

NEW LEADER

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Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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THE LULL BEFORE THE STORM?



Manchuria?—Europe?—India?

"Funny, Sergeant—How Quiet It Is!"

IN THE NEW LEADER THIS WEEK

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UMI

A Salute To A Dying System

O MASTERS, Lords and rulers in all lands, like the gladiators of old, salute Socialism, for you are about to die.

So read the opening lines of a famous editorial in the New York Daily Call on September 16, 1917, five months after the United States had entered the imperialist war. In June Congress had passed the infamous Espionage Act and in November the Call was thrown out of the mails by Postmaster Burleson. The National Office of the Socialist Party had been raided and five members of the party were indicted under the espionage act. The following year Eugene V. Debs was sentenced to ten years in prison.

The White Terror of Woodrow Wilson's "New Freedom," supplemented by the private terror of war-crazed mobs, rained blows upon Socialist organizations throughout the nation. The bourgeois vandals had their way.

Among the items cited by Burleson as a reason for depriving the Call of its mailing rights was a short editorial against the United States Steel Corporation entitled "The Slave Pens of the Steel Masters." It had become "unpatriotic" to attack a monster corporation! A Manifesto by the Socialist Party executive against the war in August, a letter by Bela Low, several poems, and the famous editorial by Joshua Wanhope were listed as offensive by Burleson.

RAMSAY MacDONALD IN A GREAT PANIC

This editorial is reprinted on this page as a remarkable forecast of many aspects of the capitalist world today. Last week the Young Plan Advisory Committee issued its report on reparations and war debts. That report shows that a one year moratorium is not sufficient to save Germany, that it is an "unprecedented crisis" now facing the capitalist world, that the moratorium may have to be extended indefinitely, and there are hints of a resort to a violation of that holy of holies of capitalism, eventual repudiation of war debts!

Premier MacDonald of Great Britain, heading a coalition of the bourgeois talents, becomes panic-stricken. "For God's sake, let us meet at once," said MacDonald. The London *New Statesman* and *Nation* and the *Economist* hint repudiation, which is privately echoed by government officials. No more reparations can be sweated out of Germany without bringing a collapse in that country and if there is a collapse its repercussions will be felt throughout the world.

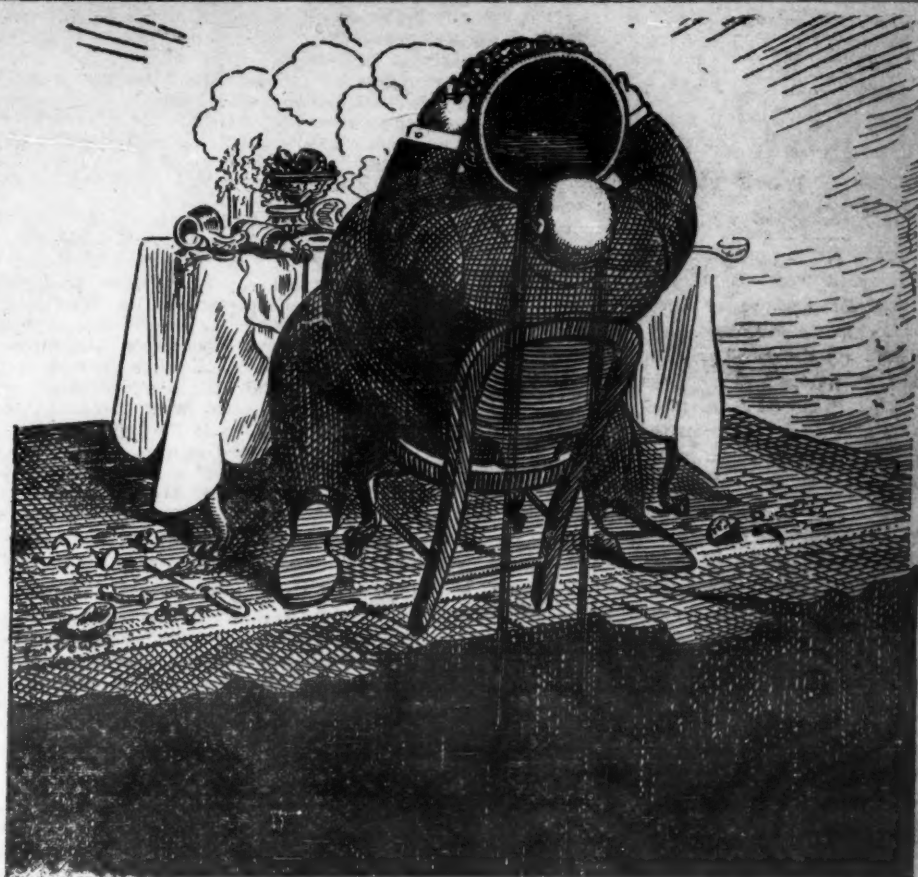
The strategic situation is held by American bankers. They are the vampires who bleed the German masses. As the *New Statesman* and *Nation* puts it, "the long-run effect of America's impossibilism must be to drive European countries closer together, for they will all be in one way or another defaulters in relation to the United States." For United States read "American bankers."

THE WORKERS WILL PAY EITHER WAY HOOVER DECIDES

Great Britain, France and other countries are merely pipes through which German reparations flow into the vaults of American usurers. If there is repudiation of "American" debts will Hoover summon the American workers to fight for the blood tribute exacted by American bankers? Or will repudiation be accepted and the huge claims of our bankers be shifted to the American working class? In the latter case, how can American capitalism, now an invalid, sweat American workers for years to come to pay American bankers?

One more item. Twelve years have passed since the "peace." As the old year passed into history the International Labor Office reports 100,000,000 men, women and children face distress because the breadwinners are jobless and this does include those working part time or the stricken workers in the field of agriculture.

So here is the world of capitalism fourteen years after Wanhope wrote his prophetic editorial for the New York Daily Call. Read it, fighters for Socialism and the emancipation of the working class. Post this up where others may see the predictions with the plight of the world today. Socialists had our backs to the wall when the ruling class led us into hell. Today we alone have the right to have confidence of the working masses and to ask them to enlist under the Socialist banner for new struggles which a dying system has brought to us. Following is the Wanhope edi-



Capitalism's Last Supper

Drawn by Art Young

A Warning And Farewell

O MASTERS, Lords and rulers in all lands, like the gladiators of old, salute Socialism, for you are about to die. And we shall assist you to commit your hari-kari.

For the last time, ask your lunatic questions about what Socialism proposes to do. About the destruction of "society"—your society—and "civilization"—your civilization. You, the destroyers!

Inquire with horror-stricken voices whether we intend a bloody revolution, and we answer that you are providing both the blood and the revolution. Consider now your work in Europe.

Ask if we intend to destroy property. Will there be any left to destroy after you get through?

Tell us that "it will never come in our time," and then set your wisest prophets predicting what the face of Europe will look like five years from now. It matters not about America. As goes Europe, so goes the world.

Trot out your idiotic sneers about the "catastrophic" theory of Socialism, and then reflect that you are providing the catastrophe. And it will be one for you, if we can make it so. Tell us something now about the "slow and painful process of evolution," just to pacify and refute us.

Do you mean the destruction of religion? Has religion—your religion—saved you from starting universal murder?

Do we stand for confiscation? Surely, we stand for it as much as you do now. You mean confiscation, but he who confiscates last confiscates best and that will be the Socialists, after you have spent yourselves in trying to consummate your robbery.

How about preserving the home? Will there be any left to preserve in Europe after you get through? Why not ask us about building up new homes that you cannot destroy?

What about "anarchy" now? How about telling us—you, the preservers of laws and order—that Socialism and what you call "anarchy" were one and the same thing? What about capitalism and "anarchy"? Where is the difference?

"Socialism is the end of all things," said one of your wisest advocates. Surely. And you and your system are the things it will end.

Do we Socialists believe in dividing up? What is your belief except that you can "divide up" the world? We don't believe you can, and we will show you. When this cruel war is over, you'll be over and done with, too, if we can make it so.

Sensible, doddering lunatics, we well knew that you would set the world ablaze. And we shall see that your insane system perishes in the fires you have kindled.

You can't kill the working class, the world's proletariat. They are immortal. But they can kill your system, and they will. There will be plenty left to do it, even if they bleed one another white in fighting your battles first.

This is but a foreword to you. Our time is not yet arrived for talking, and when it is we shall do something more than talk. Your only answer to

us now is murder. You began with our Comrade, Jaures. He was the first, but he will not be the last. Thousands of us may go down, but there will be enough, and more than enough, left to attend to your accursed unsocial system after the first apasm is over.

We see the city streets crowded with drunken, blood-crazed "patriots" yelling for war. We hear their frenzied shouts of "On to Berlin!"—or Paris or St. Petersburg or Vienna, as the case may be. We see the Socialist peace advocates smashed down in the streets like wild beasts for even being suspected of being out of sympathy with their madness and blood lust.

And we remember history. Those fateful days of 1870, when the same mob in Paris yelled "On to Berlin!" and two months later were shrieking "We have been betrayed! Let us overthrow the government!" And they did.

And we bide our time, remembering the repetitions of history. Remembering that those you have driven to madness will be the first to turn and rend you when the war has finished their education. For that is what you are doing. Educating them for your own destruction.

You started out to pacify labor unrest by bleeding labor on the battlefield. At the last later, the aroused and immortal giant, Labor, will bleed you. And you are preparing capitalism for the knife.

We are holding back Italy from the hecatomb, but not to save your system; rather to assure its future destruction.

Yes, we see the heaps of slain, the millions of maimed and crippled, the desolate widows and the fatherless children, the hunger and the pestilence, the blazing fields and the devastated cities. But our period of mourning has passed. The inevitable has happened, and now we are watching while working and planning how to destroy your system, the curse of the world, beyond possibility of revival.

We knew something like this was due. We didn't overlook it, though some of your alleged wisest insisted it was impossible even after it had started. Your difficulty is our opportunity, and we shall strain every nerve to make it so.

Lock up or slay millions of our spokesmen. Imprison, suppress, or kill us by the thousands. Take all the "measures of safety" you please. Your day of judgment is at hand, none the less. Socialism is the immortal avenger of humanity under your system. And we bide our time.

The world of the future, in which you have no place, will need no bankers and financial spiders, no diplomatic liars, no military kaisers. Humanity cannot only do without them, but will soon recognize them as its deadliest curse.

O Masters, Lords and rulers in all lands! You have taken a chance—you had to—and we, the united working class of the world, shall see that it is your last. You have placed your fortunes on a cast and now you shall stand the hazard of the die.

Make ready for the death cry: "Hail, Socialism!" We who are about to die, salute you!

Bank Crash Ties Up Rail Union Funds

Closing of Engineers' Union Depository Embarrasses Workers in Wage Dispute

CLEVELAND—(FP)—The Standard Trust Bank, formerly the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers National Bank, has closed its doors. The state banking department has taken over "the only official B. of L. E. depository," thus tying up all the funds of the brotherhood at a crucial moment in its history when the railroads are demanding a wage cut. The brotherhood's deposits in the bank aggregate \$2,000,000 and its stockholding \$1,000,000, it is estimated. The bank had assets of \$18,633,998.

Not only the brotherhood but its individual members are heavy losers. Thousands of engineers were stockholders and depositors in the bank. The bank was endorsed by the organization which regularly carried advertisements in its official journal describing the banks as "the only official B. of L. E. depository." Sick benefit funds of the various lodges and the pension and insurance of the national organization are all tied up in the bank. Alvanley Johnston, grand chief; James H. Cassell, secretary-treasurer, and W. E. Dunnigan, assistant secretary of the B. of L. E. are among the directors of the bank.

Formation of the Engineers' Bank in 1920 was the country's outstanding example of organized labor engaged in capitalist endeavor. The bank became a pivot of a national chain of brotherhood-controlled institutions. Following the disastrous experiences of the brotherhood in the realms of finance which cost its members millions of dollars, the 1927 convention instructed the newly-elected officers to take the brotherhood out of business. Shortly before the 1930 convention, the brotherhood bank was consolidated with the Nottingham Savings & Banking Co. and the Guaranty Savings & Loan, forming the Standard Trust Co. The brotherhood retained 25 per cent of the stock of the bank and deposited all its funds there.

The significance of the closing of the Standard Trust Bank on the railroad wage negotiation is seen as bulking very large and as ominous. Also the question is raised as to what influence other bankers had on the closing of the bank.

It is known that a great number of banks are insolvent which are nevertheless allowed to operate. The Wall Street report that "not a half-dozen New York State banks are solvent at the present price of bonds" is believed an exaggeration and yet there are so many national banks in the country which are insolvent at the present price of bonds that the comptroller of currency has issued orders that they may carry bonds at the price they paid for them, regardless of how much they may have fallen in value since. This gives a bank commissioner almost autocratic power in the matter of allowing an insolvent bank to operate—or, if he prefers, closing it.

The wage negotiations about to begin between the railroads and the 21 unions are not the typical argument between industrial executives who want lower operating costs and the workers who want to protect their pay. The new leaders have intimated that they and his unions to adjustments of pay since the recent working conditions of the eighteenth

Curtis Employees Pay His Contribution To Phila. Charity

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Two months ago Cyrus H. K. Curtis, head of the Curtis-Martin newspapers and the Curtis Publishing Company, gave \$300,000 to the united campaign for charity and unemployment relief in Philadelphia. Many people praised him for this seeming generosity.

But this week Curtis employees found that they were the generous ones, although the boss got the credit. For many years the Curtis Publishing Company has given a Christmas bonus in the form of a week's pay to each employee. The total amount was just under \$300,000. This year there was no bonus.

tions if the advantage so gained went to the 500,000 unemployed and the 500,000 underemployed railroad workers. The executives of the roads fight that idea. They have a billion dollars in bonds coming due in three years which they cannot pay and of that billion some \$246,000,000 comes due in 1932. A 10 per cent wage cut will bring the roads \$200,000,000 in 1932. The bankers who are backing the bosses are therefore fighting to make the railroad men pay off the bonds for the banks and bondholders. They would follow the steel industry and slap on the pay cut now but for the fact that the railroaders are organized and have built up a double defense of legal steps the bosses must go through and the strike threat backed by rich and powerful unions.

That is, the unions were rich. Now one of the most powerful has been hit for millions. The cynic can scarcely help wondering whether the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers was picked as the spot in the railroads' defense to hit, whether the banks of the country and especially Cleveland started a campaign of undermining rumors, whether the bank examiners were passed the tip that closing that bank would help the others. Observers remember how the engineers dug into their own resources when their financial structure crashed in 1927 and express no doubt that they will stand as solidly now with the other unions in the fight for protection of jobless railroaders.

Wages Threatened By Bankruptcy Move

WASHINGTON (FP)—Was the throwing of the Wabash Railroad into the hands of a receiver absolutely necessary, or was this move made with the fact in mind that a receiver can cut wages without reference to the limitations imposed on solvent roads by the Railway Labor Act?

As some of the rail labor men view the situation, the Wabash receivership proved a handy weapon for the managers. It had the effect of notifying the rail workers that, if they refused to accept the proposed 15 per cent wage cut, the bankers could manipulate the finances of a few big systems so as to force receiverships which would result in wage cuts of 15, 20 or even 30 per cent. If, for example, the bankers were to throw one of the main systems in each region of the country into a receivership, and if the receivers were then to order a 25 per cent cut in wages, the effect on the spirit of the unions and brotherhoods resisting the proposed 15 per cent wage cut on the other systems would be most depressing.

For this reason, the unions and brotherhoods will follow a "show me" policy of careful investigation of all receivership proposals, so long as the rail managers continue to demand a general wage reduction.

Keeney Hits Plan to Back Townsend

W. Va. Miners' Leader Repudiates Support for Republican Politician

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

FAIRMONT, W. Va.—New developments in the West Virginia political sphere lend greater importance to the West Virginia Mine Workers Union movement for a labor party. Van Bittner of the U. M. W. A., which controls what little is left of that union in Northern West Virginia, recently announced that he would inaugurate and support a "Townsend for Governor" campaign. Townsend is a Republican "friend" of labor. Frank Keeney, president of the West Virginia M. W. U., and Harold Houston, general counsel, in a statement to the press repudiated and denounced Van Bittner's policy as a betrayal of labor and a farcical presumptuousness on Van Bittner's part to essay to speak for organized labor when he represents a skeleton organization of officials.

The Socialist party organizers are continuing their fruitful campaign throughout the state. They have organized locals in Weston, Clarksburg and Farmington, in addition to those already functioning and flourishing in Charleston, Fairmont and Star City. Their schedule continues to Morgantown, Rivesville, Huntington, Phillips, Elkins, etc. They are arranging to complete speaking tours throughout the coal-mining towns in the southern part of the state. New Leader agents have been appointed in each of the coal-mining towns in this area.

One can easily understand the wide prevalence of Socialist sentiment in West Virginia when he learns that the state at one time boasted of 500 locals and captured many local offices.

Two Socialist veterans in this state, who are undoubtedly familiar to old-time Socialists, are still active and enthusiastic. Dr. M. S. Holt of Weston, is 82 years old and a Socialist since 1907—having been Mayor of Weston some years back. His untiring devotion to the Socialist ideal was demonstrated by the fact that he had practically alone placed posters in the store windows announcing a mass meeting at which the organizers spoke. J. H. Snider of Fairmont, is another splendid and tireless worker. The local in Fairmont last night added 16 new members at a meeting which was given generous publicity largely through the efforts of Comrade Snider. He is a very capable speaker and writer and is vigorous and unrelenting in his propaganda. The Fairmont Times gave a half column report to the meeting.

J. F. Higgins of Star City, is an efficient state secretary and is helping greatly with organization work.

In Weston, the town has been particularly hard hit by the closing of its three banks. In Fairmont six out of seven closed. Similar situations exist in practically every city in the state.

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Third of U. S. Population Is at Starvation Point, Senate Committee Told

Opposition to Federal Relief Comes From Rich, Welfare Worker Declares

WASHINGTON (FP)—Tragic evidence that America is slowly starving nearly one-third of its total population, and that many millions still adequately fed are drawing near to the line of actual want, was piled high before the Senate Committee on Manufactures, Dec. 29, in the second all-day recital of reports on the need for a large federal appropriation for unemployment relief. Senators LaFollette and Costigan, authors of the two bills before the committee, appeared to be engaged in making a record that will overwhelm Congress and the opposition of the White House by its stark revelation of human disaster.

Paul U. Kellogg described the suffering of the working class in Toledo, where the Willys-Knight automobile works, which employed 30,000 men in the spring of 1929, dismissed all but 3,000.

Linton B. Swift, executive secretary of the Family Relief Association of America, testified that the relief agencies are now cutting down on various items of family relief, such as clothing, now affects many millions of American women and children light and gas, rent and even milk. He warned the committee that the lowering of living standards which cannot be repaired in a generation.

Costigan asked whether it were not possible that some of the opposition to federal relief "emanates from persons who are apprehensive over an increase in sur-

taxes on their incomes." The witness agreed that this might be the case.

Frank Bane, executive director of the American Association of Public Welfare Officials, reported on a survey of the country made by field agents for his organization. In most of the States the present situation was described as serious or critical, either as to semi-starvation in the cities and the coal fields, or as to the financial resources upon which the unemployed must rely for any aid this winter.

Allen T. Burns of the national Community Chest organization, showed that these Chest funds exist "only in the more resourceful, and for the most part the larger, cities of the country," and their national total is only \$80,000,000. Of this, only 35 per cent will be available for home relief of families; the rest is allotted to existing charitable work.

BROWN AT WEST SIDE FORUM

Heywood Brown will be the speaker at our next forum of the Upper West Side branch of the Socialist Party, which will take place on Friday, January 8th, at 8:30 P. M., at 100 West 72d street.

New opinions are always suspected, and usually opposed, without any other reason but because they are not already common.—John Locke.

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Verband Holds 10th Annual Convention

Resolution Opposes Affiliation of Socialist-Zionists as a Party Federation

THE tenth annual convention of the Jewish Socialist Verband was held in New York Nov. 25, 26 and 27. The opening took place at the Second Avenue Theatre which was crowded to capacity. The audience was addressed by A. Litwack, Joseph Baskin and Nathan Chanin. Algernon Lee spoke in the name of the New York Socialist party. Greetings were received from Frederick Adler, secretary of the Socialist International; Emil Vandervelde, president; R. Abramowitch, Karl Kautsky and Central Committee of the Bund in Poland. The convention met on Saturday and Sunday at the Forward Hall.

Nathan Chanin, secretary of the Verband, reported in the name of the National Executive Committee on the activities during the past two years.

The convention had 96 representatives from 41 branches. One hundred delegates represented the Workmen's Center branches, United Hebrew Trades, Forward Association and other fraternal organizations. The convention closed with a banquet. Joseph Weinberg was chairman, and upon his appeal \$936 was raised for the organization and its publication, "Der Wecker."

A new national executive was elected and consists of the following: A. Litwack, B. Hoffman, C. Kantrowitch, L. Fogelman, I. Tygel, S. Rifkin, M. Galt, A. Sobotko, I. Seditsky, M. Weinstein, D. Meyer, B. Levitin, P. Geliebter, P. Block, P. Steinberg, B. Gebner, J. Rosenfarb and J. Leventhal.

A resolution passed noted that the Poale Zion party (Socialist-Zionists) of the United States has applied for admission in the Socialist party as a separate, autonomous group with the same status as the Jewish Socialist Verband. The resolution continued:

"We cannot see how Zionism can be declared as the private affair of some individuals. We are convinced that the Jewish problems cannot be solved in any one chosen land, but in all countries where the Jewish masses live and work and fight together with the non-Jewish masses for democracy and Socialism. The influence of Zionism on Socialist work we consider harmful. It united the Jewish workers and the Jewish bourgeois classes for so-called general national interests, which are always more important for the Zionists than the class struggle between the Jewish workers and the Jewish capitalist. In the name of general national interests, in the interests of the up-building of Palestine the class struggle is very often overlooked and denied. . . . The convention is of the opinion and recommends to the national executive committee of the party that the Poale Zion

City Affairs Group Calls Jobless Rally

A public mass meeting on unemployment to protest against the Hoover policy of neglect has been called by the City Affairs Committee of New York for next Tuesday night, Jan. 5th, with outstanding national speakers as headliners. Prof. John Dewey, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Paul Blanshard, Louis Waldman, Darwin Meserole, and Abraham Epstein will speak with Rabbi Sidney E. Goldstein as chairman. The mass meeting is called for 8 o'clock at the Community Church at 5th avenue and 76th street.

can join the Socialist party only as individuals, but not as an organized separate and autonomous group."

Regarding conditions in the Jewish labor movement, a resolution declared: "The Verband must continue to aid the unions in their constructive work, criticize at the proper time everything which deserves criticism, help make the unions real factors in the class struggle with the Socialist spirit, make their members active, conscientious union men, with full rights of criticism, initiative and control, and in this way, draw the masses into the leadership of the union."

"The jubilee convention affirms the decision of our last party council that we shall call a conference of the Forward Association, local New York Socialist party, the United Hebrew Trades, the Jewish Socialist Verband to study conditions in our unions and to attempt to agree upon the method of work among unions, in order not to repeat what, unfortunately, now exists—that the unions are not united in their policies and are often even opposed to one another—something which confuses workers and diminishes the authority and prestige of all these organizations."

Regarding "terrorism in Russia," the convention said: "Terrorism against Socialists, peasants, the intelligentsia and other thinking workers has increased; this terrorism against the intelligentsia has hindered and continues to hamper the industrial growth of Russia (and because of this the dictators themselves have found it necessary to decrease the persecution of specialists who not so long ago were oppressed in the most horrible ways). This convention protests against all this and demands the cessation of terrorism in Russia and the institution of democratic freedom."

Coleman and Kvale To Speak in Phila.

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
PHILADELPHIA. — Congressman Paul J. Kvale, Farmer-Laborite from Minnesota, and McAlister Coleman, Socialist author and journalist, will speak at a League for Industrial Democracy luncheon here Jan. 9. Their topics will be "Social Legislation in the Present Congress."

NEVER yet
Share of Truth was vainly set
In the world's wide fallow:
After hands shall sow the seed,
After hands, from hill and mead,
Reap the harvest yellow.
—Whittier.

Ohio Socialist Convention Opens Jan. 9

Sessions in Cleveland Will Name Party's Standard Bearers for 1932

By HY FISH

(Special New Leader Correspondent)

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—Delegates from all over the state will assemble here Jan. 9 and 10 for the state convention of the Socialist party to map out a two-year plan of action.

The first session will be held at 9 a. m. and the second at 2 p. m. at the Workmen's Center, 3467 East 147th street. The evening of Jan. 9 will be taken up with a mass meeting at the Central Y. M. C. A., 22nd and Prospect avenues, at which James H. Maurer of Reading, Pa., will speak. Sunday's sessions will be held at 9 and 2 o'clock to be followed by a banquet at 6 o'clock. Reservations at 40 cents per plate must be sent to the state office, 305 Prospect-Fourth Building, Cleveland, not later than Thursday, Jan. 7.

Labor and progressive organizations in the state have been asked to send fraternal delegates so that a cooperative effort can be made. The agenda includes the election of officers and a new state executive committee, election of delegates to the national convention a proposed tax on locals of \$1 for each member per year for an organization fund, the establishment of a party paper, revision of the present constitution, and the creation of a system whereby locals and branches will send in monthly reports to the state office. The highlight of the whole convention will be the nomination of candidates for the state elections in 1932.

200,000 Signatures Needed

"The reason we are the first state in the Union to hold a Socialist party convention this year," Sidney Yellen, state secretary, said, "is because of the peculiarity of the new state election law. In order to get our candidates on the ballot as Socialists, we will have to solicit 200,000 signatures on petitions from at least one-third of the counties. This a tremendous task. We must start early. Petitions for nominations for our candidates will be printed the day after the nominations take place. A second reason for an early convention is because of the critical unemployment situation in Ohio."

The state office has sent out to various sympathetic individuals and organizations a copy of a draft of an amendment to the constitution of the State of Ohio related to relief of the unemployment situation. Their criticism was asked so that their cooperation could be gotten after the final draft is passed upon at the convention.

The Socialist bill for unemployment insurance—modeled after the Pennsylvania bill—was sent to Governor's George White's committee on unemployment insurance. As yet, no action has been taken on any of the various proposals before them.

FOR INGERSOLL MONUMENT

Professor Albert Einstein and Bernard Shaw have accepted membership on the Robert Ingersoll Centennial Memorial Committee, according to Joseph Lewis, president of the Freethinkers of America, who has just returned from a three months tour of Europe. The purpose of the committee is to assist in the erection of a monument to Ingersoll at Washington in 1933 on the hundredth anniversary of Ingersoll's birth.

We see farthest into the future—and that is not far—when we most carefully consider the facts of the present.—Dr. Jorrell.

Second Indiana Mine Leader Is Convicted

PRINCETON, Ind.—(FP)—Harmon Kelly, member of the board, District 11, United Mine Workers of America, has been convicted in the Somerville bombing case and sentenced to serve two years in the state prison. He was also fined

\$5,000. Kelly, of Hymers, Ind., is the second mine union official to be a victim in this case. Tim Morton was given a similar sentence.

The convictions will be appealed on the ground that the case is a frame-up. The unionists were accused of bombing the homes of officials of a so-called cooperative mine which employs non-union men.

DEBATES — LECTURES — FORUMS

THE COMMUNITY FORUM

Now Meeting at Temple Beth-El, Fifth Avenue and 70th Street

8 P. M.—"THE MANCHURIAN CRISIS"

Discussed by WING LOCK WEI, Chinese

and TOYOKICHI IYENAGA, Japanese

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NO MEETING

Sunday Evening, Jan. 3rd

DR. JOHN WALDHORN

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"Destoyevsky and Proust"

Tuesday Evening, Jan. 5th

PROF. GARDNER MURPHY

"The Analysis of Personality"

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At 8:30 o'clock

Thursday Evening, Jan. 7th

PROF. E. G. SPAULDING

"Reason in Subjection: The Middle Ages"

DEBATE

"Should America Disarm?"

DR. HENRY NEUMANN YES

JOSEPH T. CASHMAN NO

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Sunday Evening, January 3

8 P. M.—Leon Rosser Land on "Must Idealists Give Up the Fight?"

9 P. M.—Dr. Albert F. Dusen on "Birth Control in an Adequate Scheme for Social Rebuilding."

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Scientific Study Bible Class, 2:30 p. m.

"THE TEN COMMANDMENTS AND THE LAW"

Debate, 3:30 p. m.

"HAS RELIGION CONTRIBUTED TO THE PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION?"

Yes . . . REV. G. HERBERT EKINS

No . . . MAJOR JOSEPH WHEELER

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Questions and Discussion

Mass Meeting on UNEMPLOYMENT

TO PROTEST AGAINST THE HOOVER PROGRAM

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ABRAHAM EPSTEIN

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Socialists of Reich Pledge War on Hitler

Emergency Decree Accepted as Necessary to Ward Off Fascism

GERMAN Socialists and the organized workers of Germany face problems that are appalling. With a dozen parties each with its special program, the reparations and debts, Communists and Fascists fishing in troubled waters, and a parliamentary system which makes almost any government a precarious one from day to day, the German masses live in apprehension of unknown possibilities and dangers that may emerge at any time.

On Dec. 14 the Social Democratic parliamentary group discussed the new emergency decree of Dec. 8 which imposes new burdens upon the workers and two days later at a national conference of several hundred representatives of the party, the General Federation of Labor and the Reichsbanner, resolutions were unanimously adopted which in part declare:

"We pledge ourselves to a continuous fight against Fascism with heightened energy."

"We shall adapt our fighting tactics to those of our enemies—on the ground of law as long as they act legally—but otherwise we shall defend with other means the republican constitution, the social rights and cultural aims of the laboring class and the peace of Europe. Overcoming the Fascist peril is our first duty."

Decree Accepted

Among the speakers were Theodore Leipart, president of the Labor Federation; Rudolph Breitscheid, leader of the Socialists in the Reichstag, and Otto Wels, chairman of the party. The organizations justified the qualified acceptance of the emergency decree because, it was declared, the fall of the present government would mean chaos or a Fascist dictatorship, making the conditions of the workers infinitely worse.

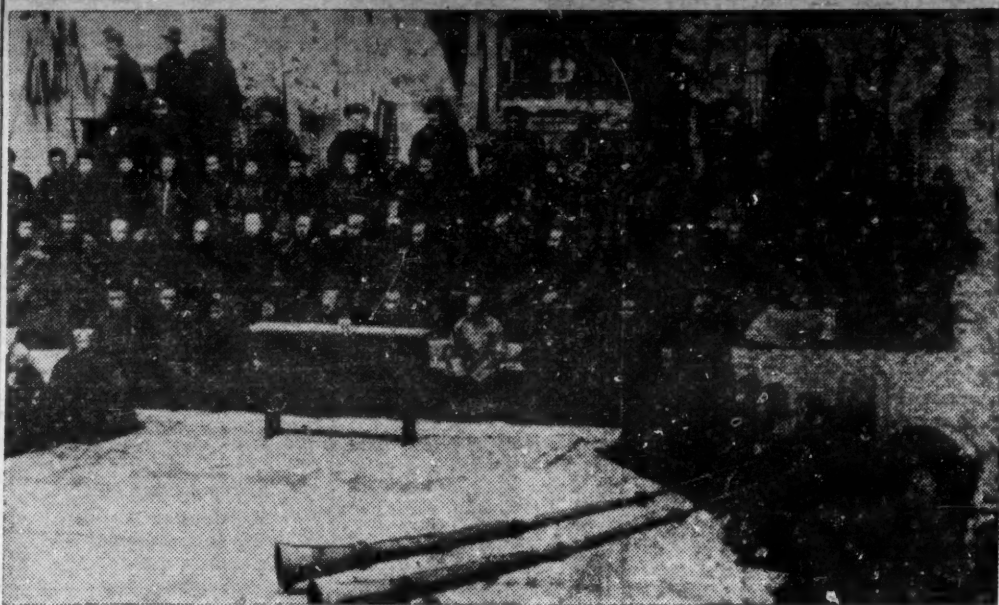
At the same time the warning given the Fascists in the above resolution means that Socialists and organized workers will meet force with force. Hitler, the Fascist leader, about this time was making some egoist speeches and Chancellor Bruening had attacked him in a radio broadcast which was heard throughout Germany. The German unions defeated a reactionary putsch some years ago with a general strike and there is little doubt that the resolution means another general strike and armed resistance if the cocky Hitler starts something.

"Hitlerism means the enslavement of the workers," said Breitscheid. "A Fascist dictatorship, even if doomed to disintegration from within itself because it is without a real social or economic platform, would be ruinous to Germany—it would break up overnight once it had, along with the government, brought into its hands the full powers of the state."

On WEVD

(230.6 WEVD—N. Y. C.—1,300 KC)
Jan. 4, 2:30 p. m.—Labor's News Reporter, The Federated Press.
Jan. 5, 2:30 p. m.—Labor's News Reporter, The Federated Press; 8:15 p. m., "Between the Headlines."
Jan. 6, 1:30 p. m.—Mrs. I. Swasey of the Women's Peace Union; 2:30 p. m., Labor's News Reporter, The Federated Press; 3 p. m., Rev. Eliot White, "Freedom of Expression in the Church"; 4 p. m., M. E. Social Service Committee.
Jan. 7, 1:30 p. m.—Frank L. Palmer, "Labor's Front Page"; 4:15 p. m., the World Peace Posters, Inc.; 8:15 p. m., William Karlin on "Current Events."
Jan. 8, 1 p. m.—Labor's News Reporter, The Federated Press.
Jan. 9, 2:30 p. m.—Symposium, the Debating Society of N. Y. U. and the Y. P. S. U., "The Sherman Anti-Trust Act Should Be Repealed."

From the Manchurian War Front



The Japanese Invasion of Manchuria may not be a war, but if it isn't the Chinese don't know what to make of it. A scene in Mukden shows Chinese praying, with the aid of long horns, for the spirits of their countrymen slain in the war with Japan.

Spain Takes Huge Estates For Peasants

Over 60,000 Workers' Families Will Be Settled Within the First Year

WHILE newspaper correspondents cabled stories of the election of Acala Zamora as President of Spain and the establishment of a regime "tinged with Marxian Socialism," little is known of the job that has been done in breaking up the big landed estates. Agrarian reorganization was one of the prime demands of the Socialists and the trade unions as a condition of their entry in the revolutionary coalition.

The agricultural act is the result of this agreement. It provides for the settlement of land workers in six provinces and the state and manor lands dating from feudal times. In the first year from 60,000 to 75,000 land workers' families are to be settled and in subsequent years the number will be determined by the Cabinet. An Institute of Agrarian Reform will receive a state grant of ten million pesetas to which will be added a tax on large estates whose owners have an income of 10,000 pesetas from agricultural land. The tax is graduated to as high as 60 per cent on incomes in excess of 100,000 pesetas.

State Maintains Title

The settlers are to organize under the institute and elect a central committee to survey the land to be expropriated. The expropriated lands will be taken in the following order: Crown lands, royal estates, estates of the church and religious orders, and other lands according to size or the income they yield. Partial compensation is provided in some cases; manorial land owners but only for improvements made since 1811 when feudal rights were abolished. Lands held by the church and religious orders. For all other land the capitalized rent will be paid as compensation on a graduated basis according to its value and income.

Local agricultural committees will keep records of the families to be settled, including agricultural laborers and small peasants. Each family will be allotted from five to thirty hectares of dry land or from one to three hectares of irrigated land. The settlers are free to work the land collectively or as individuals and land may be withdrawn from a settler for bad

Hungarian Socialists Gain Despite Bethlen Repression

THE Hungarian Social Democratic party held its 28th congress in Budapest Dec. 6. The party executive reported the heroic fight made for sheer existence and the incredible distress that afflicts the Hungarian workers. The Bethlen feudal-Fascist system is kept in power by its ill-famed electoral system which requires public voting and favors official terrorism of the voters.

A change of this system or revolution, is the slogan of the Socialists. The Hungarian situation is drifting toward a catastrophe but the ruling classes appear to prefer risking a collapse rather than make any concessions to the workers and peasants. For the present the Bethlen regime depends upon martial law.

14 Socialists in Parliament

In the Parliament with its 245 members the Social Democratic party has fourteen representatives. At the general election in June, 1931, the party polled 166,431 votes, as compared with 128,854 votes in 1926. A real judgment on this result is only possible when the tricks and dodges of the so-called recommendation of candidates system, the public voting and the relentless terrorist role of the administrative apparatus of the state are borne in mind.

The organ of the party, "Nepszava," is the main target of the counter-revolutionary mania for persecution. In the period from July 1 to Nov. 1, 1931, this journal was involved in 149 press trials, which brings the total number of trials since 1925 up to 655. During the present year the paper has been confiscated nine times and from Sept. 11 to 20 it was affected by being forbidden sale on the streets—as a punishment. Terms of imprisonment amounting to three years and six months and fines to the extent of 5,600 pengos were the result of the legal verdicts against the editors of the paper. In addition comrades were sentenced to a total of 22 years and 14 days' imprisonment and to

cultivation or neglect. Provisions for credit will be made later.

While the land passes into the hands of settlers the title remains the property of the state. Settlement land may neither be split up nor combined. Agricultural schools and advisory centers will be established and irrigation will go hand in hand with the settling of the land as drought has been as harmful to the agricultural workers as the old landed aristocracy.

finances amounting to 69 pengos for party activity. Numerous sentences were also passed for "infringement"; 569 comrades were sentenced to a total of 3,824 days, i. e., 10 years, 5 months and 24 days, arrest and 4,598 pengos in fines for their activity in the Social Democratic movement.

But despite all this the movement grows in a satisfactory manner. This has particularly been the case in recent times. New sections of the population which were formerly apathetic or were following in the wake of the reaction are entering the Social Democracy. The Hungarian agricultural workers' movement is now making excellent progress in the establishment of new branches in districts

of a definitely peasant character. Not merely agricultural workers but also small peasants are joining the branches both of the Land Workers' Union and of the Social Democratic party in masses. The Agricultural Workers' Union has its own journal, entitled "Land and Freedom," which is appearing in an edition of 15,000 copies (published ten times a year). The party conference in 1930 drew up an agricultural program which, together with popular explanations, was circulated to the extent of 25,000 copies among the rural population.

Peace Essay Contest

Open to Students

The New History Society announces a prize competition on "World Peace" for undergraduates and students of the colleges and universities. Three prizes, totaling \$600 in cash, will be awarded for the best thesis of not more than 1200 words on "How Can the College Promote World Peace?" Manuscripts may be submitted from January 5 to April 5. They must be original. Judges include Devore Allen, Dr. John Dewey, William Floyd, James G. McDonald, Tucker P. Smith, and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

Papers are to be judged according to the vision of the writers and the feasibility of the plans. Announcement of the prize winners will be made on May 23. A condition of the contest is that the prize winning manuscripts are to be published in the New Historian and other publications so that the New History Society may deem advisable first.

N.Y. Socialist Sunday School Teachers to Meet on Sunday

A gathering of the teachers in the various New York Socialist Schools will be held on Sunday afternoon, Jan. 10th, at the home of the chairman, Samuel H. Friedman, 1 Perry street, New York. (7th avenue below 11th street). At this meeting, the teachers will exchange experiences, consider further plans for cultural activities for the schools, and listen to an informal talk by Alexander Fichandler.

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Bosses' Thug Shot to Death In Kentucky

Attack on Union Men Brings Gun - Fire in Self Defense - Higher on Trial

HARLAN, Ky.—(FP)—Another operators' deputy was killed on Christmas night. Virgil Sizemore, the dead gunman, had been a mine guard for 20 years and was a brother-in-law of Prosecuting Attorney W. A. Brock, bitter labor foe.

Virgil Hutton and Kike Hall, the coal miners who are held for the killing, say that they were approached in the dark by two men who halted them and then smashed one of them over the head with a pistol. Without knowing he was being attacked by an officer, one of the miners fired in the dark and fled. He surrendered later.

The story told by the deputy sheriffs was that they got the report that men were distributing strike calls, for a Jan. 1 walkout. They went out near Chevrolet, mining town, looking for the men. When they accosted the miners, instead of turning over the literature the miners fired, the gunmen say. In Harlan thinking there is no reason why the gunmen should not go out in the night looking for men distributing union literature and accost or attack them. The fact miners have a right to distribute strike calls has no force in Harlan.

Third Trial Begins

MT. STERLING, Ky.—Over half a century of militant service to the labor movement is the glorious record of Wm. Hightower, 77 year old president of the United Mine Workers of America, local who has been chosen by the coal operators as the second miner to be victimized in the mass frame-up by which handpicked grand juries have indicted 49 men for murder. Hightower, a married man with three small children, went on trial Dec. 28th charged with conspiring to murder and with aiding and abetting the murder of Jim Daniels, Harlan County deputy sheriff, on May 5th at Evarts.

The veteran union miner will show that he was at Harlan, nine miles from the shooting scene when Daniels was killed. Realizing the impossibility of shaking this alibi, prosecution had the employer-serving Montgomery County grand jury return a new indictment including the conspiracy charge. This relieves the commonwealth of the responsibility of proving the defendant at the killing or with having killed, requiring proof only that Hightower asked that Daniels be slain. This is called constructive murder, making one guilty of such advice an accessory before the fact.

Officials of the Black Mountain Coal Corporation, Insuli-Peabody concern, two miles above Evarts, where their agent, Daniels, had headquarters, have fabricated frightful speeches supposedly delivered by Hightower to miners' meetings, speeches appealing for the death of Daniels and other company hirelings. A large number of gun-thugs, scabs and other disreputable characters are all set to repeat against Hightower the perjury they recited in the Jones trial. Juries here, drawn from a farmer-merchant class, 200 miles from Evarts, do not know the evil repute of these lie-swearing creatures who state under oath whatever they are told to state, being rewarded with money and jobs. Local non-working class juries are predisposed to believe anything bad about labor unions.

Mooney Sees Freedom Further Away Than Ever; Interview in Jail Finds Prisoner Disheartened

SAN QUENTIN PRISON, Cal.—(FP)—The campaign for the release of Tom Mooney is not at its high point as so many are saying; it is in the most dangerous position it has been in for years.

This is the opinion of Tom Mooney himself as expressed in an interview with Federated Press.

"This is our hardest time," labor's most prominent prisoner said. "Everyone thinks my pardon is near—the very opposite is the case. Our immediate task is to batter down right now the idea that I am surely going to be pardoned. We must vigorously protest criminal delay by evasion of official responsibility.

"At the end of the four months he will find one excuse or another for another extended period of delay and we will be fortunate, indeed, if we get a decision in four

years. I think I can safely say right now that there is even less hope (if there ever was any) than there was before Walker, Sapire and Walsh came and presented the case to Rolph. But I am sure there never was any immediate hope before they came, so nothing is lost and much has been gained through the worldwide publicity given the case by the prominence they brought. They did all they could in public and private on the case. I insisted that only an unconditional pardon could be asked. They complied. They did this job well and I am deeply grateful to them.

"The anxiety and strain of the past few weeks (the like of which I have never endured during these past 15 years) has so gripped me and sapped my vitality that I have not issued the appeal to my friends that I have wished. Perhaps the labor press will do this for me."

Lecture Calendar

MANHATTAN

Sunday, Jan. 3, 9:00 p. m.—Jessie W. Hughan, "Leagues, Disarmament, and War Resistance," 96 Ave. C. 6th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

Sunday, Jan. 3, 9:00 p. m.—Speaker and topics to be announced, 600 W. 181st St., Room 10, Socialist Party Washington Heights.

Tuesday, Jan. 5, 9:00 p. m.—Paul Frier, "The Present Situation in the Orient," 100 West 72nd St. Upper West Side Socialist Party.

Friday, Jan. 8, 9:00 p. m.—Heywood Brown, topic to be announced, 100 West 72nd St., Upper West Side, Socialist Party.

BRONX

Sunday, Jan. 3, 11:00 a. m.—Leon R. Land, "Whither? Civilization or Chaos?" Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves. West Bronx Socialist Forum.

Tuesday, Jan. 5, 8:30 p. m.—Bela Low, "Critical Analysis of Capitalist Civilization," 20 E. Kingsbridge Rd 8th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

Friday, Jan. 8, 8:30 p. m.—Morris Hillquit, "The End of the Business Depression," Paradise Manor, Mt. Eden and Jerome Aves. 2nd A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

Friday, Jan. 8, 8:30 p. m.—Speaker and topic to be announced. Hollywood Gardens, 896 Prospect Ave. 3-5th A. D. Branches, Socialist Party.

Friday, Jan. 8, 8:30 p. m.—Morris

Gisnet, "Crime and Punishment," Felpark Palace, Lydig Ave. and White Plains Rd. 6th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

BROOKLYN

Sunday, Jan. 3, 8:30 p. m.—Dr. Henry Neumann versus Joseph T. Cashman, "Should America Disarm?" Brooklyn Academy of Music, Lafayette and Flatbush Aves. Brooklyn Forum.

Monday, Jan. 4, 8:30 p. m.—David Kaplan, "The Decaying Capitalist System," 167 Tompkins Ave. Williamsburgh Branch, Socialist Party.

Monday, Jan. 4, 9:00 p. m.—David M. Cory, "Prejudices Against Socialism," 18th A. D. Branch 2, Socialist Party.

Monday, Jan. 4, 9:00 p. m.—R. Guinness, "New Viewpoints in American History," New Hungarian Restaurant, 839 Franklin Ave., corner Union St. 11th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

Tuesday, Jan. 5, 9:00 p. m.—Bradford Young, "A Socialist Review of the Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens," 1637 East 17th St. Midwood Branch, Socialist Party.

Tuesday, Jan. 5, 9:00 p. m.—Herbert M. Merrill, "Socialism and Inventions," 218 Van Sicken Ave. 32nd A. D. Branch 3, Socialist Party.

Friday, Jan. 8, 9:00 p. m.—William M. Feigenbaum, "Current Events," Workmen's Circle Center, 48 Ocean Pl., near West 2nd St. Workmen's Circle and Brighton Beach Branch.

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The Sharpening Of Class Lines In

By Louis Stanley

I.—The Size of the National Income

One proof of the division of classes in the United States is found in the unequal distribution of the fruits of our industrial civilization. What share of the commodities produced and the services rendered each year goes to the owners of property, what portion to the propertyless? To answer these questions it is first necessary to estimate the amount of the national income available for distribution to the inhabitants of the United States, then to determine the division of this income among the various social classes. In this article the results of inquiries into the size of the national income will be summarized. Unfortunately no Socialist has made an original contribution to this phase of the subject and we are, therefore, at the mercy of bourgeois economists who have had the time, the money and the initiative to carry on extensive investigations in the field.

The First Estimate

The first attempt to make an estimate of the aggregate income of the United States was made by Dr. Charles B. Spahr in 1896, when he published "An Essay on the Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States." The material he had to deal with at the threshold of the era of Big Business was meager but in his anxiety to prove that the rich should be taxed more heavily than they were he ventured forth with complete confidence. Later economists have had a different struggle with the problem of measuring the national income but Spahr declared that "in the United States, despite the absence of income-tax returns, we find perhaps the most complete and satisfactory statistics in the world respecting the aggregate of the national income."

Actually he only had a few shreds of evidence at his disposal but he combined them judiciously and concluded that the total income of the United States in 1890 was \$10,800,000,000. It is a pity that Socialists did not apply themselves to this field of research, at least after a well-meaning reformer had pointed the way.

It was not until a decade and a half later that the problem was again attacked in any scientific manner. Willford Isbell King, who has become the greatest authority on American income statistics,

What Is the Nation's Income and Who Gets It? The Answers to These Questions Show the Drawing Tighter of the Class Lines. In the First of a Series of Articles Louis Stanley Traces the Efforts of Economists to Estimate the Nation's Income

was then an instructor in statistics at the University of Wisconsin. He prepared a study on "Production, Present and Future," in which he tried to answer the Socialist contention as represented in a pamphlet by A. M. Simons, that under Socialism everyone would live in comparative luxury. He estimated the total real income of the United States in 1910 at \$31,300,000,000 which if divided up among the population would mean an average income per capita of \$339.31 or \$1,560.90 for a family of 4.6. He then proceeded to argue that Socialism cannot improve production sufficiently to increase the total income and that "all plans for ideal distribution must take this fact into consideration or they are doomed in advance to ignominious failure in so far as they hope to improve the well-being of the average citizen." So pleased was Professor Richard T. Ely with this analysis that he published it as an appendix to his "Property and Contract in Their Relations to the Distribution of

Wealth," which appeared in two volumes in 1914.

King arrived at his final figure by two methods: first, he obtained an estimate of the net money income of the inhabitants of the United States and secondly, an estimate of the total value of goods and services consumed by them. Encouraged by Professor Ely he continued his researches and published his "Wealth and Income of the People of the United States" in 1915. In this book he abandoned the procedures of his first analysis, also discarded a figure growing out of a study of the income of families in different classes of the population and confined himself to a method which traced "the process of production from nature to the final consumer." Beginning with raw material he calculated how much value was added by human effort in working over and marketing goods and then added to this the value of professional, personal and governmental services. He arrived at statistics for the period 1850-1910,

which are the first covering the years before 1890:

Year.	Total Money Income.
1850	\$2,214,000,000
1860	3,636,000,000
1870	6,720,000,000
1880	7,391,000,000
1890	12,082,000,000
1900	17,965,000,000
1910	30,530,000,000

National Bureau of Economic Research

When the National Bureau of Economic Research was organized in 1920 with funds supplied chiefly by the Commonwealth Fund and the Carnegie Corporation, W. I. King became a member of its research staff. It is perhaps an important reason why the Bureau undertook as its major interest the study of the national income of the United States. The new organization undertook its task on a large scale. It decided to make its estimates in two different ways. W. I. King was put in charge of an estimate by sources of production "derived from a study of the separate industrial

fields in which the income originates," while Oswald W. Knauth was asked to make an estimate by incomes received utilizing "the data which show the income received by individuals, plus the income received by business enterprises but not distributed by their owners." There was great excitement when the two results were brought together for comparison. In 1921 reports on the independent investigations were published in two volumes under the title "Income in the United States: Its Amount and Distribution, 1909-1919." The close similarity of results obtained by King and Knauth are revealed in the following summary of their estimates:

Year.	Estimate by Sources of Production.	Estimate by Incomes Received.
1909 ..	\$28,800,000,000
1910 ..	31,800,000,000	\$31,100,000,000
1911 ..	31,200,000,000	31,200,000,000
1912 ..	33,600,000,000	32,400,000,000
1913 ..	35,600,000,000	33,300,000,000
1914 ..	33,900,000,000	32,500,000,000
1915 ..	36,100,000,000	35,900,000,000
1916 ..	45,400,000,000	45,500,000,000
1917 ..	53,900,000,000	53,900,000,000
1918 ..	60,400,000,000	61,700,000,000
1919	66,000,000,000

Full Profits Omitted

With the resignation of Knauth from the staff of the National Bureau of Economic Research the work was continued mainly by King. It has borne fruit in a volume published by the Bureau

Milwaukee's "Miracle"

Socialist Mayor Tells of City's Progress Debtless Within

Socialist Milwaukee has become the center of attention because of its accomplishment in the midst of a period of economic disaster. The New Leader is particularly glad therefore to be able to offer its readers at this time an exclusive series of three articles by Daniel W. Hoan, Mayor of Milwaukee, and a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.

By Daniel W. Hoan
Mayor of Milwaukee

THE city of Milwaukee was born on the 22nd day of January, 1846, by the issuance of a charter by the State Legislature. This is called the act of incorporation. The same procedure took place in the history of every city. On this day of birth the officials

elected were confronted with the fact that they were unable to determine in advance exactly what funds would be needed to meet disbursements of the oncoming year nor were the funds available for meeting these expenses. Consequently the city borrowed the money from banks, or most of it, to operate its activities and thereby started out on a non-cash basis. This meant that at the first tax-paying time several months afterward the debt to the bank plus interest had to be repaid out of tax receipts.

To make matters worse, each year a few taxpayers at least were unable to pay their personal property taxes. These unpaid taxes became an accumulated deficit in the city treasury. This condition prevailed in Milwaukee, as it does elsewhere, until 1910 when the new administration found but one department being operated on a cash basis, that is to say, only the taxes to operate the public schools were collected in advance. Taxes collected in December and January for the schools were paid in to meet the operating expenses during the oncoming year but for all other departments the money had to be met in part by such revenues as came in from licenses and other miscellaneous sources and in a large part had to be borrowed from banks to maintain the city government throughout the year, the tax for this expense being collected at tax-paying time the year following. The city, therefore, had this deficit to meet with others in addition to placing itself on a cash basis. This was a tremendous task to face.

A Halt to Borrowing

The first step taken to put Milwaukee on a sound financial basis was to check the borrowing habit. The first Socialist administration in 1910 discontinued issuing bonds for the city's share of street improvements and secured the passage of a law forbidding this practice.

The second step was to stop issuing bonds for the annual dredging of the rivers and similar recurring expenses. In place of bonds

in both instances, the city levied a cash tax to meet these bills and thus began the task of checking the mounting debt burden.

So that this added tax would not be too great a hardship it became necessary to effect certain economies. Among these was the establishment of a scientific budget system. Under this plan the city officials must estimate for the oncoming year the amounts of money needed to operate their department. The Board of Estimate compares the thousands of items with the amounts spent the previous year. It reduces these estimates and finally adopts the budget. Thereupon a tax rate is fixed to collect the money needed to operate the city for a year. Under this plan not only was every endeavor made to check city expenditures where possible without eliminating desirable services but it henceforth became impossible to operate the city with a deficit. The money was collected as provided in the budget and no department could expend more than the budget appropriation. As a result instead of an annual deficit each year as had been the case, we have since wound up every year with a surplus.

Central Purchasing Bureau

To effect further savings we created a centralized purchasing agency. By systematizing the buying and by purchasing in major quantities through one bureau, a saving estimated conservatively at 10 per cent on materials and supplies was effected. These savings enable us to plug other holes in our old policies of creating deficits. A huge hole in the city's cash had been created by the annual losses due to those who through bankruptcy, moving, etc., had and were failing to pay their personal property taxes. To meet this and to make up for accumulated losses from this source since the city was founded, we provided for an additional small annual tax.

As time went on it became apparent that it would be advisable to put the various departments on the same cash basis as the school board. Consequently an additional

measure was enacted to provide for an annual tax that would accumulate funds for this purpose. Thereafter, one by one, we could add departments for which the cash was collected on Jan. 1 that was to be spent in operating these departments in the ensuing year. Year by year we have been placing one department after another on such a cash basis until today over three-fourths of our city work is on this basis and within the next three years all our de-

Literature

By Heywood Brown

UNFORTUNATELY, I forgot to turn off the radio upon quitting the job early the other morning. It makes it much easier to write if you tune in on one of the cabarets. The sounds of jazz and revelry increase your self-esteem enormously. As you pound the keys you hear "Yes, Sir, She's My Baby" or "Has Anybody Seen My Girl?" and you say to yourself, "There are those fools and wasters dining and drinking and dancing, and here I am hard at work turning out literature."

The jokes of the broadcaster and the applause and the laughter all sound very jolly and enticing but it is easy to thrust aside temptation with a little philosophy. "That," I say to myself, "is just the fun of a moment. Ephemerality is written all over it. Who among all the roistering crowd will remember a single one of all the announcer's witty sayings tomorrow morning?"

"Not one," I reply, for I make it a practice in these philosophic discussions to supply the answers as well as the questions.

"But this column I am writing," I continue, "this will live after the cabaret quips are forgotten. This book will still be partially current two months after publication."

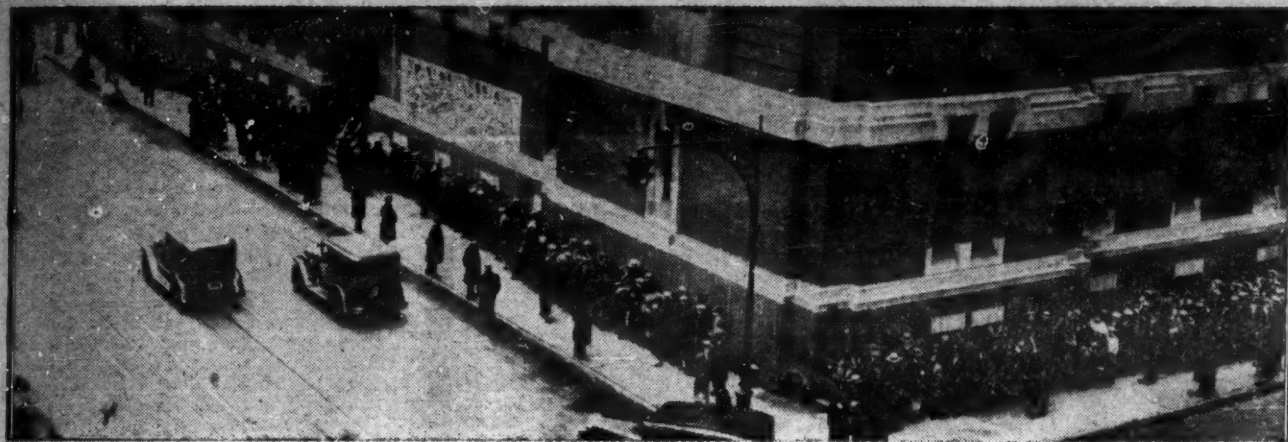
"Blind fools," I ruminate with bitterness, "they have no thought except to please themselves. I

"The Low" In Harlan



Rollin Kirby in The N. Y. World-Telegram

In The U. S.: 1-The Nation's Income



World now has 100,000,000 needy, victims of unemployment, and U. S. has 24,000,000 of them, says report of International Labor Office at Geneva. Above is part of a line of needy waiting for Christmas food packages at 69th Regiment Armory.

Rollin Kirby in The N. Y. World-Telegram.

in 1930 called "The National Income and Its Purchasing Power." Here the term "realized income" is used. It "consists, in the main, of the amounts received by individuals in the form of wages, salaries, pensions, compensation for injuries, interest, dividends, rents, royalties, services of durable consumers' goods, and profits withdrawn from business." It does not, therefore, include profits that stay in the business.

Attention is called to the inclu-

sion of the item "services of durable consumers' goods" such as houses. This King calls imputed income and in the following summary of his results a distinction is made between the total realized income including the imputed portion and that excluding it.

Year.	Total Including Imputed Income.	Total Excluding Imputed Income.
1909..	\$29,605,000,000	\$27,661,000,000
1910..	31,430,000,000	29,345,000,000
1911..	31,858,000,000	29,660,000,000

1912..	33,977,000,000	31,755,000,000
1913..	35,723,000,000	33,393,000,000
1914..	35,647,000,000	33,227,000,000
1915..	37,205,000,000	34,690,000,000
1916..	43,288,000,000	40,585,000,000
1917..	51,331,000,000	48,314,000,000
1918..	60,408,000,000	56,658,000,000
1919..	65,949,000,000	61,628,000,000
1920..	73,999,000,000	68,442,000,000
1921..	83,371,000,000	78,271,000,000
1922..	85,925,000,000	81,187,000,000
1923..	74,337,000,000	69,295,000,000
1924..	77,135,000,000	71,905,000,000
1925..	81,931,000,000	76,561,000,000
1926..	85,548,000,000	80,284,000,000
1927..	88,205,000,000	82,921,000,000
1928..	89,419,000,000	84,119,000,000

Defects of Other Studies

Other investigators have used the figures of King or those of the National Bureau of Economic Research as a basis for making estimates of their own. These experiments need not detain us. There have been, however, two other efforts to measure the size of the national income by independent study of the original statistical material, that of Walter Renton Ingalls and that of the Federal Trade Commission. Ingalls, who

had become noted for his measurement of the wealth of the United States in 1922 turned his attention to determining the amount of the national income. He published his results in the "Annalist" beginning with 1926.

His method was based on the premise that there cannot be any increase in national income without an increase in the production of commodities. He, therefore, objected to the inclusion of items employed by the National Bureau of Economic Research. He omitted rental value of property used by its owner and the imputed interest on goods possessed by anyone. He left out increases or decreases in the value of property liquidated. His figures are, therefore, lower than those of the Bureau and Ingalls himself has recently intimated that they are too low. His totals are as follows:

1919	\$65,500,000,000
1920	72,000,000,000
1921	55,000,000,000
1922	60,900,000,000
1923	72,300,000,000
1924	70,600,000,000
1925	73,400,000,000
1926	74,900,000,000
1927	72,800,000,000
1928	75,900,000,000

The Federal Trade Commission published its estimates of national income in 1926 in its report on "National Wealth and Income" prepared in response to a Senate resolution. It made no allowance for the rental value of urban dwellings occupied by their owners or for the interest on the investment in consumption goods, as the National Bureau of Economic Research had done. It was fortunate to have access to some material that the Bureau did not have an opportunity to use. Its estimates follow:

1918	\$60,223,000,000
1919	67,391,000,000
1920	74,264,000,000
1921	52,607,000,000
1922	61,738,000,000
1923	69,833,000,000

Including All the Profits

The above discussion of the various estimates of the national income of the United States indicates that the results of the National Bureau of Economic Research should be preferred. Not only are they the most thoroughly prepared but they include the imputed income which possessors of certain forms of wealth enjoy. After all the total goods produced and the total services rendered constitute the income which is divided among the inhabitants of a country. The Bureau's figures are marred by one important defect. The money that corporations set aside for savings is just as much a part of the total national income as the dividends that are paid out to stockholders. In any analysis of the distribution of income it is, therefore, necessary to include the large items of corporate surplus or savings. Both the National Bureau of Economic Research and the United States Department of Commerce have made calculations of the surpluses of corporations, those of the Bureau being more complete. Their figures for a number of years are here presented:

Year.	N. B. E. R. Estimates.	U. S. Dept. of Commerce Estimates.
1922...	\$2,121,000,000	\$1,747,000,000
1923...	2,962,000,000	2,528,000,000
1924...	1,854,000,000	1,575,000,000
1925...	3,463,000,000	2,957,000,000
1926...	2,741,000,000	2,335,000,000
1927...		1,115,000,000
1928...		2,470,000,000

If we add these corporate surpluses to the income distributed to individuals the sum available for distribution to the inhabitants of the United States is considerably increased. What this means for the division of social classes in this country will be taken up next week.

in Municipal Financing

Progress in Campaign to Make Municipality Self-Sufficient in Thirty Years

Departments will be so financed. In other words, over a period of years we have not only been able to wipe out the financial deficits of the past but to accumulate funds annually to place us further and further on a cash basis. This was made possible by the savings already mentioned and by others to be discussed.

A Debtless City in View

One result that accrued from this annual increase in the amount of cash available to operate the

city was the fact that as years city was the fact that as years for our purchase of materials, thereby taking advantage of the cash discount which comes from prompt payment. Approximately \$40,000 each year is now realized from this source, more than enough to finance the Purchasing Department.

With the increasing cash in the treasury another splendid step was accomplished. We were gradually able to pay our contractors for

their public work in cash thereby eliminating the old system of issuing certificates of indebtedness drawing interest. For the past several years all our contract work has been paid for when completed and the interest burden from the issuance of debt certificates has been entirely eliminated.

A final problem which faced us was: what to do with the bonded debt. All cities are staggering under this load. To solve this problem a plan was worked out that

is unique among the cities of the world. A plan called the amortization fund was devised, which will within the next 30 years be sufficiently large to pay off all our public debts. When that time arrives fully \$3 a thousand in the reduction of the tax rate will be achieved.

Creating the Fund

Since I have been Mayor perhaps a thousand inquiries have come to this office inquiring now this is possible. From where did the money come for the establishment of this fund? The answer is as follows: In all cities including Milwaukee it is the habit of depositing the city's money received at tax-paying time in the banks. For this money the city would receive 2 per cent interest, or less annually from the banks. A Socialist Alderman introduced a proposal that the city be authorized and the treasurer directed to invest part of these funds in either United States or good municipal bonds drawing from 3 to 5 per cent interest. Under this plan the city's money enormously increased. The difference between 2 and 4 per cent interest on millions of dollars of money even for short periods amounts to considerable sums. After this interest money began to accumulate a law was prepared and introduced into the State Legislature providing that one-half of all the city's interest money must be set aside and preserved in what is called an amortization fund, this money to be invested in first-class municipal or federal bonds. Thus the fund is increased annually and is drawing compound interest. The fund has already exceeded the \$3,000,000 mark and is growing each year at a remarkable pace. I have heard of no city in the world that has taken this or a similar step to wipe out the curse of its bonded indebtedness. It is not surprising therefore, that Milwaukee is envied by other cities for this achievement.

We have not taken the time to compute when the savings from the new policies began to equal the added tax except to say that the next article will reveal that for several years our annual saving amounted to from two to three times the cost.

With Benefit of Broadcasting



Brown, by Auerbach-Levy
work for the sake of posterity and Roy Howard."

But it was a mistake not to turn the damn thing off after the last jazz band had done for the evening. The current continued even though nothing came through the horn, and at 6:45 a. m. I began to dream that I was best man at a military funeral. It was impossible to work all the noises in to the fabric of my fantasy and

remain asleep, and I awoke to the sound of pealing bells and bugle calls. And the reason for this puzzled me until I heard a cheery voice which said, "Good morning, everybody; this is Mr. Wiggly the exercise man." To get up and shut him off was far too great an effort, and so I listened while he grew increasingly cheery.

"Isn't that fine," he continued, "to see you all tumbling out of bed. Now we'll begin by drinking a nice long glass of cold water. Tastes good, doesn't it? I've always said nature is man's best bootlegger. Ha! Ha! Ha!" and he laughed three times with most annoying vehemence.

"Now I want each of my pupils, big or small, to make sure that the windows are open. Fresh air should be part of our breakfast every morning. There's nothing like fresh air on these fine sharp mornings."

For the first time I was reminded of the penetrating chill of the bleak and gloomy day and drew

the quilt under my chin. But there was no shutting off the breezy tones of Mr. Wiggly.

"Well, now isn't that fine? Here comes daddy to join our circle. Daddy's not so young as he used to be, but he's still a good sport. Aren't you daddy? Now, we'll begin with exercise B42, which is K29 on your charts. Place the left toe behind the right ear and bend forward until your knee touches the ground. That's it. You're all doing fine.

Somebody struck up "Yes Sir, She's My Baby" on the piano and Mr. Wiggly continued:

"Chin up. Eyes bright, I want to see you all smiling. We can't have any sulky faces in our little family. One, two. One, two. One, two. Snap into it. Show me all your teeth. One, two. One, two. The little family is growing larger all the time. I had a letter from a gentleman in Batavia yesterday that he and his six children and both his aunts had joined the class. I hope you're with us this morning, Mr. Weismuller. One, two. One, two. I've never been in Batavia, but I understand you've got a pretty little town. Breathe deep. Keep smiling."

And here the drill was interrupted by a fearful fit of coughing. With peace in my heart, I turned over and went to sleep, for now I realized that the cheery Mr. Wiggly had a very nasty cold.

In The New Leader Next Week
THE CASE FOR DISARMAMENT
By Harry W. Laidler

Oh, See the Pretty Picture!

THE pretty, pretty picture herewith displayed is being sent out by the utility interests of California under the caption: "He Can't Think of Anything Else to Do."

You get the idea, boys and girls. All us lazy, naughty radicals can't think of anything else to do than to sit around and bait the poor, picked-on utilities.

In the picture, a fish labelled, "sucker," is nibbling at the bait of "government ownership." Near the sucker is a great swarm of little fishes called, "millions of small stockholders."

A great, big, "normous" fish called, "taxpayer," is laughing in his fangs and saying, "not for me."

Well, this is a good example of the workings of those vast intelligences which manage our utilities. Next to the Peter Rabbit series in that palladium of Republican wit and wisdom "The New York Herald-Tribune" we have seen nothing of late that impressed us more. Here in picture form is marshalled all the masterful logic, the penetrating analysis of a complex situation, the appeal to reason which distinguishes the propaganda of the power trust that has made such marked headway among the Boy Scouts, the D. A. R., and the Descendants of the Veterans of the War of Eighteen Twelve.

Several recent books, chief among them "The Public Pays," by Ernest Gruening, will give you in detail from the testimony taken before the Federal Trade Commission just how successful such applesauce as this has been in convincing the public that it hasn't brains enough to run its own business and that the management of public utilities should be left to those Christian gentlemen to whom, according to the late coal baron, George Baer, God has entrusted such matters.

Rigging up text-books for high-school kids, writing songs about "God Bless Our Utilities," sending elderly virgins through the Middle-West to give away free toast, toasted on expensive electric toasters, at the same time they hand out pamphlets explaining what a bunch of altruists are running the Power Trust—these are but a few of the activities of those masters of the art of fiction who call themselves "public relations counselors" for the utilities. And the discouraging thing is that in spite of all the dirt that has been flung upon these high-binders they are still doing business at the old stand, as the above picture shows.

Of course, one of the ironic things about this whole situation is that those of us who are still lucky enough to be able to have electric lights and telephones have to pay for all this expensive printing and circularizing out of our own pockets. It's as though we all rushed out and bought costly and insulting comic valentines and then paid to have them mailed to ourselves.

Next month a bunch of speakers from the League for Industrial Democracy are going about the Eastern States discussing, among other things, the poisonous activities of the Power Trust. Already the utility gag are getting ready to "pin the Bolshevik label" on these speakers as one of their leaders once advised. If any of the L. I. D. speakers happens to come to your home town, don't you miss the talks. You'll find announcement of the dates and places in a later issue of "The New Leader" and from what I know of the rods we have in pickle for these utility lads, you should have a good time.

I say "we" with becoming modesty because I happen to be one of the speakers slated to talk on Power. "But don't let that deter you. Incidentally, despite the caption on the picture I can think of plenty else to do besides annoying the Power Trust. But I do feel that I am not exactly wasting such time as I can devote to digging into the black extortionists who move behind the utility propaganda screens.

I didn't have the heart in my last column to wish any of you a "Merry Christmas," things being what they are. But I'm just optimistic enough to wish you a Happy New Year, at least happier than this last execrable year. Heaven knows it can't be much worse and if we all get together, present a common front to the common enemy and work our ears off, we'll have a national campaign this coming year that ought to give us the sort of genuine happiness that comes to a Socialist who feels that he is part of an up and coming movement. There is no other happiness in this drab world just like this, boys and girls, and we wish it to you from a full heart.

McAllister Coleman.



THE POOR FISH

Socialism And The A B C of Busses

An Important Immediate Battle for Public Ownership

By Paul Blanshard

THE public ownership and operation of buses in New York City is one of the most vital immediate objectives of the New York Socialist movement. The importance of the bus industry is bound to increase with the gradual elimination of street cars, and if the city allows this industry to be controlled for private profit, it will surrender tens of millions of dollars to the traction interests and it will permit these interests to further corrupt our political life.

The Socialist objective should be (1) the granting of no bus franchise except recapturable franchises to the responsible private companies that will give the city the most money and the best service, (2) the operation of all bus lines by the city at the earliest possible moment. At present the city does not have the original power to operate bus lines of its own, but it does have the power, under Section 73 of the City Charter, to grant recapturable bus franchises, to recapture the lines and then to operate them after it has exercised this right of recapture.

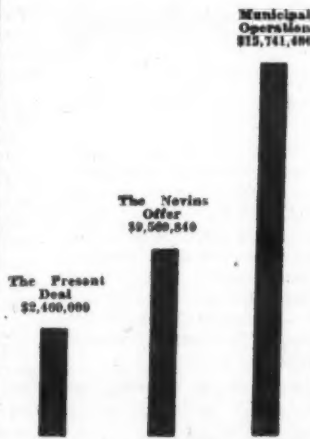
The Mayor's Record

The Walker administration is in the camp of the powerful bus companies. It has allowed numerous independent bus operators to use the city's streets for twelve years without paying a cent to the city although such operation is illegal. The city has lost millions because of this failure to act on the part of the city administration. No provision has been made for the protection of workers.

In 1927 the Mayor jammed through a city-wide franchise for the Equitable Coach Company, a fly-by-night concern backed by friends of the Mayor. This scheme collapsed because of lack of financial backing and a city-wide scandal.

The Walker administration has

THE BATTLE OF QUEENS The City's Share of QUEENS BUS PROFITS



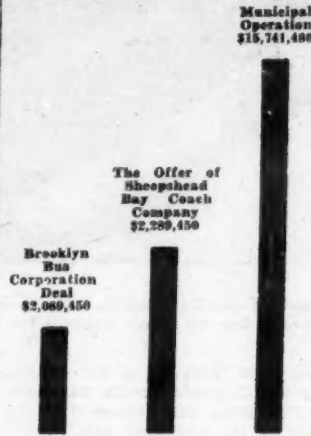
This chart shows the city's share in Queens bus profits under the proposed franchise of the North Shore Bus Company and the Jamaica Bus Company.

In the first column the amount of \$2,400,000 would be paid by these two companies as 5 per cent of gross revenues for ten years.

The second column shows a profit of \$9,569,840 which would come to the city under the offer of the Nevins Bus Company. This figure is derived from the profits. Estimates presented at the hearing before Deputy Controller Friel by Mr. William Nevins, Mr. Nevins agreed to pay the city the standard 5 per cent of gross revenues plus one-half of all profits above 6 per cent on the actual investment.

The third column shows the returns to the city if the city captured all Queens bus lines after two years of a terminable franchise. It is predicted on the assumption that the companies would pay to the city for the first two years an amount equivalent to the Nevins offer, whereupon the city could recapture and keep the profits for itself.

THE BATTLE OF BROOKLYN The City's Share of BROOKLYN BUS PROFITS



Brooklyn bus—This figure is based upon the terms of the franchise already granted to the Brooklyn Bus Company, i. e., 5 per cent of gross receipts for ten years.

Sheepshead Bay—This company offered \$200,000 cash, in addition to the 5 per cent of gross receipts of the Brooklyn Bus Company.

Municipal operation—This figure is based upon 5 per cent of gross receipts for two years. At the end of two years the city would recapture and get all the profits.

contemptuously ignored Section 74 of the City Charter which requires the Board of Estimate and Apportionment to make an inquiry into the money value of the franchise to be granted and the compensation to be paid therefor. The only pretense of compliance was a sham, published for the purpose of giving color to the scandalous Equitable deal. The Walker administration has declared 22 per cent to be a fair return for a bus operator while courts were declaring that 8 per cent is a fair return on investments for public utilities.

The Profits to be Made

The accompanying charts show the tremendous profits to be made out of private bus operation, and the saving which could be affected by granting recapturable franchises and municipal operation after recapture under Section 73 of the charter.

Under the proposed deal, the favored companies will make a net profit of at least 112 per cent. The most startling fact about the proposed franchise in Queens is that Fred C. Harris, treasurer of the Jamaica Central Railway Company and a director of the bus concern which Mayor Walker strongly favored for one of the two Queens bus franchises, has been holding a lock-box in the Chase Safe Deposit Company jointly with Mayor Walker and Russell Sherwood, the mayor's business agent, who has carefully absented himself from the Seabury inquiry. This fact was transmitted to Judge Seabury on October 30, 1931, by the City Affairs Committee, and the Seabury staff is now following it up. Mr. Harris' company was about to get a ten-year franchise from the city for at least \$250,000 a year less than it was worth to the city.

The Brooklyn Bus Corporation will earn 150% net profit annually on its actual investment under the franchise recently granted. The franchise was granted April 28, 1931, while a competing bus owner was publicly offering the city \$200,000 more than the Brooklyn Bus Company offered, in addition to other terms more favorable to the city.

But the Brooklyn battle is not over. The City Affairs Committee has filed a taxpayer's suit against the Brooklyn concern and the city. The case is now being fought out in the courts, with Louis Waldman as counsel. The

committee has won the first skirmish, and anticipates that the franchise will be set aside on the ground that it was adopted in violation of Section 74 of the City Charter, mentioned above.

Under the terms offered by this company there will be an annual net profit of 164% on actual investment in buses.

One fact makes the battle for these longitudinal lines in Manhattan different from the others. That fact is that the New York Railways Company already has perpetual franchises for the use of New York City's streets for trolleys.

A Bargain To Be Driven

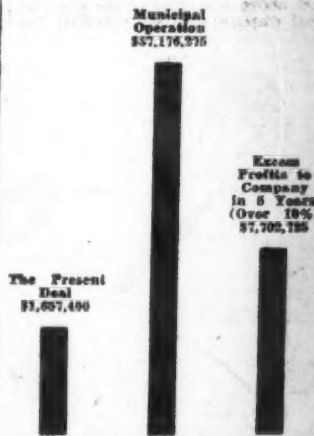
We cannot, therefore, force the New York Railways Company off New York's streets directly. We must bargain with the company and give it some compensation in place of its perpetual franchises. Otherwise it will continue to operate its ancient street cars for many years to come under franchises that were obtained by questionable methods in the first place but that are eternal as far as the law is concerned.

Probably the best way to drive a bargain with the New York Railways Company would be to suggest that the company be granted five years of operation of buses under a terminable franchise which would give it a chance to earn \$7,700,000 surplus profits, above ten per cent profits which could be used to reimburse holders of the present street car securities. It is now asking \$11,000,000 for these securities. The street cars now operated by the New York Railways Company are a nuisance. Buses should be substituted for them as soon as possible. But substitution should be made on decent terms, not on the outrageous terms offered by the company.

The cross-town lines in Manhattan are a different story. There are no perpetual franchises involved.

(Continued on Page Eleven)

THE BATTLE OF MANHATTAN The City's Share of MANHATTAN BUS PROFITS (Longitudinal Routes)



This is a chart showing in the first column return of \$1,657,400 that the city would receive on the longitudinal lines if the New York Railways Corporation offer is accepted and a 25-year franchise is granted. The company would pay to the city only 1 per cent of gross revenue for the first ten years and 2 per cent for the last fifteen years.

In the second column is shown the return to the city over a 25-year period (\$37,176,275) if the city granted the New York Railways Corporation a terminable franchise of five years guaranteed duration, and then at the end of the five years captured the bus lines for municipal operation under Section 73 of the City Charter.

In the third column is shown the amount of surplus profit which the New York City Omnibus Corporation would receive during the five years of operation in excess of 10 per cent on its actual investment. This \$7,702,725 would reimburse the New York Railways Corporation for most of its claims for old securities and in addition give a 10 per cent profit during the first five years of operation.

From Our Mail-Bag

The New Leader Forum

Back to Marx—Hillquit to Baron—Stick to the Fundamentals

BACK TO MARXIAN SOCIALISM
By Frank Jefferies

The recent letters of Comrades O'neal, Bright and others, speaking on the wrongs of extra organizations within the organization of the Socialist party, may to some extent be true and I for one am opposed at this time, to having any factional disputes spring up in the party. It would have a tendency to breed contempt for the real organization by those who are contemplating becoming a part of our organization, and who, if these alleged conditions continue to be broadcast, will begin to think (aloud) that the same rivalry for power exists in the Socialist party that exists in the old party ranks. It stands to reason that if we cannot maintain solidarity within our own ranks, then we should hesitate before trying to solidify the masses.

I quite agree that these extra groups, so-called should present any thought of action before their respective branches or state committees. But on the other hand, there is the reactionary type, the grandpops in the party, self-appointed deans, guides, prophets and advisors, who seem to take pride in talking down any and all real militant action, proposed by the younger element. And while this type is very much in the minority, the fact still remains that they are there.

Comrades, this is positively not the time for factional disputes. Right now is the time for concerted action. Factional disputes and extra organizations within our real organization at this time will tend to give birth to Russell, Spargo and MacDonalds and I feel that the action of these notorious traitors of the masses should be a warning to all who call themselves Socialists. Let us build up an organization free from all factions, free from any incentive that will invite compromise, in fact, let us get back to our original foundation of Marxian Socialism. The sooner this step is taken, the sooner will our strides forward become noticeable. Come, comrades, let us give up the idea, for the time being, at least, that we can overthrow the present capitalist system, by electing to some petty municipal office, a Socialist here, another in some little burg on the other side of the country. It can't be done, now or any other time. Let us start a real educational campaign for the benefit of the masses, pointing out to them more gloriously than ever, why, when and how the men they have elected to represent them, from the President down, have become traitors, grafters, thieves and even racketeers. Prove to them that only by abolishing capitalism can they ever hope to gain the right to a life of freedom, happiness and prosperity. Arouse the interest of the party members, advise the strict adherence to some plan such as outlined above and I feel sure the factional disputes will be forgotten, the reactionaries will automatically vanish from the picture and there will be no need for these extra organizations that seem to be causing so much concern. Remember always comrades, that UNITED WE STAND, DIVIDED WE FALL. And there should be no room in the Socialist party for those that are minus the will to stand united. We should stand too close to allow any to fall. It is better to be subject to the commendation rather than the condemnation of the masses.

In April, 1932, our national convention, when it goes into session in Milwaukee, should consist of delegates that are immune to soft-soap ora-

tory, weak-kneed reformers and makers of flowery speeches. We should insist that our delegates demand a real, revolutionary Socialist platform, not only for 1932, but for all time thereafter.

If we allow a weak-kneed, spineless platform to emanate from that convention in April, then we may just as well take down our banners and use our literature to start next winter's fires with. The failure of our delegates at this convention, to draw up a party platform demanding the absolute abolition of the capitalist system as the only remedy for present chaotic conditions, will have a tendency to put the Socialist party in the limelight as office-seeking reformers. And I have no desire to be affiliated with an outfit that can boast of nothing but reform measures. And I hope the majority of my comrades agree with me on this point.

In closing I would like to remind you once more, factional disputes and extra organizations must be nipped in the bud, before there is another split in our ranks and that, at this time would be a calamity. Organization along militant lines, plus an educational program is, in my estimation, the solution to the problem.

Camden, N. J.

SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES AND TACTICS

By Morris Hillquit

Murray Baron's letter on Marxism in the last issue of The New Leader is an interesting document.

As I understand his reasoning, he condemns the policies of the German Social Democracy and the British Labor party alike because in his opinion both have centered their practical activities on social and industrial legislation of the type demanded by the "selfish" labor movement; both have pursued the policy of reformism and gradualism; both have collaborated with or supported bourgeois governments; both have actually or tacitly aided in the capitalist offensive on the workers' standard of life, and neither has been truly revolutionary.

I have no desire at this time to enter upon a discussion of Murray Baron's conceptions of Marxism or the essence of revolutionary tactics, but I must express my amazement at the glee and enthusiasm with which he seeks to demonstrate that international Socialism is a mere ally ("lackey," I believe is the accepted Communist terminology) of international capitalism.

The Socialist party of the United States, of which Murray Baron is a member, is an integral part of the international social democratic movement represented by the Labor and Socialist International, and I am somewhat at a loss to understand the sadistic joy with which he castigates our whole movement.

For Baron's strictures of the German Socialists and the British Laborites apply with equal justice or injustice to the Socialist parties of France, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Spain and of all other countries in which the Socialist movement has attained to a substantial degree of political power.

All of these parties frankly represent the interests and voice the demands of the "selfish" labor movement in their practical parliamentary activities and follow the same general methods as their German and English comrades. They consider their attitude good Marxism and their policies truly revolutionary. They reject

the "militant" slogans as romantic and meaningless phrases.

This view has only recently been reaffirmed and approved with practical unanimity by the Vienna Congress of the Labor and Socialist International. The insignificant opposition of the Independent Labor party of England and the Bund of Poland only served to emphasize the general agreement of international Socialism on all essential points of principle and policy.

Murray Baron would have our party make common cause with the Independent Labor party and what he terms the "Left Wing Social Democracy of Germany" against the Socialist movement of the world.

This is not a solution but a pure evasion.

The small dissident groups mentioned above do not represent national movements but factions and consist mainly of persons who lack either the mental clarity or the moral courage to align themselves outright with the Communist movement. They are neither fish nor flesh in modern politics. In the clash of principles and policies within the advanced labor movement of our time the choice lies between international Social Democracy and Communism. Hesitant splits may delay the choice—they cannot forever avoid it.

New York City.

STICK TO FUNDAMENTALS

By Abe Kalish

Every once in a while somebody pops up with the advice that we change our name. Such advice rests on the assumption that people look at their ballots, search out the best sounding name and vote accordingly. The natural inertia of people as seen in the fact that 50 per cent do not vote shows that the number of such voters is negligible. Those who go to the bother of voting have definite reasons for so doing and their minds are made up days in advance. They belong to organizations which want something, American Legion, Anti-Saloon League, etc., they or their relatives hold political jobs; somebody in the family has a job for election day; their vote has been bought; they are repaying a favor, etc. These form the great bulk of the voters in most elections and no sort of name-changing can have any effect on them.

With all due respect to the givers of such suggestions, it is important to investigate their background since it gives a clue to many party members and sympathizers. Such people are too impatient and want results immediately without caring much about the hard work of continuous agitation which must precede all political success. Our job for the past ten years, no matter how few our members, should have consisted in emphasizing and re-emphasizing that capitalism as a system able to supply food, clothing and shelter is breaking down. Immediate results would have been small, but today we would have been reaping the results of our efforts. Instead, all too many who were active, were active in trying to find short cuts to the promised land. A lot of energy has been spent in reform, non-partisan, labor, third party, etc., movements; all devices to get results quickly and all wasted effort so far as convincing the masses of the necessity of substituting Socialism for the present chaos.

The results of all this dilly-dallying are appearing now. People whom we vainly tried to entice, through the various sugar-coated movements, are now going through a third winter of terrific suffering. Today they are ready not for reforms or third parties but a new social system. My personal acquaintance with the feelings of hundreds of the unemployed convinces me that no matter how conservative people were a few years ago, now programs for change cannot be radical enough. Socialism will either supply the program or the masses will go up the blind alley of Communism, as many of the unemployed are doing now.

Let us awaken to our present opportunity and duty and get down to real hard work; speaking on street corners, distributing literature, raising finances for organization. The results we have been getting with our small organization in such places where we have been active should convince everybody that the people are ready for our message. The reason why people have not been turning to us in greater numbers is not that we have not got the right name or formula but because we are not on the job.

Boston, Mass.

The crowd will follow a leader who marches 20 steps in advance; but if he is a thousand steps in front of them they do not see and follow him, and any literary freebooter who chooses this road will be lost.

The Chatterbox

THERE will be much summing up of the old old year, and great prophecies for the new time-child. On every lip and in every heart there is hope for a better year ahead. Somewhere beyond the interspaces of the universe, God, fate, destiny, or whatever you wish to call him or it, looks down upon this bit of planetary dust with a gargantuan grin.

And behind that masque of laughter runs this thought: "Fools, what will you have now. . . ? Out of a trillion places within my realm I have chosen your earth for my pretty play with life. All things I have given you to build thereon a living perfection. I spent ages of your reckoning in time to weave the meanest blade of grass, and fashion the tiniest cell in your brain. . . In a few moments of my time I have allowed you to play with life yourselves.

"Fools doomed to foolish extinction, with pachyderms and dinosaurs, since these died out entirely because they refused to learn or yield to the mandate of inexorable change . . . or gods with the promise of the higher life impelling you onward into the sunlight. Between being fools or gods . . . lies your choice now.

"I gave you rare substances in profusion for your comfort. The least of these, since I gave you least of it, you made so valuable that you still fawn before its sickly glint in sickening adulation and worship. I gave you rare senses and emotions to quicken the tempo of your blood streams and widen the reach of your minds. Love, song, laughter and tenderness I showered down upon you through the warmth of the sun, the wine of rain, and the music of the wind.

"Out of my primordial mud pies, volcanic lava and crater pits still hot with poisonous fumes you picked out the passions of greed, hatred and bestial cruelty and found these more intriguing for your experiment with life. . .

"Within these fiery swamps of my first attempts to bring you into your present state of physical perfection, I burned up and buried a million civilizations of worm, beast and man. With each successive age and burial, I flung into each grave my disgust and hatred for the failure. And surely enough, the next development brought a repetition of tragedy and despair for the creatures and their creator.

"At last you came, the final masterwork, the perfect union of body and mind, the complete blending of flesh and spirit. . . Before you I spread in clear example my plan in nature. In every tree, in every flower, in every phase of season and element I wrote my recipe for gentle and complete process of the life communal and beautiful. I gave you the bee, the ant and the timid bird for primers and simple examples. And for grave warning, I allowed the ways of the carnivorous jungle beasts to remain bloodily before your ken.

Strange how you have not learned . . . sad indeed, the stupidity that has made the tiger and lion more glamorous than the co-operative bee, and the community building ant.

"I gave you the stuffs of comfort and life, and you turned them into instruments for devastation and death. I granted all of you the land in fee simple, without any tax or tithe save the blessing of your toil upon it. You allowed a few of your stronger and more tigerish ones to own it, and then these proceeded to tax the rest of you for the privilege of living.

"I shot the fluid of creation and dream into your brains, and therewith you borrowed of my lightning and gave yourselves light and power. You harnessed my streams, diffused and remolded the stuffs within the earth into sinew and life for intricate machines, and with these you learned to multiply my crude processes of seed, growth, harvest and replenishment. The needs of your race you have learned to produce beyond even my own fond plans. Luxuries, comforts, necessities, all things to give health and pleasure to the flesh you now know how to make in astonishing plenty. And for the spirit you have gone far indeed within the inspired arts and sciences. "Even I stand here at times and marvel at my direct handiwork through you. But I am terribly saddened by the hold that greed and blind hatred have upon you. And unless you replace with reason, love and unselfishness the impulses that control your present chaos of each one to himself, and despair or charity take the hindmost, your dismal end is near to hand.

"In my plan, whether it be upon fiery sun, or on a dead star, all things work for a common end. If my sun grows cold, all things die. If my cold moon is shattered to bits by some anarchic star, then there is no sight for your nights, and no leash upon your tides. . . Always there must be union of effort and concert in performance of duty. Always there must be love and consideration from the highest power to the meanest mote of substance. And from the lowest back again. In short, my plan is eternal and determined co-operation.

"This is my warning now, to you and all your doings. Root up the pride, the greed, the selfishness, and the beastly law of the jungle in which you are so hopelessly enmeshed. Let there be no poverty, no slums, no hunger and no suffering, since you have such surfeit of all things given you, and all that you need do is to plan a sane, human way of disbursing this overwhelming plenty among all of you.

"Unless you do this now, my patience is at an end. I have done so much for you and so well, that the least I might hope for is some small offering of thankfulness. And nothing would gratify me more than the pleasant sight of my handiwork moving through joy, peace and laughter toward the full, fine life that is mine. . .

This will be my last word to you. I shall say and do no more from now on. . . Peace or death, order or chaos, life or utter nothingness . . . these face you in the next few moments of my time. . . Choose well then. And now I leave you to your choice alone. . . I have other worlds and other living universes to look after. . . And if you disappear from my family for having persisted in your mad stupidities . . . the grief shall be yours alone. . .

"But if I find you still among my own when I return, my duldest star will shine the brighter through a community of unsullied joy. . ."

The A B C of Busses

(Continued from Page Ten)

ed. Buses are now being operated upon these lines by independent operators who have nothing but temporary permits. They and another bidder, City Bus Company, offer the city double what the New York City Omnibus Company offers, or \$1,875,000 a year more. It is obvious that the franchise should be granted to the highest bidder and later recaptured. Under the offer of the New York City Omnibus Company, the company will make an annual net profit of at least 96%.

The Estimate Board Divided
The Battle of Manhattan and the Battle of Queens will be decided by the Board of Estimate at

public hearings during January and February. Fortunately the Walker administration is not united in its position and believes in public ownership. There is, therefore, an unusual opportunity to defeat the pending franchises. Comptroller Charles W. Berry and Deputy Comptroller Frank J. Prial have broken with the Mayor in regard to his bus policy and have issued a report, after a long investigation, opposing the granting of these franchises to the present applicants on the ground that they are "to the distinct disadvantage of the city and unduly favor the operating companies." The Socialist Party, the City Affairs Committee, and other progressive groups in the city have an excellent chance to win the bus battles of Queens, Manhattan, and Brooklyn, if they will concentrate their forces on the Board of Estimate in the near future.

The Finest Labor Novels of the Age—
Pelle The Conqueror, 1,200 pp. \$3.50
Ditto, Daughter of Man, 1,000 pp. \$3.50
By Martin Anderson Here, the famous proletarian novelist, are on sale at the Sand Bookstore. Every worker should read these stirring books.

Socialist News Reported From Many States

New Jersey Elects Delegates to National Convention — Conn. Has New Organizer

Jugoslav Federation

ONEAL PAMPHLET IS TRANSLATED.—A booklet by James Oneal analyzing the Pope's encyclical on labor has been translated into Slovenian. It may be obtained from the federation secretary, Charles Pogorelec, 3639 West 26th street, Chicago.

Illinois

STATE CONFERENCE.—An all-day meeting is planned for Jan. 17 by the Illinois Socialists, to be held at state headquarters, 3036 Roosevelt road, starting at 10 a. m. Clarence Senior will speak on the agenda for the national convention; Ben Larks on state activities and Adolph Drefuss on plans for coming elections.

Kansas

Two series of meetings, one centering in Wichita and one in Pittsburg, are being planned by Ross Magill, state secretary, 401 West 1st street, Garnett. Comrades in other parts of the state wishing speakers for organization work should get in touch with Magill.

Oklahoma

ENID.—J. S. McDonald, 2024 North Independence, has volunteered as a local organizer here.

Pennsylvania

Y. P. S. L. CONFERENCE.—In connection with the regular party conference to be held in Pittsburgh the week-end of Decoration Day, the Yipsel circles of the state will hold their own conference. Arrangements are being made by a committee headed by Milton Weisberg, 5615 Hay street, Pittsburgh.

ALLEGHENY.—Pittsburgh Socialists will hold an annual general membership meeting for selection of candidates, reorganization of county committee and planning of 1932 campaign on Jan. 19. Only card members in good standing will be permitted to attend.

WESTMORELAND COUNTY.—Annual general membership meeting at Odd Fellows Hall, Greensburg, Pa., Jan. 17, at 1 p. m.

Texas

E. M. Lane, newly elected state organizer, will start his work in the northern part of the State, in Grayson, Collin and Fannin Counties, all predominantly agricultural. Lane's address is 505 East Magnolia street, Sherman.

New Jersey

The general membership meeting held in Jersey City Sunday, Dec. 27, elected Andrew P. Wittel state secretary and Helen Alfred financial secretary-treasurer of the state organization. Herman F. Niessner was chairman of the meeting. Henry Jager, George H. Goebel, Andrew P. Wittel and Herman F. Niessner were elected delegates to the national convention in Milwaukee. It was decided to call another general membership meeting Feb. 14 to discuss matters to be brought up at the national convention and instructing delegates. Norman Thomas is to be invited to address this meeting. The important matter of choosing a state executive committee was referred to the state committee to be taken up at its next meeting Sunday, Jan. 10. This meeting will be held at 105 Springfield avenue, Newark, and all state committee delegates are urged to be present at this meeting promptly at 2:30 p. m.

NEWARK.—County Organizer M. Rosenkrans requests all party branches and other radical organizations to keep open the date of Jan. 3. Louis Waldman will be with us on that day at St. Regis Hall, 34-36 Park place, near the tubes, as the first speaker at the course of lectures under the auspices of the Essex County Socialist party. All are urged to come out that day to receive and hear this distinguished speaker. His topic will be, "What Shall We Do in This Depression?" Tickets for the first course of four lectures is 25 cents. The speakers to follow are William Bohn of New York City, Leonard Bright and Morris Ganset. Let us start with full cooperation for the success needed to make this forum the outstanding educational forum in the city.

The open air meeting last Wednesday in Military Park was the first one attempted by the Newark comrades and was successful. Approximately 100 heard Comrade Killoran and County Organizer Rosenkrans for fully three hours. Fifty New Leaders were sold. At least one or two meetings will be held in the park every

Young New Socialist in Convention Session



The Eleventh Annual Convention of the Young People's Socialist League was held last Saturday and Sunday at the Rand School in New York City. Many interesting reports of the activities and growth of the organization were heard.

week. George H. Goebel accepted the nomination on Dec. 22 as county secretary of Essex County.

Virginia

The state executive committee met again in Richmond on Dec. 23 and adjourned to meet again Friday, Jan. 1. The committee reconsidered its decision to call a special one-day convention in March, and decided instead, to call the regular annual convention then. The convention will open in Richmond on the night of March 11. Working committee will meet on the 12th, and the final session will be held on Sunday, March 13.

A general membership conference will be held in July. Convention delegates have been apportioned as follows: Richmond 14, Hopewell 16, Norfolk 7, Monroe 2, members-at-large 3. At least one delegate will be given each new local organized by March 1, while six branches of the Workmen's Circle, the Unemployed Councils, the Armenian Revolutionaries and possibly some other groups will be invited to send fraternal delegates. Hall found it necessary to resign from the committee. Brownie Lee Jones of Richmond, was elected to replace him. Miss Jones is industrial secretary of the Y. W. C. A.

The S. E. C. adopted a resolution ordering all members of the Socialist party in Virginia who are members of the C. P. L. A. to resign immediately from the C. P. L. A. A subcommittee, consisting of George, Ansell, and Richard Johnson, was elected to draft a budget for 1932, and to prepare a schedule of activities and an organization drive for the year.

RICHMOND.—The local "Vetcherinka" has been postponed until Monday, Jan. 4, when local officials for 1932 will also be elected. All members and friends are urged to attend meetings regularly every Monday night in

the Workmen's Circle Center at Broad and Laurel streets.

HOPEWELL.—The local has found new and cheaper headquarters. Henceforth we will meet every Wednesday at 7:30 p. m. in the Salvation Army Hall on Sixth street near Poythress. This is also a more central location. On Jan. 6 officers for the new year will be elected.

NORFOLK.—The local has new headquarters in the Workmen's Circle Center at 708 East Freemason street. For information communicate with the secretary, F. H. Vanderherchen, 2212 Lafayette boulevard, Norfolk, Va.

Connecticut

At our last state executive committee meeting it was voted that the State of Connecticut pay to the national office \$1 per member per year. We feel that we were responsible for not carrying the referendum due to the aggressive campaign being waged in the different cities in the last election. We neglected getting out the vote. What we did send in was 100 per cent for the increase. We hope that other states will wake up to the fact that the national office is surely entitled to more than it is receiving per member and that it is being handicapped in its work by lack of funds.

Fred Cederholm tendered his resignation as state organizer. His being the town chairman of Local Bridgeport keeps him on the go all the time. **STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.**—Nathan Fine of the Rand School, addressed the meeting of the committee held at New Haven Sunday, Dec. 27. He told of party activities in New York City. It was announced that Alfred Baker Lewis would debate the editor (Mr. Pape) of the Waterbury Republican at Naugatuck, Conn., some time in March under the auspices of the Methodist Church Forum. The subject will be "Is Capitalism Worth Saving?"

State Organizer Fred Cederholm of Bridgeport, has resigned as state organizer. Martin Rodine of Meriden, was appointed in his place. Cederholm has been elected organizer of Local Bridgeport. Paul Blanshard of New York, will address the New Haven Forum at the first Methodist Church Sunday, Jan. 3, at 7:45 p. m., on "Tammany and Corruption."

HARTFORD.—The Socialist party is holding forum meeting every Sunday morning at 11 a. m. at the Workmen's Circle headquarters. Jasper McLevy addressed a large mass meeting at New Britain last Sunday. A number of applications were received. Many more are expected to make application to join the party, some did not care to join at an open mass meeting.

Ether Friedman will address a meeting at Workmen's Circle, 72 Legion avenue, New Haven, Saturday, Jan. 9, 8 p. m.

Massachusetts

BOSTON.—Members are working hard to put over the L. I. D. lecture course which begins Jan. 19. Harry W. Laidler is the first speaker in the course and will be followed by Elsie D. Harper, Abram Harris, Norman Thomas, John H. Gray (on "Behind the Bank Failures," of special interest to depositors in the Boston banks which closed last week), Hubert Hoving, A. J. Muste and Colston Warner. Tickets can be obtained at 3 Jay street, for \$2.50—half the price of a university extension course.

A committee is working to have a mass meeting of depositors of the Boston National Continental Bank which closed last week.

SPRINGFIELD.—Comrade Feldman reports that the Springfield local has already sold over 400 tickets for the L. I. D. lecture course.

New York State

DELEGATES-AT-LARGE.—State Secretary Merrill has sent a communication to all locals calling for the nomination of delegates to the national convention. Each local will have the privilege of nominating before Jan. 15 two delegates and two alternates at large to be voted on by the party membership of the entire state, as well as candidates for district delegate and alternate. Only locals which purchased dues stamps in 1931 have been asked to make nominations, but locals restoring themselves to standing before the close of nominations will be accorded a like privilege. The secretary suggests that the qualifications of delegates to the national convention should be at least equal to those which the state constitution of the Socialist party requires in delegates to the state convention, namely, at least two-years membership in the Socialist party, except in cases where locals making nominations have not been in existence for that length of time.

HEMPSTEAD.—The forum conducted by the Hempstead branch of the Nassau County local will have first-class speakers at each of its monthly meetings to be held in Odd Fellows Hall, Franklin and Front streets, Hempstead, L. I. James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, is to be the January speaker; Norman Thomas will speak in February, Paul Blanshard, secretary of the city affairs committee, in March.

QUEENS COUNTY

COUNTY COMMITTEE.—The December meeting of the committee was held at the home of Charles B. Garfunkel in Sunnyside. All branches were

represented, except Flushing and Ridgewood.

James Oneal was elected a committee of one to represent the county committee on public affairs such as appearing before the Board of Estimate on the Queens bus situation, etc. Each branch is to be asked to elect a member to serve on this committee.

It was voted that each branch remit 25 cents to the county committee for each ten stamps purchased. The new leaflet "Stop Bank Failures" was distributed and members urged to distribute same, attention being called to bank failures in the Far Rockaway and Elmhurst territory and a bank scandal in Astoria.

Petitions for unemployment insurance were distributed and delegates urged to get more and secure many signatures. Progress was reported on plans for the victory dinner to be held Sunday, Feb. 21. The location will be decided soon.

JAMAICA.—Branch meetings are held on the first and third Thursdays of the month in the Workmen's Circle Center, 9218 New York boulevard, near 163rd street. Thursday, Jan. 14, Louis Sadoff will lecture on "What I Saw in Russia After 29 Years."

ELMHURST.—A meeting of the branch will be held on Thursday evening, Jan. 7, in the home of Comrades Goodgion, 9418 54th avenue, Elmhurst. Following an important business meeting, Herbert M. Merrill, state secretary and former Assemblyman, will lecture on "Socialism and Inventions."

ASTORIA.—The branch will meet on Friday evening, Jan. 8, in the Bohemian Hall, at Second and Woolley avenues, 8:30 p. m. Following the business meeting, Leon R. Land of the Bronx Free Fellowship, will lecture on "The Negro Problem in America."

Rand School Activities

Classes and lectures for the term will begin Monday, Jan. 4. Matthew Woll will discuss "Problems and Program of the American Labor Movement" Jan. 4, at 8:30 p. m. This lecture is the first in a series entitled, "Proposed Roads for Labor," in which Otto Beyer, A. J. Muste, Francis J. Gorman, A. I. Shipiloff and Joseph Schlossberg will participate.

Friday evening, Jan. 8, a debate will take place between Charles Solomon, former Socialist Assemblyman, and Rear Admiral Bradley A. Fiske. William Karlin will act as chairman. Tickets at 50 cents are now on sale at the Rand Book Store.

The Rand School again wishes to announce the courses on Socialism, economics, labor problems and history by Louis Stanley, A. I. Shipiloff, J. S. Welling, David P. Berenberg, Bela Low, George S. Mitchell, Algernon Lee, David J. Saposs, Benjamin Feigenbaum, H. Kantorovich and William E. Bohn. Comrades are urged to send for the folder of the new inter term giving a detailed description and dates. Among a few of the courses in literature, philosophy and science are "The Theatre as a Social Factor," by David B. Ross; "Drama from Aeschylus to Eugene O'Neill," by Peter Monroe Jack; "Modern Concepts of the Physical Universe," by Dominic d'Eustachio; "Contemporary Ethical Thinking," by Dr. Henry Neumann; "Psychology of Social Movements," by Alexander Fichandler; "Great Philosophers and Modern Problems," by Ernest Sutherland Bates; "New Forms of Old Music," by Adèle T. Katz.

Call For Agenda

To all Locals of the Socialist Party

Dear Comrades:

The National Executive has appointed the undersigned to act as a Committee on the Agenda for the forthcoming National Convention of the Party, to be held in the City of Milwaukee on April 16, 1932.

The Constitution provides that the Committee shall issue a call for resolutions and suggestions four months before the Convention, allowing one month for filing the same with the Committee.

Accordingly, all Locals of the Socialist Party are hereby requested to submit to the Committee any resolutions or suggestions on any point relating to party principles and policy, methods of propaganda, organization and campaigning, and other subjects which may properly come before the Convention.

All such resolutions and suggestions should be mailed to Morris Hillquit, 19 West 44th Street, New York City, and should be in his hands before the 31st day of January, 1932.

Fraternally yours,

**JAMES ONEAL,
HARRY W. LAIDLER,
MORRIS HILLQUIT,
Committee.**

N. Y. Socialist Convention to Meet Jan. 16

New Members Reception Sunday - Public Speaking Class Is to Start

CITY CONVENTION.—The annual city convention of the Socialist party of Greater New York will be held on Saturday and Sunday, Jan. 16 and 17, in the Debs' Auditorium, 7 East 15th street. Branches are electing delegates. The agenda will consist of the following items: report of the city executive committee on plans of activity for the party in New York City for 1932. Resolutions to be placed on the agenda of the national convention. Credentials for delegates to the city convention must be in the city office no later than Jan. 14.

RECEPTION FOR NEW MEMBERS.—During the last six months or so hundreds of new people have joined the Socialist party. The educational committee has arranged for a reception to be given to the new members on Sunday, Jan. 3, at 3 p. m., in the studio of the People's House, 7 East 15th street. All new members who joined the party during the year have been invited by mail. An interesting program has been arranged. Algernon Lee and David P. Berenberg will address the gathering.

SYMPOSIUM ON BRITISH LABOR PARTY.—On Friday, Jan. 15, there will be a symposium on the events in Great Britain leading up to the resignation of the Labor government and the action of Ramsay MacDonald in organizing a national government. This will take place in the People's House, 7 East 15th street, at 8:30 p. m. The speakers are: William M. Feigenbaum, Edmund Seidel, Professor Walter E. Peck and Mark Starr, former member of the British Labor party.

CLASS IN PUBLIC SPEAKING.—The annual Rand School class in public speaking, instructor August Claessens, will begin on Thursday, Jan. 7, at 7 p. m., and will continue for 15 weeks. The requirements for entering class are: a fair command of English, participation in at least one other class in the Rand School or other systematic study, and the applicants must be members of some organization.

Further information can be obtained at the Rand School or from Organizer Claessens.

CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE.—A meeting of the committee will be held on Wednesday, Jan. 6, at 8:15 p. m., in the People's House, 7 East 15th street.

WOMEN'S COMMITTEE.—A new form of activity, calling for "work units" in various localities in Greater New York, has been adopted by the women's committee of the party. Among the plans being considered in its expanded program of activity is the holding of a festival on International Women's Day. A bazaar is also being considered.

The new form of organization, with divisional work units instead of one central organization, is expected to stimulate the work of women members throughout the city. Three of these work units will hold their first meeting during the first week of January: the 21st A. D., 18th A. D. and the 11th A. D. Kings, on Jan. 7, 2:30 p. m., at 55 Snyder avenue, and the Midwood branch on Monday, Jan. 4, at its headquarters. The unit comprising the 2nd A. B., Bronx, Amalgamated and Lower 8th A. D., will meet on Jan. 6, at 20 East Kingsbridge road.

The following officers have been elected: chairman, Esther Friedman; secretary, Etta Meyer; treasurer, Jean Cornell. The executive committee will consist of the officers, the chairmen of the various units and the following members: Mrs. Louis Schaeffer, Rose Brody, Mrs. Anna Weiss, Bessie Cohen, Pauline Levine, Mrs. Levinstone, Olga Long, Alexandra Schoenbaum and Gertrude Green.

MANHATTAN

6th A. D.—At the last meeting nominations were made for branch officers. The new organizer is Joseph Beckerman; treasurer, Herman Seigel; financial secretary, Ben Kaufman; recording secretary, Esther Kaufman.

UPPER WEST SIDE.—A meeting will be held on Tuesday evening, Jan. 5, at 100 West 72nd street. All members are urged to attend. Branch officers for 1932 will be elected, also delegates to the city central committee.

MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS.—The new branch headquarters located at 3109 Broadway, has now been painted and decorated. The Sunday evening forum will continue its sessions beginning Jan. 10.

BRONX

1st A. D.—A special meeting will be held Thursday, Jan. 7. Special business: election of delegates to the city

convention, and nomination of candidates to national convention, also election of officers.

2nd A. D.—The branch held a very enthusiastic meeting last Tuesday. The topic of discussion was "What Should be the Party's Attitude Toward the Trade Unions?"

The branch is happy to announce the establishment of another forum in the galaxy of Bronx Socialist forums. This forum, arranged by the 2nd A. D., will open on Friday evening, Jan. 8, with Morris Hillquit as lecturer. Topic: "The End of the Business Depression." The meeting place is the large and commodious hall of the Paradise Manor on Mount Eden and Jerome avenues.

6th A. D.—The Friday evening forum will resume its sessions in the Pelpark Palace at Lydig avenue and White Plains road, Friday, Jan. 8, at 8:30 p. m. Speaker, Morris Glnet, topic, "Crime and Punishment."

7th A. D.—The branch has started a drive for new members. We have visited a number of enrolled Socialist voters, gained ten new applications for membership. This work will proceed with increasing vigor. Watch this branch grow!

8th A. D.—The forum on Sunday mornings at 11 a. m. continues to attract larger audiences each time. At the Thomas lecture there were over 400 people, and at the Blanshard lecture over 300 people.

The Socialist philosophy course on Tuesday evenings at 20 East Kingsbridge road, is very successful. Comrade Kantorovitch has concluded his course and will now be followed by Bela Low.

AMALGAMATED COOPERATIVE HOUSES.—The lecture given at our last meeting by August Claessens brought over 200 people. The hall was packed and many were turned away for lack of room.

Our Yipsels have made considerable progress. At their dance last week, nearly 200 boys and girls participated, and all had a jolly good time.

The most outstanding event will be next Friday, Jan. 8, when August Claessens will lecture before the Yipsels in their regular meeting place at Workmen's Circle Shule on Saxon avenue, near the library.

A new branch is being organized by Comrade Diskant in the Sholom Aleichem houses, 238th street and Sedgwick avenue, which will be known as Branch 3 of the 8th A. D.

BROOKLYN

WILLIAMSBURG.—A Monday evening forum has been arranged by this branch to begin on Jan. 4. A series of lectures on related topics presenting a systematic study of the principles of Socialism will be presented by David Kaplan, Henry Rosner, Samuel E. Beardsley, James Oneal and August Claessens. The first topic will be "This Decaying Capitalist System." Speaker, David Kaplan. The forum session will be held at 8:30 p. m. sharp in the headquarters, 167 Tompkins avenue.

11th A. D.—On Monday, Dec. 28, the weekly meeting of the new Brooklyn branch, 11th A. D., met at their comfortable headquarters above the new Hungarian restaurant, 839 Franklin avenue. After a short business meeting August Claessens spoke on "Graft and Corruption."

Plans are now under way for a purely social and get-together meeting to be held on Saturday, Jan. 26, of which more anon. The speaker for the next meeting on Monday, Jan. 4, will be Ralph S. Guinness, who will speak on "New Viewpoints in American History—A Prerequisite for a New Social Order."

16th A. D.—A New Year's Eve party was held with the cooperation of the women's branch. Workmen's Circle Branch 402 and the Workmen's Circle School organizations were also invited and participated. The next meeting will take place on Thursday evening, Jan. 7, at 8:30 p. m.

MIDWOOD.—On Tuesday evening,

Tyrell Wilson gave a very interesting talk on "Building a Permanent Socialist Foundation." Next Tuesday, Jan. 5, Bradford Young will speak on "A Socialist Review of the Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens."

18th A. D. BRANCH 1.—Comrades of Brooklyn are requested to keep open Saturday evening, Jan. 18. On that evening at 8:30 p. m. in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, in the banquet hall, the members and friends will participate in a cabaret, with excellent dance music, entertainment and refreshments. The refreshments will be served free and will be included in the price of admission, namely, 50 cents. On Thursday evening, Jan. 7, the branch will hold a special meeting for the discussion of the national and city conventions. On Jan. 14, at 1466 Pitkin avenue, the branch meeting, August Claessens will address the comrades on "Graft and Corruption—Its Cause and Cure."

21st A. D.—The branch has changed its meeting night from Monday to Friday and hereafter will meet every Friday evening at the headquarters, 55 Snyder avenue. An important meeting will be held on Jan. 8, at 8:30 p. m.

22nd A. D. BRANCH 2.—The branch has been exceedingly fortunate in getting the opportunity to assist in the establishment of a Friday evening forum to be held under the joint auspices of the forum committee of the 22nd A. D. Branch 2, and the Workmen's Circle Branch 295, at 218 Van Sicken avenue. The first lecture will be held on Jan. 8, at 8 p. m., with A. I. Shipplacoff as the speaker. Admission free.

22nd A. D. BRANCH 3.—The branch will begin the New Year by holding an election meeting Tuesday, Jan. 5, at 218 Van Sicken avenue. Delegates to the national and city conventions, central committee and branch officers will be elected. After the election Herbert M. Merrill will speak on "Socialism and Inventions."

23rd A. D.—Thousands of families and their children are starving in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn. Most of these unfortunates will not and cannot go to places of charity, or stand for hours in the breadlines, but starve in their homes, where there is no food, gas, heat or light, their condition is pitiful.

A conference is being called at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, on Monday evening, Jan. 11, where prominent speakers will outline a plan for a kitchen and house relief.

BRIGHTON BEACH.—The branch is cooperating in the conduct of a forum, which meets every Friday evening and will resume sessions on Jan. 8. Speakers in English and Yiddish will alternate. Jan. 8, William M. Feigenbaum will lecture on some phase of current events; Jan. 15, Jewish lecture; Jan. 22, August Claessens, "Graft and Corruption—Its Cause and Cure."

The branch is also arranging for an entertainment, social gathering and dance for Saturday evening, Jan. 9. The branch and forum meets at 48 Ocean place near West Second street.

RICHMOND

STATEN ISLAND.—A meeting of Branch Staten Island will be held on Tuesday, Jan. 5, in the hall of the Steuben Club, 348 Van Duser street. Following the important business meeting, Organizer Claessens will lecture on "Graft and Corruption—Its Cause and Cure."

The labor movement is not a fanaticism. It is an effort to cure a fanaticism—the fanaticism of money-making, the mania for markets.—Henry Demarest Lloyd.

BONNAZ EMBROIDERS UNION

Local 66, L. L. G. W. U., 7 E. 15th St., Algonquin 4-3557-3558. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union 2 L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattich, Manager; William Altman Secretary-Treasurer.

HEBREW

BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 234 A.M.O. & B.W. of N.A. 7 East 15th Street Tompkins Sq.—6-7234-7235-7236 Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday SAMUEL SUSSMAN J. BELSKY ISIDORE LEFF Secretary Business Agents

BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 174, A. M. C. & B. W. of N. A. Office and Headquarters: Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St., Room 12. Regular meetings every first and third Sunday at 10 a.m. Employment Bureau open every day at 8 p.m.

AMALGAMATED

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th Street, New York, N. Y. Phone Tomkins Square 5400. Hyman Blumberg, Sidney Resman, Managers; Abraham Miller Secretary-Treasurer.

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CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

Amalgamated Bank Bldg., 11-13 Union Square, 2nd Floor. Telephone Algonquin 6600-1-2-3-4-5. Sidney Hillman, Gen. President; Joseph Schlesinger, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

UNION DIRECTORY

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL

CAPMAKERS

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union. Office, 133 Second Ave.; Phone Orchard 9860-1-2. The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday. S. Herakowitz, Sec'y-Treas. Operators, Local 1 Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

INTERNATIONAL

FUR WORKERS' UNION

OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, 9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunt-ers 1008. Morris Kaufman, General President and Secretary

FURRIERS' JOINT COUNCIL

OF N. Y.

LOCAL 101, 105, 110 and 115 of The INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS OF U. S. and C. 38 West 31st Street, Penn. 6-7932. Meets every Tuesday at 8:00 P. M. S. Merkin, Manager.

FUR DRESSERS UNION

Local 2 International Fur Workers Union. Office and headquarters, 840 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn; Stage 0798. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, I. B. Hertzberg; Vice President, Sam Kroll; Business Agent, R. Kalnikoff; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, R. Heib.

UNITED

HEBREW TRADES
175 East Broadway; Telephone Dry-dock 5610. Meets 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board same day 5:30 P. M. M. Tigel, Chairman; M. Brown, Vice-Chairman; M. Feinstein, Secretary-Treasurer.

THE AMALGAMATED

LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION

Local No. 10, L. L. G. W. U.

Office, 109 W. 38th St.; Telephone Wla-8011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union. Maurice W. Jacobs, President; Samuel Perlmutter, Manager-Sec.; Morris W. Jacobs, chairman of Exec. Board; Philip Oretsky, A-1 Manager.

THE INTERNATIONAL

LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

4 West 16th Street, New York City Telephone Chelsea 2148. Benjamin Schleisner, President; David Dubinsky, Secretary-Treasurer.

LAUNDRY WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION, No. 280

Office 62 E. 106th St. Phone, Le-nigh 2421. Meetings 2nd and 4th Mondays, 10 A.M. President, Walter Wolf, Manager and financial Sec'y, L. Hekelman. Recording Secretary, J. Mackey.

AMALGAMATED

LITHOGRAPHERS

OF AMERICA, New York Local No. 1. Office, Amalgamated Bldg., 205 West 14th St.; Phone Watkins 7764. Regular meetings every second and fourth Tuesday at Arlington Hall, 19 St. Mark's Place. Albert E. Castro, President; Patrick J. Hanlon, Vice-President; Frank Schel, Fin. Secretary; Emil Thenen, Rec. Secretary; Joseph J. O'Connor, Treasurer

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION

LOCAL 34 Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union. Downtown office, 846 Broadway, Phone Spring 4546; uptown office, 30 West 37th Street, Wisconsin 1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 P.M. Manager, N. Spector; Sec'y-Treas., Alex. Rose; Organizers, L. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Sec'y. of Executive Board, Saul Hodok.

MULE WAGON DRIVERS' UNION

Local 584, L. U. of T. Office: 359 W. 14th St., City. Local 584 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. SEE THAT YOUR MULE MAN WEARS OUR EMBLEM

NECKWEAR CUTTERS' UNION

Local 11016, A. F. of L. 7 E. 15th St., Algonquin 7678. Regular meetings second Wednesday of every month at 162 West 23rd Street. Max Shack, President; A. Weltner, Vice-President; E. Meyer, Rec. Sec'y; J. Rosenzweig, Fin. Sec'y and Treas. Wan E. Chisling, Business Agent.

UNITED

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION

Local 11016, A. F. of L. 7 E. 15th St., Algonquin 7682. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30 in the office. Ed. Gottelman, Secretary-Treasurer.

GERMAN

PAINTERS' UNION

Local 469, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers. Regular Meetings every Wednesday Evening at the Labor Temple, 243 East 54th Street. P. Wollensack, President; Fred Wolf, Secretary; Peter Rothman, Fin. Sec'y.

BROTHERHOOD OF

PAINTERS, DECORATORS OF

District Council No. 5, N. Y. C. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council. Meets every Thursday evening, Office 61 East 23rd St., Tel. OR 4292. C. A. Hoffman, sec'y; Robert Rembrink, Fin. Sec'y-Treas.; I. Lefkowitz, President.

PAINTERS' UNION No. 361

Office, 63 E. 190th St. Tel. Lehigh 3141. Exec. Board meets every Tuesday at the office. Regular meetings every Friday at 210 E. 104th St. M. Gaff, Fin. Sec'y - Treas. M. Greeninger, Recording Secretary.

PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

of Greater New York, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Office: 31 W. 15th St.; Tomkins Square 5403. Board meets every Tuesday evening at the office. All local meetings every Wednesday. Morris Blumenreich, Manager; Hyman Novodor, Sec'y-Treas.

JOINT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

INTERNATIONAL

POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION

New York Joint Board. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. General office, 53 West 31st Street, New York. Phone Gramercy 5-1035. Charles Kleinman, Chairman; Charles I. Goldman, Secretary - Treasurer; Philip Lubliner, Manager.

NEW YORK

TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 7

Offices and headquarters, 24 W. 19th St., N. Y. Meets every 3rd Sunday of every month at Stuyvesant High School, 15th St., E. of 2nd Ave. Phone Tompkins Sq. 6-7470. Austin Hewson, President; Daniel McCauley, Vice-President; James J. McGrath, Secretary-Treasurer; J. J. Fahey, J. J. Bambrick, John Sullivan, Organizers.

VEST MAKERS' UNION

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Peter Monat, Manager. Office, 51 West 15th Street; Phone, Tomkins Square 5400. Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.

WAITERS & WAITRESSES

UNION Local 2, 11 East 28th St., Tel. Ashland 4-5167. Sam Turkel, Pres.; Louis Rubinfeld, Sec'y-Treas. Regular meeting every 2nd and 4th Thursday at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th St.

WATERPROOF GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Local 30, L. L. G. W. U., 3 W. 16th St. Phone, Madison Square 5404. Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p.m. D. Gindgold, Manager; Saul Oleesky, Secretary-Treasurer.

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Musicollosal Comedy: "Of Thee I Sing"

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

—AND JUSTICE FOR ALL
"OF THEE I SING." A musical comedy at the Music Box. Book by George S. Kaufman and Morris Ryskind. Music by George Gershwin. Lyrics by Ira Gershwin.

In the sum total of its effect, in the timely and shrewd pointedness of its satire, I think it no exaggeration to say that "Of Thee I Sing" is the best musical comedy ever sprung from the American scene. In his day Aristophanes dared the wrath of the tyrant Cleon; in England, forgotten Foote in the 18th Century, and Gilbert and Sullivan a hundred years later, tilted at the follies and abuses of the times. Save for the slight sketches of such revues as the "Garrick Gaieties," we have had little travesty (nonsense, burlesque, and sharp satire intermingled) of the local scene. Now—in what I hope is the first of a great series—Kaufman, Ryskind, and the Gershwins prick some of our pet bubbles, riotously, with constant thrusts of laughter.

Politics is their choice; they

open our political life and reveal its emptiness. The presidential convention needs a platform; they decide to stand firmly on 1492 and 1776. "Let's see—which party are we?" asks one of the committeemen; a good question these days, when candidates, like bridges, are dry on top, wet underneath, and try to keep hold of both sides. As they must avoid anything with ideas, the committee hit upon love as the campaign issue; they stage a bathing-beauty contest, the winner to marry the President on inaugural day. "If you're sexy, you may be Mrs. Prexy." But John P. Wintergreen, President-to-be, decides in favor of corn muffins.

Like a lost waif, the Vice-President drifts around, and the Supreme Court (here the original movement lapses into Gilbert and Sullivan) decides the sex of the child. France rises to defend the honor of the neglected beauty, who's "the illegitimate daughter of the illegitimate son of the illegitimate nephew of Napoleon."

Phidelah Rice in "David Garrick"

Phidelah Rice will begin an engagement of solo performances with "David Garrick" at the Belmont Theatre on Wednesday night, Jan. 6. Mr. Rice, who impersonates various characters, will repeat the first night's bill on Jan. 7.

Not to mention that William Saxton, the love-candidate, is an excellent take-off of New York's pet Mayor; disregarding the exceptionally good-looking and well-trained chorus, and effective principals; aside from the stirring or lilting tunes—"Of Thee I Sing," in most good humored guise, is the shrewdest weapon the stage has yet hurled against the quackery of American politics. From the initial parade with its placards: "A vote for Wintergreen is a vote for Wintergreen" through the movie election returns, in the songs ("Posterity is just around the corner") and in the dialogue, politicians and our political parties are riddled with ridicule—so amusing yet so true that it is hard to believe any man, after seeing this show, could vote the old stand-by ticket and retain his self-respect. The old parties are ready to crumble; let the breath of our laughter blow them away.

Maurice Schwartz



The actor, director, producer, who is appearing in "Bloody Laughter" at the 49th St. Theatre. He follows this with the Romain Rolland play "Wolves," which opens Jan. 6th.

"Strictly Dishonorable" Begins Popular Price Run at Mayfair Theatre

"Strictly Dishonorable," Universal's sophisticated comedy, is now at the RKO Mayfair Theatre, with Paul Lukas, Lewis Stone and Sydney Fox.

"The Devil Passes" Has Fine Cast; Opens Mon. At the Selwyn Theatre

Arch Selwyn will present Benn W. Levy's new play, "The Devil Passes," at the Selwyn Theatre on Monday evening, January 4th.

The cast consists of Arthur Byron, Basil Rathbone, Robert Loraine, Mary Nash, Diana Wynyard, Cecilia Loftus, Ernest Cossart and Ernest Thesiger.

The play has been directed, and the settings designed by Mr. Levy. The scenery has been built and painted by the P. Dodd Ackerman Studios.

ney Fox. This diverting picture tells the story of a swift love affair which begins in a New York speakeasy, and finds its completion in a bachelor's apartment on the floor above.

The Seeded Season

Joseph T. Shipley's Choice Among the Plays Still Running

FOR SERIOUS VALUES

- "Mourning Becomes Electra." O'Neill's retelling of the Electra legend, in terms of Civil War and modern psychology.
- "Bloody Laughter." Toller's tragedy, out of the war, with grim social implications.
- "Cynara." An honest and searching study of the way life snares even the most sincere.
- "Counsellor-at-Law." Another interesting study by Elmer Rice, whose "Left Bank" is also among the season's survivors.
- "The Barretts of Wimpole Street." The Brownings come alive. Excellently presented with Katherine Cornell.
- "Of Thee I Sing." A complete demolition of political parties, disguised as a riot of song and laughter.

FOR LIGHTER MOMENTS

- "Springtime For Henry." The best nonsense of the season; good whimsy and wit as well.
- "Reunion in Vienna." Lynn Fontanne and her husband at their best, in a good imitation of a Viennese comedy.
- "The Good Fairy." Helen Hayes in a frolicked fantasy of Molnar's.
- "Brief Moment." Gives Alexander Wollcott a chance to be cleverly nasty out of print.
- "Sing High, Sing Low." Good spoofing of grand opera and why not.
- "After All." "Proving" that one generation is as good as the next.
- "The Cat and the Fiddle." The best of the musical shows opened before the holiday week. And that's saying a lot; for all the survivors are good; there are no bad bets in the musicals.
- "The Bride The Sun Shines On." Neatly turned absurdity, with quick nonsense, deftly performed.

DOUGLAS MONTGOMERY in ERNEST VAJDA'S Comedy
FATA MORGANA
with Ara Gerald
"A brilliant sex comedy."
—HERALD TRIBUNE
ROYALE THEATRE
43th ST. W. OF BROADWAY
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HELEN HAYES
in MOLNAR'S New Comedy
The GOOD FAIRY
"In one of the few triple-starred, immediately recommendable, entertainments in town."
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George White's 1931 Scandals
with Rudy VALLEE Ethel MERMAN
Willie & Eugene HOWARD
Everett MARSHALL Ray BOLGER
GALE QUADRUPLETS
THE MOST BEAUTIFUL SHOW
GIRLS ON THE STAGE

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"An evocative and moving play . . . literary discriminating and fine . . . splendidly acted."
—J. Brooks Atkinson, Times.
Philip Merivale in Cynara
with Henry Stephenson Phoebe Foster Adrienne Allen
"It's an immediately winning and fascinating play . . . for many future audiences to love, honor and patronize."
—GILBERT W. GABRIEL, American
BEST SEATS Evenings \$3.00
Wed. Mat. \$2.00
Sat. Mat. \$2.50

"It is merry. It is malicious. It is an uproarious evening's entertainment."
—ROBT GARLAND, World-Telegram
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with LEE TRACY
Staged by GEORGE ABBOTT
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"The most consistently entertaining of current light comedies."
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"A grown-up fairy tale in which any literate member . . . of the community is bound to take pleasure."
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75 of the most beautiful girls in the world 75
Nights Entire Orch. \$3, Balc. 50c
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NEXT OPERA:
One Week Beginning Mon., Jan. 11
"The Gondoliers"

Popular Film And Stage Bill at the Fox

Blanche Yurka in Title Role of Sophocles "Electra"

It seems fitting and proper that Blanche Yurka, who has identified herself with the finest tradition of the American stage and who created the title role of "Lysistrata" last year, should now add "Electra" to her noteworthy repertory.

As a matter of fact, Miss Yurka made Electra her own for the first time last spring when she opened Robert Henderson's second Ann Arbor Dramatic Festival, after playing it for a week on tour in Boston, Princeton and the middle west. It will be under the same direction that she will reveal it to metropolitan audiences in special matinees at the Selwyn Theatre on Fridays, January 8 and 15, and on Tuesdays, January 12 and 19, with Mrs. Patrick Campbell as her co-star in the role of Clytemnestra.

Miss Yurka believes earnestly and uncompromisingly that the theatre as an institution is more vital than the success or failure of any player or group of players; that the theatre can flower only through the coordinated talents of playwright, actor and director. Its life consists entirely of the play and the manner in which it is played. All else is incidental and subordinate. To fulfill the mission of the theatre, Miss Yurka feels that we must return to the era of the Richard Mansfields, the Sir Henry Irvings, and the Joseph Jeffersons, stars who toured the country in repertory.

Although Miss Yurka has broadened her experience and her skill through her appearance in such divergent plays as "The Wild Duck," "Hedda Gabler," "The Squall," "Goat Song," and "Man and the Masses," in addition to "Lysistrata," she has never selected a role merely because it would afford her a glamorous opportunity as an actor. It was her belief in Sophocles' "Electra" as a play which motivated her enthusiasm for the title role in this production.

"Zwei Menschen" Held Over at Little Carnegie

"Zwei Menschen" (Two Souls) considered by the press as a stirring and dramatic screen romance, will be held over indefinitely at the Little Carnegie Playhouse. An unusual feature has been the fact that many in the audience have remained to see the film over again, so impressed have they been by the remarkable acting of the principals, Charlotte Susa and Gustav Froelich.

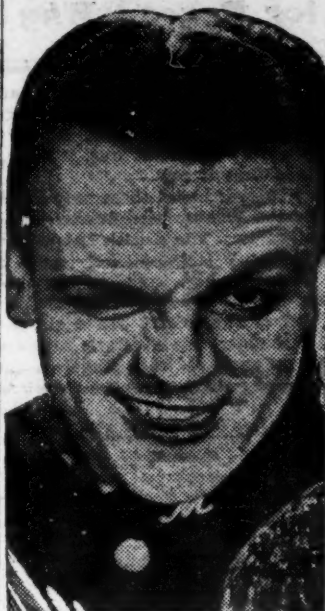
For the first few days of the run of "Zwei Menschen," the original ending of the picture was left out in the belief that it was too tragic for audiences on this side of the ocean. However, because of the extraordinary beauty of the final scene, it has been put back and many have returned a second time to view the original ending.

BROOKLYN

FOX BROOKLYN
Flatbush Ave. & Nevins St.

Janet **GAYNOR** Charles **FARRELL**
in
"Delicious"
— and on the Stage —
NICK LUCAS
IN PERSON
Fanchon & Marco's
"DREAM HOUSE" Idea
WILLY STAHL and Orchestra

At the Hipp



James Cagney can be counted on for laughs in "Blonde Crazy" which opens at the Hipp today. A vaudeville bill rounds out a big program.

Spectacular Ufa Fantasy, "Secrets of the Orient," Now at the Europa

"Secrets of the Orient," a spectacular Ufa production based on a story of the Arabian Nights, is now at the Europa. "Secrets of the Orient" will be presented as a silent film with captions in English and a specially synchronized musical score from Rimsky-Korsakoff's "Scheherazade." The story deals with the amusing account of how Ali, a poor cobbler of ancient Baghdad, becomes a prince and of the sad disillusionment that follows his amazing adventures.

Nikolai Koline, German-Russian screen star, heads a large cast and is supported by a well known cast.

COSMOPOLITAN
BROADWAY and 50TH STREET
Where Americans Enjoy the Best Continental Pictures
A Bit of Berlin in New York
"RENATE MUELLER"
in
"Der Kleine Seitensprung"
(SLIGHTLY INDISCREET)
See to 7:50 p.m. Children 25c
Cont. 12:30-11:30 p.m.—Popular Prices

PHILHARMONIC-SYMPHONY
HANS LANGE, Conductor
BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC
Sunday Afternoon, Jan. 3, at 3:15
Soloist: **HOROWITZ**, Pianist
Vivaldi, Haydn, Dukas, Rachmaninoff
GABRILOWITSCH,
Guest Conductor
Carnegie Hall, Wed. Eve., Jan. 6, at 8:45
Friday Afternoon, January 8, at 2:30
Beethoven, Tchaikovsky, Schoenberg, Brahms
SCHILLING, Conductor
CARNegie HALL, Sat. Morn., Jan. 9 at 11
Children's and Young People's Concert
SERIES NO. 1—CONCERT NO. 4
Program illustrating
"Organ, Flute and Harp"
ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. Steinway Piano

Leslie Banks in Springtime for Henry

A Bright New Farc by Benn W. Levy
with **HELEN CHANDLER**
NIGEL BRUCE **FRIEDA INESCORT**
BIJOU THEATRE
43th St. West of Broadway
Evs. 8:30. Main. Wed. and Sat. 2:30

Gaynor and Farrell in "Delicious" on Screen; Nick Lucas, Fanchon, Marco Revue on Stage

The New Year ushers in a bill of favorites at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre with Janet Gaynor and Charles Farrell on the screen and Nick Lucas on the stage.

The screen's sweethearts appear together again in "Delicious," a romantic comedy drama set to music. Its melodies were created especially for the production by George Gershwin. The story is an original by Guy Bolton, and relates the ventures of a Scotch orphan lassie, portrayed by Miss Gaynor, seeking a home in America.

Nick Lucas, the crooning troubador, who has been heard on the stage, screen and over the radio, appears in person in a program of his latest song hits. Fanchon & Marco's "Dream House" idea furnishes the balance of the stage entertainment.

Hal Beckett at the organ, Willy Stahl and his Fox Theatre Orchestra, screen novelties and the Fox Movietone News complete this program.

"Blonde Crazy" at Hip, Big Stage Revue Has Clyde Cook and Others

The Hippodrome begins the new year with an inviting program which includes Jimmy Cagney in his newest film triumph, "Blonde Crazy," with Joan Blondell and the personal appearances on the vaudeville stage of Clyde Cook, the scamp comic and the Lee Sisters, Jane and Katherine, all of movieland fame.

The finest dramatic screen romance from the continent!
ZWEI MENSCHEN
"TWO SOULS"
"INTENSELY MOVING
STORY WELL TOLD
... PERFECTLY UNDERSTANDABLE."
—Eve. Sun.
Superb Acting... Minimum Dialogue...
Accompanying English screen translation... Completely enjoyable without knowledge of German!
Little **CARNEGIE** 57th St. E. of 7th Ave.
3:30 to 1 P.M.
Midnite Show New Year's Eve
SEATS NOW

Held Over 5th Week on B'way

THE MAN
WHO MADE
A MONSTER!
FRANKENSTEIN
An
EPIC OF
TERROR
CAMEO 42nd & B'way

"Excellent Entertainment."
—REGINA CREWE, American
"Thrilling, thoroughly enjoyable—we were mighty keen about it—"
★★★
—IRENE THIRER, News

EXPLORERS OF THE WORLD
CRITERION
B'way & 44th St.
2:15-5:15
3 Shows Sun. & Hols.
3:00, 5:00, 7:15, 9:15

In New German Film at the Fifth Avenue



Anny Ondra has the principal role in "Die Vom Rummelplatz," the German film which has its American Premiere at the 5th Avenue Playhouse today.

At the Hollywood

Warner Bros. Hollywood Theatre reopens today and will present Lil Dagover in "The Woman from Monte Carlo" with Warren William and Walter Huston featured, to accommodate the overflow crowds from the Strand Theatre where it opened last night.

Every Laugh From the Battery to the Bronx ... Every Thrill From Riverside Drive to Avenue A ...

"Manhattan Parade"

Faster, Funnier Than "The GOLD DIGGERS of B'WAY"

Winter Garden

Broadway & 50th Street

The story of a **SIREN**
Who tried to be a **SAINT!**
The Screen's Newest Sensation

LIL DAGOVER

The Exotic European Beauty
in **"THE WOMAN
From Monte Carlo"**

STRAND

BROADWAY & 47TH STREET
Continuous—Popular Prices

Return by
Popular Demand!

"SAFE in HELL"

The Story of a Girl Whose Life
Was NO BED OF ROSES

AT BOTH THEATRES

Bklyn. STRAND

FULTON ST. and ROCKWELL PL.

WARNER

BROADWAY and 52nd ST.

PREMIERE FRI., JAN. 1st

"DIE VOM Rummelplatz"

("Those From the Side Show")

Spectacular all German Singing,
Dancing Musical Film

Fifth Ave. Playhouse

60 FIFTH AVENUE AT 15th STREET
Continuous 2 to Midnight

"Frankenstein" Stays On at the Cameo

"Frankenstein," the film of the man who made a monster is surely not horrifying theatre managers, especially at the RKO offices who are now announcing that commencing this Friday, January 1st, the RKO Cameo theatre starts the fifth consecutive week of the Broadway run of this film.

During the past week the Cameo theatre management announced that all attendance records have been smashed and that special midnight shows were added to accommodate the crowds wishing to see "Frankenstein."

ROXY 7th Avenue & 50th St.

Janet **GAYNOR** Charles **FARRELL**
in

"DELICIOUS"

— On the Stage —
Big Holiday Show

RUTH ETTING

Sweet Singer of Sweet Songs

MILLS BROTHERS

Radio and Stage Sensation

PATRICIA BOWMAN

Fred Waring's Inimitable Orchestra

CAPITOL

Broadway and 51st Street
Major Edward Hovet, Mgr. Wm.

GRETA GARBO

RAMON NOVARRO

LIONEL BARRYMORE

in

"MATI HARI"

with LEWIS STONE

A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture

— On the Stage —

JIMMIE SAYS in "Follies of 1930"

Yasha Bunchuk and Grand Orchestra

Capitolians

8
GREATEST SHOW IN NEW YORK
RKO ACTS
including
CLYDE COOK
James Cagney
Joan Blondell
in
"BLONDE CRAZY"
HIPPODROME 25
6th Ave. & 43rd St.

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

HELL DIVERS

WALLACE BEERY
CLARK GABLE

ASTOR

BROADWAY at 45th STREET

Daily 2:40-5:40; Sunday and Holidays 2-6-8:40; Mat. 'Exce. Sat.' 50 to \$1 Even. 75c to \$5

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 4022 or write to Bernard Feinman, Manager New Theatrical Department, 15th St., N.Y.C.

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

For a Socialist Party Five Year Plan—The National Field — Socialist Issues — The Fight for Peace—Why Politics Matters

A LITTLE PLANNING NEEDED AT HOME

THE Five-Year Plan this country needs most is a successful five-year plan for building up the Socialist party and the labor movement generally. Of course no plan of organization will get far without a philosophy and program. But the best philosophy and program in the world will get nowhere without power behind them. And power means organization.

FOR A NATIONAL PARTY

IT'S too late to cry over spilt milk or rather to mourn over things left undone. Some of the party—and certainly our active young secretary—have worked hard in the national field. More of us have worked hard locally, which was good, but with too little sense of the party nationally which was bad. All of us have the excuse of a difficult situation and very limited funds. Nevertheless, allowing for everything, the years since 1928 in terms of organization have come close to being wasted without either plan or punch to carry it out.

With this situation the next national convention must deal. A national campaign is of little use unless it leads to a continuing organization program on the political and industrial field.

One thing surely we must do if it means greater sacrifice than we have made. We must have a corps of carefully picked, enthusiastic, and if possible, trained workers to put into selected cities, counties and states not only during the 1932 campaign but afterwards to stay with the organizing job. I am convinced that in a surprisingly short time by this method we can put the party on the map. Our immediate job is to select delegates to the national convention who will face this American problem and put the emphasis of their energy not on secondary disputes but constructive building. Whatever may happen in some future day, in this task we need youth and vigor. Whatever useful help we may gain from friends not as yet party members—and we sorely need that help—it will be about the most stupendous miracle on record if between now and next November there is any movement except in the Socialist party for national action on labor lines. This situation is at once our opportunity and the measure of our responsibility.

SOCIALIST ISSUES ASTRAY

HOW sorely we suffer for lack of a well organized party and movement, let the times witness. Mooney's trump card is not labor but Jimmy Walker who never mentions the labor aspect of the case! Unemployment relief at the moment seems more vitally the concern of social workers and liberals than of an aroused and articulate working class. The heed of the disarmament delegation to Geneva will be the bully Dawes who refused even to hear the Chinese case at Paris. There will be no outstanding labor man on the delegation. And so it goes.

THE GREATEST HOPE FOR PEACE

BUT still worse. It is clear that the hope of peace daily rests more and more on labor. And in America, still the most powerful country in the world, labor is



NORMAN THOMAS

not organized for peace. The Socialist party here has a fine record on paper. We did not vigorously urge our own excellent position at the Vienna conference partly because, as some of our delegates observed, we were as a party too weak to lead! It was, I think, in the main a mistaken modesty. But our weakness is real.

Now whatever hopes there may have been last summer in the moderate attitude of the Vienna international on peace and disarmament, those hopes grow less and less. The British Labor party is out of office. Japan defies the League. Germany is temporarily quiet under a virtual Bruening dictatorship. Is it not then high time—and far past time—for labor to perfect plans to refuse the draft for new fratricidal war and to organize in every country general strikes against it? We ought to ask of the executive of the International that it will use all efforts to stimulate this work in every land. But in asking it we must dedicate ourselves anew to making a new consciousness of the price of peace dawn on all workers of America.

AN IMPERIALIST SCHEME

THAT means education of workers propagandized into believing, some of them, that Europe can and will pay war debts if not in money then in West Indian colonies. This was the cool proposal of Congressman McFadden in his second speech in a debate with me—a speech I had no chance to answer. He would not even consult the colonists but would take men for money! This despite our accursed racial prejudice and our bad record in Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

THE IMPORTANCE OF POLITICS

WHILE I am on this subject of the vital need of organization, let me stress the importance of political organization especially at this juncture. No political organization can stand alone. It must be backed by industrial organization. But at the moment labor organization is almost at a standstill in America. Partly it is the fault of the A. F. of L.; partly it is the difficulty of economic organization in times of unemployment; partly it is the need of clearing the way of certain obstacles to effective unionism, like yellow dog contracts, injunctions, and the doles by which bosses bribe workers who have no social insurance. In such a sick industry as bituminous coal nothing effective can be done without socialization. Necessary as the union is, it won't get far by straight industrial action in so sick an industry. And if it bargains with old party "friends of labor" it will sell its soul as always for less than a mess of pottage.

The moral of this works both ways. Our party as a party must pay more attention, not to currying favor with a labor hierarchy but winning the rank and file, organized and unorganized. Labor must turn to political action for its salvation and to clear the way, in most cases, for effective unionization. I am strengthened in this opinion by observing that it, or something like it, is the opinion of that fine labor leader and Socialist, Leo Kryski.

N. Y. C. Yipsels Stress Work Among Unions

Best Convention in Years Is Held at Rand School—85 Delegates Present

By HARRY LOPATIN

OPINION is unquestionably unanimous that the eleventh annual convention of the Young People's Socialist League, which met last Saturday and Sunday at the Rand School, was one of the most constructive and most representative of membership and ideas—and to say the least, the most enthusiastic—which the organization has had in a long time. The 85 delegates came to give an account of a year of remarkably intensive work in various fields of Socialist endeavor.

The convention opened Saturday at the call of the executive secretary, Abe Belsky. Winston Daniels of the Bronx, was then elected chairman. Daniels expressed the wish that the convention would be as constructive and broad as the work of the preceding year's activity. The keynote to the convention was sounded thereupon by August Tyler and Aaron Levenstein of the Y. P. S. L.; Haim Kantorovitch of the Socialist party committee on youth affairs; McAllister Leman of the Socialist party executive committee, and Charles Solomon, former Socialist Assemblyman. A call for more intense participation in struggles of the working mass and finer clarification of ideas through more widespread study of Socialist fundamentals characterized many of the speeches.

The convention elected committees on resolutions, a new group to be called "Red Falcon" in the Yipsels.

from all over the greater city gathered in the Sholom Aleichem Center of the Workmen's Circle of the Bronx at a dance and concert tendered by the Yipsels of that borough.

Sunday morning Harry Lopatin was elected chairman. The delegates got ready for the business of planning ahead. So to begin with an idea of what went on during 1931, they heard the executive secretary's report. It was indeed a report to be proud of and able to inspire delegates. In less than twelve months the league had grown somewhat in the number of circles and (what is more remarkable) over 40 per cent in membership. A little over 50 per cent of the senior members are workers. A large proportion are out of work. Yet, despite the depression the proportion of members in good standing is relatively greater than in the previous year.

The banner activities were on the industrial field. Primary in importance was the direct aid and participation in strikes and organization campaigns by members of the league. The importance and necessity of the Socialist voice in these conflicts was recognized by many unions in the city, and consequently Yipsel speakers, organizers and members of impartial election committees, were in demand.

Strike relief was and is one of the most important bits of work which was undertaken by the league and membership. In money over \$500 was collected and distributed. Old clothes and food was shipped to the extent of several carloads. Strikes—no matter where they were situated—were the beneficiaries. A number of members suffered arrest, conviction and black-bail as a result of their strike and union activity. These setbacks did not in any way deter or diminish the fervor and spirit, but proved to be admirable deeds of idealism. As usual, the members participated in large numbers in various parades, demonstrations and mass meetings of the party and held a number under league auspices. Classes in Socialism and public speaking were conducted. Symposiums were successfully carried through with competent leaders in various subjects. "Free Youth" was distributed to the extent of about 100,000 copies. All in all, the league did a herculean job in a year that demanded it. The test which capitalism breakdown presented to Socialists, especially those who are newer in the movement, was met with the finest of Socialist spirit and foresight.

The first report of the session was presented by the "Red Falcon" committee. It proposed that a

sion of youngsters be organized under the direction of the Socialist party. The Y. P. S. L. and leaders of these groups (who would be members of either organization). The convention endorsed the project and referred the matter of detail to the central committee. The educational committee presented a program for educational committee which embodied many new and novel features.

The third session elected Abe Belsky as chairman. The resolutions committee reported a number of resolutions expressing the official policy of the convention.

Resolution on Russia

A resolution on Soviet Russia declared "the Soviet government is no longer an experiment but a social reality." After demanding recognition of Russia by the United States and urging freedom for Socialist and other working class opposition within Russia because "ultimately Socialism without democracy is pseudo-Socialism, as Socialism without democracy is pseudo-democracy," the resolution continued: "despite many apparent defects, we hail the Soviet government as the first real attempt to establish a workers' government. It is idle to dispute the proletarian character of the Russian revolution. A workers' revolution does not mean the immediate establishment of the So-

cialist commonwealth. . . . The revolution has taken possession of the government in the name of the workers. It has effectively expropriated private capitalist owners and has nationalized the greater part of the industries. It has also largely effected the socialization of the land. Measured by all practical tests it is therefore a workers' government in character as well as intent. A whole-hearted support of Soviet Russia by the workers everywhere is thus dictated by their natural sentimental attachment for the first workers' government, but also by their direct class interests."

On "labor unions," the convention declared for "a militant struggle." "Reactionary elements in control of the American Federation of Labor . . . work against the best interests of the working class by using outworn methods on the industrial field and the so-called non-partisan policy on the political field." The league "calls on every member to enter the field of struggle. Every member of the Y. P. S. L. and the Socialist party in the trade unions must fight on every suitable occasion for independent political action, for unemployment insurance, for clean unionism and for the exposure and expulsion of grafters and racketeers." The resolution urged setting up of a permanent relief body for strikes, "that we march on the picket lines, that our members speak at meetings of workers presenting the Socialist viewpoint." Further, the convention called on the Socialist party "to work with might and main to bring about a great measure of Socialist influence in the unions such as once existed."

Other resolutions demanded real old-age pensions, urged preparations for concerted international labor action against war; denounced Japanese invasion of Manchuria; declared for a child labor amendment to the constitution. Volunteer work on behalf of unions was urged by speakers and others. Compulsory military training in schools was also denounced.

The large part of this session was taken up by discussion on these resolutions. Policy for an organization with a Socialist concept of things is important and must be formulated and presented. In the main it was generally agreed that this was unusually manifest. The constitutional and organizational committees concluded this third and last session with their reports. Before the session ended, Comrades August Claessens and Norman Thomas addressed the convention.

The convention closed—the delegates departed to the various sections

whereof they came—all were satisfied that the time had been exceptionally well spent . . . stocktaking was complete for 1931 . . . the vision was clear for 1932.

National Quarters Moved to Chicago

The national headquarters of the Young People's Socialist League of America has been moved from Reading, Pa., to Chicago. The work of the organization will be carried on by the national headquarters of the Socialist party. This arrangement was made by the national executive committee of the Y. P. S. L. and the committee on young people's work of the Socialist party. Pending final decision of the two organizations, the mid-west secretary of the Yipsels, George Smerkin, will handle the national work.

National secretary, Emanuel Switkes, in submitting his resignation, sent the following letter:

"Dear Comrades: It is with deepest regret that I find myself compelled to withdraw as your national secretary. Conditions beyond my control, lack of moral and financial support on the part of the national office of the party and the failure of the Y. P. S. L. national executive committee to function properly are responsible.

"I have made certain definite recommendations to the party committee on Y. P. S. L. for the future welfare of the organization. It is of the utmost importance at this time that every member of the Y. P. S. L. extend whole-hearted support to the national secretary of the party in the furtherance of our movement. In taking leave as your national official I want to express my appreciation to you for your cooperation and loyalty. Believe me to be always your fellow member and soldier in our common cause.

"Fraternally yours,
"EMANUEL SWITKES."

Jobless Conference Leaders Meet Monday

A meeting of the officers and members of the Action Committee of the Emergency Unemployment Conference will be held at the office of the Socialist Party, 7 East 15th street, New York City, Monday evening at 8 o'clock.