered the fur district bounded by 6th Avenue, 23rd Street to 33rd Street and 7th Ave., distributing circulars calling upon furriers to join in the attempt to restore former wage scales, working conditions and democracy in the trade.

In a statement Samuel Shore said, "The drive is a first step in regaining our manhood and decent, enlightened conditions as laid down by the collective agreements made by the union but nullified by the Communist cliques serving the political interests of the Communist Party."

"The next step," Shore said, "will be a demand upon the employers for an immediate conference to restore labor conditions under the terms of the agreement. Instead of a 40-hour week as provided by the agreement in force until next January, the 50 and 60 hour week has been prevalent under Communist domination, and the contracting evil flourished worse than ever. We have allowed the Communists a year and a half and a clear field to make good their promises to the workers. They have failed to do so and have entered into an alliance with the sweatshop industry to destroy wages

and working conditions. These conditions must stop."

Many old members of the union are rejoining. Within the last week close to 700 have taken out their cards and are paying their dues. Many of the 700 spoke in effect as follows: The Communists, knowing the prostrate condition of the union, called for a "united front." Many tired workers found a hope in this call. They also saw an admission of the union-wrecking tactics of the Communists, and yet felt that something could be done. After a year of watchful waiting by those who desired a real united front, conditions exist in the industry where those who supported unity, but disagreed with some of the tactics of the leadership, found themselves without a job and their families starving, and in their places apprentices from other trades who were disciplined Communists. They asked no questions about wages or hours. We who have lived through the struggle of the Fur Workers' Union and aided in building the union, will again strive to rebuild the union.

Long hours and starvation wages for those who worked. Hunger, misery and broken homes for those who tried to maintain self-respect and the standard of living for the furrier. Every attempt to force the employers to abide by the union agreement has been frustrated through the terror of the bosses in the shops and the Communist gorillas in the street. We will fight off the attacks of these gorillas who use knives, blackjacks and brass knuckles against those who dared fight for union conditions.

O'Gara Moves to Halt Mooney Trial Again

SAN FRANCISCO.—John O'Gara is ready to act at last, and his action may mean the failure of the Mooney trial, postponed to May 22. He states that he has decided to file suit in the California Supreme Court for a writ to halt the case.

O'Gara, one of Mooney's original prosecutors who has been trying to block a new trial, denies that he has deliberately delayed his action to bring Frank P. Walsh and John Finerty put West again for nothing; he says he has merely "been busy on other matters."

Meanwhile the Mooney Molders' Defense Committee is going ahead with preparations for the trial; Leo Gallagher has returned to San Francisco and asked for court orders to bring Mooney from San Quentin, and also to allow the defense to inspect prosecution exhibits. The latter was refused before the trial started April 26, on various pretexts—first that it was not necessary before the trial began, and then that the exhibits were mislaid.

These exhibits include the famous pieces of the suitcase supposed to have contained the bomb, and bits of the supposed bomb itself—which the Mooney defense has claimed were not parts of a bomb, but only pieces of machinery assembled to give that effect, and really parts of an alarm clock and other miscellaneous objects.

Forty defense witnesses have already been subpoenaed, all of them to testify to Mooney's alibi, since District Attorney Brady's failure to adduce the 1916 testimony makes other avenues of defense impossible.

All hope has been abandoned for the Dempster bill, which was to amend California law to permit a new trial if new evidence should be discovered later. The bill was specifically intended to help the Mooney-Billings case. Although it passed the Assembly, the Senate Judiciary committee reported it unfavorably, even trying to vote on it before giving Dempster a chance to advocate his own measure.

standstill means that the level of unemployment is actually higher now by that number.

According to John E. Gross, secretary of the State Federation of Labor of Colorado, the number of families absolutely dependent upon the relief funds increased from 9,039 last October to 56,400 in February. One of every five families in the state has no other means of existence than relief allowances, and the situation is growing more desperate every day.

Life of Working Women on the Screen

THE women's section of the Independent Trade Union Federation in Vienna has had a film prepared on the life of working women, which is lent out to organizations and in Vienna alone has already been shown more than a hundred times. The heavy demand has made it necessary to have a third copy made.

Applications for the loan of the film should be addressed: Frauen-Sektion des Bundes der Freien Gewerkschaften, Ebendorferstrasse 7, Wien I, Austria.

BOOST THE NEW LEADER!

Phila. Needle Workers Win Smashing Victory

PHILADELPHIA.—The International Ladies' Garment Workers won a smashing victory after a two-day general strike of the Waist and Dressmakers' Union. Led by Elias Reisberg and George Rubin, vice-presidents of the I.L.G.W.U., 5,000 waist, blouse, skirt and dressmakers went on strike last week.

Settlement terms agreed to by the members of the Manufacturers' Association after a five-hour conference at the Sylvania Hotel with union leaders, including David Dubinsky, International President, include the following:

Ten per cent increase in wages; provision for adjustment of wages, should commodity prices go up through inflation or for other reasons; the 44-hour week; after January 1, the 40-hour week; five legal holidays with pay; complete closed shop, i.e., complete unionization of the industry; setting up of machinery to provide for arbitra-

tion of all disputes, thus barring strikes and lockouts for the duration of the agreement which ends January 1, 1935.

Following the announcement of the settlement, President Dubinsky issued a statement saying: "The Philadelphia strike and its gratifying conclusion are the first step in the I.L.G.W.U. campaign to better working conditions of dress-makers in every market of the country and to supplant the depression-brought chaos in the industry with stability."

Reisberg declared that "the strike was nothing short of an upheaval. To those familiar with the recent history of the industry and the workers in Philadelphia it was little short of a revolution, for which credit must be given that sturdy group of never-say-die union workers who kept the flame of organization burning through all the dark years."

GOVERNOR TOLD OF STRIKE KILLING

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—The slaying of Barney Graham, president of the Wilder local of the United Mine Workers of America, was a deliberately planned murder by gunman of the Fentress County Coal and Coke Co., and Governor Hill McAlister and Secretary of Labor Jacobson were told more than a week before the killing that it was planned by the gunmen.

These sensational developments became public after Jack (Shorty) Green, a company gunman, had been charged with murder and released on \$2,000 bond.

Rev. Dr. Alva Taylor, Professor of Christian Ethics at Vanderbilt School of Religion, went to Governor McAlister's office on April 22nd with the warning that the plans of Green and another gunman, O. M. (Doc) Thompson, to kill Barney Graham were known. The Governor's secretary told him there was nothing the state could do, although a few months before, when a bridge was burned and a fruitless effort made to blame it on the miners, the state spent thousands of dollars to protect bridges. Eight days after the warning was given the Governor, Graham was shot to death. But the bridges were still safe.

Agreement in Norway to Maintain Wage Standards

OSLO.—All the agreements made after the great Norwegian strike of 1931 have been renewed for a year, with no cuts in wages, as the result of negotiations between national organizations of the workers and employers. The agreements contained a clause for the automatic setting of wages on the basis of the index figure of costs of living at the end of 1932. By virtue of this clause, wages would have been cut 3 per cent, but it was agreed not to put this reduction in effect.

Labor Beats the Convict Lease Bill

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—A convict lease bill before the Arkansas Legislature was badly defeated as the result of the opposition of organized labor, represented by the Joint Legislative Committee, composed of the legislative representatives of the Arkansas State Federation of Labor and the railroad Brother-

I.F.T.U. FLEES TO PARIS FROM BERLIN

PARIS.—Fleeing from Berlin to Paris to avoid Nazi violence and seizure of its properties, the International Federation of Trade Unions headquarters has been established in Paris. It issued a statement on Hitler's May Day.

"The working class of the whole world has for more than 50 years celebrated the First of May as the day of international solidarity," it said, "choosing this day for demonstrations in all countries in support of their rights, chief of which are reasonable working hours and adequate wages. . . . This celebration of May Day is now being profaned and desecrated by the action of the Fascist dictatorship in Germany. Aided by Goebbels, his Minister of Propaganda, Hitler has declared the First of May a 'legal festival of national labor.' . . ."

"May Day in Germany will be a compulsory festival in which the workers will only take part because they will be compelled to do so by terrorization and open violence. . . . It is true that the German 'free' trade union center appealed to its members to attend these celebrations and has welcomed the government's action in declaring the First of May to be a legal holiday, but we must remember that the trade unions are acting under pressure and are not free to make what decisions they choose. . . ."

"On May Day the international working class will think of the German workers who will be forced to march in the ranks of the Brown Army. The workers of the whole world will not merely make a united demonstration for the 40-hour week and for peace, freedom and democracy, but will also protest against the profanation of their international holiday, in which they will have with them hundreds of thousands of the German workers and salaried employees who will be compelled to take part in a contemptible puppet-show."

To Printing Pressmen

Members of the Socialist Party who are printing pressmen, but who are not members of Printing Pressmen's Union No. 51, will be assisted in becoming affiliated with this union by writing to Herman Woskow, vice-president, care of the Party Office, 7 East 15th St., New York.

Labor Here and There

Clothing Salesmen Still Out

THE Retail Clothing Salesmen's Union still continues its strike for recognition of the union, shorter working hours against the Howard clothing chain stores in New York City. This is the fourth week of the strike and the picket lines are holding fast.

Poultry Workers Picket

Local 662, Poultry Workers' Union, continues its picketing against the firm of Stetter Bros. with two shops at 67 E. 7th St., and 246 Rivington St. Arrests of pickets have been made, but the union continues its campaign against the open shop.

Shoe Repair Workers' Drive

The Shoe Repair Workers' Union, affiliated with the United Hebrew Trades, is now in a drive to organize the Borough of the Bronx. They have opened headquarters at the Bellamy Club, 904 Prospect Ave., with J. Greenberg in charge.

Radiator Workers' Lockout

The Richmond Radiator Company of Uniontown, Pa., locked out its employees because they organized under the charter of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees. Employees of other trades working for the company went out on a sympathetic strike.

Pretzel Benders Win

The Pretzel Twisters of Reading, Pa., won a sweeping victory in their last strike at the Bachman Company plant there. They forced the company to restore the wage cut which caused the strike, reinstate all strikers without discrimination and withdraw opposition against the union.

Centralia Prisoner Paroled

The Pardon Board of the State

of Washington has ordered the parole of John Lamb, one of the four remaining prisoners of Centralia, Washington. Britt Smith, secretary of the Industrial Workers, Ray Becker and Bert Lamb who with five others were sentenced from 25 to 40 years in prison in 1920, are expected to be set free, inasmuch as Governor Clarence Martin is understood to view their cases favorably.

Slight Employment Gain

Reports received by the American Federation of Labor from affiliated unions show the first gain in employment in six months. The gain is very small, affecting only seven-tenths of one per cent of the membership, the weighted figures showing 26.6 per cent of the membership out of work in March, with 25.9 out of work in April, according to preliminary figures. If this employment gain in April had followed a gain in March, it would be of about normal seasonal proportions.

But actually union unemployment increased in March, and this small gain in April was not nearly enough to compensate the loss. Thus at a season when at least 15 per cent of the membership should normally have found work in two months from February to April, this year there has been practically no change in employment and 25.9 per cent are still unemployed in April compared to 26.0 per cent in February. Thus the employment gain in April served only to counteract the loss in March and unemployment is now back at the February level. Since several hundred thousand persons who normally find work in March and April are still unemployed this employment

Extra! The Old Pals Wade Into Philosophy Like Veterans and Actually Reach on Agreement

By Autolycus

"I've got a hunch that what we need is a pragmatic philosophy," said Joe as he greeted Bill in the Rand School lobby. "Pragmatism is elastic, rejects dogma, and adjusts itself to a changing world."

"I see that you're getting scholarly," said Bill. "You talk like one who has stocked up with a good cargo of culture at one of our kept universities. How did you get that way?"

"Cut the satire, Bill; I'm in earnest," Joe replied. "You always are," Bill replied; "and you are never more in earnest than when you run across a stray fad which you do not explore to learn what it means. Pragmatism sounds imposing but what is it?"

"I've just told you," said Joe.

"Yes, you've said that it is elastic, it rejects dogma, and adjusts itself to a changing world," said Bill. "But the explanation must be explained for what is true of it may be good or bad. I think that your own definition of it may be summed up in the statement that Pragmatism is the philosophy of opportunism. Translate it into political action and it means getting votes regardless of principles and aims."

Bill is Like a Surgeon

"YOU'RE like a surgeon; you like to dissect things and put them under a microscope," Joe replied with a gesture of weariness.

"Well, the surgeon's methods are at least scientific and they have been enormously helpful in curing diseases," Bill replied. "We want to cure a sick civilization but to cure it we have to dissect it if we are to understand its depressive diseases."

"I'll agree," said Joe, "but you have thrown little light as yet on Pragmatism."

"Suppose we consult Woodbridge Riley," said Joe. "His reputation as a historian of philosophy ranks high. He considers Pragmatism as a business philosophy which demands results, a theory that 'must have cash value and be true if it works.' It claims to be practical, not wedded to principle. Others have turned from its commercialism to humanism but humanism is vague and may mean anything. That's a fairly good summary of Pragmatism. Now how do you think it will serve to guide you in the class struggle?"

"In the class struggle? What do you mean?"

"Suppose your union is on strike or that Socialists are engaged in a campaign," said Bill. "Both forms of action seek more power for the working class. Get your union members together or the workers out to a Socialist mass meeting and tell them that they must follow a course that is elastic, that rejects dogma, and that adjusts itself to a changing world. Do you think that such talk would clarify their ideas or foster class solidarity?"

Cash Values and Principles

"I GUESS you're right there," Joe replied, "but there's one thing in Pragmatism that I would put to them. I'd tell the union members that the strike should have cash value results or it is useless."

"And that means business unionism pure and simple," Bill replied. "A Tammany union will support that phase of Pragmatism."

"But don't you want the workers to win increased wages?" Joe asked.

"By all means," Bill replied, "but not on the basis of the business philosophy of Pragmatism. The unionism that goes no farther than the desire for cash values in the end loses even these values. What must be added to effective unionism is a revolutionary philosophy, a revolutionary principle, that seeks to end the endless struggle for cash values. If its aim is limited to these values Pragmatic opportunism will tend to bring in the racketeer and the mercenary and you know what then happens to the union."

"I'm beginning to see your point," said Joe. "We want the increased wages and shorter hours but to avoid the fruits of opportunist Pragmatism the drive for better conditions must be linked with the class solidarity that seeks the emancipation of the whole working class."

A Pragmatist Under the Skin

"THAT'S the idea," said Bill with some enthusiasm. "We need a fundamental principle, something that will inspire the working class, something that includes improvement here and now, but which also looks beyond the present to the future. This is also a necessity of the political struggle of the workers. Cleaning up Tammany Hall, stressing good government, appealing to taxpayers and the like is the counterpart to the opportunism of business Pragmatism."

"But doesn't this bring you back to dogma?" asked Joe.

"I said principle," Bill replied with some warmth. "The opportunist often calls principle 'dogma' because he dislikes adherence to principle. This attitude of his is what he considers 'elastic.' It enables the Pragmatist to avoid any consistent views."

"But we have to adjust principle to a changing world," said Joe.

"We do," Bill replied, "but whatever modification we may make of principles they remain principles; otherwise we lose sight of fundamental aims."

"Did you hear that we caught a racketeer last week?" asked Joe.

"Scratch him and you'll find a Pragmatist under the skin," said Bill as they parted.

By Wm. M. Feigenbaum

The Unseen Assassin Lurking To Strike at Peace of the World

The Spirit of Nationalism Is the Gravest Single Factor, Next to Capitalism, in the World Situation—Capitalism Uses It, but It Often Runs Away.

SIR THOMAS N. A. LANE, better known as Norman Angell, distinguished British publicist and Socialist and author of that historic work, "The Great Illusion," recently wrote a book called "The Unseen Assassin," in which he discussed the force he considers the greatest single evil in the world, the assassin that lurks in dark corners ready to strike.

That assassin, said Sir Norman, is nationalism, the spirit that sets up strictly national interests against the interests of other peoples and in a manner that brings nations into conflict with each other. That nationalism in practice drenches the earth with blood and spreads hatreds, death, destruction and unspeakable disaster.

We know that wars arise from material causes. We know that trade rivalries, imperialist adventures in quest of markets are back of most of the wars that stain the pages of history.

But it is also true that nationalism—national egotism, national arrogance, chauvinist "patriotism"—is an element that cannot be ignored, for at its doors can be laid much of the woe that has cursed the world in the last century—especially in the last two decades.

No Boundary Lines

It is true, of course, that capitalism knows no boundary lines, and that to large-scale finance patriotism is identical with profits. But no one who would understand the present era can ignore the importance of nationalism in the unrolling of the developments of the past few decades.

Nationalist feelings are, of course, deliberately worked up and exploited by unscrupulous imperialists and are called upon to subside when they have been exploited to the limit. But in the past few decades it has all too often happened that nationalism, once aroused, has run away with itself and has dragged those who evoked it into adventures and enterprises far removed from their original plans.

In working up a good, old-fashioned war—like the late war to end all wars—nothing is better than to wave the flag and uncork the patriotic oratory. It doesn't matter much whether the oratory makes any sense or not; the important thing is to call it patriotism, and then you can usually get away with murder. It works like a charm.

But such feelings are easier evoked than put back again in the moth balls. Once stirred up it is hard to un-stir them.

Today the world is a seething cauldron of hates. We are living on the crater of an active volcano, sitting on a powder-barrel. At any one of a number of points trouble may be aroused over an incident as unimportant as the color of a letter-box; and then the fat will be in the fire.

Today there are danger zones in Asia, two in South America, and any number in Europe. Virtually every one of them is fraught with far more danger to the very existence of civilization than were Bosnia and the Balkans nineteen years ago; and in virtually every one of them nationalism—the Unseen Assassin—is a serious and menacing factor. Hardly one of them but could be resolved if it were not for this nationalism.

Good and Evil

If peoples could sit and think, and balance the supposed good to be gained against the positive evils they are setting in motion—a gain of a seaport or a few square miles

of territory against the awful consequences of a war—dangers would be likely to disappear in a moment. But in the very nature of things nationalism is like one's mother's honor—something beyond the calm of discussion. And look at the cost the world is paying!

The danger spot of Europe today is the Polish Corridor, a slice, taken out of Germany to feed the national egotism of the new Polish nation. Of course, Polish goods travel freely over the Corridor and pay no duty entering the Free City of Danzig, set aside as a port for Poland; but it is equally true that Polish goods—like Swiss goods—could have traveled to a German Danzig for transshipment abroad without economic loss, but with a loss of "face" to Polish nationalism. The Corridor is an irritant far out of proportion to any gain to anyone.

By carving out the Corridor through Germany, splitting Prussia—(Continued on Page Ten)

"United Front" Found Failure in Newark

THE Socialist Party of Essex County, New Jersey (Newark), announces that despite its willingness to try a united front with the Communist Party this proved after a brief trial to be impossible. The County Executive declared that "The hand of Comradeship which has been extended has been met with the fist of fratricide."

The Executive declared that the Socialists were willing to forgive years of vilification and disruption by the Communists "in the hope that they were the mistakes of a movement which was sincerely of the opinion that its form of working class organization could only be built after the elimination of all other working class organizations had been consummated." The Socialists insisted, "that the creation of a powerful working class movement could not be erected upon a foundation of sabotage, vilification and destruction of all existing working class organizations."

The Communists refused so to act and the Executive added that the Communist press and word-of-mouth propaganda have used the first steps toward a united front merely as an opportunity for continued vilification of the Socialists.

NEW LEADER POEMS

By J. T. Shipley

OUR good friend, regular contributor to The New Leader, S. A. DeWitt, has gathered in book form (25c paper, \$1 cloth, Rand School Press) a score of his poems from his weekly column, "The Chatterbox," under the title "Rhapsodies in Red." This name, taken from the first poem, is a fit title; for Sam is rich in the joy of the struggle; he loves to fight the good fight; and his songs ring vigorous—whether in clarion call to fellowship, as in "Song for May Day," or in strong direct or satiric attack, as in the words for Nathan Straus, Sr. "Rhapsodies in Red" (which can be secured, free, with a new subscription to The New Leader) will make a welcome gift to your alert friends, and good reading aloud the next rainy evening.

Socialist No. 22—J. Keir Hardie

THERE were Labor men in the British Parliament before J. Keir Hardie was elected for South West Ham in 1892, and even in that year Hardie was but one of two men elected as Laborites; but Hardie was in a very real sense the pioneer of working class participation in British government. For the Labor men elected before him—beginning with Alexander MacDonald in 1874—were "Lib-Labs," that is, as Labor men given the recognition of nominations by the Liberal party in exchange for working class votes, much as Tammany Hall seeks to buy the support of the workers by giving an occasional nomination or well-paid appointment to a conservative trade union official. And in 1892 Hardie was accompanied into Parliament by John Burns of Battersea, who promptly turned Liberal, leaving Hardie the Lone Socialist.

All his life Hardie was a pioneer; it was he who first thought of the idea of getting the working class into politics without either voting an old-party ticket or first trying to make convinced Socialists of them—indeed, it can hardly be said that he was a Socialist at all until long after his first candidacy for Parliament.

His was the first independent labor candidacy, and it was his idea likewise to win the labor movement as a whole to the idea of political action, convinced that the actualities of the struggle

would bring He fathered his proudest in 1906 when considerable La House, a gro MacDonald, Will Crooks



J. Keir Hardie W. Jowett, R. Cly Thorne and names are w one thing or her. And yet H statesman in cepted sense not at his best bate; he was the decorum House. He wa his life, prim the best sens that w

German Socialists Told Their Party Congress

(Continued from Page One)

tens of thousands." Let us "march boldly forward to meet what may befall us."

The conference adopted a resolution affirming the international character of capitalism which "justifies the belief that the struggle against capitalism can only be waged internationally. Social Democrats remain firm in their conviction that there can be no real Socialism without freedom of thought and equal rights for all citizens."

"Feeble apostasy justly meets with general contempt. By an unshakeable adherence to its principles and utilization to the full of the available legal methods for putting them into practice the Social Democratic Party of Germany is serving the cause of the nation and of Socialism."

New Executive

A new executive was elected, but since the conference a new situa-

tion faces the seizure of p ings by the ports from the present an into t



The Labor Socialis national ing vivid of the r atrocities and again ts. The Deputy ann was ed and t Nazi ound in tal, his p appearance of the in which he ha was a figure ardly rec the tortu are gi

Ohio Socialists Demand Relief From Governor

CLEVELAND.—The Socialist Party of Ohio, anticipating that the State Legislature would reconvene on May 15, issued a four-page leaflet addressed to the Governor and Legislature. State Secretary Yellen got the locals on the job and they distributed 100,000 copies in various parts of the state. The party has a fine organization with a membership of about 2200 members, most of them workers.

The leaflet bears the one word, "Memorandum." It reviews the distress of the working class and declares that "criminals in jails are better provided for than decent

citizens out of fault of their ists insist the gram should in and five-day w farmers' and obligations, a jobless on the and water bi against evictio branches at o income tax o

A basic dem take possession can be used to ing and shel sources of rev cial needs. Oth urged.

The leaflet the legislature vote relief to

Profiles

Keir Hardie, II

em to Socialism. Labor party, and ment was that day led the first con- party group in the cluding J. Ramsay thur Henderson, ilip Snowden, F.

And yet Hardie's life work was not so much the creation of a form of organization—the actual form the party took was devised by Ramsay MacDonald—or the creation of the Parliamentary Labor party. It was the creation of a psychology, it was the work of teaching the workers to stand upon their own feet, to be independent not only in their political party affiliations but in their point of view, in their spirit, in their very souls. That fierce pride in his class was what set Keir Hardie above all others.

James Keir Hardie was born August 15th, 1856, in a one-room house at Legbrannock near Holytown in Lanarkshire, Scotland, among the coal miners with whom his lot was to be cast. His father, David Hardie, was not, however, a miner at all, but a ship carpenter who was drawn to the miners' region by his love for Mary Keir, a serving lassie; note that in Hardie's whole life there was a deep respect for honest toil, not a trace of servility or inferiority, and that he never apologized for nor concealed the fact that his mother had been a domestic servant. The elder Hardie was a man of strong individuality, something of an agnostic agitator in his day. The son, however, was deeply religious and he frequently addressed Sunday schools and church

Hold Congress

because of the p-ers and build- ings. Later re- ternational will into this new

Socialist Inter- tional is receiv- ing vivid stories of the revolting tivities commit- ted against Social- ists. The Reichs- ing Deputy Soll- ann was kidnapp- ed and tortured y Nazi brutes. ound in a hos- tal, his physical ppearance was of the inhuman- ich he had been ead was so y- t- figured that dly recognize the torture of rs are given in

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Ohio Social- minimum pro- a six-hour day moratorium on and

home owners' tiorium for the etric light, gas and safeguards tate bank with ents, and an wealthy.

that the state le plants that ce food, cloth- e open new care for so- tures are also

ts that it took wo minutes to bankers and

UMI

By Joseph E. Cohen

To Make the New Deal a Decent Deal, Labor Must Take Action

The World Can't Go Back Over the Old Road—Labor Must Look with New Eyes Upon Legislative Definition of Industrial Conditions.

IF there is to be a new deal for labor, only labor can make the new deal. Whether these fair words remain empty or are fulfilled depends upon what labor does. Labor cannot sit on the sidelines and wait for something to turn up. It has been turned down too often. Nor can it expect that any priming of the empty well by the Government will bring the old flow of prosperity in which labor will share.

After the devastation caused by this depression there is no road back. Industry cannot be let run as it used to. The illness which has taken hold of our whole economic system will either be started on the road to recovery or it will grow worse.

Those responsible for the precarious condition of the country are very willing to do the things which would make industry go under. They still are bending might and main to keep out any attempt to change the downward course.

Business Dictators

Thus John P. Torrence, president of the Link-Belt Company, the

gatherings, although he never formally affiliated with any sect.

The lad's early life was bitter. Life was hard and cruel to him, and the fact that when he was but ten he went to work in a mine made him a rebel very early.

The story of his boyhood and youth is the story of so many of his later colleagues; terrific toil, fearful disasters in the mines, bitter struggles against poverty and his employers, union organization and blacklists. At 23 he was secretary of the Hamilton miners; in the same year he married Miss Lillie Wilson, who survived him by many years, revered by her Labor party comrades to the end.

Before long he was a marked man for his labor activity, and he found it impossible to secure work. He thereupon began his career as a trade union official, many years of devoted and talented service that bore fruit in strong and militant organization and solid gains for the workers. He also discovered the gift of writing and became associated with several papers; and the gift of forthright public speech.

There followed years of struggle, lightened by the realization that he was working with his class and winning gains for them.

And then came his excursion into politics. A popular and attractive figure, respected and honored for his ability and his absolute integrity, he was adopted as miners' candidate for North Ayrshire. In April, 1888, there was a by-election and the Liberals were in a panic. They feared Hardie's candidacy would "split the progressive vote" and result in the election of a Tory. Charges of "Tory Gold" were freely made, and Sir George Trevelyan was delegated by the Liberals to offer Hardie £300 a year for life and a "safe" Liberal seat if he would withdraw. Hardie spurned the offer—the first of four attempts to endow him with big money gifts—and ran against both old parties. And at that moment the British political labor movement was born. He polled 617 votes and ran a bad third; but that did not matter. The beginning had at last been made.

It is an interesting footnote to history that Sir Charles P. Trevelyan, son of Sir George, quit the Liberals in 1914 and aligned himself behind Hardie's leadership

(Continued on Page Twelve)

largest of its kind in the world, is quoted as advocating "dictators for various businesses."

Evidently the gentleman does not realize that the trouble with many businesses is that they have become trustified and that they have been suffering from too much dictatorship by the few in control and lack of representation by the workers and the public.

It is just such control, bent only on selfish gain at the expense of the community, which has dried up the buying power of the people and stopped trade altogether. That well is empty.

The present dictators would pump the handle all the harder. The Government's public works program would go in for priming, whether timid or bold. Only as deeper wells are sunk by tapping for the people the unearned and hoarded billions of concentrated wealth will industry get running.

To the extent labor stops looking back to what is gone forever, and has the courage to face the new conditions, will it fit itself to handle the opportunity which it alone can meet.

When a curious fate made a Southern Senator offer a thirty-hour-week bill, the question of how industry would be operated in the future became a live issue.

Left alone it would have been a share-the-work measure. Out of it organized labor might have picked a few grains of food.

But when, to protect the unorganized workers against disastrously low wages, it was offered to couple the bill with minimum wage legislation, then labor had to sit up and take notice.

Minimum and Maximum

Trained in old experience, too many labor officials were cold and even hostile to the suggestion. What they feared most was that minimum wages might become maximum wages.

But the right attitude can be only that minimum wages set by any Government body must reach the standard set by the Government as the least required for a decent living. Few unions pass that mark.

Furthermore, the unions have fought shy of compulsory arbitration in the past. They therefore do not look with a friendly eye upon a Government mandate over industry.

But here they have more to fear the dictatorship of sole control by the masters. Labor will come in or be out altogether.

Every resource will be employed by the owners of large wealth to tighten their grip instead of loosening it, whatever the Government may intend. For them, the new deal would be a more despotic old deal.

Just as the Adamson law established the eight-hour day on the railroads, so the Plumb plan for democracy started labor thinking of a new deal in democracy which would bring justice to labor. Labor will have to look forward.

A real program for industry will have to be drawn up by organized labor. For only labor can bring itself a new deal.

THE CHATTERBOX

While the Madman of Berlin Continues His Crazy Clowning The Real Circus Goes On—Outside

By S. A. DeWitt

"...CREATED EQUAL"

"PLEASE, Miss, I'm hungry. C'n you gi' me a dime?" The shivering lad glanced sideways—and down; his shoes were broken; his jacket was torn. We stood in stone's throw of the Capitol dome. "Where are your parents, son?" "Back in Aldine; my dad's lost his job, and now it's my turn to help feed the kids, or at least try to care for myself. And so I struck the road. I work when I can. But mostly some cop tells me to move on, so I find a box-car empty except for guys like me, and ride to the next place, where maybe I work for my keep a while. . . . Honest, lady, I ain't no bum, but it's almost a week since I had a square meal. . . ." "Is this man annoying you, Miss?" The star on the officer's breast, and his eye, and the boom of his voice held a threat for the pitiful mile-worn youngster. "No," answered I, giving stare for stare as the bluecoat turned off down his beat. I opened my purse as the smart limousine of Danvers, the banker, slid pompously past, its driver fawn-liv'ried from peak'd cap to boot, to park without risk in the Capitol zone. . . . Again the Law glared back at us from his post.

—Dorothy Marshall.

The Clowning Adolf

SOMEDAY a muckraking historian will dig out and expose for his news-hungry public a real story out of this present circus of European politics, with the madman of Berlin as chief clown.

Here we are, the American nation, seated at ringside seats, and for which we have paid to date the sum of fifteen billion dollars. For surely, no one in his sane senses can expect that the war debts will ever be paid even if scaled down to minute percentages. We will just get the privilege of admission to the big show, and when that is done we shall have been paid in full.

Personally, I think the entertainment is positively putrid. The hypocrisy of the bourgeois politicians in France, England and the other democratic nations of Europe is as thin, smooth and transparent as cellophane. The dictatorships tag along dizzily, doing a handspring here and a hoop leap there. Every now and then a war-scare is boomed across the arena. Rumors are as plentiful as peanut shells, and as insistent as their crackling around the sawdust ring.

The Dangerous Circus

Off in the distance the Soviet Republic stands in military formation, the only genuine act in the whole spiel. There is a nervous tension there. You can't tell which one of the crazy acts will get beyond control of the directors. Some of the animal tricks have dangerous twists and turns. Outside of the tent Japan goes about the job of mauling and clawing prostrate China. We are all so busy inside watching or playing that the real thing outside interests us little indeed.

Yet all this time a few of us are thoroughly aware of the reason for the dangerous circus show. Fifteen billion dollars is a whale of a gate. And the Tex Rickards of European capitalism just want to give the customers their money's worth. And now that President Roosevelt has gotten religion enough to shout out across the circus arena for an end to all wars, obviously scared by the bogaboos and ogres reared by the scene shifters, it is all set and proper for a call from the stage. . . . "Forgive us our debts, and we will put our houses in order. . . ."

A Dizzy Merry-Go-Round

There is only this flaw in the entire colossal piece of make-believe. . . . The people of Europe have just had enough of this puppetry and play-acting with little or no sustenance. They alone have the real power to cancel all debts and start in with a clean slate. How long they will be willing to go along the way of capitalist bufoonery and starve is the only unanswered question as yet.

For one, I am not worried at all about Hitler's gesture to overturn the applecart of European peace. The very hopelessness of the German cause in case of war makes his posturing as a belligerent cockerel decidedly stupid. How long he can keep up his Quixotic tilting at windmills and hold his followers in line with empty vaporings is a short matter in chronology. If his clowning fails and the Allies march in on Germany to secure their sanctions then Uncle Sam surely must collect his debts. If this game is kept up without definite action, and if capitalism still keeps the saddle, the debts dare not be repudiated as a matter of principle. . . .

The whole thing is just a dizzy merry-go-round, damned if you do and damned if you don't. How to remain in business, keep your credit and still repudiate your honest obligations is a pretty tough nut for bourgeois ideology. . . . Maybe the circus will work. It's worth trying.

And of course they know that only a working-class revolution is the sanest way out. . . . Let us pray that the workers will come to that conclusion first. . . .

Socialist Party Progress

SOUTHERN SOCIALISM
SOUTHERN Socialists representing North Carolina, Louisiana, Kentucky, Georgia and Tennessee held a meeting during the Continental Congress at Washington in which it was decided that Socialism in the South would recognize only two classes, the exploited and the exploiters. No racial lines are to be considered. Negro Comrades are to be welcomed into the party and treated as fellow workers. This group also pledged itself to carry on active work with the workers in mill and mine and to make a special effort to interest the farmers, especially the share-cropper.

WASHINGTON

Seattle.—Plans are under way for the formation of study classes under the direction of W. R. Snow, using Henderson's "The Case of Socialism."

May Day was celebrated by the Socialist Party, the Workmen's Circle and other organizations with a gathering in the evening of several hundred people. Farquharson, Snow, Brackett and Caplinger were heard, and much enthusiasm was manifest.

Dr. Givens, secretary of the Kenwood Branch, is bringing Socialism close to home by joining in the move of the King County Medical Society for establishment of a

(Continued on Page Ten)

New York State

Peekskill.—Charles Solomon of New York, candidate for United States Senator in the 1932 election, will speak in the auditorium of the Mohegan Colony School on Friday, May 26th, under the auspices of the Peekskill Branch. The subject

of his talk will be "Socialism, What It Is and Is Not." This is the third of a course of eight lectures. Henry Jager was the speaker at the second lecture held this week Friday evening.

Central New York Conference.—The call for this conference, announced in The New Leader last week, has gone out to all branches of the party within a radius of 100 miles of Syracuse. The calling of the conference has received the approval of State Chairman Waldman and State Secretary Merrill. It will open at Socialist headquarters, 566 South Salina St., Syracuse, at 10 a. m., Saturday, May 27th.

Riverside Branch, organized in November, now has 96 members, of which about 60 attend meetings regularly. Recently a card party was held which netted \$30. This was given to the Unemployed League to aid in publishing their monthly tabloid, "The Cry for Justice," edited by Herman J. Hahn, organizer of the league. The third issue of the paper will be published next week. 3,000 copies will be printed.

Hempstead.—Next meeting of Hempstead Branch, Tuesday, May 23rd, at 32 So. Spruce St., West Hempstead, L. I. Unemployed groups being started.

New York City

TAG DAY.—Saturday and Sunday, May 20th and 21st, for funds to carry on campaign for unemployment insurance and 30-hour week. Come to or notify the party office giving names and branches so that the work may be systematized.

Street Meetings and Outdoor Speakers.—All branch organizers

THE BRAY of THE WEEK



"Social Fascists" Again Caught Selling Workers To the Capitalist Class

Faithful guards of the interests of the workers do some neat detective work and our criminal tendencies are again exposed. From the Daily —

"This week, the official organ of the Socialist Party, The New Leader, prints, with evident satisfaction and approval, a momentous article by one of its correspondents, writing from Berlin.

"The article in The New Leader is a public confession of the Socialist traitors that they intend to betray the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism in the same way that they betrayed the workers in 1914. In the words of The New Leader, we can already catch the sound of the propaganda machines which will thunder in the ears of the young workers of the world when the enlistment drives are going on as the imperialist armies hurl themselves against the Soviet borders."

have been informed that all speakers have been requested to volunteer for outdoor work now being started. Branch organizers must send Organizer Claessens a list of corners, dates, etc., no later than Tuesday of each week. The schedule is always made up one week in advance. Party speakers are urged to send in their acceptances as to dates, neighborhoods, etc., at once.

Camp Eden Outing and Conference.—Local New York City has arranged a two-day outing and conference at Camp Eden at Cold Springs-on-the-Hudson, Saturday and Sunday, June 17th and 18th. The camp can accommodate about a thousand guests and arrangements are being made as to transportation and board at exceedingly low rates. The Educational Committee is preparing the program for the symposiums and discussions on vital party problems.

Workers' Unemployed Leagues.—Next meeting of the central committee Monday, May 22nd, at the International Ladies' Garment Workers' headquarters, 3 West 16th St., 8 p. m. Every local is to send three delegates. Socialist Party and Y.P.S.L. branch unemployment committees are urged to be present.

Street Corner Platforms.—Branches requiring the regulation stepladder street corner platform, take notice that these can be obtained at the city office, 7 E. 15th St., at a cost of \$5.

ON THE SITUATION IN GERMANY.—Dr. Otto Nathan, member of the German Social-Democratic Party, just arrived in this country, will be located in New York for some time. Dr. Nathan is an authority on economics, and he speaks English fluently. He has offered to speak before party gatherings. Branches anxious to avail themselves of his services should get in touch with Organizer Claessens as to dates, etc.

MANHATTAN

4th A. D. (126 Delancey St.)—Matthew M. Levy speaks Friday evening, May 19th, on "The Tenant in Capitalist Society."

6th A. D. (48 Avenue C.)—Gala affair Saturday, May 20th, at 8:30 p. m. The branch will celebrate its 20th anniversary with a festive

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*Proportionate reduction for union members—and for 2-day week-end.

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GOOD NEWS! Fare rates reduced—Round trip including railroad and bus \$4.50.

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evening of entertainment, sociability and refreshments. The club-rooms have been decorated and all of former members and friends of the branch have been invited for a reunion. On the musical program the Japanese wizard of the xylophone, Yoichi Hiraoka, will play. August Claessens and others will assist in the entertainment. A journal has been printed.

Washington Hights. (4046 Broadway, near 170th St.)—Parade and demonstration to get a home relief bureau on Washington Heights, Amsterdam Ave. and 155th Street, Wednesday, May 24th, 8 p. m. Branch meeting, Monday, May 22, Morris Miller chosen campaign manager. The following wire was sent by the branch to the N.E.C. at its recent meeting in Washington: "We urge you to reconsider your recent action and set up a committee to negotiate with a Communist Committee for organizational cooperation on specific issues in accordance with increasing sentiment among Socialists. We congratulate the N.E.C. on its decision."

BRONX

6th A. D.—Enrolled voters' meeting Friday, May 19th, 8:30, at Palpark Palace, Lydig Ave. and White Plains Rd. Speaker: August Claessens.

2nd A. D. (9 West 170th St.)—Meeting Tuesday, May 23rd, with speaker. Social Saturday evening, May 27th. Famous Yiselp symphony orchestra will play.

3rd A. D. (904 Prospect Ave.)—Fiesta! Wednesday, May 24th, at headquarters. Unemployed League (3rd and 4th) has permanent headquarters at Woodstock Library, 160 St. and Tinton Ave.

7th A. D. (789 Elmside Place.)—Branch meeting Tuesday, May 23rd, 8:30, at headquarters.

Unemployed League of East Brook running dance Wednesday, May 31st, at Bellamy Club, 904 Prospect Ave.

5th A. D. (904 Prospect Ave.)—Branch meeting, Tuesday, May 23rd, 8:30, educational program.

BROOKLYN

GENERAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING.—The membership of Kings County have been informed by mail of a special county membership meeting Friday, May 19th, at 8:30, at 2239 Church Ave. A number of important matters pertaining to the county organization will come up. Another feature will be a report on the Continental Congress. Speakers: B. C. Vladeck, Louis Waldman, and Wm. E. Bohn.

Downtown (122 Pierrepont St.)—Branch bridge and dance Saturday evening, May 20, 8:30, at 901 Washington Ave., Brooklyn. Thursday, May 25, 8:15 p. m., Dr. Harry W. Laidler will lecture at headquarters.

Midwood (1722 E. 12th St.)—Branch executive committee will meet first Monday of each month: branch business meeting second Monday, Tuesday, May 23, 9 p. m., William M. Feigenbaum will speak on "War and Peace." Street meetings will be held shortly. Joseph Tuvim was elected financial secretary and treasurer.

Sheepshead Bay (2321 Ave. X).—Branch meeting, Monday, May 22, at 8:30.

Brighton Beach (1113 Brighton Beach Ave.)—Al Meyer elected delegate to City Central Committee. Barn dance, June 10, "Go Haywire in Brighton." Protest meeting and demonstration planned for a new wing for Public School No. 225. Sam Seidman will speak at Forum, Friday, May 26, 9 p. m., on "Where Is America Drifting?" Class in Socialism, Thursdays, 9 p. m.; instructor, August Claessens.

2nd A.D.—East Flatbush Branch meets every Friday at 486a E. 93rd St., near Church Ave.

Bensonhurst (7308 Bay Parkway).—Membership meeting on Tuesday, May 23, 9 p. m. Dr. Fogelman of the Forward staff will speak on "The Outlook for Socialism in America."

18th A. D., Branch 1 (1686 President St.)—Meetings every Tuesday night. Saturday, June 3, card party and dance. Sunday, June 18, outing to Lake Ronkonkoma.

18th A. D., Branch 2 (844 Utica Ave.)—Branch meeting Tuesday, May 23, at 8:30, followed by discussion led by David Lasser. Sam Schwartz elected Organizer; B. Sokoloff, Sam Schwartz and Herman Rivkin elected delegates to Kings County Committee. \$25 sent to Rand School fund and more money being collected. Beer party and dance, Saturday, May 20, at headquarters.

22nd A. D., Branch 1 (218 Van Sicklen Ave.)—The following resolution passed by the branch unanimously: That we commend the N.E.C. for agreeing to meet representatives of the Communist Party to explore the possibilities of joint action on specific issues. The branch takes the action for the following reasons: 1. the N.E.C. shows a true Socialist spirit in rising above the bitterness which surrounds both parties; 2. the possibility of united action of the entire working class on specific issues is worth working for. We urge the N.E.C. to make a basis of this action: 1. ceasing of attacks (not criticism) by one working class organization of other working class organizations; 2. no surrender of independence on the part of any participating organization on any determination of its policy.

23rd A. D. (219 Sackman St.)—At meeting, May 15, decided to redouble efforts in strengthening the branch, simultaneous to carry on drive for new members. Open-air meeting on Pitkin Ave. regularly on Friday evenings. Meeting on Monday, May 22, at headquarters;

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Where Your Union Meets

BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS' UNION, Local 66, I.L.G.W.U., 7 East 15th St. Phone Algonquin 4-3657-5658. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union. Z. L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattal, Manager; Joe Goff, Secretary-Treasurer.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION, Local 9 Office and headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone Stagg 2-4621. Office open daily except Saturday from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening. Fred Pfaffum, Pres.; Al. Bayrele, Vice-Pres.; Charles Pfaffum, Fin. Sec.; Milton Howcroft, Rec. Corr. Sec.; Frank F. Lutz, Treasurer; Andrew Streit, Business Agent.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th St., New York, N. Y. Phone Tompkins Square 6-5460. L. Hollender, J. Catalano, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

CAP MAKERS UNION, Local No. 1, Tel., Orchard 4-9360.—Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue, New York City.

FURRIERS' JOINT COUNCIL OF N. Y. Local 101, 105, 110 and 115 of the INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS OF U. S. and C., 28 West 51st Street. Phone Penn. 6-7952. Meets every Tuesday at 8:00 P. M. B. Merkin, Manager.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers Union, Office and headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn; STAG 2-6799. Reg. meetings 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Morris Reiss; Vice Pres., Joseph Karraas; Business Agent, B. Kalnikoff; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Held.

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

LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U. Office, 169 W. 38th St.; Phone WI 7-5011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union. Maurice W. Jacobs, Pres.; Samuel Perlmutter, Mgr. Sec.; Morris W. Jacobs, Chairman of Exec. Board; Philip Oretsky, Asst. Mgr.

THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, 3 West 16th Street, New York City. Phone Chelsea 3-3148 David Dubinsky, President.

AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA, New York Local No. 1. Offices, Amalithone Bldg., 205 West 14th St.; Phone Watkins 9-7764. Regular meetings every second and fourth Tuesday at Arlington Rd., 19 St. Mark's Place. Albert E. East, President; Patrick J. Hanlon, Vice-President; Frank Schol, Fin. Secre-

tary; Emil Thenen, Rec. Secretary; Joseph J. O'Connor, Treasurer.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION Local 24. Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union. Downtown office, 646 Broadway, phone Spring 7-4545; uptown office, 39 W. 37th St. phone Wisconsin 7-1379. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 P. M. Manager, N. Spector; Sec'y-Treas., Alex. Rose; Organizers, I. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodon.

MILK WAGON DRIVERS' UNION, Local 554, I. U. of T. Office: 359 W. 14th St., City. Local 534 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at Beethoven Hall, 210 East Fifth St. Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at Beethoven Hall, 210 E. Fifth St. Chas. Hofer, President and Business Agent; Max Liebler Secretary-Treasurer.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11016, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St. Phone Algonquin 4-7081. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30, Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottelman, Secretary-Treasurer.

POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION, New York Joint Board, Affiliated with the Amer. Federation of Labor. General office, 53 W. 21st St., New York. Phone Gramercy 5-1023. Charles Kleinman, Chairman; Charles I. Goldman Sec'y-Treas.; Abe Stein, 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 High School 15th St., East of 2nd Ave. Phone Tompkins Sq. 6-7470. Austin Hewson, President; Daniel McCauley, Vice-President; James J. McGrath, Secretary-Treasurer; J. J. Fahey, J. J. Bambrick, John Sullivan, Organizers.

WAITERS & WAITRESSES UNION Local 1, 41 East 25th St.; Tel. Ashland 4-8167. Julius Berg, Pres.; Wm. Lehmann, Sec'y-Treas. Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Thursday at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th Street.

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Henry Rosner will speak on "Inflation." The branch will participate in the Party outing to Camp Eden, June 17.

Borough Park (Labor Lyceum, 42nd St. and 14th Ave.).—Saturday, May 20, Cameraderie, chess, dancing, entertainment. Tuesday, May 23, 9 p. m., Samuel Seidman will speak on "Wars—Origin and Nature."

QUEENS

Ridgewood (Queens County Labor Lyceum, 785 Forest Ave.).—Branch meeting, June 6, 8:30, at headquarters. Branch members are being canvassed for reorganization and activity. Street meetings every Saturday night at Forest and Myrtle Aves.

Astoria (Bohemian Hall, 2nd and Woolsey Avenues).—Dr. Joseph Mitchell will lecture on "Marxian Socialism" Monday, May 22, 8:30.

RICHMOND

Staten Island.—An organization meeting will be held on the South shore to organize a branch in that section of the Island on Monday evening, June 6, in the home of Mrs. Vellacott, 35 Terrace Ave., Prince Bay, S. I. Comrade F. J. Kahrs has been doing some canvassing in and around Tottenville and other villages in the lower end of Staten Island. Organizer Claessens will be present.

STREET MEETINGS

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

MONDAY, MAY 22

Rutland Rd. and Rockaway Parkway, B'klyn.; L. C. Kaye, David Kaplan, and others.

TUESDAY, MAY 23

Wall and Nassau, Manhattan; 12 m. (noon); Henry Jager. 137th St. and 7th Ave., Manhattan; Crosswaith, Brown, Moss, Lorand, Gaspar.

21st St. and 8th Ave., Manhattan, 7:30 p. m.; Shalleross, Meyer, Wiswell, Max Delson.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 24th

141st St. and St. Ann's Ave., Bronx; Murray Gross, Golub, Salzman.

Fordham Road and Walton Ave., Bronx; Murphy, Belskin, Knobloch.

Main St. and Northern Blvd., Flushing, L. I.; Pliskin, Daly, Sackman, Koeppecus.

THURSDAY, MAY 25

Wall and Nassau Sts., Manhattan, 12 m. (noon); Henry Jager.

138th St. and Lenox Ave., Manhattan; Crosswaith, Brown, Moss, Lorand, Gaspar, Kaye, Delson.

FRIDAY, MAY 26

6th St. and Ave. B, Manhattan; Koppel, Belskin, and others.

72nd St. and Broadway, Manhattan; speakers to be announced.

125th St. and 7th Ave., Manhattan; Crosswaith, Brown, Lorand, Gaspar.

Havemeyer and South 4th Sts., B'klyn.; Ethel Schachner, Liebman, Rosner.

Eastern Parkway and Utica Ave., B'klyn.; speaker to be announced.

SATURDAY, MAY 27

Claremont Pkwy and Washington Ave., Bronx; H. Salzman, H. Taubenschlag, A. Most.

122nd St. and 18th Ave., College Point, L. I.; Pliskin, Daly, Sackman, Sayers.

Forest and Myrtle Aves., Ridgewood, L. I.; Gottlieb Koeppecus.

Class Dinner

An invitation is extended to all comrades and friends, men and women, to attend the Class Dinner of the Rand School women's afternoon classes in Socialism and Public Speaking, Saturday, May 20, 1 p. m., at the Finnish Hall, 127th St. and Fifth Ave.

Guests are assured a fine feast, excellent entertainment and three-minute greetings from six young debutante propagandists for Socialism. Comrades Lee, Bohn and Claessens will extend their congratulations to the women for their remarkable achievement.

Charles H. Ingersoll, noted industrialist and economist, famous Single Taxer and a director of the People's Lobby, will debate Charles Smith, head of the American So-

JIMMIE HIGGINS IN RAND SCHOOL DRIVE

DETERMINED that under no circumstances must the People's House, 7 East 15th St., the home of the Rand School of Social Science, close for lack of funds, a small army of unsung workers in the Socialist and labor movement is scouring the city in a coin-box campaign, as part of the drive for \$17,000.

Honored, though unsung, the Jimmie Higginses of the movement are turning in filled coin-boxes in a small avalanche at the Rand School office. Not content with returning one box, they ask for more, canvassing every possible prospect for a penny to a dollar.

Some interesting records have been broken by the coin-box brigade. These boxes are flat and round and slip easily into a purse or pocket without bulging. Nevertheless they can hold a considerable sum in nickels, dimes and quarters.

S. Pilat holds the distinction of returning the biggest coin-box to date. His first box contained \$10.95, George H. Goebel, campaign director, reported. Sarah Volovick, with \$9.39, was a close second. This represented a total of six boxes distributed among the Amalgamated Cooperative Houses in the Bronx.

Sigmund Hayman was third with \$8.11. He was followed by William Yavner, with \$8, and Olga Chasin, with \$7.17.

It is impossible, at this writing, to state the total returns of the coin-box campaign. Assiduous in their efforts, Yipsels are one of the largest single groups in making the coin-box campaign a success.

A number of successful events on behalf of the Rand School drive were held last week, and more similar events are scheduled for the next few weeks. A theatre party for "Run, Little Chillun" netted a substantial sum.

Future events include a stirring Russian evening, under the direction of Elias Tartak, at the Rand School studio, May 24. Artists will include Stepan Kozakevitch, assisted by Mercedes Bennett. The last luncheon of the Rand School lunch club will be held at Sheila's Tea Shop, 31 West 8th St., on May 25.

An outing for the Rand School drive will be held June 10, while a bridge will be given at Bronx Socialist Party headquarters on June 19. Tickets for the bridge are 35 cents.

Tamiment Open for Decoration Day Weekend

A big attendance is expected at the opening of the Camp Tamiment season, Tamiment, Pa., with the Decoration Day week-end. Mrs. Bertha H. Mailly, executive director of the camp, announced that reservations were coming in at a gratifying rate.

A brilliant program of sport and other activities has been planned by Mac Liebman, social director. Brilliant evenings of dramatic events, a musical revue, dancing to an 8-piece orchestra and many sport events are expected to fill the week-end for the guests to their complete satisfaction.

Camp Tamiment announces, as another feature of this season, vast improvements in the sleeping accommodations. The League for Industrial Democracy will hold its annual conference at Camp Tamiment from June 22nd to 25th inclusive.

ciety, for the Advancement of Atheism, at Pythian Temple, 135 West 70th St., Tuesday evening at 8, on "Is Atheism Without an Economic Program as Useless as Religion?"

Resolution of Women's Committee of New York

AT the last meeting of the New York Women's Executive Committee the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Whereas it was announced by Clarence Senior from the platform at the Constitutional Convention recently held in Washington, D. C., that Mary Hillyer of New York was a member of the National Women's Committee of the Socialist Party, and

Whereas this was the sole means by which the Socialist Women of New York learned of the existence of a National Women's Committee, and that a comrade from New York was chosen on this committee, presumably representing New York, and

Whereas the comrade appointed has at no time participated in any of the numerous women's activities in New York to which she had been repeatedly invited, and

Whereas the party women of New York actively engaged in special work among women in and outside the Party have been ignored in the appointment of a New York member of the National Women's Committee:

Be it therefore resolved that the New York Women's Executive Committee protests against this unjust, unjust and undemocratic appointment, and demands that said appointment be cancelled. Then, in the spirit of party well-being and democracy, the appointment be again filled.

Be it further resolved that the members of the National Women's Committee be a representative body, democratically elected by the party women, and that all candidates, including the National Women's secretary and organizer, be members of the Party in good standing for at least three consecutive years.

It was voted to send copies to the national office, each member of the N.E.C., to National Secretary Senior and to Ethel Davis, National Women's Executive Secretary.

Symposium on the Continental Congress

An important symposium on the work, accomplishments and future of the work done at the New Continental Congress in Washington will be held Wednesday night, May 24th, at the People's House, 7 East 15th St.

Speakers will be Paul Blanshard, Algernon Lee, Louis Waldman and B. C. Vladeck, all men who took a highly important part in the proceedings of the Congress.

Plans will be made for continuing the work started by the Congress in Washington.

The meeting is under the auspices of the Educational Committee, and admission is by party membership card only.

Unity House Opens For Decoration Weekend

THIS Decoration Day week-end Unity House will be open for friends and guests of previous seasons to create a family reunion spirit prior to the official opening in June. In keeping with this plan, the rate for the four full days has been set at the actual maintenance cost, with additional reduction for union members or for those who can come only for two days.

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

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Pythian Temple, 135 West 70th Street
SUNDAYS, 8 P. M.—Admission 25 cents
May 21st—PAUL MILLER

'Hitlerism, Will America Go Fascist?'

SPECIAL DEBATE, Tues., May 23, 8 p.m.

CHARLES H. INGERSOLL, SINGLE

TAXER VS. CHARLES SMITH:

'Is Atheism Without an Economic

Program as Useless as Religion?'

Event of the Season

MODERN CULTURE CLUB ANNUAL BALL

SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1933—8:30 P. M.
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147 Second Ave. at E. 9th St., N. Y. C.
New York Collegians Orchestra
Admission 35 cents

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"Cougar"—Drama of America's Wild Life—At Cameo

Animal Film Has Premiere at Cameo

"Cougar: The King Killer," a dramatic story of America's wild life, featuring J. C. Bruce, will have its American premiere showing at the Cameo Theatre, starting today.

The film was produced by Sidney Snow, pioneer maker of adventure films, who brought to America the first big travel film in "Hunting Big Game in Africa."

One of the highlights of "Cougar: The King Killer" is the dramatic moment when Bruce captures a ferocious mountain lion with his bare hands. Other interesting features are the mortal combat between a deadly king snake and a rattler; gigantic eels fighting their way up the face of a raging waterfall, scenes of a mother bear protecting her young cubs, in addition to many intimate scenes of porcupines, woodpeckers, deer, reptiles, insects, birds and beasts in their mountain homes.

"Forgotten Men," Thrilling War Spectacle, Holds Over At the Rialto

"Forgotten Men," a tale of destruction, devastation, despair and death with official film from the archives of fourteen warring nations, continues for a second week at the Rialto Theatre. Those who are under the impression that the Russians were not great fighters will be greatly surprised to see the terrific action, hand-to-hand stabblings and killings and the accomplishments of these brave men who fought with old, worn-out equipment against the latest, modern, destructive weapons of the enemy. Russian bravery stands out in this great war spectacle. Other actual thrilling scenes are those of the

Helen Eisler



Who appears in the role of Gretel in the opera, Haensel and Gretel, at the Forrest Theatre. The Association of Operatic Artists, a co-operative group, are the sponsors.

enemy trapped between Verdun and Paris; Northern France invaded; the battle of the Marne; the invasion of East Prussia; the Czar of Russia with his troops; the battle of Tannenberg; the Russians capturing Lemberg and the great Russian Revolution. "Forgotten Men" will be shown exclusively at the Rialto. No neighborhood theatre in greater New York or Brooklyn will be permitted to show it.

Dwight Deere Wiman & Tom Weatherly present an intimate musical comedy

FRED ASTAIRE

in "The new hit of the town."—Bk. Eagle

Gay Divorce

with Dorothy STONE - Luella GEAR

"A God-send to the theatre-goer in search of adult entertainment... striking melodies, delightful lyrics... a fine production, competent acting and dancing... smart entertainment."—Robert Garland, World-Telegram.

SHUBERT Theatre, West 44th St. Eva. 8:30—\$1-\$2 MATS. WED. & SAT. 2:30—\$1-\$2.50

Lanny Ross, Wesley Eddy at Fox Brooklyn — "The Keyhole" on Screen

Lanny Ross, Wesley Eddy, Kay Francis and George Brent are the featured names this week at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre. Ross, singing star of the NBC "Showboat" tour, is the stage headliner. Eddy, master of ceremonies at the Fox, enters the eleventh week of his record run there. The lovely Miss Francis and the stern-visaged Mr. Brent, of course, are being co-starred in "The Keyhole," a drama of a divorce detective and a love cheat.

Ross is the second big star in the Fox Theatre's new policy of having a "name" headliner on the stage each week, in addition to Eddy, the Gae Foster "line" girls and the Fox Rhythm Band.

Among the featured acts on the stage are Harriet Hutchins in a skit called "Crazy People," with Ramon Ringo, a tango and rumba star; Georges Campo, pantomimist

"Cheating Blondes" Roxy's Film—George Givot on Stage

George Givot, known as the "Greek Ambassador," who was recently featured in "Pardon My English" and "Americana," has been engaged to headline the stage show which begins today at the Roxy Theatre, 7th Ave. and 50th St.

The feature film selected for the new program is "Cheating Blondes," a new picture with Thelma Todd, Mac Busch, Rolfe Hawn and Inez Courtney. It was directed by Joseph Levering from a story by Gertie Des Wentworth James.

and mimic; and the Bal-Accordion Five.

Two short subjects supplement the short feature. One of them, "Knight Duty," stars Harry Langdon. The other short is "Trees and Flowers," winner of the Academy award for the best short of the year.

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"OF THEE I SING"

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"A Four Star Hit"—JOHN CHAPMAN, News

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Popular Matinees Wed., Thurs. & Sat. at 2:40

48th ST. THEA. BRy. 9-0175 Eva. at 8:45

MAT. DECORATION DAY—SEATS 6 WEEKS AHEAD

The Theatre Guild Announces
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Pulitzer Prize Winner BOTH YOUR HOUSES

By Maxwell Anderson
ONE WEEK ONLY

ETHEL BARRYMORE Thea.

West 47th Street—Eva. 8:40

Matinees WED. and SAT., 2:40

SEATS NOW AT BOX OFFICE

The Theatre Guild presents
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BIOGRAPHY

"... and in it INA CLAIRE.
The combination seems to have
been arranged in Heaven."

—Gilbert Gabriel

AVON THEA. 45th STREET

West of B'way

Eva. 8:30—Mats. THURSDAY and

SATURDAY, 2:30

The Theatre Guild presents

THE MASK AND THE FACE

By Luigi Chiarelli

Adapted by W. Somerset Maugham

GUILD THEA. 52nd Street

W. of B'way

Eva. 8:40—Mats. THURSDAY and

SATURDAY, 2:40

The Unseen Assassin

(Continued from Page Six)

sia in two, and creating the Danzig Free State, German pride is wounded, and the Corridor is as much an open wound as were Alsace and Lorraine for the nationalism of France for 44 years. And now, the powder magazine might very easily blow up and take the whole civilized world with it over an issue such as the color of letter boxes! For in Danzig there are letter boxes of three colors, one set supported by the Polish postal authorities, one by the Freistadt itself, and one by the League of Nations. Danzig Germans patriotically boycott the Polish letter boxes, and some day that issue may make all the trouble that is needed to blow the world to hell.

Irredentism

Nationalism takes its most violent form over what is known as Irredentism; that is, nationalist yearning for lost territory. Italy yearned for Trentino, France for Alsace-Lorraine, and all the Balkan nations for half of each others' territory, and so helped make the war of 1914. Today the Saar is one of the "lost territories," as are Memel, Danzig, the Corridor, Schleswig—returned to Denmark after being part of Germany since 1864—and other scattered bits of territory. When Italian nationalism becomes rampant it is recalled that the province of Savoy, the place of origin of the Italian royal house, is now part of France, swag for the deal between Napoleon III and Cavour in 1854.

Once a bit of territory gets to be a football for what is quaintly known as "diplomacy" an "Irredentist" problem is auto-

matically created, and material is placed at the disposal of imperialist capitalism on the one hand, or unscrupulous demagogues like Hitler on the other, for stirring up people to unreasoning passions that almost of necessity lead to war.

And once started it gets out of hand. For that is its very nature.

In South America Bolivia and Paraguay are sending armies to fight and perish of wounds, thirst and snake-bite in the fearful Chaco jungles over—what? Disputed territory that means nothing to either country; for if landlocked Bolivia gets the Chaco it craves there will be access to a river port only through the tangled and impenetrable jungle. And the Peru-Colombia imbroglio over the utterly unimportant town of Leticia was merely an outbreak of nationalism deliberately provoked by the late President Sanchez Cerro to popularize his own rule; and now that he has been assassinated the issue is as dead as he and the war is over. But it rarely happens that such an issue dies as readily as its creator.

"Face"

In the Far East, of course, there is a distinct economic motive back of Japan's relentless drive into the heart of China; but once an inch of Chinese territory has been stolen and watered with Japanese blood the poison of Nationalism enters in, and the Little Brown Men will not retreat because of "face," which is a quaint Japanese way of describing their nationalism.

Wherever one turns one finds nationalism being stirred up; by a Hearst and a Big Bill Thompson

Party Progress

(Continued from Page Eight)

group practicing socialized medicine.

Organizer W. R. Snow reports he has delivered 100 lectures in Seattle since December 1st, 1932.

PENNSYLVANIA

Upper Derby.—At next meeting, June 12th, there will be a debate on "Resolved, That Consumers' Co-operatives for Distributing Commodities should be encouraged by Socialists of the United States."

Philadelphia.—August Claessens will be the principal speaker at a youth rally at the Labor Institute, 810 Locust St., Monday evening, May 22nd, under the auspices of the YPSL.

Erie.—The Erie Branch held a Socialist week, of which the big day was Monday, April 15th, when Norman Thomas spoke. At 5:30 the Erie Branch of the YPSL and the Social Problems Club held a Youth Dinner in his honor. At 8 o'clock in the Academy High here and a Hitler in Germany; by a Mussolini in Italy and a Horatio Bottomley (remember him?) in England; by a Clemenceau and a Poincaré in France and Sanchez Cerro in Peru. Sometimes the "patriots" are deliberately seeking something under the guise of "patriotism"—don't we Americans know it?—and sometimes they are just demagogues. But in every case nationalism drives a wedge between peoples, separates workers who should be united, sets up a cheap ideal to be fought for over the noble ideal of the welfare of the whole world; and usually the results are catastrophic.

Some day the people of the whole world will realize that and set human welfare above all else. And to that ideal the world Socialist movement is dedicated. What that ideal Socialism would be as meaningless as Hitlerism!

School auditorium the party presented a symposium on "Remedies" in which spoke Dr. Elmer Hess, conservative Republican, Mayor James P. Rossiter, Democrat and single-taxer, and Norman Thomas.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston.—Central branch meets Friday at 1 Stuart St., May 19th, J. Barrom Greenfield, "Can We Control Capitalism?" May 26th, Dr. M. Freemont Smith vs. Dr. H.

Features of the Week on (121 M.) WEVD (1300 Kc.)

Sunday, May 21—11 a. m., Forward Hour; 8 p. m., Modern American Composers; 8:30 p. m., C.C. N.Y. Dramatic Society, sketch; 10 p. m., Symposium.

Monday, May 22—4 p. m., Spotting the Movies with Evelyn Koch; 4:30 p. m., Folk Songs for Children; 5 p. m., American Birth Control League, talk; 5:45 p. m., Woman Looks at Politics, talk.

Tuesday, May 23—4:45 p. m., Medical Hour; 8:45 p. m., Elias Tobenkin, author of "Stalin's Ladder."

Wednesday, May 24—8:15 p. m., The Nation program; 10 p. m., Robert Braine, pianist and composer; 10:15 p. m., University of the Air: "Literature and the Drama."

Thursday, May 25—10 p. m., National Negro Forum; 10:15 p. m., Russian lessons—Linguaphone.

Friday, May 26—4:30 p. m., Ben Blumenberg, New Leader period; 8:15 p. m., Hendrik Willem van Loon: "The Making of Tomorrow," course in history; 8:45 p. m., Steps Toward Economic Recovery: Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes.

Saturday, May 27—7:15 p. m., Cooperative League of America, talk; 8:45 p. m., University of the Air: Prof. Victor Robinson, "Vivid Contrasts in Medical History."

Blank debate on "Socialized medicine."

Roxbury Branch meets every Tuesday at 780 Blue Hill Ave., May 23rd, Rev. Geo. L. Payne, "Christianity and Socialism."

Brighton group meets Wednesday, May 24th, at the Rosen's, 43 Leamington Rd., Brighton. On Saturday, May 27th, there will be a Penny sale, with bridge, refreshments and novelties, at the 20th Century Club, 3 Joy St., Boston.

CONNECTICUT

New Haven.—Three members of Local New Haven were arrested for breach of the peace last week but released the following morning, when the city attorney admitted he had no case. Prepared to force a test case, Louis Johnston, Alfred Loyd and Isadore Polsky refused to obey police orders to adjourn a street meeting until their speeches were stopped by arrest. Whether a further test will be necessary remains in doubt, but we intend to see the thing through.

The local has adopted the following resolution:

"We heartily commend the courageous action of the National Executive Committee in its move toward a united front with the Communist Party on specific issues."

NEW JERSEY

Plainfield.—James H. Maurer will speak Thursday evening in the Workmen's Circle auditorium, 630 W. 7th St., on "Where Are the Toiler Headed To?" under the auspices of a joint committee of the Plainfield Branch and the Central Labor Union.

Passaic.—Branch 1 will meet Friday May 19th, at 8 p. m. at the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Hall, 585 Main Ave. Noah C. A. Walter of New York will speak on "A United Front." A class in Socialism is being organized with A. P. Wittel as leader. All persons interested should communicate with Irving Fischer, 625 Main Ave. An outing and picnic for the benefit of all branches will soon take place.

"The Mask and The Face"—Theatre Guild's Latest

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

GUILDING THE LILY

"THE MASK AND THE FACE,"
From the Italian of Luigi Chiarelli by W. Somerset Maugham.
At the Guild.

Funeral flowers are among the gay devices of this lugubrious comedy, which (in a version) the Guild has exhumed from the coffins of six seasons ago. Its flavor has grown no stronger; it is still a sermon on human vanity, with the philosophic pill given a not-quite-Gilbertian Guilding. The "Mask" is what we wear when the world beholds us; the "Face" is at the onion's core.

Alas! Count Grazia's defiance is flung back at him instantly: amid the gay giddy garrulous gossip of sex, he looms with solemn words, asseverating that if his wife is unfaithful, he will kill her—and along comes public witness of her guilt. The Count kills her by a peculiar method, banishment and confession; but the cat comes back. That is, Savina, as Judith Anderson, suavely plays her, has the feline smoothness and softness, and the suggestion of claws beneath the velvet pad. But she loves the Count after all; and the bold amours of the other folk stand as a bad balance to her final fidelity. And as her funeral procession passes toward the grisly grave, the Countess embraces her husband and their new life begins. All of this, it scarcely need be said, is given a typical Guild production, easy-moving, making the best of every moment, strengthening the impression that the root of much evil is vanity.

VOLATILE VOLTAIRE

"CANDIDE" arranged and adapted by Charles Weidman from the story by Voltaire. Music by Genevieve Pitot and John Coleman. Narrative by Ian Wolfe. At the Booth.

The name of the famous Frenchman (vol-taire) might be taken to mean "the flight of silence," and perhaps the absence of words (at any rate, of the inept words supplied, on the principle that a thing spoken thrice is triply beautiful—when it's really only monotonous) would have improved Charles Weidman's interesting and largely effective dance interpretation of Voltaire's "Candide." A novel effort in a new field, it deserves admiration for its courage even before we consider its success; and, though at times rather obvious and at times not Voltaire, the dance is continuously entertaining and at times truly impressive.

We have had many famous novels dramatized, some of the most successful plays ("Uncle Tom's Cabin") have been drawn from books. Now there opens the prospect of the novel danced. Mr. Weidman's first attempt is sufficiently effective to establish the validity of the mode: Flaubert's "Salambo." Anatole France's

Metropolitan Mixed Chorus Part of Hipp Program

With the exception of a very few open air opera concerts the coming summer represents a very lean month or two for members of the profession. Some of the singers who appeared last season at the Metropolitan Opera House, however, are scheduled for work.

This is a group to be known as the Metropolitan Mixed Chorus and they will open as a part of the Hippodrome's regular stage presentation. It was first planned to present the chorus as a separate unit but because the policy of the house since November has been that of straight motion pictures and vaudeville, it was decided that the operatic members be sandwiched in between the regular vaudevillians.

Season of Grand Opera at the Forrest Theatre

The Associated Operatic Artists, a cooperative venture of widely known singers and musicians, opened at the Forrest Theatre Monday evening. The company will present a season of grand opera at popular prices and included in the repertoire are such favorites as "Il Travatore," "Hänsel and Gretel," "Rigoletto," "Cavalleria Rusticana" and "Pagliacci."

"Revolt of the Angels," Cabell's "Jürgen"—yes, Joyce's "Ulysses," suggest themselves as open to such treatment. Let us have more; and as practice brings perfection nearer, possibilities play pleasantly in the mind.

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DICK POWELL

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GEORGE GIVOT

Star of "Pardon My English"

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THE FOUR MULLEN SISTERS

VIVIAN FAY - BARNEY GRANT

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DAVE SCHOOLER AND HIS GANG

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ROXY 7th Avenue at 50th St.

War Film Continues at Rialto Theatre



A Scene from "Forgotten Men," which stays on for another week at the Rialto.

"I Cover the Waterfront" at the Rivoli Theatre

"I Cover the Waterfront," featuring Claudette Colbert, Ben Lyon and Ernest Torrence, is the current attraction at the Rivoli Theatre.

The novel of that name by Max Miller, waterfront reporter, created widespread comment upon publication. The adaption of it for the picture is said to maintain the same tempo. Touching a virgin field, Miller exposed the loves, vices, feuds, smuggling of liquor and aliens and told tales of unusual interest. The picture has brought this story to life.

"IT'S GAY AT THE GAIETY" merrily we report what the critics say about

Reunion in VIENNA

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Charles Parker Hammond—Post

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B'way & 47th

STRAND

Cont. Pop. Prices

"Morgenrot" Has Premiere at Little Carnegie

The American premiere of "Morgenrot" ("Dawn") took place last Monday at Leo Brecher's Little Carnegie Playhouse.

"Morgenrot," conceived and completed before the advent of the Hitler regime, expresses, through the character of an aged mother, a fervent plea for an end of war. It does not preach—it merely portrays the soul conflict of a group of human beings—a mother and her last surviving son, a husband and his young wife, a boy and a girl and a friendless lad—human beings who live through their story as did their counterparts in every land involved in the Great War.

"Morgenrot" is being presented with English titles translating the dialogue for those with a limited knowledge of the German language.

25c
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"Screen Record of War Horror. It is important that you see it for its scenes must never again be reacted." ...

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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 4-4623 or write to Bernard Feinman, Manager New Leader Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th Street, New York.

The most talked of picture since "Flaming Youth"!

"THE STORY OF TEMPLE DRAKE"

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LANNY ROSS

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HARRIET HUTCHINS

Geo Foster Girls, Others, Walt Disney Color Cartoons

On the Screen:

"THE KEYHOLE"

Ray FRANCIS - Geo. DEENT

Harry Langdon, "Night Duty"

Walt Disney Color Cartoons

About Democracy; and About a Primadonna

THE Socialist parties are not only revolutionary parties, in the sense that their aim is the basic transformation of capitalistic society into socialistic society; they are also, and no less fundamentally, democratic parties. The defense of democracy, in such times as we are now passing through, stands in the foreground.

"Without democracy, the struggle for Socialism is unthinkable. Democracy means freedom of the mind; dictatorship means brutal suppression of what is most precious—freedom of thought and action.

"The international proletariat therefore demonstrates this year under the motto: Long live Democracy! At the next step, when this battle has been won, our slogan can again ring out: Long live Social Democracy!"

I hope the man who wrote those words will not be branded as a mere reformist, a compromiser, a timid politician. His name is Otto Bauer, and this is the May Day message which he, on behalf of the Austrian Socialists, sent to the working people of the Netherlands.

In the same Dutch paper from which I have taken Bauer's words I find the following message sent by Arthur Wauters of the Belgian Labor Party:

"The dramatic events which have taken place since May Day of 1932 . . . show in tragic manner how necessarily is the fate of Socialism bound up with that of democracy and of liberty. Salvation for the working class is in fact not to be looked for outside the framework of democracy. Those who would seek its emancipation by other ways lead it upon a wrong track and delude it with chimeras.

"To be sure, within the capitalistic regime we can only approximate to effective democracy and effective freedom. There is much to be said about formal freedom and effective freedom. But this latter depends upon the actual strength, qualitative as well as numerical, of the working-class organizations and upon the stage of well-being which the masses have attained. The course of events in the last few weeks, the cruel defeat of the German proletariat, demonstrate that the reaction recruits its mercenaries from the impoverished strata of society."

Wauters concludes that the imperative duties of the Socialist movement in the present juncture are—at all costs to uphold the workers' standard of living; to avoid adventurous and ill-considered action which might endanger such liberties as the working class already enjoys within the framework of bourgeois democracy, however imperfect and incomplete these may be; to make an extraordinary effort to imbue the im-

poverished elements with the ideas of Socialism and to strengthen the working-class organizations and extend the circulation of our press.

All of which may not sound very romantic, but is good sound proletarian revolutionism.

I'm often reminded of the old animal trainer's comment on the chimpanzee in Kipling's story: "There was too much ego in Bimi's cosmos." That applies to some humans, as we Socialists have cause to know. Every once in a while someone afflicted with hypertrophied ego, perhaps in an incipient stage, makes the mistake of joining our party, and our party then feeds and overfeeds him with adulation, which aggravates the disease. The consequences are painful for all concerned. The more he is petted and praised, the more praise and petting he craves. He can't digest all he swallows, and it sours into jealousy and spite.

We are, in a sense, as much to blame as Heywood Broun himself for his recent performances, which are neither creditable to him nor edifying to the public. He was, I think, a rather fair-minded as well as a rather kindly person when he came to us. Today he is neither. Perhaps he would have retained his good humor and his sense of sportsmanship longer than he has but for the too sweet diet we gave him.

We can respect and even like an honorable and amiable man who quits the party because, on mature consideration, he finds that he cannot agree with its principles or its policies. We have some reason to complain if, having at his disposal a column in a chain of capitalist newspapers, he uses it to give a very one-sided statement of his reasons for breaking with us. And we perhaps see the real reason more clearly than he does, when he injects and later repeats an irrelevant as well as unfair attack on a comrade who, in the course of party discussions, has controverted some of his views.

The element of personal pique against Morris Hillquit was conspicuous enough in the article in which Broun announced his abandonment of the party. How determining a motive it was becomes still more evident from the silly jibe which he dragged in, a propos of nothing, when commenting on the burning of Socialist books in Germany.

A. L.

J. Keir Hardie

(Continued from Page Seven)

in Parliament, and is today one of the leading British Socialists.

From that time on the story of Hardie is the story of the British labor movement. In 1889 he attended the first congress of the Second International in Paris, and there met Morris, Hyndman, Bax, Burns and other British Socialists. And there he met Bebel, Guesde, Liebknecht and other great Socialist leaders of other lands.

He founded the Labor Leader, now the British New Leader. He gained a grasp of Socialism. He founded Socialist clubs all over Great Britain. He came to be known as one of the leading agitators for the political independence of Labor and for Socialism in Great Britain.

The Socialism he and his friends preached was a proletarian Socialism, arising out of the life and needs of the working class. It was not garnished with scientific terminology, but it was sound Socialism, and lightened and illumined by the poetic and inspirational propaganda of the followers of William Morris it laid the foundations of the Socialism of the British workers today.

Hardie came to be known throughout Great Britain. In 1892 there was a General Election, and he was invited to contest South West Ham, a constituency as unlike his native Ayrshire as is possible within the same country. But his idealism, his earnestness, his integrity and his warm human qualities endeared him to the Cockneys of the district; and he

By Norman Thomas

TIMELY TOPICS

Every week Norman Thomas writes in his pungent style his own comments upon the salient events of the moment.

President Roosevelt's Plea

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S appeal for peace is timely and to the point. It probably goes as far as he can at present in an appeal to the rulers of the world.

It is especially satisfactory that at long last Soviet Russia is directly addressed.

But America's determination to keep the peace must go beyond what the President can now say to the nations. We must make up our minds to be bamboozled by no fine slogans into war. Hitlerism is a hateful thing—more hateful, perhaps, than the older Kaiserism which we helped defeat. America's participation in, or support of, a foreign war against Hitlerism will be as unsuccessful in ideal terms as was the war "to make the world safe for democracy" and "to end war" which ultimately gave us Hitlerism.

Do not forget that French imperialism, especially the French occupation of the Ruhr in which much American opinion acquiesced, was a mighty factor in preparing the soil for Hitlerism. The answer to Hitler rests with the workers, primarily the German workers, not with imperial France or Tory England, or capitalist America.

Of course the United States will not go to war in Europe unless to guarantee a lucrative trade in arms and to protect investments on one side or another. Is not this the time to make up our minds and say to the world: *We will not longer coin blood into gold. We will not finance or provision other folks' wars.* If we had said that in 1914 we should not have fought in 1917. Our slogan should be: *Cooperation for disarmament, peace and prosperity. Isolation and non-cooperation in war.*

Bargaining for the Manchurian Railway

RUSSIA'S bargaining with Japan to sell the Manchurian railway proves Stalin's sensible desire for peace—at least in this stage of her development. It may weaken for the time being Russian and official Communist influence in China. It is fantastic to suppose that it is a pledge of everlasting indifference in the Soviet republic to Japanese imperialism. It lessens the present danger of large scale war in the Far East, but scarcely diminishes the ultimate danger.

Relief by Public Works

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S appeal for peace is more satisfactory than his plan for the control of industry plus public works for the unemployed. I write necessarily on the basis not of the plan but of newspaper forecasts of it. So far as public works go, \$3,300,000,000 to be spent in two years is not

was elected, polling 5,268 votes, a majority of 1,232.

Hardie was not the first Socialist in Parliament; he entered with John Burns of Hyndman's Social Democratic Federation, and there were also Thomas Burt, Charles Fenwick and R. B. Cunningham-Graham, elected as Liberals who embraced Socialism and even joined Hardie's party as individual members while holding Liberal seats. But Hardie's entrance into the sacred precincts of St. Stephens in workmen's cloth cap was the beginning of a great and profound revolution in British life.

W. M. F.

(Next week: Keir Hardie—III)

This office can supply a few back copies containing previous installment of the biographical sketch of Keir Hardie and of others who have been included in these Socialist Profiles. A number of readers have requested that the Profiles be published in book form if the demand warrants it this may be done.

enough for the dramatic and effective proclamation of war on unemployment. The amount should be raised to six billion to be spent, if plans can be rushed, in one year. Six billion is the difference between construction now and its level in "prosperous" 1928. Moreover public works must include housing, not through loans to limited dividend companies which have not met and cannot meet the need, but through public housing authorities.

Death-Bed Resolutions

THE control of industries is revolutionary from the old capitalist point of view, and it is amazing that so great a revolution is winning so much assent among business leaders with their old psychology and habits. It shows how sick their system or their chaos is.

Socialists may like what it proves but not what it proposes. Judgment of its merits will depend somewhat on details, for example, on how effective is the provision likely to be made for the thirty hour week with adequate wages. But in principle the bill looks more like Fascist than Socialist economics. Business associations are to regulate themselves subject to federal governmental scrutiny and approval. Here is not production for use but a stabilization of profit for absentee owners; not social ownership but at least more social regulation. If, as and when business recovers—will it—it will forget its present death-bed resolutions. It will again control, largely, the regulating agency. At bottom, does not business control today under the new deal which has brought most of the money changes back in the temple where they sing in the choir praises to Roosevelt? From the forecasts, I suspect that all or more of the sort of objections Socialists found to the Swope plan will apply to the Roosevelt brain-trust version of it.

The President who dodged the sales-tax until his election is going to let Congress decide how to finance the public works program. He will, it is announced, throw various proposals instead of just the sales tax before the wolves in Congress. Will he say plainly that what we need besides income and inheritance taxes is the capital levy? That is the way to end, not only the sales tax agitation, but our mountainous burden of debts.

Art for Art's Sake

WHO says are can be for art's sake irrespective of social opinion and class interests? Certainly not the Rockefellers who doom a whole work of modern art for the sake of keeping out of Radio City—that monument of folly!—one picture of Lenin! Once admit the class conflict and its influence in art and one can understand this Rockefeller-Rivera conflict and wonder mostly why the Rockefellers even thought they wanted Rivera's murals. But from any other standpoint the Rockefeller action looks like a crass Philistine censorship of dollars over the ideas of a creator.

A busy trip leaves me little time to write. But a word I do want to say in praise of the growth in members, enthusiasm and organization of the Socialist Party in Western Pennsylvania. The new headquarters in Pittsburgh hum with comradeship and activity. Party members are doing magnificent work in the growing and effective Unemployed Citizens' League. More power to them!

Czech Socialists Ask A Few Questions

From Sozialdemokrat, Prague,
April 30th, 1933

COMRADES, be untiring in asking the following questions of the Communist workers;

Why doesn't Moscow take up the matter of a world united front?

Communist workers, how do you explain this; non-aggression pacts with imperialistic nations, but no

armistice with Social Democracy? Communists, is that international solidarity?

Stalin wages a trade war with England over a few unimportant individuals, while Litvinoff exchanges friendly visits with the jailer of five million German Communists. Are 200 millions in new Russian credits with the Hitler government worth more than the life and liberty of the German proletariat?

Communist workers, who is welcome at court in Moscow?

A Soviet envoy has already visited the Pope; the Soviet fleet has been the guests of Mussolini; and on the very day of the outlawing of the German Communist party Litvinoff had breakfast with Hitler's Minister of Foreign Affairs Neurath. Why cannot Moscow deal with Friedrich Adler and the Zurich International?

WEVD NEW LEADER SPEAKER

Ben Blumenberg of The New Leader staff will be the speaker of The New Leader period of Station WEVD, Friday, May 26th, from 4:30 to 4:45 p. m.

Samuel H. Friedman speaks Friday, May 19th, at the same time.