

*Militia Plans Slaughter For Jobless;
Secret Orders Bared by Socialist Party*

Page 8 of This Issue

NEW LEADER

*With Which
Is Combined*

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

*Founded by
Eugene V. Debs*

VOL. XIII.—No. 4

SATURDAY, JANUARY 23, 1932

Price Five Cents



Reginald Marsh in The New Yorker

"Where Wealth Accumulates and Men Decay"

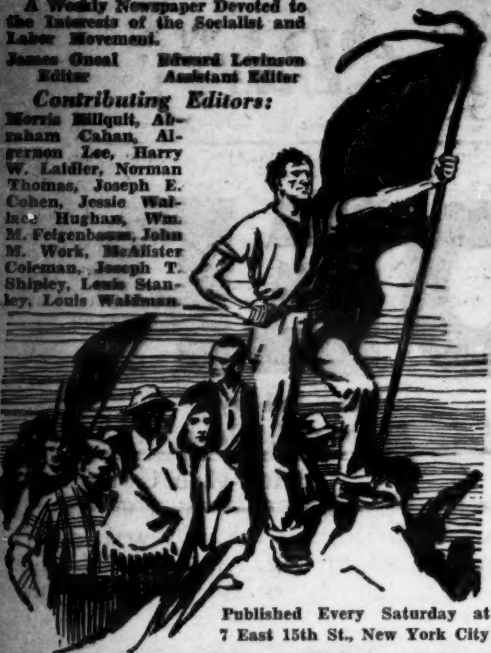
NEW LEADER

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

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Published Every Saturday at
7 East 15th St., New York City

SATURDAY, JANUARY 23, 1932

Father Cox's Army

THE march of jobless armies to Washington nearly forty years ago has been repeated in recent weeks but on a smaller scale. The march led by Father Cox proceeded with assurances of the leader that it had no radical complex and while Coxey's army in 1894 was chased from the capitol lawn and its leaders were arrested, the Cox army was welcomed by a few politicians. The contrast is interesting and we may be sure that Father Cox will do nothing to disturb the sleep of our very "best people."

To be sure, his address to thousands who met in the University of Pittsburgh Stadium met the requirements of such a crusade. With clerics of his faith warning the flock against the lures of Socialism we have in this leader an instrument to short-circuit the grievances of the masses in the coming national election. In the Pittsburgh address he spoke the Mellons and Rockefellers hip and thigh like the captains of Israel centuries ago and announced that a "Jobless Political Party" would nominate candidates for President and Vice-President in St. Louis on Labor Day. Whether this proposal will mature remains to be seen.

As an indication of general discontent this crusade is interesting but as a practical method of working class action it is everything that it should not be. A "safe and sane" leader is certain to divert attention from fundamentals to demagogic denunciation of individuals of the ruling classes and this appears to be the role of Father Cox. His way is the road to futility.

Breaking Up the Home!

ONE result of the depression in New York City are the empty rooms and apartments which reveal a tragic story of privation and disease. Everywhere is to be found the "For Rent" sign, which includes thousands of small storekeepers who have surrendered.

What is happening is that jobless men are unable to pay rent and they either store the family goods and take a room somewhere or they move in with relatives. The result is overcrowding which brings a menace to health. What is happening in New York City is happening in other cities.

Today the municipal courts are crowded with eviction cases. It is estimated that throughout the city there is an average of 1,500 such cases every day. In many cases the owners of small dwellings are helpless. They find it difficult to pay taxes and to keep up with mortgages. They must collect rent or face financial disaster. The tenant must pay rent or face eviction.

The director of the Department of Health nursing bureau reports an increasing number of nervous ills in the homes of jobless workers. The unfortunate suffer from "extreme nervousness and worry. . . . There is fear of cuts in salary; of another member losing his or her job, and of future hunger."

Families are breaking up and in some cases as many as thirteen persons have been found living in three-room apartments. Thus the industrial disaster spreads, bringing with it gloom, apprehension, and illness. Vacant rooms and apartments, homeless men and women, and overcrowding! Capitalism has a fearful indictment to answer.

Bootlicking Democracy

PERHAPS not one capitalistic politician realizes that many of his actions confirm the philosophy of Socialism. As an interpretation of the changing views by the role they play in

history. We have often commented on this in these columns and another striking example is at hand. Representative Vinson of Georgia sponsors the 600 million dollar naval construction bill which is intended to give the United States Navy parity in fact instead of in theory. Details of this big navy proposal are not essential to our theme but in Washington it is called a "business man's bill." That is, it seeks to serve the imperialist section of our ruling classes. Vinson is a Democrat.

This proposal by a Democrat would be unthinkable in the days of Jefferson and even in the days of Bryan at the dawn of the present century. Today it is a Democrat who seeks the honor of providing our imperialist capitalists and bankers with a police force to protect their overseas dollars and investments. A party of small farmers a hundred years ago, the Democracy serves as butler to the robber barons who have reduced the small farmers to beggary!

Big capital has bubbled up in the South and the Democracy enlists in the service of the higher capitalism. This is in accord with the Socialist view that economic change will register in upper class politics. It is now merely a matter of whether Republicans or Democrats shall be bootlickers of our imperialist masters and the rivalry between them for this job is certainly instructive.

Ladies to the Front!

THE ladies brigade has been ordered to the front to fight the depression and the San Francisco battalion is the first to go into action. Three hundred began eating their way to victory last week.

The Frisco battalion bears the proud name of "Western Women's 20-30 Club." All members are perfect ladies with hobbies who can fill the purse. They have pledged themselves to eat till it hurts and to buy silk stockings and other things women need regardless of consequences. Nothing will deter them from their grim enterprise.

Their program requires each of the 300 to eat at least one extra slice of bread per day with butter and to eat every day a full noon-day meal; to buy an extra pair of silk hose each week; also a new frock, and then a new hat, if possible. The ladies began their arduous task the day following their decision and they urge all others of their class to follow their noble example.

So in Frisco extra bread and butter is disappearing down feminine throats, full noon-day meals take the place of tea and talk, and storekeepers are busy supplying extra raiment for the Amazon warriors against General Depression. The enemy staggered under the impact of the first offensive and more ladies, armed with bread and butter, enlisted for the patriotic struggle. Silk hose, hats and frocks were left on the field but more ammunition is being rushed to the front and victory is certain.

Ladies of the nation! Your country calls you. Gorge and guzzle for the relief of the unemployed. Eat your way to victory before the jobless millions starve to death.

IN A NUTSHELL

By J. ONEAL

Sam's Logic and Economics

Our readers will enjoy Sam DeWitt's column on another page. He figures that the "militant comrades really scored a tremendous victory," which makes us wonder why those same comrades fought the majority resolutions in every stage as they unfolded in the executive committee and the convention. From Sam's comment we surmise that the militants would have been real gloomy had any important resolution of theirs been adopted. By the same logic the majority are wearing crepe bands to broadcast their sorrow.

Other musings of Sam on the trade union resolution and his "activist" science are commended to our readers and the whole should be considered in the perspective of years. Our good comrade is the founder of what has come to be known as "Hottentot Socialism." Its principles are easily grasped. The first essential is that you should not read the economic and political history of the colonizing nations or, if you have read it, forget it. Accept Sam's word for it that he can take machinery and tools to the Hottentots and, presto! the noble savage will in a decade or two build the economic structure of a tool order. Forget similar British attempts in Australia, emancipation in the West Indies and failure to lure the natives to adopt the white man's tools; and the fact that the American Indian, still wearing his blanket and observing his tribal customs, has resisted every attempt of the white man to do what Sam assures us the Hottentot will eagerly accept from his hands.

But enough. Only a week or two ago my crony on page eleven, declared that he was still muddled on some things. Right? And here we are inclined to think that Sam will get more votes than he did for his trade union resolution last Sunday.

The First Duty

The first use then, in man, of that he knows

Is his painstaking for the good of all;

Not fleahy weeping for his own made woes,

Not laughing, with a melancholy gall,

Not hating, from a soul that overflows

With bitterness, breathed out of inward thrall;

But sweetly rather to ease, loose and blind

As need requires this frail, fallen human-kind.

—Fulke Greville (1554-1633).

Neither Song Nor Sermon

IT WAS no empty compliment that Chairman Berlin paid the delegates last Sunday when he remarked on the good attendance, the good order, and the good temper that prevailed all through the rather strenuous sessions of the city convention. Comrade Berlin himself contributed much to this, but he had general co-operation. It was a distinct improvement over the two conventions of last year, not only in these respects, but in something that lay back of these. While each of the really contentious questions was decided by a vote of more than two to one, and in several cases more than three to one, fully half the delegates must have found themselves on the losing side on one or another of these questions. This means that there was less thick-and-thin voting with particular groups than previously—that the divisions had less of a factional character. I hope no one regrets this.

I've heard a few comrades complaining that so much time was spent—"wasted," they say—in discussion of general principles. This seems to me a mistaken view. For the Socialist party, unlike other parties, general principles are of practical value. We cannot safely ignore them or (what is the same thing in effect) just take them for granted. It is necessary to take stock of them from time to time and find out whether we really hold to them and whether our practice accords with them. And the greatest error that can be made, when doing this, is to "iron out" differences by using expressions which can be unanimously accepted where there is no unanimity as to the meaning of those expressions. The sharpest disagreement, if clearly brought to light, is greatly preferable to a false appearance of agreement.

Of course, the truth of a doctrine is not established by a show of hands, nor can those who are outvoted on such a question be required or expected to change their opinions when the result of the voting is declared. One of the most comical and at the same time features of Bolshevism is its insistence that the minority shall pretend to be convinced and shall recant and do penance. What a Socialist party requires is that those who have been outvoted, while exercising this right to make themselves a majority if they can by further argument and persuasion, shall not make public propaganda against the party's declared views and shall loyally support the party in a course of action that accords with the theory it has accepted—unless, of course, the difference is so fundamental that they cannot honestly do this, in which case it is their right and duty to withdraw and, if they see fit, oppose the party from outside.

In the present instance, I doubt if there is a single party member who cannot conscientiously accept in this sense the decisions that have been made, and I think that we are going to work together more harmoniously and differ, insofar as we must differ, more intelligently than has been the case for some time past.

It is to be remembered that the work done here last weekend was only preliminary to that of the national convention to be held at Milwaukee. At that gathering

time will be saved by the clear drawing of issues which we in New York have brought about. And if the wording of our resolutions still leaves much to be desired, we have ten or twelve weeks in which to improve it.

Meanwhile there were two or three points upon which, though our discussions were sufficient to satisfy a strong majority, there was not time really to answer the arguments of the minority as they deserve—to answer them, I mean, in such a way that, whether they are convinced or not, doubts or misunderstandings may be cleared away.

And now, to my regret, I must answer Louis Waldman's letter addressed to me in last week's paper.

I had taken up the statement that Marxism "doesn't work frontwards"—which, if it means anything, must mean that our economic and social theories do not help us to foresee future developments, and are therefore of little or no use. In reply, I cited three instances. I mentioned no names, and had no occasion to mention any.

Comrade Waldman has hastily assumed that in one of these three paragraphs I was aiming a covert and foul blow at him, and by insinuating that he, some four years ago, held a view which he says he never held. Let me assure him that when I wrote that paragraph I did not once think of him. I had never had any reason to suppose that he had at that time accepted the "new capitalism" theory, and surely had no motive to attribute it to him.

He says, however, that no comrade who was "worth his salt" ever held the view on which I commented. For my part, I would not speak so contemptuously of those who did hold and express it. I thought and think that they were wrong. But I see no reason why I or anyone should say they are not worth their salt.

Waldman has an unalienable right to find my writings "dull and senseless," and to say so as loudly as he pleases. He seems to think it a waste of time to discuss questions of theory. That also is his right. But when, after naming Oneal and Bright together with me, he says that "the rest of us (himself and some others) are too busy doing the party's work" to take any interest in theoretical discussions, he goes a bit too far. Bright and Oneal do their full share of the party's work, and I try to do a little of it.

Nor is it either fair or modest on his part to say that, when we avow an interest in questions of basic principle, we are just "making a virtue of our ignorance of public affairs." No one will go farther than I in open recognition of Waldman's knowledge of public affairs. But it is not true that all those whom he scolds for our theoretical interests are grossly ignorant of the subjects to which he has more exclusively devoted his attention.

A. L.

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

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
1 Year in the United States \$2.00
6 Months in the United States \$1.00
1 Year to Foreign Countries \$3.00

Entered as Second Class Matter, January 19, 1924, at the Post Office at New York, New York, under act of March 3, 1879.

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The Crisis of the Cities

The Barking Interests Turn the Screws On Aid For the Jobless

LIKE a malignant disease the industrial depression slowly spreads and is including an increasing number of workers. There is little doubt that the capitalist system is rotting away. The masses are becoming more restless and real hunger stalks in the streets of every city and town throughout the nation.

The smug complacency of the ruling classes and their politicians continues. They yelp "we must have no dole" and millions are being fed inadequate doles. The smugglers are abroad in every community with their insolent manners, prying into the private lives of the disinherited and passing a few coins to us out of their alms bags.

Hundreds of cities are on the verge of bankruptcy and these sources of relief are breaking down. It is notorious that capitalist rule of a great city like Chicago has wrecked its finances and thousands of employees have gone months without pay.

In the great steel city of Youngstown, Ohio, 4,000 destitute families, supported by doles, are expected to live on \$1.50 per week. A dog could hardly live on that income. A fund to provide two days work a week to workers in this city is almost exhausted.

In Massachusetts five cities have suspended their payrolls and thousands of city employees will not be paid. Bank failures have also tied up city deposits and the legislature is asked for a bond issue to relieve the financial distress. Bankruptcy may be the fate of some cities.

Blind Bat Bankers

In Cincinnati the distress signal has also been hoisted. Director Hoehler of the Welfare Department warns that the antiquated American dole system does not even provide satisfactory temporary relief. No progress has been made on this score since the Civil War and we are facing the "supreme problem of civilization."

Blind as bats, the bankers clutching their bags of loot issue orders to the cities. The usurers insist that they shall determine the policies of the cities. Detroit applies to the Wall Street spiders for a loan and they order wage cuts. The City Council slashes wages of city employees 10 per cent. Many of these workers do not work full time and they are hit hard.

New York City approaches the slough of despond and the bankers again attempt to determine policy. Failure to float a loan would result in payless workers in New York City. With consummate brass, the bankers made a survey of the city's resources to ascertain whether a loan is a safe investment for them.

In Memphis, Tennessee, the flood of depression also reaches the city workers. On February 1st they will receive a wage slash averaging 10 per cent.

From the West, *The New Leader* receives a letter stating that private firms that are willing to grant demands of unions for increased wages are warned by bankers that they will receive no credit. The financial magnates reached their clammy hands across the sea and forced a crisis in the British Labor Government.

The Degradation of "Heroes"

It is the banking fraternity with their great money vats and their headship of great capitalist combines who are the masters and rulers of American life. The blood, tears and agony of the millions who suffered in the World War enriched them as no war ever enriched any other ruling class. They have grown fat and insolent with their bloody gains.

In the breadlines of every city are workers who served as conscripts in the inhuman butchery. They were to return to a nation "fit for heroes." They are exiles in their own country. Their loved ones famish. Cities decay. City employees are sent to the scrap heap. Breadlines lengthen and relief, never adequate, becomes even less every day.

Into this situation step the impudent banking masters. Sitting atop the rocking structure of capitalism they issue decrees like a Napoleon when master of Milan. Below them is a sea of misery that is rising every hour. If it swallows them up, as it will at high tide, the end of their arrogance will be reached.

But in the meantime the masses are stunned by the disaster that eats into every home and hovel. The old world that promised the blessings of a "New Capitalism" has gone up in smoke. It is as dead as the fossils imbedded in the rocks of geologic time. Like the dazed victims of an earthquake or a cyclone that has buried them in its debris, the masses remain in a stupor. There is no unity of thought, no concert of action. There is only drift as the disaster spreads.

The Workers Must Awaken!

Workingmen and women of America! Awaken! For decades we have permitted the grafter, the adventurer, the creature with itching palms, the man on the make, and their kind to lead us. It was not always thus. The working class of this country once played an honorable and courageous role in our history and we can again take courage and renew the battle for ourselves, our families, and our class.

There were times when large sections of workers fought the good fight for a place in the sun. Often they were beaten back but they returned to the struggle never really beaten. The coal fields, the steel barony, the textile hells, and other industrial oligarchies felt the impact of our organized power.

Into a dozen legislatures and into hundreds of city councils we sent the Socialist fighters of our class. They were educated and trained to serve us. Those were days of rising working class power.

Then came the lures of the "New Capitalism." Many forgot the honored days of struggle. Many turned to the old party hacks of capitalist politics. Votes were thrown away like drunken sailors wasting their wages. The fighting army declined. Fighting morale was dissipated. Then collapse and disillusion!

And here we are stunned, the party hacks of capitalism planning for another "round up" of what they think are voting cattle. Shall it be again?

The hour is here for thinking and action. The financial usurers press us further down. The hateful doles of the parasite rich insult us and do not relieve. We have the resistless power of Niagara if it is harnessed to serve our cause.

The Task of Socialist Fighters

Socialist fighters for a better world! Ours is the task of awakening the masses. Every working class neighborhood is a region of insecurity, desolation and suffering. Reach them with the Socialist message of battle against the forces that are destroying our homes, that deprive our loved ones of bread, that are reducing many to a dependent serfdom.

Whole sections can be organized into unemployed councils. Demand the school houses for purposes of deliberation and formulation of measures of relief. Answer the orders of the banking usurers and the indifferent politicians with a program of our own. Organize great pressure groups with the determination to take the jobless out of the breadlines and give them the benefits of unemployment insurance. Demand that the super-rich be taxed and forever abolish the insolent dole.

The banker speaks, the politician speaks, the capitalist speaks, the editor speaks, but the laboring millions have not spoken. They can speak in thunder tones that will be heard throughout the nation.

Once the masses begin to move the ethics of human solidarity will be a fact. Power will come to the working people. The Socialist ideal will inspire increasing numbers in the perilous months to come.

Labor International Urges End of Capitalism

Trade Unions Urged to Fight System That Breeds Crises

THE working class of the world, at the end of the year 1931, is faced with the fact that some 25 million of persons who are both able and willing to work can find nothing to do under the capitalist system and are exposed to the bitterest suffering.

Thus read the opening paragraph of a statement by the International Federation of Trade Unions from Berlin as the old year died. The statement adds that throughout the world impoverishment is accompanied by reactionary assaults upon social legislation and the standard of living of the workers. "Apart from the systematic decrease of wages," declares the International, "which is strangling purchasing power in all countries, the capitalist magnates are striving to utilize the times to make a radical reduction in the

social gains of the working class."

The Tariff Mania

The statement points out that the credit crisis, starting in Central Europe, spread rapidly to Austria and Germany. The capitalists of the world reacted to the insecurity of German credit by withdrawing credits to Central Europe. It then became evident that the credits, mostly short term, "given to Austria and Germany were frozen and could not be repaid." Great Britain became affected and then followed the year's holiday on reparations proposed by Hoover.

All this has been aggravated by the protection mania. High tariff walls of many nations prevent the flow of goods and in some cases the exchange of certain commodities is prohibited. The derangement of currencies has affected 23 nations, some abandoning the gold standard and others fighting des-

perately to retain it. The statement concludes with the following observations:

"End Capitalism"

"No other fact bears such clear and merciless witness to the truth that there is but one way out of this crisis, namely, the abolition of this capitalist economic system which leads to such terrible chaos and anarchy, and its substitution by a carefully planned economic order in which supply will be adjusted to demand and which will be based on the principle of social justice. It may seem as if the likelihood of such transformation is smaller than ever, since the capitalists, in spite of their total failure in their own special domain of economic guidance and management, have nevertheless succeeded, thanks to the economic crisis, in letting loose a wave of social reaction against the working class

such as the latter would hardly have believed possible. And meanwhile the fight of labor throughout the world for its very life has not even yet led that union and concentration among the workers themselves which are today the only means by which they can hope to break the power of the capitalists.

"The working class must learn the lesson of this crisis: they must recognize that only strong determination will enable them to overthrow the capitalist system and will prevent the recurrence of such devastating economic crises."

MATTHEWS IN PHILADELPHIA

On Sunday, January 24, 8:30 p. m., J. B. Matthews, Secretary of Fellowship for Reconciliation will speak on "Race Hatred in the U. S.," at 3009 Ridge Avenue. Admission is free.

Green Calls Parley Of Union Leaders To Act on Job Crisis

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Declaring that the unemployment situation is growing worse daily, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, has written to the presidents of all national and international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. inviting them to attend a conference in Washington on February 9 to give as strong and definite an answer as possible to the problem.

It is President Green's hope that plans will be worked out, and that as a result the conscience of the public will be aroused.

Militia Plans Slaughter For Jobless

Socialists Bare Orders To Militiamen

Secret Instructions Urge Firing Into Crowds, Thomas and Senior Reveal

BREAD is being denied the unemployed—

But the bullets are ready. While the Federal government passes the buck on unemployment relief to near-bankrupt cities, the military forces of the nation are preparing to quell with slaughter and bloodshed any protest of hungry men and women.

Secretly circulated plans of the militia in Illinois to mow down any protesting unemployed were bared this week by Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, and Clarence Senior, national executive secretary of the party. They have forwarded a stinging protest to Congress demanding relief now rather than riots and bloodshed later.

Expect Winter Riots

"A military dictatorship, contemptuous of the civilian respect for legal rights," is foreseen unless immediate federal relief is provided, Thomas and Senior told members of Congress in an open letter.

Enclosures with the letter reproduce photographically two pages from a 104 page pamphlet issued last month by the 33rd Division, Illinois National Guard, entitled "Emergency Plans for Domestic Disturbances." Mimeographed reproductions of other quotations from the pamphlet are also included.

"This winter at its many conferences the staff has been considering and studying 'Plans for the suppression of radical disorders,'" the militia's instructions say.

Plans set forth for this high purpose include such instructions as "blank cartridges should never be fired at a mob. If ball ammunition is expected from the first, moral effect is gained."

"Never fire over the heads of rioters," the instructions continue. "If it be not practicable to send a part of the command to attack in the rear," another section advises, "practically the same results may be obtained by dispatching sharpshooters to the roofs or upper stories of houses, from which they can pick off rioters in the rear of the mob."

Deny Civil Authority

Special directions for the use of gas and phosphorus bombs are also given in the Socialists' quotations.

"In case martial law has been declared," the National Guard instructions point out, "the civil authorities have no power whatever." "Officers of troops aiding civil authorities should not permit the latter to indicate how their duties should be performed."

"An ambitious officer," it is promised, "may by decisive action acquire fame."

For such activity, the guardsmen are told that "in times of disorder or disaster the various posts of the American Legion can render valuable assistance to commanders of troops," and "Chambers of Commerce are of great value to local commanders."

Karapetoff on WEVD

Professor Vladimir Karapetoff will discuss "A Biological Point of View Upon Human Affairs," over WEVD, Jan. 28, at 8:15.

"Carry Ample Ammunition," Secret Orders to Militia Declare

(a) Troops should never be ordered on riot duty without an ample supply of ball ammunition. Blank cartridges should never be fired at a mob. If ball ammunition is expected from the first, moral effect is gained. It will not have to be used more than once. If at all. (Note: When troops of the Illinois National Guard are ordered on active duty to suppress domestic disorders, UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES WILL BLANK AMMUNITION BE ISSUED TO THEM.)

(b) NEVER FIRE OVER THE HEADS OF RIOTERS. The aim should be low, with full-charged ammunition and the battle sight; the rifles are sighted too high for the average riot distance and are very likely to wound some innocent person in the distance. If any one is to be hurt, it should be the rioter. (Note: For the average case of domestic disorder at least 50% of the ball ammunition issued to the RIFLEMEN should consist of reduced charge (guard) ammunition. This will be found to be effective up to ACTUAL RANGES of 200 yards. IT SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND THAT WHEN USING THIS TYPE CARTRIDGE, IT IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO USE INCREASED SIGHT SETTINGS.)

(c) TEMPORIZING WITH A MOB IS USUALLY AN EXHIBITION OF POOR JUDGMENT. It not only indicates weakness, but is injurious to the discipline of the troops. A vacillating commander cannot command obedience from his own troops. How can he expect to control a mob?

(d) A low-power cartridge is preferable for the usual riot duty. (See note to (b) above.) Riot shotguns with buckshot ammunition are effective at close ranges.

(e) Officers and men should not fear reprisal in case one or more people are killed. The laws of most states and the common law which prevail in others provide that if it is not proven that the killing was through mere malice, wantonness, or cruelty, a soldier is not punishable for such an act, even though he used bad judgment. When an act is committed by command of a superior it is the superior who is responsible. A subordinate is usually safe in accepting all commands given. (Note: For details of the Illinois Military and Naval Code on this subject, see Appendix No. 1, G-1 Form, page 11.)

(f) A subordinate should never be placed on riot duty with any definite restrictions as to the amount of force to be used. Sentries, patrols, or others detached from their superior should be instructed to use whatever force may be necessary to carry out their orders and no more.

(g) Infantry should use great care in using bayonets against a mob many times larger. If a mob is allowed to surround the troops and hand to hand fighting ensues, the soldiers lose the advantage of both their superior weapons and their training, with the probable result of greater bloodshed, if not defeat for the troops. Cavalry may be used to advantage against a mob many times its size without resorting to rifle or revolver fire. With well trained horses, cavalry, aided by infantry, can best perform riot duty.

(h) Men in the front of a mob may be willing to retreat, but may be prevented by pressure from behind. If such a mob is a frontal attack is imminent. When troops meet a closely packed crowd that cannot give way, parties should be detached to flank the crowd and break up its rear. The flanking parties should begin their work first. The frontal party should content itself with preventing any great disorder or any advance by the crowd until the work of the flankers is well under way when it should disperse the crowd before it.

(i) Troops should never be marched through crowded streets in times of riot, even though the crowd may not seem particularly hostile. In times of riots the streets should be kept clear and crowds dispersed as the troops proceed, otherwise should any incident cause trouble, the troops may be caught at a disadvantage.

(j) Rioters should not be permitted to throw missiles at the troops, even though they be of such nature that they cause no serious injury. It is a respect for the troops and thereby for the law. Rioters should be kept moving constantly and all small groups broken up. With no crowds, there are no mobs; with no mobs, there are no serious riots.

Two pages from the booklet, "Emergency Plans for Domestic Disturbances," published and secretly circulated by headquarters of the 33rd Division, Illinois National Guard.

Fire On Mobs From Rear, Secret Orders Say; Instructions Detail Use of Gas and Bombs

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

Chow the militia is to carry out its slaughter of protesting unemployed workers and possibly set up a military dictatorship are given in the secret instructions to the Illinois militia exposed by the national office of the Socialist party.

Clarence Senior, national executive secretary of the party, has taken steps to circulate the contents of the secret orders so that a mighty protest may be raised against bullets for the jobless rather than bread and relief. Senior has issued the following statement:

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA
549 Randolph Street,
Chicago, Ill.

To whom it may concern:

The enclosed sheet is a reproduction of two pages from "Emergency Plans for Domestic Disturbances," a 104-page pamphlet published by the headquarters of the 33rd Division, Illinois National Guard, Chicago, Ill.

All sections of this booklet end with "By command of Major General Keehn: Thomas R. Gowenlock, Colonel, General Staff, Chief of Staff."

To Ambitious Officers

Additional excerpts follow (capitals are in the original):

"This winter at its many conferences the staff has been considering and studying 'Plans for the suppression of radical disorders.'" (p. 11).

"THE AMERICAN LEGION. In times of disorder or disaster the various posts of the American Legion can render valuable assistance to commanders of troops." (p. 28).

"CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE are of great value to local commanders. Practically every town has one." (p. 28).

"17. THE PROPER PERFORMANCE OF RIOT DUTY REQUIRES THE ADOPTION OF AND ADHERENCE TO GENERAL PLANS, WHICH ARE TESTS OF THE OFFICERS' ABILITY. An ambitious officer may, by decisive action and proper distribution of troops, acquire fame." (p. 51).

"32. The fact that there are

in society so many professional agitators, so many Communists, thieves, cut-throats, vagabonds and ruffians, who, with the instinct of the vulture, will seek the field of prey, on the one hand, and on the other with the instinct of the rat, desert the sinking ship, renders it absolutely necessary that the mob shall not be trifled with to the extent even of permitting them to seem to be victorious for a single day." (p. 54).

Bullets in the Back

"36. Mobs, as a rule, are made up of cowards, not necessarily physical cowards, but moral cowards—moral cowards because of their consciousness of being in the wrong, of being lawless. The most cowardly members of a mob are generally in the rear, which is, therefore, the weakest, the most vulnerable part. Having neither discipline nor organization, the very moment a break is started, the rest will follow like so many sheep. The logical point to ATTACK mobs is, therefore, the REAR and FLANK. If it be not practicable to send a part of the command to attack in rear, practically the same result can be obtained by dispatching, if practicable, sharpshooters to the roofs or upper stories of houses, from which they can pick off rioters in the rear of the mob. The picking off of a few rioters there will generally cause others to flee, and they in turn will be joined by the rest of the mob." (p. 54).

(b) AMMUNITION: Tear gas, hand and rifle grenades, white phosphorus, rifle grenades, buckshot cartridges for shotguns, reduced load ammunition, 30-calibre.

(c) EQUIPMENT: Steel helmets, motor cars, motor trucks. (p. 58).

"3. TRAFFIC AND TECHNIC OF GAS."

"(c) When a gas attack is launched against a mob, a heavy concentration should be released along the windward flank and a lighter one across the front to cause disintegration of the mob toward the opposite flank and rear. Were the entire attack de-

The managers of theaters and places of amusement in affected neighborhoods should be instructed that no entertainment antithetical to the restrictions of law and order will be permitted.

18. If troops start to execute a duty ordered by proper authority, there should be no stopping until the desired results are accomplished, even though it becomes necessary to use extreme force. An appearance of retreat or tampering with the crowd will have very bad effects and cause worse rioting.

20. Troops are called upon to put down disorder, absolutely and promptly, with as little force as possible. In the majority of cases the way to accomplish this is to use as much force as necessary to stop disorder.

21. Officers of troops aiding civil authorities should not permit the latter to indicate HOW THEIR DUTIES SHOULD BE PERFORMED. The civilians (civil authority) may tell the military authorities WHAT TO DO, BUT HOW IT IS TO BE DONE AND THE AMOUNT OF FORCE TO BE USED ARE PURELY MILITARY AND TACTICAL QUESTIONS TO BE DECIDED BY THE MILITARY OFFICERS. In case martial law has been declared, the civil authorities have no power whatsoever.

(Note: The practice that frequently occurred in the past of civil police authorities giving more or less detailed instructions to the troops as to how a particular task will be carried out, in other words, assuming command of the troops to all intents and purposes, will no longer be tolerated. For the law in this respect, see Appendix I of this plan. Hearty co-operation should be had with the local police authorities at all times, and all requests from them for troop assistance should be granted. PROVIDED, the tactical situation permits—When such assistance is rendered, troops will operate under the command of THEIR OWN OFFICERS AND NOT UNDER THAT OF THE POLICE or other civil officials.)

22. Act promptly. Do not appear to hesitate.

23. Troops should never approach a crowd, too large to make prisoners, in such a way that it is hemmed in on all sides. If a crowd has no retreat, resistance may be greater.

24. Officers should not neglect to provide a suitable reserve party no matter how weak that may make the attacking force. * * * * *

25. When necessary, a few sharpshooters expert riflemen may be placed on roofs and in high windows to fire over the heads of those in the front of a crowd and break up the rear. Sharpshooters so placed are also very efficient in breaking up the practice of throwing stones or other missiles at the troops from the rear of the crowd, as a sharpshooter from such a point of vantage can pick off individuals who so offend.

26. NEVER TRY TO BLUFF A MOB. Never threaten to do things you do not intend to do, or that you can not do, or that you know would be illegal if you do them. Should your "bluff" be called, the mob would then neither respect nor fear you and the result would probably be that the mob would become more lawless and outrageous.

27. The ruffian element of a community always takes advantage of a riot to commit acts of lawlessness, and frequently they cause the most trouble. These people are entitled to absolutely no consideration, and should be handled with a severe hand.

28. In case of general riot, the troops should NOT be divided into numerous small detachments to quell minor disorders at various scattered points. Detached engagements without decisive or material results do nothing but exhaust the troops and encourage the rioters.

29. By means of detectives, or scouts in civilian clothing, the commanding officer should keep himself constantly informed of the movements and purposes of the rioters.

3. "THE IMPORTANCE OF QUELLING RIOTS IN THEIR INCIPIENT STAGE."

31. Mobs, are, by their nature, peculiarly liable to deception or elation; they sneak into their hiding places or swarm into the streets directly

levered against the front, it would be impossible for those in front to give way on account of pressure from the rear. If the attack were delivered against the flank only, the stampede might be forward. In either case unnecessary casualties would result. Should an exceptionally savage and determined mob attempt to rush the gas cloud, the dose is increased and, if necessary, a few WP hand grenades tossed into the front of the mob. The explosion of the grenade and the burst of blazing phosphorus is much more terrifying than rifle fire and contact with the burning phosphorus is much more painful but much less dangerous than a bullet wound. The casualty effect of the grenade is limited to a distance of 30 feet from the point of burst.

Just a Few Bombs

"(g) Rifle grenades, gas, are useful in attacking barricaded buildings, or houses where rioters have taken refuge. The attackers; taking advantage of all possible cover, advance until close enough to fire grenades through the upper windows, the defenders being kept away from the windows by the rifle fire. As the gas spreads downward from floor to floor, the occupants are driven before it and finally forced out of the building." (p. 72).

"(i) Strongly constructed buildings, as warehouses or prisons, may be strongly barricaded and defended by desperate armed men. In a case of this kind, a few stokes or aviation bombs dropped through the roof will be followed by the immediate evacuation of the building." (p. 73).

This has been reproduced by the Socialist party of America in the hope that an aroused public sentiment will force the civil authorities to deal adequately with the question of unemployment relief. The military minds have their "unemployment relief" plans ready. Unless government assumes responsibility for meeting the present acute conditions, food and rent riots this winter are inevitable.

CLARENCE SENIOR,

Executive Secretary,
Socialist Party of America.

Bloodshed Plans Told To Congress

Thomas Demands Immediate Relief To Ward Off Expected Rioting

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—The secret instructions to the Illinois national guard outlining ruthless slaughter of the jobless should they protest against their hunger, were forwarded to members of the House of Representatives and the Senate this week by Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for president in 1928, and Clarence Senior, national executive secretary of the party.

Thomas and Senior demanded that Congress come to the aid of the jobless immediately, lest the slaughter planned by the Illinois militia become a horrible reality in the next few months. Their letter said:

"To United States Senators and Representatives:

"Stealing, starvation, or slaughter are the only alternatives left for the unemployed by the breakdown of private charity.

The Legion Accused

"The National Guard in this state is preparing for slaughter. According to the Manual just issued, 'EMERGENCY PLANS FOR DOMESTIC DISTURBANCES,' the Guard is looking for food riots. The military is prepared to meet demands for food with poison gas and bullets.

"Extra-legal organizations such as the American Legion and Chambers of Commerce are relied on to assist the military. In view of the Legion's boasting that it was to be for America what Mussolini's 'Black Shirts' were for Italy, does this alarm on the part of believers in democracy seem unreal?

"Local relief funds are almost bankrupt. Most legislatures are prohibited from helping by constitutional limitations. The Federal government must come to the aid of the unemployed with at least a \$500,000,000 grant for direct relief and a five billion dollar bond issue for slum clearance and other public work.

Action Now Demanded

"Only an immediate passage of bills which will relieve human beings (now that banks and corporations have been aided) will quiet an insistent belief that Congress exists for the purpose of saving the prices of stocks and bonds, and not for the welfare of those people who have no large aggregations of capital to be 'thawed out.'

"Is the situation to be left to those who know nothing to appease hunger but force? This means the possibility of a military dictatorship, contemptuous of the civilian respect for legal rights. The people will know that only thru another revolution will their liberties be restored and their government given back to them.

"The answer to the question 'FOOD or BULLETS' is in the hands of Congress. The American people will want to know—soon—what the answer is to be.

"Respectfully yours,

NORMAN THOMAS,
CLARENCE SENIOR,
Executive Secretary,
Socialist Party."

REMEMBER
THE NEW LEADER
Eighth Annual Dinner
MARCH 7, 1932
Make Reservations Now

Socialist N. E. C. Meets In St. Louis

Members of National Committee Will Address Many Meetings

A MASS meeting to be addressed by members of the Socialist Party National Executive Committee on Saturday, Jan. 30th and a banquet on Sunday evening, the 31st, are the two high spots of the St. Louis meeting of the N. E. C.

Committee sessions will take place in the American Hotel Annex, 6th and Market Streets, starting at 10 o'clock Saturday morning and continuing through Saturday and Sunday.

In connection with the committee meeting, speakers will address meetings of other organizations. James H. Maurer will address the Central Labor Union, Friday evening and Joseph W. Sharts will speak to the Northside Free Thinkers Sunday afternoon. The students at Eden Theological Seminary will hear one of the members on Monday.

Meetings En Route

On the way to the meeting, James H. Maurer will speak three times in Chicago. Tuesday, Jan. 26th, at Local No. 39 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, 333 S. Ashland. Wednesday, Jan. 27, he will address a mass meeting on unemployment under the auspices of the various labor unions, Socialist party and other working class organizations. Thursday, he will speak to the University of Chicago Socialist Club and Tuesday evening for a joint meeting of the Bohemian and Slovenian Socialists in the S. N. E. J. hall, 2657 Lawrence Avenue, on "Unemployment and Insurance Against It."

Morris Hillquit will speak at Norfolk, Va., on Tuesday, Feb. 2, at Richmond, Wednesday, Feb. 3, and at Washington, D. C., Feb. 4. James O'Neal will speak at Erie, Pa., on Jan. 27, Marion, Indiana, on Jan. 28, Workmen's Circle, Branch 306, at the Labor Lyceum, Chicago, on Jan. 29. Tentative arrangements have been made to have him speak in Richmond, Indiana, Greensburg, Pa., and Morgantown, Pa. York and Luzerne also asked for Comrade O'Neal.

Alfred Baker Lewis will start his tour at Sayre, Pa., on the 26th, speak in Cleveland, Ohio, on the 27th, Detroit on the 28th and 29th, with tentative engagements made for Memphis, Nashville, Louisville and Pittsburgh on his return trip.

Thomas at Labor Temple
Norman Thomas will speak on "A Program for Unemployment" in the Labor Temple, 14th street and Second avenue, Sunday at 8 p. m. Dr. G. F. Beck will speak on "The Critique of Bourgeois Morality: George Bernard Shaw," at 5 p. m. There will be the usual organ recital by Stanley A. Day at 7:45.

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W. Va. Preacher Froths at Socialism; Baron Challenges Him to Debate

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — The political situation in West Virginia is assuming more importance to the Socialist party each day. Democratic circles charge the Republican machine as being instrumental, in some unexplained manner, in fostering third party sentiment, thus splitting Democratic opposition to the Republican administration of Governor Conley. "Ten Dollar" Conley is the appellation bestowed upon him by the miners—who defied the governor's refusal to permit a parade last summer. The march was in protest against intolerable conditions in the coal fields. Governor Conley opposed the demonstration because of the danger of disease being communicated to the Charleston population by the dirty marchers! However, he heard their tales of woe and was moved to the extent of giving the miners ten dollars—explaining that while he was officially unable to act he would help personally. Thus is the class-war mitigated.

Socialist Party locals continue to grow throughout the state. The calibre of the new members is

splendid—some renewing lapsed membership but many being new recruits. The Huntington papers featured a vicious diatribe against Socialism. Organizers Amos Most and Murray Baron delivered in a sermon by a leading colored minister who emphasized the serious menace to the Negro masses which invaded Huntington in the form of two national organizers of the Socialist Party—who, he contended, are preaching Communism to the Negroes when what they need is God!

Organizer Baron is challenging the reverend to a public debate—releasing the challenge to the Huntington newspapers—which featured the sermon in their columns.

Preparations are being made for the labor political convention, Jan. 30th. In addition to Norman Thomas, Mayor Daniel Hoan, of Milwaukee, is being invited by the West Virginia Mine Workers Union to attend and address the convention.

Local Charleston is planning a mass meeting for the evening of Jan. 30th under the auspices of the Socialist Party with Thomas and Hoan as principal speakers.

Penn. Socialists to Contest Every Congress District

State Committee Also Decides to Nominate Full Legislative Slate

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

PITTSBURGH, Pa. — Socialist State Secretary Sarah Limbach has announced a determined effort will be made to have candidates in every legislative and Congressional district in Pennsylvania. April 26 is the date at which the Socialist party will have to nominate all its legislative candidates.

By Feb. 7 all Socialist branches and locals must have made their nominations. A planned campaign will then be launched to fill in the other districts. Members at large will first be mobilized and then a drive for members instituted in the one large industrial district and the several scattered rural districts where there is at present no actual party membership. Financial and personal resources of the state office at the present moment are far below the minimum demands of such a task but the effort must be made. Voluntary initiative must make up part of the tremendous gap between the task and the resources available. Individual class-conscious workers and party sympathizers are sending in applications for membership at large without waiting to be coaxed into such positive action. Others should get in touch with the state office, 613 Lyceum Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Disciplined Action Necessary

The state office has adopted the practice of sending out numbered

Dinner to Leon Gibson

The Upper West Side branch of the Socialist party is giving a dinner in honor of its organizer, Leon Gibson, the occasion of 50th birthday. The dinner will be held on Saturday, Jan. 30, at the Monterey Hotel, 94th street and Broadway. Reservations are \$1.50 per plate. All checks and money orders should be sent to A. Presser, 50 West 106th street, New York City.

Weinberger at Morons

Harry Weinberger will speak at the dinner of the Morons, Thursday, Jan. 28, at 7 p. m., in the Pythian Temple, 135th West 70th street. Mr. Weinberger's subject will be, "The Female of the Species in Law: Breach of Promise, Blackmail, Alimony."

and classified orders for minimum action by organization units. The first two of these have just been mailed to all locals, branches and members at large. They are:

1. Refers to nominations for delegates to national party convention which nominations may be made by branches, locals and by members at large. Pennsylvania has twenty delegates to the national convention. All nominations must be in the hands of the state secretary not later than Feb. 11.

2. Notifies locals and branches to nominate for all Assembly and all Congressional districts in their jurisdiction and for the odd-numbered State Senatorial districts. Returns on nominations are to be made to the state office at once. These papers must be in the state office by March 7.

The state office will insist that these minimum activities be fulfilled by all organization units.

The Brooklyn Forum Announces Debates By Leading Speakers

The Brooklyn Forum announces six unusual debates. This Sunday will witness a debate between August Claessens and V. F. Calverton, on "Resolved That the Institution of Marriage be Abolished." Judging from the advance sale of tickets there will be a large audience this Sunday at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, located at Lafayette avenue, near Flatbush, where the forum meets. Any I. R. T. at either Nevins or Atlantic avenue station on the I. R. T. or Pacific street on the B. M. T.

The forum announces, as its future events: Jan. 31, debate, Warden E. Lawes vs. Senator Love, on "Capital Punishment," Feb. 7, Debate, Charles Solomon vs. Scott Nearing, on "Communism vs. Socialism," Feb. 14, the Y. P. S. L. vs. N. Y. U., subject "Resolved That Socialism Has More to Offer Than Capitalism," Feb. 21, Rabbi Alex Lyons vs. B. S. Vladeck, subject "Resolved That Religion Does Not Contribute to the Social and Economic Regeneration of the World," Feb. 23, Morris Hillquit vs. Matthew Woll, "Resolved That the Interest of the Workers Require That They Form a Political Party of Their Own."

Tickets for all events are now on sale at the box office or the Rand Book Store.

The Eighth Annual Dinner of the NEW LEADER

MONDAY, MARCH 7th, 1932
6:30 O'Clock

Speakers:

John Dewey
Morris Hillquit
Norman Thomas

Chairman: LOUIS WALDMAN

Subject:

"A POLITICAL POLICY AND PROGRAM FOR 1932"

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DEBATES — LECTURES — FORUMS

THE COMMUNITY FORUM OF THE COMMUNITY CHURCH
Now meeting at Temple Beth-El, Fifth Avenue and 10th Street
Sunday, 8 p. m.—JOHN DOS PASSOS AND OTHERS
"American Justice in Harlan County, Ky."

11 a. m.—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
"What Soviet Russia is Doing to Religion"
Admission Free All Welcome

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At Cooper Union
Eighth Street and Astor Place
At 8 o'clock

Friday evening, Jan. 22nd:
DR. RICHARD McKEON
"Thomas Aquinas:
Reason and Experience"

Sunday evening, Jan. 24th:
PROFESSOR CHAS. FLEISCHER
"Democracy On Trial"

Tuesday evening, Jan. 26th:
PROFESSOR SHIRLEY QUIMBY
"Electricity"

At Muhlenberg Library
200 West 23rd Street
At 8:30 o'clock

Thursday evening, Jan. 28th:
PROFESSOR E. G. SPAULDING
"Sensation the Gateway
of Knowledge"

DEBATE

"Should the Institution of Marriage and Family be Abolished?"

AUGUST CLAESSENS—NO
V. F. CALVERTSON—YES

January 24th, 8:30 P. M.
BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC
39 LAFAYETTE AVE.

Tickets—25c, 50c, \$1.50 at Box Office & Rand Book Store, 7 E. 15th St., N.Y.C.
Jan. 31st—Debate—WARDEN L. LAWES vs. SENATOR W. L. LOVE
Auspices, Bklyn. Forum, Socialist Party

LECTURE

Diego RIVERA

Will Speak On

"ART AND THE WORKING CLASS"

Friday, January 29th, 8:30 P.M.

at the

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7 East 15th Street ALgonquin 4-3004
Admission 50c

"THE MORONS"

DINNER - FORUM
"The Female of the Species, in Law,
—Breach of Promise, Alimony!"
HARRY WEINBERGER
PYTHIAN TEMPLE
Thursday, January 28th, 7 p. m.
\$1.00, inc. tip. After Dinner, 50c.

THE BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP

Azure Masonic Temple
1591 Boston Road, near E. 172nd St.
SUNDAY EVENING, JAN. 24th, 1932
8 P.M.—Rev. Leon Rorer Lead on:
"The Art of Living Together."
9 P.M.—Dr. Alexander Fichandler on:
"Soviet Russia—an Experiment in Psychology."
Music Admission Free

LABOR TEMPLE

14th Street and Second Avenue
DR. EDMUND B. CHAFFER, Director
5 P.M.—**DR. G. F. BECK**
"The Critique of Bourgeois Morality:
G. Bernard Shaw"
7:45 P.M.—**STANLEY A. DAY**
Organ Recital
8 P.M.—**NORMAN THOMAS**
"A Program For Unemployment"

INGERSOLL FORUM

Pythian Temple, 135 W. 70th St.
Sunday, 8 P. M. Admission 50c
Jan. 24th: **JOSEPH PORTAL**
"How We Think?"
Atheist Tract and Catalog Free
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307 E. 14th St. New York City

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Trickery Seen By Railroads In Pay Parley

Hands of Negotiating Committee Tied by Confidential Orders

CHICAGO.—(FP)—Apparently well-founded suspicion exists that secret strings have been attached to the Willard committee of nine railroad presidents in the wage and unemployment negotiations here for the purpose of tricking the nation's rail workers.

Federated Press is informed that the railroad presidents' committee is authorized to negotiate with the workers only in the matter of a 10 per cent reduction in wages and has no power either to compromise that demand or make any concessions for relief of unemployment.

If this is true, the railroads have entered the negotiations in bad faith and with the premeditated purpose of scuttling the parley. A possible motive for this would be to place the railroad managements in the position of telling the public that they tried to bring about a settlement with the unions but the workers are stubborn. Then the roads can go ahead to slash wages without making concessions to the unions and feel that public opinion is behind them, they think.

The chief purpose of the negotiations, in the view of the unions, is dodged by the railroads if their committee is empowered to deal only for a wage cut. This purpose, as specifically set forth in the unions' invitation for the parley, was to take up unemployment in the industry. The possibility is admitted that the committee of nine presidents may obtain authorization later to draw up an unemployment relief agreement. But the question remains as to why they lack it now after giving the unions the impression that they were empowered to negotiate in all matters.

David B. Robertson, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and president of the Railway Labor Executives' Association, led off the negotiations when they were started with labor's program for unemployment relief. Relating that less than half of the "necessary" rail workers are assured of continuing employment, that the number of employees is diminishing steadily, 33 per cent less being used to handle the same traffic as twenty years ago and that 400,000 earn less than \$20 a week while another 660,000 earn less than \$30 a week, he asserted:

"The workers who are normally required for the operation of a railroad must have as much assurance of a fixed compensation from their fixed investments in the enterprise as those who invest money for a fixed return. In fact the essential labor charge should be a first lien upon the revenues of any business. The insecure income of the worker-buyer is a greater menace to the good order and progress of society than the insecure income of the investor-seller."

In addition to the six-hour day, the labor spokesman called for measures to distribute jobs in order to keep the workers in employment the year around instead of at peak periods; creation of a national placement bureau to get the jobs and workers together; a billion dollar bond issue to eliminate dangerous crossings and provide jobs; a federal law to provide retirement insurance; a dismissal wage; a federal compensation law to indemnify the workers against occupational accidents and diseases.

"If we give you \$250,000,000," Robertson, "we expect you to use it for our unemployed in the form of a wage cut would be a disaster for the

Japs Continue to Invade Manchuria



(Federated Pictures)

Advancing carefully into Chinese territory, Jap troops commandeer trains and order the engineer to proceed while they stand guard, ready to kill any Chinese who may challenge their advance. A world conflagration seems in the offing as these sparks approach the powder keg of the Soviet sphere of influence.

Mooney Rally This Sunday In Washington

Special Excursion Rate Train Will Leave N. Y. City Saturday

REPORTS from unions, workmen's circles and other labor organizations indicate that there will be a huge turn-out of delegates from cities throughout the country at the mass meeting and conference in behalf of Tom Mooney to be held on Sunday, Jan. 24, in Washington. The conference will devise ways and means of extending and intensifying the national campaign in behalf of Mooney and is also to prepare for specific action in Congress.

A mass meeting in the evening at the Friends' Meeting House, 2111 Florida avenue, is to be attended by Senators Costigan, Cutting, Wheeler, Edward A. Knocks, Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Rev. Worth M. Tippy, Father John A. Ryan and Edward Keating.

Delegates are coming from various places by automobile, bus and train. A special excursion train has been arranged for the conference in cooperation with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Those desiring to travel on this special train should leave Liberty street at either 12:14 a. m. Saturday night which will give delegates a chance to reach Washington in the morning, go sightseeing and then be at the conference in the afternoon, or they can leave New York at 8:15 Sunday morning.

It is expected from the reports thus far that the conference and meeting will be the most significant national gathering of its kind in recent years.

Heroin, alas! is becoming a hateful word, for in war it has come to mean the coin in which the rank and file liquidate the insolvency of thought in their leaders, political and military.—"Manchester Guardian."

N.Y. Workers To Rally for Ky. Defense

Mass Meeting Tuesday at Irving Plaza to Demand Freedom

A MASS meeting sponsored by nearly 100 units of organized labor in New York City will be held at Irving Plaza Hall, Jan. 29, 8 p. m., to voice indignation against the alleged frame-up of 49 Kentucky coal miners on first degree murder charges growing out of last summer's strike in Harlan County.

To date three of the miners have been tried with the results being one acquittal and two convictions, both of which were on charges of "conspiracy to commit murder" and entailed sentences of life imprisonment. The local Kentucky Miners' Defense and Relief Conference is calling the meeting. This conference was organized by the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W. which is furnishing defense to the indicted miners and relief to their families.

Autora Giovannitti, recently returned from Hollywood, and who was a principal in the famous Ettor-Giovannitti strike murder case twenty years ago, will be one of the speakers. Joe Cawood, town clerk of Evarts, Ky., and one of the 49 indicted and awaiting trial for murder, will also address the meeting. James Price, Mt. Sterling, Ky., field representative for the General Defense Committee, and a number of local laborites and liberals will also speak. Other speakers will be Jacob Panken, Harry E. Barnes, Ben Fletcher and Louis F. Budenz.

REMEMBER
THE NEW LEADER
Eighth Annual Dinner
MARCH 7, 1932
Make Reservations Now

Dewey, Hillquit, Thomas To be New Leader Speakers

Waldman to Preside at Affair to Be Held on March 7 at Beethoven Hall

THE Eighth Annual Dinner of The New Leader, to which many friends of our paper look forward with anticipation, is set for Monday, March 7. New Leader readers are urged to make a note of it so that no conflicting engagement will be made.

The dinner will be held in the Beethoven Hall, 210 East Fifth street, New York City, and the reservations are \$1.50 per person. The dinner is scheduled to start promptly at 6:30 so that there will be plenty of time to enjoy the program.

The speakers insure that an instructive evening will be spent by all who attend. They are John Dewey, America's foremost philosopher; Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the Socialist party, and Norman Thomas, Socialist can-

didate for President in 1928. Louis Waldman, former Socialist candidate for Governor, will be the toastmaster.

The topic for discussion will be "A Political Policy and Program for 1932." Each speaker will have something important to say on this subject and The New Leader staff is preparing to accommodate a large audience with reservations.

Every friend of The New Leader who expects to attend is urged to send in his or her reservations without delay. It will be a big job to arrange the seating of the big crowd that is expected and the more promptly reservations come in the more satisfactory will be the arrangements.

At previous dinners of The New Leader the price charged has been as high as \$2.50 but because of the depression it has been fixed at the moderate rate of \$1.50 this year.

Checks and money orders should be sent to the Dinner Committee, New Leader, 7 East 15th street, New York City. Telephone Algonquin 4-4622.

Postponement of Trial Is Refused by Judge In Case of Three Framed Tidewater Boatmen

REFUSING to give any further postponement, Judge Donellan has set Thursday, Jan. 21, as the trial date for John Soderberg, William Bunker and William Trajer, members of the Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union held on the framed-up charge of dynamiting barges in New York harbor. Conviction carries with it sentences of 25 to 40 years in State's prison.

Although Peter Sabbittano and Jacob D. Fishman, defense attorneys retained by the Marine Workers' Defense Committee, 82 East 14th street, who appeared before Judge Donellan, requested a longer postponement, so they could better prepare their case, their motion was denied. It is apparent that the State is anxious to rush the case into court and secure a speedy conviction before adequate plans can be made for an effective legal

defense. An urgent plea for funds to defend the three marine workers who were arrested in an attempt to smash their union, was made last night by Carlo Tresca, secretary of the defense committee. He urged all workers and friends of the labor movement to immediately send contributions so the defense work will not be hampered. "This is now especially necessary," he added, "with the trial only a few days off."

According to information reaching the defense committee, heavy insurance has been collected by the O'Boyle Towing Company, who are behind the drive to jail Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer. This boat company charge the three men with bombing their barges. It is pointed out that while most barges are not insured, those of the O'Boyle company were.

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Pilsudski Terror Jails Socialists

Many Opponents of Ruthless Regime Con- victed at Farcical Trial

THE terror in Pilsudski's Poland is almost incredible. For months the press service of the Labor and Socialist International has carried reports of well-nigh unbelievable activities of Pilsudski's mercenaries and the heroic fight being waged against tremendous odds by Socialists and other opponents of his regime.

A long trial of leaders in the fight was accompanied with methods reminiscent of ecclesiastical courts in the Middle Ages. The striking thing regarding the trial, however, was the courage of the accused during all its stages. They stood their ground, making the court a forum of propaganda against Pilsudski and his brutal regime, but as the press of Poland is under a censorship the kept newspapers did not carry the real news of the trial.

Election Is Feared

However, as in the Russia of the Czars, the Polish workers know of what happened and it is certain that in a free election Pilsudski would be ousted. Voters are terrorized and beaten, opposition papers are confiscated, members of Parliament are jailed, and the prison of Brest-Litovsk is crowded with political prisoners who are brutally beaten.

Last week the farce came to an end and the expected verdict of guilty was rendered. Herman Lieberman, leader of the Polish Socialists and a familiar figure at international congresses, was sentenced to three years imprisonment and four others received the same sentence. Six Socialists out of ten accused politically received sentences ranging down as low as eighteen months.

Convicted Cheered

Upon their appearance in Parliament last week the convicted Deputies were loudly cheered and the President of the Chamber had to suspend the meeting in order to end the demonstration. When the sitting was resumed a motion of nonconfidence against the government was submitted by the entire Opposition, both the Right and Left wings, who declared in their motion that the Brest-Litovsk trial has greatly disturbed public opinion.

In the courts the Oppositionists complained of maltreatment and hardships at Brest Litovsk fortress, that the prosecuting attorney ignored and did not fulfill his duty, and that police had been used as provocateurs. The Oppositionists assert the police instigated the trial and aroused political feeling, which they declare has done great harm to Poland abroad.

The Oppositionists moved that the government be dismissed. A vote on the motion will be taken this week.

In the committee which is discussing constitutional reform, Deputy Matakiewicz of the Government bloc has demanded that a monarchy be established in Poland and Prince Radziwill proposed that the President of the Republic be elected for life.

Thomas at West Side

The address of Norman Thomas at the West Side Socialist Forum, 100 West 72nd street, Jan. 22, at 8:30, will be "A Program for Our Time." The speakers at the February meetings of the forum will be McAlister Coleman (Feb. 5) and Louis Waldman (Feb. 19).

Austrian Fascists Are Held For Attempts at Murder

Austrian Fascists Held on Charge of Attempted Murder

AUSTRIAN Fascism, known as the Heimwehr, although repulsed a number of times by the armed Socialist workers, manages to make the headlines each week. Four members of the Heimwehr and seven members of the Socialist Schutzbund, the fighting organization of the Socialists, were arrested last week. The Fascists are charged with the attempted murder of the Austrian Minister of the Interior, Herr Winkler, and the Socialists in connection with confiscation by the police of weapons being delivered to Socialist headquarters.

The basis of the murder charge against the Heimwehr men is that one of their members entered the Socialist headquarters at Graz and tried to borrow a revolver, alleging that he intended to shoot the Minister of the Interior, who, as co-representative with Deputy Chancellor Schober of the economic bloc in the present government, is unfriendly to the Heimwehr cause. The Socialists denounced him to the police, whereupon he replied that his request was only a joke.

The confiscation of the Socialist arms would be serious were it not that both the Socialists and their opponents have been armed for the last six years, but thus far have confined their combats largely to their platforms.

That the Austrian government is anticipating trouble, however, seems indicated by the fact that all the forces, country, police, gendarmes and army, have been placed under Johann Schober, who, as a police official, has stood between the State and the Socialists and as a politician between the State and the Heimwehr.

N. Y. Socialist Branches To Begin Canvassing Job

VOLUNTEERS FOR TYPING

WANTED.—Socialists who can type and are willing to volunteer to assist the New York City office are urged to report at once. The new enrollment books containing the list of 21,000 who enrolled as Socialists last October are now coming into the office in increasing quantity. Lists have to be typed at once for the Spring Primary petitions, canvassing, etc. Volunteers can do this work in the office or elsewhere if they desire.

FORWARD BALL.—All party members are urged to keep in mind the date of the Forward Ball to be held in the 71st Regiment Armory, 34th street and 4th avenue, Saturday evening, Feb. 20. Tickets are now on sale at all Socialist party headquarters, the city office, Rand School, Forward Building and various Labor Lyceums. Tickets in advance \$1.00; at the door on the evening of the affair, \$1.50.

WOMEN'S SECTION.—The Women's Section is holding a number of unit meetings at which Socialist women meet to plan activities to reach housewives and working women in their respective districts. A number of these meetings have been successfully attended. The West Bronx unit met on Jan. 13; Brighton Beach and Midwood Unit met on Jan. 11; Boro Park and Coney Island Unit, Jan. 14. In the home of Mrs. Brody; Bensonhurst unit met on Jan. 20 in the home of Mrs. Taubkin; Midwood and Brighton Beach unit met on Jan. 22. Future meetings are being arranged: Brownsville unit in the home of Mrs. Weisberg on Jan. 26; Coney Island unit, Jan. 28, in the home of Mrs. Brody; Flatbush unit, Jan. 29, 55 Snyder avenue; East Side unit, Feb. 1, home of Mrs. Seigel; West Bronx unit, Wednesday, Jan. 27.

MANHATTAN

CHELSEA.—A well attended meeting was held last Tuesday evening. Edward Levinson and Minnie Kaplan were elected delegates to the Central Committee. Work is in progress for the organization of another branch in the 3d A. D. Paul Porter has initiated this move and has obtained a number of applications from people residing in the cooperative house at 433 West 21st street. Another meeting has been scheduled to be held in the cafeteria of this building Tuesday, Jan. 26. Paul Blanshard will address this meeting.

6TH A. D.—A meeting will be held Monday evening, Jan. 25, at 96 Avenue C. The Sunday evening Forum continues to be successful. The list of speakers for the next three Sundays includes William Karlin, David Breslow, and Abraham C. Weinfeld. Following this, August Claessens will return to this forum for his annual series of lectures and will continue for some ten weeks.

8TH A. D.—The branch has decided on a Forum to meet Friday evenings. The program for the next three weeks includes the following speakers: David Kaplan, August Claessens, Dr. Leon R. Land. The following officers were elected for the ensuing term: Organizer, Nathan Riesel; financial secretary, Max Eisenberg; corresponding secretary, Lillie Lebendiger; delegates to the City Central Committee, David Kaplan and A. N. Weinfeld. Friday, Jan. 22, there will be the installation of officers.

UPPER WEST SIDE.—Gilbert dinner. The branch is giving a dinner in honor of its organizer, Leon Gilbert, on Saturday, Jan. 24, at the Monterey Hotel, 94th street and Broadway.

YORKVILLE.—A meeting will be held Thursday evening, Jan. 28. Abraham C. Weinfeld will lecture on "Unemployment Insurance." The branch meets at 241 E. 84th street.

21ST A. D.—A celebration was held last Saturday evening at the opening of the new headquarters at 2005 7th avenue. A. Philip Randolph, Frank Crosswath, and Frank Force delivered stirring addresses inaugurating a membership drive and activities in Harlem. The headquarters will be open every day. Saturday evening, Jan. 23, Julius Gerber will be present.

MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS.—The membership is growing rapidly. The Sunday Forums are well attended. This Sunday evening, Jan. 24, at 6 P. M., we will finish decorating the branch. All who can are asked to help. Our dance and housewarming will be given on Jan. 30, at 8:30 P. M., at 3109 Broadway. The next branch meeting will be on Tuesday, Jan. 25, at 8 P. M.

WASHINGTON HEIGHTS.—Canvassing is done every Monday evening. Comrades gather at the headquarters, 600 W. 181st street, at 7:30 P. M. The Sunday school meets every Sunday morning. Branch meetings are held on the 2d and 4th Thursdays of the month at 8:30 P. M. Following the business meeting at 9:30 sharp, the class in Socialism is conducted by Max and Bob Delson. The next big social event of the branch will be held at the Washington Heights Center, 560 West 185th street, on Saturday evening, Jan. 23, at 8:30 P. M. Admission 50 cents.

BRONX

2D A. D.—A meeting will be held Tuesday evening, Jan. 26, at 8:30 P. M. in the Paradise Manor on Mt. Eden avenue, near Jerome. The Friday evening Forum held its second session last week with Jacob Kanken. Some 500 were present.

3D A. D.—At a recent meeting the following officers were elected: Organizer, Jack Berkowitz; financial secretary, Eva Israel; recording secretary, Gussie Waxman; delegate to City Central Committee, Julie Umansky; educational director, Matthew L. Metzler; executive committee, Freeman, Rosenberg, Metzler, Umansky. Canvassing is done every Sunday. Comrades report for this work to the headquarters, 908 Prospect avenue, at 11 A. M.

3-4-5TH A. D.—These branches have arranged for joint social gatherings, dancing, card parties and games every Sunday evening at 908 Prospect avenue. Admission 25 cents. All comrades and friends are invited.

7TH A. D.—The social gathering last Saturday evening was successful. Ethel Weinstein, soloist, and Judith Wisnietzky, pianist, rendered a musical program, and August Claessens entertained with stories from his experience as Socialist organizer. On Tuesday evening, Jan. 26, there will be a discussion on "Trade Unionism and Socialism," led by Charles Kramarsky of the Amalgamated Cooperative Branch. This comrade has been active in the Polish Bund and in the New York labor movement. The branch meets in the Workmen's Circle Center, 709 Elmore place.

AMALGAMATED COOPERATIVE HOUSES.—At the last meeting the following new officers were elected: Organizer, Max Gorenberg; recording secretary, Paul Beck; financial secretary, Sarah Volovick; treasurer, Wm. Lipson; chairman, executive committee and lecture committee, L. Reif; chairman, publicity committee and been organized. A large unemployment

literature committee, Iddore Feldstein; chairman, membership committee, Wm. Lipson; delegates to City Central Committee, Louis Panken, Louis Reif, Max Gorenberg. Intensive work for 1932 was planned. The branch initiated a drive for a public school in the neighborhood for 1,500 school children. Plans and contract for P. S. 95 were finally approved and the work was actually begun this past week, although the outlook for further construction is questionable. A social gathering will be held Saturday, Jan. 23, 8:30 P. M., in the auditorium. Admission 50 cents. Dancing. This affair is in the nature of a welcome home party to Dr. and Mrs. Joseph Watnick, who just returned from a trip to Europe.

BROOKLYN

DOWNTOWN.—The branch held its regular educational meeting Friday, Jan. 15, at 122 Pierrepont street. William Karlin delivered a very interesting address on "Labor and the Law." Refreshments were served. The Downtown Branch will hold a bridge party at the Penny Bridge Inn, 108 Montague street, on Saturday evening, Feb. 13, at 9 P. M.

WILLIAMSBURG.—Branch meetings are held every Monday evening at 167 Tompkins avenue. The speakers for the next few weeks include James Oneal and August Claessens.

11TH A. D.—This branch is slowly increasing its membership. The enrolled Socialists of the 11th as well as part of the 10th district will be circulated and canvassed. They will be invited to a meeting to be held in the New Hungarian Restaurant at Franklin avenue and Union street, on Monday, Jan. 25, at 9 P. M. August Claessens will lecture on "The Essentials of Socialism." Plans are being made to cooperate with the Midwood Branch for a theatre party to be held some time in March.

21ST A. D.—Branch meetings are held every Friday evening at 55 Snyder avenue. At 9 P. M. business is suspended and the educational program follows. For the next several weeks, the list of speakers includes Abraham Kaufman, August Claessens, Abraham C. Weinfeld. On Feb. 19, there will be a debate between Louis Yavner and William Parsons. A Sunday School is being organized in the headquarters. The teacher is Ida Yavner Kaufman.

23D A. D.—At the last meeting a group of comrades were authorized to organize a new branch within the district. Mason Morrell spoke on campaign tactics. The branch is going to have installation of officers at the meeting on Friday, Jan. 22. On Feb. 21, a Vetcherinka and dance will be held. The following is the program for the Friday evening Forum: Jan. 29, Paul Porter, "Manchuria As I Saw It This Summer"; Feb. 5, Gerhard Fritters, "The German Social Democratic Dilemma"; Feb. 12, Charles Kramarsky, "Trade Unionism and Socialism"; Feb. 19, James Oneal, "Current Tendencies Within the Socialist Party."

MIDWOOD.—The regular monthly bridge will take place Saturday night, Jan. 30. Canvassing of signatures for unemployment insurance will be continued Sunday mornings. Theodore Shapiro will speak next Tuesday evening. A social and dance will take place at our headquarters on the evening of Feb. 13.

QUEENS

SUNNYSIDE.—A meeting will be held Tuesday evening, Jan. 26, at 8:30 P. M., in the Monroe Court Community Room, 43-13 Carolin street, Sunnyside.

ASTORIA.—A meeting will be held on Friday evening, Jan. 22, at 8:30 P. M., in the Bohemian Hall, 2d and Woolsey avenues, Astoria. The speakers for the next four meetings include: Theodore Shapiro, Leonard Bright, August Claessens and Abraham C. Weinfeld.

FAR ROCKAWAY.—This Saturday evening a social gathering will be held to celebrate the opening of the new clubrooms at 2117 Mott avenue (Whitehall building). Samuel A. DeWitt and August Claessens will provide the entertainment. There will be refreshments, dancing and general merriment.

The Y. P. S. L.

CLEVELAND.—1931 saw a great increase in membership and activity. At the beginning of 1931 there were only 25 members; now there are 104. Activities during the past year included literature distribution, street corner meetings during the recent campaign and youth mass meetings. Help was given to the local baker's union in their strike. Money was raised for the West Virginia miners. A successful inter-racial dance was held. Two classes in Socialism and educational programs at the circle meetings have helped members in gaining a better knowledge of socialism. Much of the renewed party activity in Cleveland has resulted from Yipsels taking a part in branch activities.

MONTREAL.—Election of new officers have been held at the circle. The following have been elected: Abe Andraschik, president; Felix Lazarus, vice president; Sam Silver, recording secretary; Fae Marze, financial secretary; Doris Lewis, corresponding secretary; Saul Berman, organizer. Circle activities are in full swing and they are doing more work than ever before. Classes in political economy, socialism, dramatic and choral groups have been organized. A large unemployment

ment mass meeting has been arranged in conjunction with the Jewish Socialist Alliance. The circle is taking an active part in the work of the Canadian Labor Party. A series of lectures have been arranged.

Circle One and Two Seniors of Brownsville will hold a social and entertainment Saturday, Jan. 23, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn. Admission including refreshments and wardrobe only 25 cents. All Yipsels are invited to attend.

Lecture Calendar

(All lectures start at 8:30 P. M. unless otherwise indicated).

SUNDAY, JAN. 24

Dr. Chas. Pama, "Fascism in Italy and Abroad," 11 A. M., Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison avenues, Bronx. West Bronx Socialist Forum.

V. P. Calverton versus August Claessens, debate: "Should the Institution of Marriage and the Family Be Abolished?" Brooklyn Academy of Music, Flatbush and Lafayette avenues, Brooklyn. Brooklyn Socialist Forum.

Paul Porter, "Imperialism," 3109 Broadway, New York. Morningside Heights Branch, Socialist Party.

John F. Hyman, "The Present Depression," 600 West 181st street, Room 10, New York. Washington Heights Branch, Socialist Party.

William Karlin, "Will Civilization Survive?" 86 Avenue C, New York. 6th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

David Kaplan, "Rackets and Racketeering," 90 East 10th street, New York. I. W. W. Forum.

MONDAY, JAN. 25

James Oneal, "Socialism as an International Movement," 167 Tompkins avenue, Brooklyn. Williamsburg Branch, Socialist Party.

Henry Rosner, "Charity or Unemployment Insurance," 3620 Church avenue, Brooklyn. 18th A. D. Branch 2, Socialist Party.

August Claessens, "Essentials of Socialism," New Hungarian Restaurant, Franklin avenue and Union street, Brooklyn. 11th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

TUESDAY, JAN. 26

Paul Blanshard, "The Principles of Socialism," Cooperative Cafeteria, 433 West 21st street, New York. Chelsea Branch, Socialist Party.

Julius Umansky, "The Essentials of Marxism," 3109 Broadway, New York. Morningside Heights Branch, Socialist Party.

Robert Delson, "The Class Struggle," 218 Van Sicken avenue, Brooklyn. 23d A. D. Branch 3, Socialist Party.

Jacob Panken, "Our Present Economic Status," Columbia Club, Far Rockaway, L. I. Far Rockaway Educational Forum.

Theodore Shapiro, "The Significance of the Radical Movement," 1637 East 17th street, Brooklyn. Midwood Branch, Socialist Party.

August Claessens, "The Distribution of Wealth," 20 East Kingsbridge road, Bronx. 8th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

WEDNESDAY, JAN. 27

Louis P. Goldberg, "Lawless Judges," Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn. 23d A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

Abraham C. Weinfeld, "Unemployment Insurance," 241 West 44th street, New York. Yorkville Branch, Socialist Party.

Samuel A. DeWitt, "The Machine and Us," 9218 New York boulevard (163d street), Jamaica, L. I. Socialist Party Branch.

FRIDAY, JAN. 29

Henry Rosner, "If New York Were Socialist," Paradise Manor, Mt. Eden and Jerome avenues, Bronx. Mid-Bronx Socialist Forum.

Morris Gismet, "The Crime of Panishment," 759 Allerton avenue, Bronx. 6th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

Jacob Panken, "A Crumbling Capitalist World," Hollywood Gardens, 896 Prospect avenue, Bronx. Bronx Labor Forum.

August Claessens, "The Psychic Factors in Race Prejudice," 55 Snyder avenue, Brooklyn. 21st A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

David Kaplan, "My Objections to Communism," 337 East 9th street, New York. 8th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

Paul Porter, "Manchuria As I Saw It This Summer," Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn. 23d A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

Nathan Chazin, "Current Events," 218 Van Sicken avenue, Brooklyn. 23d A. D. Branch 2, Socialist Party.

Solomon on WOR

Charles Solomon will be one of the speakers at the Round Table Conference Dinner of the Association for Better Citizenship, at the Biltmore Hotel, Thursday night, Jan. 28. His address will be broadcast over station WOR. Other speakers will be Rudolph Spreckles and George W. Wickersham. The broadcasting will begin at 9:45 p. m. Mr. Solomon will speak on the general subject of Socialism.

REMEMBER

THE NEW LEADER
Eighty Annual
MARCH
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Socialist Party Only Organized Opposition

"THESE are times that try men's souls."

Around us are the heart-breaking scenes of the third year of the most devastating of economic depressions. Many millions of jobless men and women and their innocent children are in great distress. Shameful suffering exists in the midst of abundance. Idle machinery and raw materials taunt the desire and skill of men. More and yet more bank failures, more ruin and credit exhaustion, less and less purchasing power remaining, torment the many whose agony is already all too insufferable. Workers are harassed with wage cuts and intimidation and every hungry face stares with mute menace at those who have not as yet fallen. The growing army of workless victims also represents a tremendous loss in wages and potential wealth. Sentenced to idleness, deliberately forbidden to produce the essentials of life for themselves and others these unfortunates wander from place to place in staggering dismay losing all contact with normal life and industry, their skill, usefulness and love of activity degenerating, their marrow drying and their hopes vanishing. It has been said that many of them will never again do a useful day's work. When did the world ever see such a spectacle, so vast an army of peace and productivity in such disorderly retreat. No social system has ever delivered such wreckage in such stupendous proportions.

The masters of finance and industry and their political spokesmen are also in utter perplexity. Their more fortunate physical well-being does not hide their intellectual and spiritual bankruptcy. Amid their erratic announcements, surveys, promises and predictions one can note they too are dizzy and reeling. They are too cowardly to recognize in the present situation the magnitude of a major calamity. They certainly have the power, resource and ability to meet the emergency with drastic measures. The effect of this depression is much more widespread and destructive than any earthquake, flood or hurricane known to history. Only the recent man-made catastrophe, the World War, surpasses the present situation. If our masters only wanted to, how readily they could summon every dollar necessary, perfect the organization and with heroic effort advance measures of thorough relief and rehabilitation. Instead, they fiddle with pathetic tunes and fudge. Charity, breadlines and flop-

Jobless auto workers, of whom there are tens of thousands, have evaded the eviction notice by building scores of shacks along the lake front. Here in dirt and squalor they attempt to guard against freezing weather and keep alive while Ford toys with the idea that he may sometime produce an 8-cylinder car and give them jobs again.

The great open road will still be ours. If we don't march forward, if the challenge is not accepted and the opportunity seized the fault will largely be our own. Our weakness in organization is the only thing that can rob us of daring and achievement in these critical times. To prevent that outcome is our immediate task. To increase our ranks, to enlarge our organization and activities, to augment our propaganda and publicity and train our forces for the big battle just ahead is our pressing need.

There must be no delay. Every one of us must redouble our efforts. Now more than ever, make Socialists and get them into the party. Strengthen every local and every branch. More men and women in the party means more agitation, literature distribution, meetings, money and power to do things. More activity means more publicity and public attention to our message. Let there be no misgivings about this fact: we will fail miserably unless we can speedily effect a larger and better organization. 1932 and capitalist chaos challenges only an efficient revolutionary army.

Conditions alone, be they ever so oppressive, do not create revolutions. Misery does not rise by itself. It usually becomes paralyzed with fear and hopelessness. Those rare spontaneous revolts that sometimes happen never get far. A flare is easily extinguished. Without organization, direction, objective and leadership a revolt is but a riot and it is easily crushed. History

The immediate job before us in the preliminaries to the Presidential campaign is to increase our membership. Our national convention will, most likely, be an improvement upon that of 1928. We have moved forward a bit since then and although we are far from what we should be upon entering a great campaign, nevertheless, we are a trifle stronger. Some day

A change has come upon us since 1928. A great change in the economic conditions and this should be of much advantage to us, although hard times are usually difficult times for any working class organization. Nevertheless, the Socialist party is also in better shape now in several states, and our national organization considerably improved. Let us inaugurate a membership drive at once. Add

Jacob Bernstein, LL.M.

PROF. SIDNEY HOOK of New York University, presents in this 42-page brochure ("Towards the understanding of Karl Marx," reprinted from the July issue of *The Symposium*) a somewhat cursory review of the several trends of interpretation of Marxism—each avowedly Marxist, and each claiming to be der wahre Jacob (the simon-pure article).

He calls attention to the growing mass of criticism of Marxism, as a system of thought, and forming an ever growing portion of the literature of social science, some by experts, others by dilettanti; and to the diversity of interpretations by disciples. His opening explanation that such diversity is also complicated with "the introduction of a political axis into the discussion." He may be substantially correct, when viewed as a family quarrel among Marxists, but for an explanation of the growing mass of the critical literature, we submit Marx's own view of apparently expected critical attacks in the preface to the first edition of the first volume of "Capital" that "the peculiar nature of the material it deals with, summons as foes into the field of battle the most violent, mean and malignant passions of the human breast—the furies of private interest," i. e., the system presented being an attack upon the beast of material interests, is still unsurpassed.

Dr. Hook calls attention, in a general way, to the background of the development of Marxian doctrines, first fostered by the personal inspiration and leadership of

Marx and Engels, then spurred on, after their death, by the altered conditions which gave rise to tasks which never confronted the authors themselves. Marxism being a very broad and general doctrine, no program of action, or declaration of policy, was outside its pale, and any such new action, or policy could always be supported by one text, or another, from Marx himself. When confronted by new problems, the followers of Marx decided upon the reasonable thing to do, under given circumstances, and the determination of what is reasonable, according to our author, is what men wish to do. This explanation is not only one-sided, but harbors an implication of dishonest motives. Besides, the reasonableness of a thing between different individuals, and from time to time may vary as widely as the Chancellor's foot. Again, under different conditions and circumstances men will wish to do what these conditions and circumstances may seem to require. Thus "a virtual war broke out among Socialists as to the real spirit and meaning of Marx's thought—a war as virulent today as ever before." In the warring factions of Marxism, the author discerns four distinct movements.

Dr. Hook discharges his critical batteries against the four trends of interpretation. Obviously taking a clue from the striking title of Rudolph Juehring's celebrated little volume "Der Kampf ums Recht" ("The Struggle for the Law"), our author cleverly entitles this section, "Der Kampf um Marx"—the struggle around Marx. Four pages are devoted to a criticism of Engels, by way of an implied, if not avowed, contrast between him and Marx. A comparative study of the genius of these two immortals

several thousand recruits to our ranks before our convention assembles and it will blaze with enthusiasm and determination.

Little else matters or should worry us. Our candidates for President and Vice President will be our best choice—and they will be heard in these times. Our platform and declaration of principles can be written clearly, strongly and appealingly. Our position will be stated on every important question. A convention can turn out resolutions galore but as Norman Thomas so aptly states it, "We need not only resolutions, but also resolution." And as Karl Marx also said, "One movement is worth a hundred programs." In other words, we can readily exaggerate the importance of documents. What we need more than anything else is a larger, stronger and more aggressive party.

1932 provides the setting so favorable for our party. We should be able to take full advantage. Will power and determination make giants out of weaklings. And what a relatively small organization can do when it wants to do is often marvelous to behold. This is likewise true of individuals. If every one of us will do his or her utmost in the work of party building we shall not fail. Many more thousands of Socialists will mean also many more locals and branches throughout the country. Let that result be attained and the challenge of the fateful year 1932 will be met and the progress of Socialism in these United States will catch up and keep in step with the advance we made in many other lands.

Dr. Sidney Hook's Schools of Modern

would indeed be highly interesting, but the unity of their philosophical thought is nowhere denied by Dr. Hook. This is an old controversy no longer seriously considered.

The first cannon is naturally fired at Kautsky and Hilferding, the two ablest exponents of the orthodox canonization," or "astronomical Socialism," in the trend of Marxian interpretations. By these terms, it is intended to characterize the exponents of Marxism who have unduly emphasized the trend of economic concentration and centralization; that historical evolution is therefore on the side of the workers; that, as another critic once put it, "the stars in their courses," as it were, are working in behalf of Socialism. Such undue emphasis gives rise to a sort of a strange historical fatalism—the doctrine of the inevitability of Socialism, without adequate regard to the human equation, i. e., the human will, as a factor in the realization of Socialism. No doubt, there is plenty of loose talk to be found in numerous popular expositions of Marxism justifying the ridicule and criticism of such strange fatalism.

However, such criticism, even though couched in more philosophical language, as applied by Dr. Hook to Kautsky, and other orthodox Marx-interpreters, is simply a pleasant indulgence in intellectual gymnastics. It is fetched to begin with, and as applied to Kautsky, it fits no more than the proverbial bull in china-closet. Taking Kautsky's crary products, by and large, careful reader cannot fail to

Father Cox's Jobless Army

Pittsburgh Priest Taps the Source of Unrest

By Arthur G. McDowell
PITTSBURGH.—Arranged originally merely as a money-making device, the celebration of the return to Pittsburgh of Father Cox's now famous jobless army was turned into a giant political demonstration when over 70,000 people jammed the University of Pittsburgh Stadium to cheer their approval of Father Cox and hiss their hatred of the Mellons and finance capitalists as a whole.

For hours before the time set for the opening of the rally people were streaming into downtown Pittsburgh and out to the giant football bowl in the Oakland civic center district. They came from all over Western Pennsylvania, Eastern Ohio and Northern West Virginia as well as Pittsburgh. Hours before there was any indication as to what the size of the demonstration of Jan. 17 was to be and whether it was to show the snowball launched by the popular Pittsburgh priest with his march of jobless to Washington to be growing or waning, Father Cox dropped a bombshell into the midst of old party politicians by definitely announcing that the demonstration would be used to launch a "jobless political party" which would hold a national convention in St. Louis on Labor Day to nominate candidates for President and Vice President.

This was the cleric's reply to charges of the national Republican committee that his march was designed to discredit Hoover and the Republican party. When interviewed, Father Cox declared that he had no intention or desire to discredit the Republican any more

'Landscape' on Detroit Beach—At Home for Winter



(Federated Pictures)
Hungry and homeless auto workers, who were pictured around the world three years ago as the "highest paid workers in the world," are now living in dugouts and shacks along Detroit's waterfront. Here they burrow in to avoid the cold and to live on the scraps of food they can squeeze from Detroit's doles and breadlines. The auto millionaires have largely refused to give and they avoid taxation by living outside Detroit.

than the Democratic party because they were one and the same thing. The result of this bold declaration was immediately evident when ceremonies started promptly at 2 p. m. in the Pitt Bowl with the greater part of its 72,000 seats filled and constant streams of people still flowing up to the gates.

All the local political leaders, Pittsburgh city councilmen and county commissioners announced to be present were noticeably absent. Governor Pinchot sent a message through President Phillips of the State Federation of Labor but by so doing avoided appearing personally as was his original intention. Telegraphic messages were received from Senator Blaine of Wisconsin, Congressman Gilbert of Kentucky and from Congressman M. Clyde Kelly of the Pittsburgh

steel districts, who years ago won his seat by an appeal over the heads of the great vested interests to the worker voter and has held on ever since by a clever maintenance of apparent progressivism while making up his quarrel with his old foes.

The appearance of the crowd that jammed the stadium was a fair index to the source of the surprising support that Cox has been able to rally. First and foremost were the tattered and ill-shod mass of the desperate workless of all degrees. Mixed with these in good measure were the well-dressed and fairly well-fed group of small merchants and tradesmen that in spite of their financial strangulation by the "chain" and the economic crisis, are the financial backbone of Father Cox's past and fu-

ture support. Expensive fur coats and well-cut clothing may have been an indication of curiosity seekers and on the other hand, as one reporter humorously suggested, they might be the small and middle-sized bankers disinherited by the ferocious financial policy of the Mellon finance oligarchy in the Pittsburgh district.

The Movement's Program

The movement headed by Father Cox, in spite of its leader's courageous identification with the struggles of such workers as the taxi drivers and other trades over a period of a good many years, is best described by Cox himself who declared himself the protagonist of Main street as against Wall street and Smithfield street (Mellon National Bank). The program set forth in the resolution present-

70,000 Jobless Rally to Attack on Old Parties

ed to Congress presents as its main demand a proposal for a five billion dollar federal loan for public works construction aimed obviously at restoring the situation of the war and post-war construction booms, direct relief appropriation to remedy the inadequate charity funds and last 60 and 75 per cent income, inheritance and gift taxes to break up the great fortunes. This resolution is to be the platform plank of the jobless party.

The Pittsburgh Stadium rally saw the greatest political rally in the history of all Pennsylvania. Only such a modern structure as the football bowl and the modern device of amplifiers could have made the gathering possible. A Jewish rabbi made an opening prayer in which he reminded the Almighty that the right to work was the basis of all other of the so-called inalienable rights. A mighty burst of applause greeted the conclusion of the prayer. The bands played and the crowds sang popular war-time tunes which were associated in their minds with great popular mass gatherings for particular purposes.

Leaders Are Surprised

The leaders of the affair as in the case of the hunger march itself, were a bit bewildered by the size of the response to their efforts and disorganization and a great deal of poor speeches were the result. The message of Governor Pinchot denouncing the State Legislature and demanding that the federal government act in relief rang hollow with the Governor's Attorney General fighting in the courts against the ten million dollar appropriation to poor districts actually passed by the Legislature, and the Governor himself deliberately vetoing resolutions of the General Assembly which invoked the police power to give the Governor and Legislature extraordinary powers to pass relief legislation over constitutional limitations.

A short and powerful speech by the head of the Pittsburgh Council of Catholic Women ended with the threat that failing the adoption of the jobless relief program by Congress, "let the result be on their heads" whom she described, as the few vastly rich who with the wealth of the nation monopolized in their hands, were gravely debating the rightfulness and legality of appropriating money to the starving unemployed.

President Phillips of the State Federation of Labor, pledged himself to return to Philadelphia and attempt to rally the jobless there in the same fashion it was done in Pittsburgh.

The Jobless Party

The proceedings were broadcast over station WJAS, but when Father Cox in the closing address denounced John D. Rockefeller as worse than Al Capone because he transferred untold millions to his son, thus evading the inheritance tax, while Capone went to jail for a mere \$100,000 evasion, the station cut off for a matter of seconds until he was on another subject. When the priest later referred again to John D., a voice was distinctly heard to say "cut him off" and the words were again eliminated which indicted the New York millionaire.

Whether the jobless party will ever become a reality outside of a small area is questionable but it has been clearly shown that there are possibilities of mass protest movements in the United States on a scale never realized before. The leader although surrounded by muddle-headed, mediocre associates, is himself courageous and of unusual degree and cere-

Marx Critically Analyzed

Hook's Broadside Against the Clashing of Modern Socialist Thought Reviewed

Interesting, impressed how much he emphasizes the importance of the intelligently and consciously organized Socialist movement, as a most powerful factor in the ultimate triumph of the proletariat, in its struggle for emancipation. Kautsky's life-work, for upwards of half a century, whose writings have been of immense help towards an understanding of Marx to scores of thousands, probably including our friend, Dr. Hook, in his younger days, is the best and most conclusive refutation of the criticism hurled against him by the author. Of course, here and there, it is always possible to find passages in the works of a prolific writer which lend themselves to interpretations one desires to make, by extracting sentences out of their context, and thus presented, make them seem strange, if not absurd. A critic, to be fair, must approach his opponents, with a calm and dispassionate attitude and some degree of sympathy, if he is to understand their views and principles, and wishes to essay a proper evaluation of such opponents' principles and teachings. An approach with the intention of proving one's adversaries' views absurd, is merely a subtle form of propagandizing the critics own ideas on the subject. Dr. Hook well understands how reprehensible such method of criticism is. While we unquestionably believe him sincere and honest, there is no doubt that his symmetrical inclination towards present Communism, as a practical proposition and effective application of Marxism in the proletarian struggle for emancipation

has, perhaps unconsciously, but undoubtedly, influenced his judgment against the Social-Democratic theoreticians of the Marxian school.

The author next analyzes the revisionism of Bernstein, scoring in a slight vein of humor, his ideal, i. e., ethical, motives, tending towards a classless morality, and making of Marxism a liberal philosophy of social reform, instead of a philosophy of revolutionary action and battle; transforming Marxism into an "eighteenth century rationalism . . . with an acceptance of the theory of social evolution and a faith in human perfectability." This is a conclusion hardly warranted by the best literature of revisionism itself. Then we are informed that Bernstein, at least, displays the merit of "intellectual honesty." Does Dr. Hook really mean to attribute intellectual dishonesty to Kautsky, Hilferding, Plechanov, et al., of the orthodox canonization? Such a method of criticism may go with Communist soap-boxers, but is too repugnant to impute to normally decent and rational persons, least of all to a scholar and philosophic teacher of Dr. Hook's achievements, and no such criticism is here intended against him. Finally, our author seems to delight in Bernstein's interpretation of "Marx and Engels as they appeared to him in their sober years—peace-loving, analytical, monocled scholars, devoted to the cause of social reform, with stirring memories of a revolutionary youth." Such interpretation of Bernstein is not a necessary deduction from his revisionist writings, but a fragment

of Communist imagination. Between the fervent, youthful revolutionists, Marx and Engels, of 1850 and 1851, and the mature scholars and philosophers of the '60's and '70's and (Engel) '90's we prefer the latter as the riper and more seasoned judgments, and Dr. Hook, and his Communist affinities are welcome to the former. We are conscious of the bad taste left in Communist mouths by some of the writings and speeches of the sobered Marx and Engels, and hence the revision toward them as "peace-loving and monocled."

The author's criticism, avowed and implied, of the ethical infection, with all its implications, by revisionism in Marxism, is wholly sound. In fact the revisionist philosophy has never become the intellectual background of the Socialist movement, however much havoc it may have played with it at times. It is nevertheless true that long before Bernstein appeared on the scene as a revisionist, the Socialist movement everywhere recognized and continues to recognize today, as do the Communist parties, the need for social reform in the every-day political struggle, if the devotion and enthusiasm of the masses are to be held. As Prof. Skelton put it, you cannot forever hold the workers "by paying them with promissory notes drawn upon the Bank of the Cooperative Commonwealth" ("Socialism, A Critical Analysis").

The author next proceeds with a short, critical exposition and analysis of Sorel's syndicalist heresy, largely the offspring of "the excesses of parliamentary ministerialism . . . and the wave of trade union reformism," without however pointing out the nature of such reformism, and how it affected, adversely, the movement

itself. Sorel's interpretation of Marx embraces the "Bergsonian logic of sentiment," and the "Jamesian will-to-believe pragmatism." His theory of the myth is "any general notion, belief or fancy which drives men to great social action." Sorel has never had any following to speak of, and his influence has been almost nil and short-lived. As to the myth, it may be observed that when inculcated, it may be a sort of a fraud upon the proletariat, nevertheless it is a spiritual factor, as a driving force, in all revolutionary movements.

The "Leninist Reformation"

Finally, our author analyzes the Leninist reformation, which was represented by Rosa Luxemburg in Germany, and by Lenin in Russia. Opposing the syndicalists "for overlooking the fact that every class struggle is a political struggle, for their refusal to make revolutionary use of parliamentary activity, and for their fetishism of violence," criticizing "the supine parliamentarism of the Socialist parties," this reformation insists that "the proper direction of the labor movement implied the existence of a special class of professional revolutionists," presumably the elite-minority which, by long activity, experience and knowledge of the revolutionary movement, can be trusted, and from whom the dictatorship is to be recruited. Power will not be bestowed upon the proletariat either by God or by economic evolution alone; it must be taken. The task of a party led by professional revolutionists is to mediate the interacting factors of "the resultant of a whole social process, one of whose components was the development of objective economic conditions, the other, the

(Continued on Page Ten)

Are Cats So Dumb?

HAVE you boys and girls ever noticed what seems to be the horrid presence in our midst of a concerted and well-organized anti-cat propaganda? Whenever the opportunity arises to jump on cats a great horde of feline-phobes surges to the fore with snooty cracks at the entire cat family. The latest low rumor which they have been circulating is to the effect that cats are dumb because after they climb up a tree to get away from their enemies, they have a way of staying there long after their enemies have left the scene.

I ask you, is this dumb or just good sense? If in these days of storm and stress you could find a good safe tree to climb away from the wolf-teeth of creditors, installment collectors, reformers, prohibition agents, landlords and editors of "The American Socialist Quarterly," wouldn't you stay up there? And wouldn't you be just plumb dumb to come down because some one stood at the bottom of the tree and said, "Come on down, kitty, kitty, all the meanies have gone away?"

If you were as bright as cats really are, you would follow their example and come down when you gosh-darned pleased, preferably in the dead of night, the way cats generally do. The difficulty with us humans is that we haven't got sense enough to go climb trees when we are surrounded. We just stay on the ground and try to cover up as best we can and get our lemons pounded off us for our lack of brains.

Take Off Them Whiskers, Herbert, We Know You

We have a neat little article circulated by the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company for the illumination of its employees, which brings us the following glad tidings:

"The truth about the world-wide economic depression is that it has been caused by the financial collapse of governments dominated by Socialism, Communism or Bolshevism. The objective of each of these has been fundamentally the same: to rob the individual of his property and his rights by confiscating the one and by usurping the other. The deeper any of these has infected a country, the worse is the condition of its people."

So that's why we have the longest, largest breadlines in the world. We are infected with Socialism, Communism and Bolshevism. The red flag flies from the dome of the Capitol and Tovarish Hoover and Comrade Mellon are sneaking around robbing individuals of their property and usurping their rights.

Number, Please

Speaking of utilities, as we are getting ready to do quite a lot of it in the near future, we had a visit the other day from a telephone company representative who in the course of his visit got to chatting about unemployment and the amount of money that is skinned off his payroll to help the unemployed. As you all know, the sugar daddy of all the telephone companies, the American Telephone and Telegraph, is emitting a lot of whoopla about how much it is doing to end the (pardon us for mentioning it) depression. Mr. Gifford, the big telephone shot went down to Washington to tell the Congressmen what his unemployment committee is doing and got all balled up answering questions and finally admitted that he hadn't any idea how many men and women were unemployed or what to do about the whole nasty mess. But Mr. Gifford surely must know, he being a glorified statistician, just how many employees of his own monopoly have been laid off and what we are pining to know is the exact number. And if it isn't true that, after laying off men and women who have had all their training in the telephone business and since that business is a private monopoly have a hell of a time getting jobs anywhere else, the telephone companies haven't announced huge gifts to various unemployment relief funds and spent a mountain of jack telling us all that they are great eleemosynary institutions?

In that same article to which we referred above, we read that one difficulty which confronts us Socialists is "the good will which has accrued to the electric light and power industry because of its increasing contribution to the advancement of America." Take a good look at your last light and power bills, boys and girls, and give three long cheers for your increasing contributions to the advancement of American mergers. And then take a look at Ernest Gruening's book, "The Public Pays," which tells just how the utilities go out and buy up good will all over the lot.

A Lot About Liberty

We are all up to our necks in George Washington these days what with Congressman Sol Bloom and other good old Americans promoting the Commemoration of the Bicentennial of George Washington's birth. And so we are happy to receive a little book called, "Liberty Aflame," described as an "epic narrative setting forth the heroes and battles of the American Revolution" and written by Henry Brenner. This is a long poem taking up more than one hundred pages and written in the heroic style of near-Miltonese. The heroine of this somewhat amazing effort is that "peerless maid, Sweet Liberty" who is pictured as going around, "bestowing gifts with care maternal—clothing, food and comforts, as lavish as a Saint Elizabeth and more impartial than the clouds of heaven." She sees a vision in the sky of a "soldier mounted on a snow-white steed, upright and stern, his honest, open face shedding its sunny rays about the place," and she falls in love with George Washington and thereafter there is all sorts of hell to pay until at last the skulking red-coats get good and licked and all hands adjourn to some kind of "holy temple" to give a vote of thanks to Liberty and her boy friend, George.

We are quite wrought up about this poem and we were thinking of writing one ourselves about what happened to that "peerless maid, Sweet Liberty." The only trouble with this is, that our piece would certainly be suppressed as the postal authorities aren't partial to descriptions of wholesale rapine. We were going to begin,

"Where is this Liberty that good Sol Bloom,
And Mr. Henry Brenner celebrate?
Did she stay out too late?
Or did our Noble Doak
Give her the gate?"

Ah, aid me, Muse to find this peerless maid!
I've looked both high and low
And still don't know.
Please tell us, bo,

Was she picked up upon the latest raid?"

But our modest pen falters before the task of describing just what happened to the gal. Maybe she got so aflame during the war that she just plain burned up.

McAlister Coleman.

Scanning the New Books

Dreiser Indicts Capitalism

A Great Novelist Bares the Ugly Truths of the Class War in Modern America

By Ben Blumenberg

HERE are few novelists in the English-speaking world capable of writing a book in the same class as Theodore Dreiser's "Tragic America." (Liveright \$2). This observation at the same time measures the quality of the syrup that oozes from the fiction press. On the whole, writers of novels have no social viewpoint, or, if they have, care is taken to conceal the fact. Like ladies in a certain social strata, they must live. Hence the prevalence of literary house-maid's knee in the ranks of the writers whose work is barren of ideas and of social protest.

"Tragic America" is written with burning passion. Not the passion of the proselyter, but of the philosopher who feels as well as thinks. If most of the pamphlets and books on our social, economic and political affairs which have been written in the past generation are ever destroyed, future readers in possession of Dreiser's book would be able to get a vivid slant at the social system of the present day. In this work there is the same patient searching for facts evident in "The Financier" and "The

Titan," the humanness of "Sister Carrie" and "Jennie Gerhardt," the sanity and understanding of "An American Tragedy," the questioning and reasoning of "Hey Rub-a-Dub-Dub." Into "Tragic America" there has been poured thirty years of passionate protest, of unquenchable social revolt and a profound understanding of economic forces. America's foremost novelist finds our economic system a gummy mess. There are no "ifs" and "buts" about it; the only thing that will clear it up is "Socialism or an American form of Communism. Most certainly one or the other."

If the greatest need of today is the development of a sense of indignation, Dreiser's book will furnish it. Fearlessly and clearly he states the issues that are intensifying the war of the classes in a work written "for those alone who have the patience and desire and will to learn the drift if not the meaning of present day American life." Says the author:

"... I am now convinced that this is the one country that, ever since it was conceived as a possibility, has been steadily and de-

ceitfully, as well as fraudulently, shunted along the path of individual and later corporate control, as opposed to its written and widely promulgated determination to make of itself a liberal and helpful democracy in which the individual was to fare more pleasantly and comfortably than ever he had before in the world... The petty individual has seen himself more thoroughly coerced, robbed and frustrated, and that always in favor of the cunning individual of capitalistic leanings and with a will to power."

With a wealth of detail we are shown how all the institutions of modern society are used as forces to exploit and oppress the masses. How, when mental chloroform fails, tear-gas, clubs and bullets, deportations and the blacklist follow and how the iron fist of economic and political power shows itself more clearly during the present breakdown of capitalism. The "capitalism that came into the world dripping blood at every pore," continues to perspire freely. Dreiser applies the discovery of Marx to the present economic mess and his facts indicate that radicals are given to under rather than to overstatement.

"Tragic America" will excite controversy among radicals because of the views expressed in its pages on Russia, the sweeping denunciation of the A. F. of L. and "that the old Socialist movement (was) corrupted by capitalistic pacifism."

Socialists will want to know how Dreiser can logically hope for an America which will be "a liberal and helpful democracy," and at the same time urge passionately the emulation of the Russian dictatorship. Dreiser, a recent convert to the collectivist philosophy, may be expected to clarify his views the more he studies their implications. But the great and indisputable value of "Tragic America" is his indictment of capitalism.

It was the poet, Heine who said, "If the people understood the forces which govern them, modern governments would not last 24 hours." With this observation some readers of Dreiser's powerful work will be inclined to agree. Others will become "mad"—fighting mad and join forces with those who are working to overthrow our class-ruled society. Greater praise no book can receive.

N. Y. Peace Rally

In anticipation of the Disarmament Conference, a peace mass meeting will be held in the auditorium of the Community Church on Tuesday evening, Jan. 26, at 8:15 p. m., with the following speakers: Rev. Bradford Young, Dr. Harry M. Holmes, Mr. Joseph B. Matthews and Miss Fannie Kaufman.

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From Our Mailbag

The New Leader Forum

Organizing the Jobless—The Class Struggle and the Application Blank—For Strike Relief

UNEMPLOYMENT COUNCILS

By Glen Trimble

I want to second Donald Smith's remarks on Unemployed Councils. If any of you passed over his article in the Jan. 9 New Leader, don't fail to look it up and read it carefully. Comrade Smith is not spinning theories but giving a closely worded account of what has actually been done in Lewiston, Maine.

As Boston organizer, I have had occasion to visit Lewiston from time to time during the fall and winter. The growth and climbing strength of the Unemployed Council and consequently of the Socialist Party not only in the city but throughout the state of Maine has to be seen to be believed. The publicity gained by the Lewiston comrades in almost all the Maine papers has already resulted in a unanimous vote of the Portland Farmer-Labor organization to turn Socialist and efforts in a number of surrounding towns for local organization. As Paul Porter pointed out in The New Leader, the old guard has been frightened into a fine sweat and an ex-governor, a utility publicity man, and the college presidents are all declaring that God and the Republican party must be preserved against the new treason. In short, things are going very well in Maine because one man, a student at that, had the brains and the courage to go to the unemployed with a real program instead of contenting himself with scholarly indictments of unemployment in the abstract. What has worked and is continuing to work in Lewiston will work in thousands of small towns and cities in America. Let's get busy!

Boston, Mass.

CAPITALISM AND CLASS STRUGGLE

By Alfred Baker Lewis

It seems to me a very disheartening alternative which Comrade Hillquit insists upon in your issue of Jan. 2d, when he says that we must choose either Communism or the type of Social Democracy represented by the British Labor Party and the German Social Democrats, both of which he specifically mentions and defends. Certainly both those two parties have been losing the confidence of the workers in their respective countries, and partly at least it seems to me because they promised the working class to work for Socialism. And then failed to take any serious steps toward Socialism when they held office.

If there is really no alternative between such policies and Communism, the Socialist movement throughout the world is in a bad way. That there is such an alternative, however, seems to me plain. It consists in getting back to or keeping on with our stand in fighting the workers' side of the class struggle for the ending of capitalism. Both the British Labor Party and the German Social Democrats gave the impression that they were more concerned in keeping the existing system going than in getting rid of it; and at least in the case of the German Socialists they were more willing to see the workers' standard of living cut to make it possible for their capitalists to carry on industry profitably than to insist on the socialization of industry when the capitalist class could no longer make the system of private ownership for profit function.

This desertion of the principle of the class is what makes it so easy for Ramsay MacDonald to throw over the Labor Party in favor of a program of "saving the country" in good part at the expense of the workers without apparently feeling any contradiction in his attitude.

The same attitude of deserting the principle of the class struggle is represented in our party by Comrade Hillquit, who was chairman of the Constitutional Committee, took all reference to the class struggle out of our application card in the 1928 convention. It is that tendency which I hope will be repudiated at our coming National Convention by getting the party back to its stand on the class struggle and to working for the ending of capitalism.

Boston, Mass.

THAT APPLICATION CARD

By James Oneal

Alfred Baker Lewis charges that Comrade Hillquit, as Chairman of the Committee on Constitution in the 1928 Convention, took out "all reference to the class struggle" from the party application card. The writer was a delegate to that convention. So was Comrade Lewis and here is what happened.

The form of the application for membership adopted at the 1928 convention reads:

"I, the undersigned, recognizing the necessity of an independent working-class political party aiming at the collective ownership and democratic administration and operation of the collectively used and socially necessary means of wealth production and distribution, hereby apply for membership in the

Socialist Party. In all my political actions while a member of the party, I agree to be guided by the Constitution and platform of the party."

If Comrade Lewis does not find any reference to the class struggle in the express recognition of the necessity of an independent working-class party and in the acceptance of the party platform, he has a queer conception of the class struggle.

The present form of application card was discussed and approved by the National Executive Committee and adopted by the convention unanimously and without debate. Comrade Lewis, who was a delegate, never raised an objection to it. It took him almost four years to wake up to the calamity.

It is amusing to note that Morris Hillquit, one of the most consistent exponents and defenders of the class-struggle doctrine in America, should be accused of "deserting" the principle. It is particularly amusing that this charge should come from Alfred Baker Lewis.

As late as January 31st, 1931, Comrade Lewis, writing in The New Leader on the party's attitude towards Russia, declared that it was a "disadvantage from the point of view of Socialist tactics" to express a view "that tends to widen the breach between Socialists and important groups of liberals."

A few days later I received a note from Comrade Lewis enclosing a letter from a Boston "liberal" who commended him for his statement in The New Leader, adding that it was pleasing to "those of us who are not Socialists." With naive innocence Comrade Lewis sent me the letter to prove that we must formulate our principles to please our bourgeois liberals, but he sheds bitter tears over the rape of the class struggle in our application card. Such is the consistency of our militant liberals. If they held important offices we wonder what "serious steps toward Socialism" they would take.

Comrade Lewis is equally reckless in stating that Morris Hillquit defended the policies of the German Social Democracy and the British Labor Party. Comrade Hillquit neither defended nor condemned these policies. He merely pointed out that the grounds of Murray Baron's condemnation of these parties applies equally to the entire international movement of social democracy and that it is wrong for Socialists to publicly and persistently attack and defame our own movement in other countries instead of trying to understand it.

Our "Liberals" find everything simple, very simple, in Germany. Like Comrade Lewis, some of them can even think of socialization of industry without power. They can be very revolutionary most everywhere across our frontiers but at home they find it easy to pursue the class struggle on the one hand and on the other camp on the doorstep of bourgeois liberalism. Not until we have sloughed off every trace of this liberalism will American Socialists earn the right to a critical judgment of working class movements abroad.

BOYCOTT JAP GOODS

By Mildred C. Austin

May I comment on the suggestion offered by Norman Thomas in the Jan. 9th issue of the New Leader that peace societies boycott Japanese goods?

This stand has been taken by the Women's Peace Society, a national organization of 2,500 members, who at an executive meeting on January 5th adopted a resolution to boycott Japanese products and to influence others to do likewise. Mrs. Lewis Stuyvesant Chanler, sponsor and founder of the New History Society which is carrying on an active program for the promotion of peace, is also chairman of the Women's Peace Society.

I would appreciate it very much if you would make known to the readers of the New Leader that Norman Thomas' suggestion has already been put into effect.

RELIEF FOR THE MINERS

By Norman Thomas

Though ten million men and women are lashed by the whip of unemployment, today thousands of workers find conditions on the job so intolerable, employers so arbitrary, that to strike is their only recourse.

The Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief for the past year has been trying diligently to apply its funds in strike areas where the need was great. A total of \$20,000, in addition to tons of clothing, was sent to the West Virginia Mine Workers who fought a good fight, though a losing one. The gratitude of these still starving workers who struck out for life and independence is unbounded.

Frank Keeney, president of the West Virginia Mine Workers, tells us that the workers' spirit is high. They have been evicted from their homes but live on in tents in the sleet and cold of the West Virginia mountains.

The Emergency Committee continues to aid the miners in their organizations with a monthly contribution.

Other strikes and lockouts spring up with no warning, such as have already occurred at Paterson, at Lawrence, in Pennsylvania. This winter we can expect no abatement of the workers' misery.

The Emergency Committee now appeals to you to contribute to a General Strike Fund to be applied where the need is pressing. We shall continue to allocate funds with great care. Our overhead is very little beyond the cost of expression of clothing to various strike areas and the cost of printing this appeal.

We appeal once again to you who must have many demands on your attention. But the misery of American workers is profound and widespread. When they strike, and as human beings they must, it is for us to give them bread. Please send your contribution at once to Room 1001, 112 East 19th street, New York City.

THE "OLD FOSSILS"

By Ben Belsky

It was an encouraging sign when two young and militant comrades trekked down to West Virginia as party organizers. At last the young people were given a chance. Surely, these alert young men will show the inert, old fossils how to quicken the tempo of party construction. Being a young fellow myself I followed their reports assiduously. And what a shock—when I read in their recent report that an 81-year-old Comrade Jimmy-higginsed for them in Fairmont.

"Dr. M. S. Holt of Weston, is 82 years old and a Socialist since 1907. His untiring devotion to the Socialist ideal was demonstrated by the fact that he practically alone placed posters in the store windows announcing a mass meeting at which the organizers spoke."

Even in the most barren territory it is fair to expect them to corral some young people, yet they fell back on a veteran. How disappointing!

There is a lot of talk about youth and energy. Our Communist brethren show lots of energy, particularly of the marching variety. So is a donkey galloping on a tread-mill energetic, but he gets nowhere. Yet, the Socialist Party ship needs its engines but it also needs its gyroscopes to keep it at an even keel.

New York City.

At the Rand School

A. J. Muste will be the speaker Monday evening, Jan. 25th, in the course on "Proposed Roads for Labor" being run by the Rand School and the Labor Committee of the Socialist Party. His subject will be "A Critical View of American Unionism."

The course in "Contemporary Psychology," started by John B. Watson before a large audience on January 14th, will be continued by Professor Clark Hull, of Yale University, on Thursday, the 26th, at 8:30 P. M. Professor Hull will speak on "The Role of Habit in Modern Psychology."

RIEGO RIVERA TO SPEAK

Diego Rivera will speak at the Rand School on the evening of January 29. Rivera, who has a splendid exhibition on view at the Museum of Modern Art, was recently put on the spot before the John Reed Club and accused of being a traitor to the working-class. Eye-witnesses report that he routed his foes with a magnificent counter-attack. His subject on the 29th will be "Art and the Working Class."

The Rand School Fellowship has elected the following officers for the year: President, Bruno Fischer; vice president, Terry Donahue; secretary, Hanna Geiger; financial secretary, Rose Baron. A committee was elected to raise money for the support of the school. The Student Worker, with its second issue, has settled down to a regular form and schedule. It is now a four page paper appearing once a week, on Mondays, and sells for three cents. Alumni and friends can have it sent to them for the remainder of the school year for fifty cents.

Debate Ballots Favor Thomas

MADISON, Wis. — (FP) — Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, proved the most convincing speaker in the triangular debate, held recently at the University of Wisconsin, on the merits of capitalism, Socialism and Communism, according to the university department of statistics. The final vote after the forum was: Socialism 275, capitalism 185, Communism 83, capitalism-Socialism 10, Socialism-Communism 6, Fascism 1, undecided 62. Of those undecided before the debate, 61 per cent made up their minds as a result of it.

The Chatterbox

The Dreamer

I CAME and told them of my dreams,
Told them of the glories
That were to be . . .
Unfolded all the beauty that I dreamt.
But they laughed at me,
They didn't understand.
They laughed at me,
And sent me forth to play.
(For I was but a child,
And they were old . . .
And very wise).

They laughed at me,
I told them of my dreams.
But they were blind
And didn't see.
They couldn't see.
For they were old and wise,
And dreams meant naught
To them.

I came and told them of my dreams,
Unfolded all the beauty that I dreamt.
All my hopes . . .
All my secret imaginings . . .

That were so dear to me.
But they laughed at all my dreams,
Took my secret soul
And held it up to ridicule.
They laughed at me,
And sent me forth to play.
(For I was but a child,
And they were old,
And very wise,
And dreams meant naught to them).

And so I hid my soul,
And let them look no more.
Locked up my dreams
Within my breast,
And held my peace.

But still they laugh,
To see me with my thoughts
And dreams.
And when I dare to speak
They mock at me,
And bid me go to play.
(For I am but a child,
And they are old,
And cannot see the light of day).

ROBERT S. WARSHOW.

Convention Post Mortem

The last New York City Convention was a pleasant enough battle between the rights, the militants and myself. Needless to add then, that the militants and your humble scribe were the sole casualties.

The militant comrades really scored a tremendous victory since the conservatives presented all the radical resolutions of last year and claimed them as their own. The radicals on the other hand seemed a bit weak with their own repetitive positions, and would have gained much more in tactical prestige had they just sat back and voted for all the majority resolutions. The right has moved tremendously toward their position and there is much to giggle over for everybody.

To sort of make the contest seem a contest, I took out boldly the Chicago "activist" proposition on unionism and offered it as a substitute for both majority and minority reports on trade unions. In it was stated what has always been my belief on the subject, and what is genuinely the deep-rooted sense of most of us. That is, to go about the big job of organizing the unskilled and the machine-displaced workers in inter-industrial unions. Especially so, since our efforts to help and go along with the trade unions that are rapidly passing out are just wasted energy.

The high-spot of the convention was reached when, Jim Oneal razed my presentation on the basis of sartorial incompatibility . . . If you are at all worried by these last two gullet-chokers, let me explain. "How can we expect any reasonable knowledge of trade unions from a man like Sam DeWitt who comes into this convention hall with a tennis racket in his hand and holds forth on labor unionism . . ."

The assemblage rocked and roared with laughter. It was funny, only I didn't happen to come in with a tennis racket at all. It was my golf knickers and sweater that had confused yon labor union authority, who then commenced to speak on 1932 unionism from the authoritative viewpoint of one who had worked in the steel industry in 1906 . . .

Russia Was Coming Up Again

As a matter of fact, I had spent the morning of the convention on the public golf course, aerating my mind and lungs from the effects of the session of the evening before, when Socialist principles were swatted about and finally gotten into some sort of coherent agreement among us. The Marxists had presented the full matted beard of Karl before us, and the rest of us had done a good barbering job in combing and trimming it to our present day styles of hirsute perfection. The Marxists are still a bit wobbly from that process.

And then again, I knew that last year's Russian resolution would come up for debate again, with the house divided on those who would kiss, pat or swat Joe Stalin for the swell job he is doing over in Moscow. The air on the golf course was exceptionally preferable then, to that of a Russian discussion.

When I entered in golf attire and sat myself down beside a benchful of old comrades who were all dressed in the best of pinochie costumes, the contrast was immediately discernible to so practised an eye as Jim Oneal's.

Small wonder then, that he carried the house for the majority resolution of slapping the wrist of the A. F. of L. for being so naughty at times, but promising to help them along during their sick-room hours to the best of our ability . . . And to top it all, Julius Gerber brought in his own Sheet Metal Workers Union experience to crush my proposition utterly. And Julius hasn't worked at his trade as long as I can remember. He and Jim ought to join a union of unionists of the "good old days," and venture forth to cure the incurable ills of trade unionism on the strength of their long lost experience . . .

There was only one vote for my resolution . . . Yet as I remarked in my speech, that since I was a Socialist and always right, and consequently always defeated, it followed that I would be defeated on this too, for the reason that it was decidedly correct.

All in all, the convention was splendid in spirit, very little toying about for prestige, and left us all with a good taste in our minds and hearts. We are about to get to work in earnest, impatiently happy, for one.

S.

N. Y. Socialists Debate Issues Facing Party

City Convention Adopts Resolutions to Be Submitted to National Parley

By EDWARD LEVINSON

The views of the New York City Socialists on party policies were crystallized for presentation to the national convention of the party at a two-day convention held last Saturday and Sunday in the Rand School. Some 150 delegates devoted three sessions to an earnest discussion of party policy and activities on the questions of trade unionism, Soviet Russia, militarism and war, and a number of other problems which have been creating discussion in Socialist circles of late.

The main work of the convention may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Adoption of a draft declaration of principles restating the general Socialist position.
 2. Adoption of a statement of principles on Russia which urged recognition of Russia and demanded a hands-off policy by reactionary governments, which stated the dividing issues of Socialism and Communism, and which gave due recognition to what progress Russia may be making in the direction of Socialism.
 3. Re-statement of the Socialist position on trade unionism and an enunciation of the tactics by which the labor movement might be won to a Socialist position.
 4. Adoption of a resolution calling for a change in the application blank of the party so that the reference to existence of the class struggle might be re-inserted.
 5. Adoption of a resolution for abolition of the national committee of the party, and for increasing the membership of the national executive committee to 11.
 6. Adoption of a resolution calling for election of delegates to international congresses by closed ballot of the N. Y. C. C.
 7. Expression of belief that national conventions be held every two years instead of every four years.
 8. Adoption of a resolution on Socialist methods of combating wars.
 9. Adoption of a resolution on the economic depression.
- The subject of New York City organization work was not reached until late Sunday. A proposal that Local New York be dissolved into five autonomous county locals was defeated. A proposed plan and budget for 1932 was submitted to a special committee which is to report its findings to the Central Committee.

Berlin Presiding Officer

The convention was called to order by Algoner Lee, chairman of the city executive committee, Saturday afternoon. Simon Berlin of Manhattan was elected permanent chairman, defeating Barnett Wolf of Queens by a few votes. Samuel A. Beardsley and Harry Kritzer were chosen vice-chairmen. James O'Neal, William Karlin, Dr. Louis Hendin, Bela Low, Sol Rivkin, Jules Umaneky and Theodore Shapiro were elected to constitute the resolutions committee.

The city executive committee had met earlier in the week as an agenda committee and its report was the first order of business after the convention had been organized. Lee, for the majority of the committee, submitted a proposed Declaration of Principles intended for the guidance of party members and others who wished a more fundamental statement of Socialist principles than could be gotten from a campaign platform. While the convention eventually voted its approval of the document, there was some criticism of its value because of its style, one delegate facetiously suggesting that "the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels" be substituted in its place.

The leading criticism however came on two sentences. Objection was raised by Alexander Fichandler and Norman Thomas to the alleged ambiguity of the sentence: "The struggle over the division of the product develops into a struggle over the basic institution of property, which can be decided only through the use of political power." The two critics held that the term "political power" was too narrow and excluded the possibility of industrial action as a factor in fighting capitalism. Thomas held that political power to most American workers meant only parliamentary action or the simple act of voting. He urged a broader phrasing of the sentence. Lee, Morris Hillquit and Bela Low defended the original.

Hillquit declared that the declaration was not intended as a popular document but was meant rather to be a fairly familiar philosophy. It was not the phrase would

mean to the man in the street, he held, since Socialists would understand "political power" as an inclusive term. The convention voted to accept the original wording.

Discussion on Democracy

More serious objection was raised by Robert Delson to a paragraph which contained the sentence, "This goal (the Socialist society) cannot be attained by undemocratic means." Delson contended that the sentence made no provision for the defense of Socialism in circumstances where democratic avenues might be closed by the repression of the capitalist class. In such cases, or during a transition period when efforts might be made to sabotage the creation of a Socialist system, the working class might have to abandon democratic processes, he maintained. He quoted Hillquit's book, "From Marx to Lenin," to the effect that peculiar circumstances might make violent means necessary in the struggle for Socialism. Delson proposed substitution of the following for the paragraph to which he objected:

"The methods by which the working class is to achieve Socialism are dependent entirely upon the specific circumstances in each country. Our chief concern is with the achievement of Socialism, and our methods must be chosen with that end in view only. The only question of principle involved is that we must never lose sight of the class character of the capitalist state and we must choose our methods with that end in view. We should make use of whatever vestiges of democracy the working class has been able to wrest from the dominant class. When, however, the pseudo-democratic institutions of the capitalist state are no longer available to us, or if we become convinced that the capitalist control of the instruments of propaganda is such as to preclude the possibility of our attaining control of the powers of government by constitutional means, we shall use whatever means are available to achieve our goal. In the transitional period from the Socialist revolution to the classless society, we should maintain democracy wherever possible, but we should not hesitate to resort to any methods that are necessary to maintain power and suppress the forces of the counter-revolution. Our aim is a classless society and our methods should be democratic so far as possible, but when democracy becomes inexpedient it must be sacrificed to the attainment of the only real and permanent democracy, the Socialist society."

Lee, in reply to Delson, declared the sentence fitted in with a scientific statement of the principles of Socialism, which was essentially a democratic movement. He declared the belief that democracy was of insignificant value to the workers, pointing out that it has been won through hard and costly struggles. Democracy was not given to the workers voluntarily but was wrested by them from the bourgeois, Lee declared. The value of democracy was most apparent to those sections of the Socialist movement which have lost it through the development of dictatorships, he said. "It is playing with fire to belittle democracy," Lee asserted. The substitute paragraph offered by Delson was defeated by 89 to 39 votes. A motion to strike out the original paragraph was defeated, 89 to 47.

The text of the proposed declaration of principles will be printed in an early issue of The New Leader.

Russia Taken Up

When the convention reconvened Sunday morning, Hillquit, for the agenda committee, presented the following statement:

"Russia and the Relations Between Socialism and Communism"

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

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

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

"We deem it necessary to make it clear to our adherents and to the general public that there is a fundamental difference in theory and practice between Socialism and Communism as represented by the Russian con-

"The Devil Passes" To Be Given Feb 2 For Socialist Party

A theatre party has been arranged under the auspices of the Finance Committee of Local New York City. Because of the desperate financial condition of the City office, this affair must be made a success. Every devoted Socialist in New York City is urged to cooperate. The date is Tuesday evening, February 2, at the Selwyn Theatre. The play is "The Devil Passes."

It is one of the most successful of present Broadway productions and has a remarkable cast of star performers, including Robert Lorraine, Arthur Byron, Basil Rathbone, Mary Nash, Cecilia Loftus, and others. The play has been highly commended. Tickets are now on hand at the City office. Prices range from \$1.00 to \$3.00.

trolled Communist International and exemplified by the Soviet Government. This difference is frankly stressed by the Communists, and the Socialist movement has nothing to gain by trying to minimize or obscure it.

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

"In accordance with its essentially democratic aim, the Socialist movement relies upon democratic methods. Its progress toward its goal depends upon the development of the working class, not only in numbers, but in political intelligence, class consciousness, and capacity for self-directed action. In order to serve the immediate and the ultimate interests of the working class, it must be a movement of and by that class as well as for it."

"The Socialist movement accordingly opposes all undemocratic tendencies, whether in society at large or within the movements of the working class. It specifically rejects the theory that the desired reorganization of society is to be effected through the action of a resolute minority, exercising a dictatorship over the rest of the working class and over society as a whole. In opposition to the Communists, we Socialists hold that the emancipation of the workers and the abolition of class rule is to be accomplished by a democratically organized working class acting upon democratic principles."

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

"But we recognize that the Russian revolution and the Soviet Government which it has created sprang from historical, political and economic conditions peculiar to Russia and particularly to the conditions existing in that country at the close of the World War, and we believe that neither the political or economic regime of Soviet Russia nor the methods by which it was established and is being maintained are applicable to the United States or other countries of modern western civilization and development."

"While a divergence of opinion among American Socialists as to the nature and prospects of the Russian 'experiment' is entirely natural and legitimate, the question has little or no bearing upon the problems and policies of Socialism in this country and should not be permitted to divide our ranks or to stand in the way of unified and harmonious activities of all American Socialists along the lines of international social democracy."

In behalf of a minority of the committee, J. B. Matthews offered the following as a substitute:

"Resolution Regarding Change of Attitude Toward Russia"

"After 14 years of the Soviet experiment the time has come when the Socialist Party of America can no longer continue its negative attitude toward the Soviet Union."

"The hatred engendered by the split in our ranks a decade or more ago must not be used to poison the minds of those Socialists who wish to view the Soviet Republic objectively."

"We are bound to the workers in Russia not only because they are engaged in building Socialism but because of a common danger and a common goal."

"We, therefore, resolve that the Socialist Party of America, in convention assembled, send fraternal greetings to the government of the U. S. S. R., and at the same time insistently urge upon that government that a greater measure of political democracy be granted to the Russian work-

ers in line with the spirit of the Socialist philosophy."

Bela Low objected to both resolutions and offered a substitute for them which said:

"Resolution on Russia"

"Consistent with the principles of socialism and conforming with the decisions of the Socialist and Labor International, we declare that the interest of the Russian workers and peasants call for a liquidation of the autocratic regime and the establishment of free democratic institutions in Russia. We unreservedly condemn the governmental terrorism, the ruthless suppression of all dissenting opinion and the barbarous policy of imprisoning and exiling socialists, we express our solidarity with our persecuted Russian comrades in their desperate struggle for liberty and socialism."

"A planned production for use instead of a planless production for profit, and social ownership of the instruments of production instead of private ownership of capital, are essential elements of socialism. Where, however, industry is owned by a government which is in no way responsible to society, and where plans are forced upon the people by an all-powerful bureaucracy, as is the case in Russia, there such a changed economy cannot free the working masses from oppression and exploitation."

"The fight for freedom in Russia can be won only by the Russian masses, and not through any outside influence. We reiterate our opposition to any interference by any government with the political, economic or other internal affairs of Russia, whether by invasion, blockade, economic boycott, or other exceptional measures, and we demand the recognition of the Russian Government and resumption of normal diplomatic and trade relations between the two countries."

Hillquit followed reading of the majority resolution with a speech favoring its adoption. The national chairman of the party expressed the belief that the resolution would establish a basis of understanding among Socialists on the questions of Russia and Communism. "If not complete agreement among us," anticipating criticisms from supporters of the minority statement, Hillquit said that no Socialist resolution could omit criticism of Russian terrorism practiced against working class dissenting groups. The policy of repression was antithetical to Socialism, he said, and Socialists in Russia were actually in jail as most American Socialists would be if they tried to express their views within the boundaries of the Soviet Union. Nor could the question of Communism be divided from that of Soviet Russia. The Communist Party of Russia is the ruling hand of the Third International, which fights Socialism bitterly and unceasingly. As an illustration of the extremes of Communist hatred of Socialism, Hillquit pointed to the German Communists lining up, on instructions from the Third International, on the side of German Fascism during the plebiscite in Prussia which held the future of the German workers in its grip. Turning to section four of the statement, Hillquit said it expressed the practical inferences of the Socialist view toward Russia. We are not inimical or hostile to Soviet Russia as a whole. While we could not accept those features in Russia today which are contradictory to Socialism, the attempt to organize production with the profit motive eliminated was commendable. Not only is it a common principle, but elimination of the profit motive proves a main Socialist thesis. We are concerned with the future of a country of 100 million people working without the profit motive to introduce a system of production for use. Hillquit held the last two paragraphs most important since these urged that the Russian issue should not be permitted to divide American Socialists. In conclusion, Hillquit criticized the minority resolution. He ridiculed the last paragraph which called for sending of fraternal greetings to the government of Russia, referring to the abuse which had been heaped on the British Independent Labor Party when it did the same. The minority resolution's plea for "a greater measure of democracy," he said was obsequious and wholly inconsistent with the sending of "fraternal greetings."

Resolutions Debated

Matthews opened his defense of the minority resolution by congratulating the majority "on having made progress" on the question of Russia since the city convention of a year ago. Some things said in the Hillquit statement should have unanimous support, he said. The resolution was moving in the right direction "and gives ground for hope for a better understanding." The argument that the leaders of Russia would respond to Socialist greetings with epithets was not important, Matthews held. Within the present convention and preceding it epithets had also been leveled against members of the Socialist party, he said. Matthews objected particularly to sections 2 and 3 of the majority resolution. He opposed a request for freedom for all political prisoners in Russia, opposing freedom for counter-revolutionists. Misrepresentation of Russia in the capitalist press, he feared, had influenced some sections of the Socialist Party. The majority resolution represented the mood of "scientific liberalism," which preferred to weigh theoretical ques-

tions rather than take part in a struggle. The efforts of Russia represented a struggle, and Socialists should not adopt the critical scientific attitude but should rather take a warm and friendly attitude.

In the discussion which followed Low assailed the majority resolution as inconsistent. McAlister Coleman agreed with Matthews that the spirit of liberalism permeated the majority resolution. He said the rank and file of the party in the nation was 100 per cent "for Russia." Dr. Hendin supported the resolution of Low, while Fichandler, maintaining that the achievement of Socialism was more important than democracy, spoke for the minority report. Karlin held that the minority report aids the enemies of the Socialist movement, the Communists, who would destroy us if they could. As a "politically-minded" Socialist, he opposed the minority statement. Dr. Louis Sadoff deplored the tendency to stress bad features of the Russian system. He preferred to emphasize the good features and felt this was good policy for Socialism. Lee declared, in support of the Low resolve, and in partial support of the majority statement, that the function of Socialism was not only to end capitalism but to put working class democracy, i. e., Socialism, in its place. He said the minority statement did not even ask freedom for the Russian Socialists. Norman Thomas said the majority resolution was an improvement over previous party statements. Both majority and minority statements said things that were worthwhile, but neither was satisfactory to him. Coleman's plea for 100 per cent endorsement of Russia sounded like Communism, he said. Thomas said a scientific approach to Russia was needed, but not the kind of an approach that would paralyze our will and activities on the subject. Thomas approved the minority resolution though, he said, he would prefer to send greetings to the Russian workers rather than the government. He held it was our duty to subordinate Socialism to democracy and urged that the good features of the Russian experiment should be applauded.

Summing up the debate, for the minority report, Shapiro held that the Socialist Party has always been a "left party," friendly to the Russian revolution at the outset but veering away only in later years of the regime. He felt the bitterness of the split with the Communists had wrongfully influenced our attitude toward Russia. The time had come to cast off the effect of the split and recognize Russian achievements in the direction of Socialism. Low attacked the position of Shapiro as a liberal one that would be applauded by "The Nation" and by Russian tourists. His resolution stated the Russian Socialists' position, he said. Hillquit demurred that the Russian Socialists would back Low's position, but went on to add that if they did it really wouldn't matter. This was a convention of American Socialists. Shapiro's history of Socialist Party policy toward Russia, Hillquit found a "little bit off color"; 1919 and 1920, to which Shapiro referred, were years of confusion and formation. The third International was then undefined as to policy and tactics, and the Russian Socialists still had a measure of political liberty. Later years brought a crystallization of the tendencies. The minority resolution, Hillquit felt, would be acceptable to a Communist convention.

The vote was then taken, revealing 12 for the Low resolution, 29 for the minority, and 89 for the majority report.

(To Be Continued)

N. Y. C. Tuckers, Stitches Hold Organization Meet

An organization meeting of tuckers, stitches, pleaters and novelty workers was held at the Rand School Thursday. The trade usually employs about 2,000 workers, most of whom turned out. The meeting was called by the executive board of the newly amalgamated Local 66, I. L. G. W. U. The union's conference with the Pleaters' Manufacturing Association broke up because the bosses refused to concede demands for humane conditions.

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Virginia

The "Southern Rebel" is expected to make its appearance this week. Voting on delegates to the National Convention opens this week. Delegates to the State Convention must be elected and names filed with the State Secretary, by February 11. The State Convention takes place March 11 to 13.

RICHMOND—New officers for Local Richmond are Herman R. Ansell, chairman; Winston F. Dawson, financial and corresponding secretary; A. J. Royal, organizer; Nathan Koslow, assistant organizer; Richard H. Sale, recording secretary and membership supervisor; Virginia Norris, assistant recording secretary; Mrs. Emma Ansell, literature agent and librarian. These comprise the executive committee of seven. We have changed our meeting night to Thursday at 8 P. M. in the Workmen's Circle Center, at Laurel and Broad streets. Morris Hillquit will lecture in the Workmen's Circle Center on February 23d. Admission of 50 cents will be charged. For reservations, call Mrs. Ansell, 3417 Hanover avenue. Telephone 4-2957. The local has decided to call a special demonstration in cooperation with the Unemployed Legion, in February.

NORFOLK—The local meets every Thursday night at 8 o'clock, in the Workmen's Circle Center at 708 East Freemason street. Morris Hillquit will lecture in this hall on Tuesday, Feb. 2d. Comrades are urged to cooperate in making a success of the meeting, and to dispose of tickets, which can be procured from Jack Jelaza, 647 Church street, or at the local meetings. The Hillquit lecture will be followed by a mass meeting of unemployed to be addressed by State Chairman Ansell and State Secretary George.

HOPEWELL—The local meets every Wednesday night at 8 o'clock, in new headquarters, at 116 North 6th street.

New Jersey

NEWARK—August Claessens will lecture for the Building Trades Branch in the Musicians Temple, 401 Plane street, Thursday, Jan. 23, at 8 P. M. Subject, "Graft and Corruption, the Cause and Cure."

Ohio

CLEVELAND—The City Central Committee has planned a big year. Henry Kuhlman has been elected financial secretary and literature agent and Jennie Harvey, recording secretary. Joseph Cook was elected city organizer. Plans are under way for the state campaign. Under Ohio law 25,000 signatures are required.

The Bohemian branch will circulate petitions in ten counties. Mass meetings are being planned by the action committee, Max Kline, chairman. Alfred Baker Lewis of Boston will speak in Slovenian National Hall on Jan. 27. A series of international festivals will be held which will draw all branches closer together. A joint meeting will be held Feb. 1 to nominate a county ticket.

On Jan. 19 Norman Thomas addressed a large meeting arranged by the L. I. D. at the Cleveland College. The discussion showed much interest and the eight meetings promise to be helpful. A local chapter is being organized.

Pennsylvania

COUNTY MEETINGS—Three western Pennsylvania counties long dormant have announced their intention to hold county membership and nominating meetings. Cambria County will hold its meeting the afternoon of Jan. 31st, either at Franklin Borough, Johnstown, or in Nanty-Glo. Fayette County will hold its county meeting also the afternoon of Jan. 31 in the Trades and Labor Hall, Main street, Uniontown, Pa. Fayette will be able to view with some pride its growing organization. Two new branches, one at Gillespie and one at Naomi have been formed by miners this last week. Washington County, scene of last year's coal strike, will review both the political and industrial situation at a county meeting for both Washington and Greene counties at the E. N. P. J. Hall at Strabane, Pa., on February 7, afternoon. Up in Bradford County, Sayre, Pa., comrades have planned a meeting for Comrade Alfred Baker Lewis on the 26th of January and promise to re-organize and get on the job.

The full schedule of meetings in the Pittsburgh district for Comrade Herman J. Hahn of Buffalo has just been completed. Jan. 27, afternoon, B. N. P. J. Hall, Strabane (Washington County), Pa.; evening, 8 P. M., Moose Hall, Penn avenue, Pittsburgh. Jan. 28, afternoon, Arnold City, Pa. (Fayette County); evening, 8:15 P. M., Y. W. C. A., Wilkesburg, Pa. Jan. 29, evening, Theatre, Black Lick, Pa.

Under auspices of Indiana Socialists and the Young Peoples Socialist League of Burrell.

JOHNSTOWN—Wm. J. Van Esen of Pittsburgh, will address a mass meeting in the Strand Theatre, 517 Main street, Johnstown, Pa., at 2:30 P. M., Sunday, Jan. 24, on "Destroying the War and Poverty Curses of Mankind." Following the meeting, a Johnstown branch of the Socialist Party will be formed.

ALLEGHENY COUNTY—The second general membership meeting of Local Allegheny to discuss county organization and agenda for the National Convention will be held at 3 P. M., Sunday, Jan. 24, at the county headquarters, 615 Lyceum Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

California

LOS ANGELES Socialists started the New Year with a bang. The first week they held eight meetings and organized a new branch in the 15th Councilman District. Pasadena branch held a meeting with over 150 attending. Belvedere branch had sixty present. The 9th District Branch had an attendance of 80. The 8th District Branch met with 75 present. Lynwood Branch packed the school house. Three youth propaganda meetings were held in different parts of the city. South Gate Branch had an attendance of 120. One hundred and thirty were present at the first meeting of the 15th District at which Organizer Bill Busick spoke and 23 joined the party. This branch is in a fine working class neighborhood. Plans were made for the systematic distribution of literature. New members joined every branch.

A branch will be organized in the Sawtelle District. There will be 12 Socialist propaganda meetings in Los Angeles. Los Angeles will start at least one new branch each week, and sometimes more, so that by September Los Angeles will have increased from 22 branches to 100.

Washington, D. C.

The Socialist Study Club meets Saturdays at 7:45 P. M., at the Workmen's Circle School Auditorium, 660 Columbia road, N. W. (near Georgia avenue). The fees are \$2 for the course and 15 cents for a single lecture. The course in Socialism for the next few weeks is as follows: Schools of Thought: Jan. 23, "Marx and His Times," Marx Lewis; Jan. 30, "Analysis and Influence of His Doctrine," H. E. Chudleigh; Feb. 6, "Guild Socialism and Syndicalism," H. E. Chudleigh; Feb. 13, "Fabian Socialism," Robert Shostack.

Connecticut

NORWALK—Local officers are as follows: Town chairman, Arnold E. Freese; assistant town chairman, John Saxton; financial secretary, Fred W. Holmes; recording secretary, Horace Moore; librarian, Arthur Robinson. The following have been nominated as delegates to the national convention: Jasper McLevey, Walter E. Davis, Mrs. Ruth Baldwin and Arnold Freese. Business meetings are held each Thursday evening at Socialist headquarters, 60 Main street, Norwalk. The Socialist Sunday Forum meets at 3 P. M. each Sunday. Among the speakers have been: Rev. Eliot White, Joseph Gorman, Jessie Hughes, Rev. Merrill Clarke, Professor Walter Feck, Rev. Lloyd Worley, Leonard Bright, Jasper McLevey, James Riddle and Judge John Light.

Massachusetts

STATE OFFICE—The State Executive Committee calls upon all locals to form Unemployment Councils to secure backing for our bills in the House for unemployment insurance, raising the compulsory school age, lowering the age limit on old age pensions, and paying for these things through heavier taxes on unearned incomes, inheritances, and the proceeds from gambling on the stock exchange.

DELEGATES—A call for nominations for delegates to the national convention has gone to the branches. Those nominated will be voted on by a referendum vote by the party members. Nominations must be in by Feb. 15.

BOSTON—Boston Branch and Yipsel Circle meet every Friday at our new headquarters, 3 Joy street, and has an interesting program. There will be a special card party on Monday.

day, Jan. 25, to raise funds toward the expenses of the delegates to the National Convention.

The L. I. D. lecture course in Boston is being given at Tremont Temple every Tuesday. Tickets can be obtained through the Socialist Party at 3 Joy street.

ROXBURY—The Roxbury branch has elected new officials, and is running a study class every Sunday at 2 o'clock at 967 Tremont street.

NEW BEDFORD—Local New Bedford is arranging a special meeting at 2 o'clock Sunday, Jan. 24, at the Labor Temple, 746 Pleasant street.

LAWRENCE—Local Lawrence conducts a study class Thursdays at 112 Newbury street. They had a very successful meeting for Powers Hapgood.

CONNECTICUT RIVER VALLEY—Both the Springfield and Northampton locals are active in putting on the L. I. D. lecture course for the L. I. D.

Illinois

17TH CONGRESSIONAL DIST.—In 1931 we held 25 branch meetings, six mass meetings, 18 open air meetings and many committee meetings. The Verband also cooperated with alderman campaign meetings. Thousands of leaflets were distributed and pamphlets sold and 5,000 copies of The New Leader Hunger Edition were distributed. Ninety new members were admitted and money was contributed by members to a variety of causes.

6TH CONGRESSIONAL DIST.—Symposium on the Youth and Working Class. Representatives of the Y. P. S. L., Young Circle League and Poale Zion will lead the discussion. Meeting is on Wednesday, Jan. 27, at 8 P. M. at our center, 3036 W. Roosevelt road. All comrades and sympathizers are welcomed.

Maine

The Farmer Labor Party local in Portland has joined the Socialist Party in a body. The Farmer-Labor Party local in Thomaston is considering doing so, but is only kept out by the feeling that the party's attitude is not sufficiently friendly to Russia. Henry Moseley Dressler in Sanford has challenged ex-Governor Baxter to a debate on Socialism as Baxter has been going up and down the state denouncing the Reds.

LEWISTON-AUBURN—Lewiston-Auburn local has been very active, and the secretary, Donald Smith, a student at Bates College, has been threatened by the college authorities because of his Socialist activity.

New York State

State Secretary Merrill announces that a check up of the number of dues stamps sold last year shows an average paid-up membership 12 per cent larger than in 1930, and 84 per cent larger than in 1928. The increase for New York City was 9 per cent over 1930 and 87 per cent over 1928. Outside the city the increase was 34 per cent over 1930, and 64 per cent over 1928. Very few exempt stamps were used despite unemployment. The total number used was only 446, indicating that less than 20 members in the state on the average desired exemption.

BUFFALO—Local Buffalo has elected Robert A. Hoffman as delegate and Mrs. Elizabeth C. Roth as alternate to the National Convention. The local nominated the Rev. Herman J. Hahn for delegate-at-large. Harold R. Raitt was elected organizer; Robert A. Hoffman, secretary; Chas. H. Roth, financial secretary-treasurer; Mrs. Hazel V. Bowers, Herman J. Hahn, Julian H. Weiss, John H. Neeb, James Battistoni and Charles Smith, executive committee. Members of the Italian, Polish and Lackawanna branches participated.

JAMESTOWN—Rev. Herman J. Hahn of Buffalo, addressed a third meeting in Jamestown last week, this time to an overflow house, scores being turned away. Although Hahn has expressed himself unreservedly in praise of the planned economy of Soviet Russia, he has nevertheless been made the subject of vicious attacks by the Communists of Buffalo and elsewhere.

ITHACA—Local Tompkins County reports that the recent debate in which J. B. Matthews of New York locked horns with Colonel C. H. Lanza was a big success, and the local is planning further debates and lectures. The local indorses Norman Thomas for President and Daniel W. Hoan for Vice-President.

REMEMBER

THE NEW LEADER
Eighth Annual Dinner
MARCH 7, 1932

LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY

A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to protect the legal rights of the Unions and their members. 8 John Block, Attorney and Counsel, 225 N. W. York, Rooms 2700-10. New York. Board of Delegates meets at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street, New York City, on the last Saturday of each month at 8:00 P. M.

BUTCHERS' UNION—Local 234, A.M.O.B.W. of N.A. 1 East 15th Street. Phone 7-1000. Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Tuesday. Samuel Sussman, Isidore Leff, Business Agents; J. Belsky, Secretary.

BUTCHERS' UNION, Local 174, A.M.O.B.W. of N.A. Office and Headquarters: Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St., Room 12. Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Sunday at 10 A. M. Employment Bureau open every day at 6 A. M.

UNION DIRECTORY

BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS—TUCKERS, STITCHERS AND PLEATERS' UNION, Local 65, L.L.G.W.U., 7 East 15th St. Phone Algonquin 4-3657. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union. Z. L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattab, Manager; Morris Fishman, Secretary-Treasurer.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION, Local No. 9 Office and headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby Ave. Phone Slugg 2-4631. Office open daily except Saturday from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening. Charles Phelan, Fin. Sec'y; Frank F. Lutz, Treasurer; Arthur S. Bus, Agent; William Weinert, President; Al Bayezle, Vice-President; Milton Rowcroft, Rec., Corresponding Sec'y.

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

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

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL—INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS OF U. S. and C. 133 Second Ave. Phone Orchard 4-9260-1-2. The council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday. S. Herschkowitz, 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.

FUEB WORKERS' UNION OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, 9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunter's Point 6-0068. Morris Kaufman, Gen. Pres. and Sec.

FURRIERS' JOINT COUNCIL OF N. Y. LOCAL 101, 103, 110 and 115 of the INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS OF U. S. and C. 2 West 31st Street. Phone Penn. 6-7932. Meets every Tuesday at 8:00 P. M. B. Merkin, Manager.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers Union, Office and headquarters, 949 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn. Stage 2-6758. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, I. B. Hertzberg; Vice President, Sam Groll; Business Agent, B. Kalmikoff; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, H. Heib.

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

LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U. Office, 109 W. 38th St.; Phone Wis. 7-6011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at 8 P. M. 3rd Mondays. President, Maurice W. Jacobs, Pres.; Samuel Perlmuter, Mgr.; Sec.; Morris W. Jacobs, Chairman of Exec. Board; Philip Gretskey, Asst. Mgr.

LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, Local No. 1, I. L. G. W. U. Office, 3 West 16th Street, New York City. Phone Chelsea 3-5148. Benjamin Schlesinger, President; David Dubinsky, Secretary-Treasurer.

LAUNDRY WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION, No. 250, Office 62 E. 106th St. Phone Lehigh 4-2421. Meetings 2nd and 4th Mondays, 10 A. M. President, Walter Wolf; Manager and Financial Secretary, L. Heikelman; Record Secretary, J. Mackey.

LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA, New York Local No. 1, Offices, Amalgamated Bldg., 285 West 14th St.; Phone Watkins 8-7764. Regular meetings every second and fourth Tuesday at 8:00 P. M. in Hall, 19 St. Mark's Place. Albert E. Castro, President; Patrick J. Hanlon, Vice-President; Frank Schel, Fin. Secretary; Emil Thensen, Rec. Secretary; Joseph J. O'Connor, Treasurer.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, Downtown office, 640 Broadway, phone Spring 7-4546; uptown office, 20 West 37th Street, phone Wisconsin 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 P. M. Manager, N. Specter; Sec'y-Treas., Alex. Rose; Organizers, I. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodes.

MILK WAGON DRIVERS' UNION, Local 584, I. U. of T. Office: 259 W. 14th St., City. Local 534 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at Beethoven Hall, 210 East Fifth St. Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at Beethoven Hall, 210 E. Fifth St. Chas. Rofor, President and Business Agent; Max Lieber, Secretary-Treasurer.

SEE THAT YOUR MILK MAN WEARS OUR EMBLEM.

NECKWEAR CUTTERS' UNION, Local 658, A. P. of L. East 15th Street. Algonquin 7-678. Regular meetings second Wednesday of every Month at 163 West 23rd Street. Max Shack, President; A. Weltner, Vice-President; E. Meyer, Rec. Sec'y; J. Rosenzweig, Fin. Sec'y and Treas. Wm. R. Chisling, Business Agent.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11018, A. P. of L. 7 E. 15th St. Phone Algonquin 7082. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office Ed Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer.

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

BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS OF AMERICA, District Council No. 9, N. Y. C. Amalgamated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council. Meets every Thursday evening, Office 63 East 23rd St. Tel. 3R amercy 5-0508. C. A. Hoffman, sec'y; Robert Sembrat, Fin. Sec'y-Treas.; I. Letkowitz, President.

PAINTERS' UNION No. 261, Office, 63 E. 16th St. Tel. Lehigh 2143. Exec. Board meets every Tuesday at the office. Regular meetings every Friday at 210 E. 16th St. M. Galt, Fin. Sec'y - Treas. M. Greeninger, Recording Secretary.

PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD of Greater New York. Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Office: 31 W. 10th St., Tomkins Square 6406. Board meets every Tuesday evening at the office. All locals meet every Wednesday. Morris Blumenreich, Manager; Hyman Novoder, 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 21st Street, New York, Phone Gramercy 8-1023. Charles Kleinman, Chairman; Charles I. Goldman, Secretary - Treasurer; Philip Lubliner, Manager.

NEW YORK TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6, Offices and headquarters, 34 W. 16th St., N. Y. Meets every 3rd Sunday at 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. Fahy, J. J. Hambrick, John Sullivan, Organizers.

VEST MAKERS' UNION, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Peter Monat, Manager. Office, 31 West 15th Street; Phone, Tomkins Square 1400. Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.

WAITERS & WAITRESSES UNION Local 1, 61 East 25th St., Tel. Ashland 4-3162. Sam Turkel, Pres.; Louis Rubinfield, Sec'y-Treas. Regular meeting every 2nd and 4th Thursday at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th St.

WATERPROOF GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U., 3 W. 16th St. Phone, Madison Square 1934. Executive Board meets every Monday at 1 p. m. D. Gindgold, Manager; Saul Olesky, Secretary-Treasurer.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 62 of I. L. G. W. U., 3 W. 16th Street, New York City Telephone Chelsea 0756-5797. A Snyder, Manager. S. SHORE, Executive Supervisor

Men and Women Wanted

REQUIRING DENTAL
WORK, as Bridge Work,
Filling, Plates, Etc.

who cannot pay the regular
dental price should call

Friday, 9 A. M. to 6 P. M.
Saturday, 9 A. M. to 3 P. M.
Sunday, 9 A. M. to 2 P. M.

At the Office of

DR. J. LUNENFELD
80 D. Jancey St., N. Y. C.
Between Allen & Orchard Sts.

Prices Charged as at Clinics
Ex-Ray and Extractions FREE
When Necessary

When You Buy
Cloth Hats and Caps

Always
Look for
This Label

1834269



Barry Shows Right Can Be Wrong-at the Broadhurst

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

HOMO SAPIENS

"THE ANIMAL KINGDOM." By Philip Barry. At the Broadhurst. Philip Barry is a deft dealer in oh so decent personalities, the sort that are proving that God need not destroy the world. Even Delilah, the sweet wife who leads her husband the way of righteousness, away from artist friends to proper suburban associates, away from clubby butlers and Bad Bohemia, even she is a well-meaning party, justified within her limits. When she puts on her best party dress, and plays the soft seduction on hubby, who inconsiderately wants to go to a musician friend's debut, hubby sends a telegram instead. The woman in the audience who said "How subtle!" looked like most of her neighbors; and I suppose that so many there are subtle in ways along the path Cecelia leads her man, till he breaks from her clutches (alas, after he has dashes back to his Daisy Sage. (She is a daisy, and he is surely sold his publishing firm) and sage.)

Sparkle aplenty the play grants us; Philip Barry is increasingly deft in his dialogue, and always entertaining; while Leslie Howard (part producers with Gilbert Miller, as well as star) is only the most engaging of a charming cast. We all belong to the animal kingdom; and Philip Barry makes very pleasant the task of telling our friends from the apes.

THE PRODUCER SPEAKS

"HOW'S YOUR SECOND ACT?" By Arthur Hopkins (Samuel French, N. Y. \$1.50).

"How many plays have never been written because the authors witnessed a few Broadway successes, we shall never know? How many bad plays are written for the very same reason I am reminded by every mail." These words of a courageous producer's tirade against the theatre are as valid as when first spoken, in 1918. And more important. Because today it is clear something must be done to save the theatre—by those who deem it worth saving. Arthur Hopkins courageously shirks no blame; in the last analysis, as he sees, the quality of our theatre depends upon the men who select and produce the plays.

Hopkins, emphasizing that the theatre seeks mainly "thought that rises out of emotion," desires a complete subordination of all other aspects of the theatre (including "stars") to the play itself. This calls for understanding and confidence, for if any one "believes himself to be on thin ice he invariably steps down harder"; everything is

MUSIC

CARNEGIE HALL

Next Sunday Afternoon,

Jan. 24, at 3:00

YEHUDI

Menuhin

Mgt. Evans & Salter. (Mason & Hamlin)

PHILHARMONIC-SYMPHONY

BRUNO WALTER, Conductor

METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE

THIS AFTERNOON at 3:00

Soloist: PIATIGORSKY, 'Cellist

PROKOFIEFF — SCHUMANN

TCHAIKOVSKY

BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC

SUNDAY AFT., JAN. 31, at 3:15

Soloist: PIATIGORSKY, 'Cellist

BEETHOVEN—HAYDN—BRAHMS

ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgt. (Steinway Piano)

overstressed. Strain — and every theatrical device is a sign of straining for effect—"instantly distracts the audience from the effect to the effort." "An actor must say to himself, 'How can I do this without being noticed?' Instead of 'What can I do to make myself stand out?'"

The remarks on realism, too long to quote, probe to the heart of this mode in the theatre; the whole brief book is a gleaming gem, like a sparkling oasis in the desert of American thought for the theatre. And he ends with a good word about the dramatic critic, who also should eliminate his desire to shine, his sprightly wisecracks (clever at any one else's cost!)—for the service of the best in the theatre.

"Cain" Holds Over At the Cameo

"Cain," widely heralded film of the modern Robinson Crusoe, who ran away from civilization, continues for a second week at the Cameo Theatre.

This film was made entirely with natural backgrounds and there are no studio shots in the picture. Nine months were spent on the Island of Noisi-Be, on the coast of Madagascar, until Director Leon Poirer was satisfied that he made the finest film of his career. Thomy Bourdelle plays the leading role and Rama-Tahe, interprets Zouzour, a native "heart interest."

At the Booth Sunday

A unique entertainment, neither song nor dance nor pantomime but a combination of all three, will be presented by Mlle. Le Gal and Howard Blair at the Booth Theatre on Sunday evening, Jan. 24.

QUEENIE SMITH

in the New Musical Comedy hit

A LITTLE RACKETEER

"New musical is a happy mixture of mirth and music... has lightness and gaiety, rhythm and rhyme, beauty, color and grace and a terrific pace... is a welcome addition to the Times Square diversions."—American.

44TH ST. THEATRE, W. of B'way
Eves. 8:30
Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2:30

Mr. Papavert

A New American Version
by H. S. KRAFT
(based on a novel by George Froeschel)

VANDERBILT

Theatre, 48th St. East of B'way
Eves. at 8:10, Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40

EARL CARROLL VANITIES

9th Edition—All New—with
WILLIAM MITCHELL
MAHONEY DEMAREST & DURANT
Fifty Notable Principals and a
Company of 200 Featuring...

75 of the most beautiful girls in the world 75
Nights Entire Orch. \$3, Balc. 50c
Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40
Entire Orchestra \$2

SEATS FOR 8 WEEKS AT BOX OFFICE

EARL CARROLL Theatre, 7 Av.
at 42nd St.
Wed. & Sat. 2:40

not between 8c

would as represented

Soon to Open at the Cameo



A scene from "The Road to Life," first Russian talkie, which will have its American premiere at the Cameo next Thursday. It is said to be a strong drama of Russia's homeless waifs

Pauline Frederick Back on the Stage in "When Bough Breaks"

Arthur Lubin announces that "When the Bough Breaks," the new comedy by Jerome Sackheim, in which Pauline Frederick is starred, will open in New York on February 10. The name of the theatre will be announced later.

"When the Bough Breaks," in which Miss Frederick returns to the legitimate theatre after several years in Hollywood, is at present in rehearsal. In addition to Miss Frederick, the cast includes Malcolm Duncan, William Post, Dorothy Libaire, Carl Benton Reed and Maude Durand.

IMPERIAL Theatre, 45th St. W. of Broadway, Eves. 8:45
Mats. Wed. and Sat. at 2:45
ANOTHER SMASHING WYNN HIT!!

ED WYNN

(THE PERFECT FOOL) in

The LAUGH PARADE

with JEANNE AUBERT, LAWRENCE GRAY and others

"By far the best and still funniest entertainment in town."
—GARLAND, WORLD-TELEGRAM

MAX GORDON'S MUSICAL TRIUMPH

"THE CAT AND THE FIDDLE"

"The finest music Jerome Kern has ever written, which is the highest praise I can give a score."
—Robert Garland, World-Telegram

A Musical Love Story by
JEROME KERN and
OTTO HARBACH

GLOBE Theatre, B'way & 46 St.
Evenings at 8:30
Mats. Wed. and Sat.

APOLLO THEATRE, 42nd St. West of B'way.
Eves. 8:30; Mats. Wed. and Sat.

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"

Big Theatrical Names In Benefit Performance

Among the theatrical events scheduled for February is a benefit now being planned for the Social Service Fund, non-sectarian organization of Saranac Lake. A number of stage and screen stars have already pledged their services, including Ted Lewis, Sophie Tucker, Nan Halperin, Borrah Minevitch, Jack North, George Jessel, Eddie Cantor, Marion Harris and others. It is anticipated that the greatest all-star program ever to be presented will mark the occasion.

The committee in New York is headed by Wm. Morris, who has been interested in the activities at Saranac Lake for many years, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Nathan Krass, Alexander Lyons, Dr. S. E. Goldstein, Judge Mack, Col. Walter Scott and James Marshall.

Bill Robinson Brings Colored Revue to Albee

On Bill Robinson, he of the magic feet and infectious grin, will rest the vaudeville entertainment at the Albee Theatre, when the new bill opens today, Saturday. Contrary to the usual procedure, the vaudeville program will present in lieu of individual acts, a full-fledged colored revue, "Hot from Harlem," composed of a company of twenty-five with Bill Robinson as the star.

"COLLISION" IN REHEARSAL

Rehearsals of Lewis E. Gensler's production of "Collision," a comedy adapted by John Anderson from the German of Rudolph Lothar and Erno Sebesi and which Raymond Massey is directing, will start today with June Walker and Geoffrey Kerr in the featured roles.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents

REUNION in VIENNA

A comedy by ROBERT E. SHERWOOD

Martin Beck Theatre

45th St. and 8th Ave. PENN. 6-6100

Evenings 8:40

Matinees Thurs. and Sat., 2:40

THE THEATRE GUILD presents

EUGENE O'NEILL'S Trilogy

"MOURNING BECOMES ELECTRA"

Composed of 3 plays presented on 1 day

'Homecoming' 'The Haunted' 'The Hunted'

Commencing at 5:30 sharp

Dinner intermission of one hour at 7. No Matinees.

GUILD THEATRE, 52d Street, West of Broadway

SAM H. HARRIS presents

"OF THEE I SING"

A NEW MUSICAL COMEDY

Book by GEORGE S. KAUFMAN and MORRIS RYSKIND

Music by GEORGE GERSHWIN Lyrics by IRA GERSHWIN

William GAXTON . . . Lois MORAN . . . Victor MOORE

AND A SINGING ENSEMBLE OF 60 VOICES

MUSIC BOX THEA. W. 45th St. Evgs. at 8:30—3 Mats.

Next Week—Wed. Thurs. and Sat.

MOROSCO

THEATRE, 45th St. WEST of B'WAY

"An evocative and moving play... literary discriminating and fine... splendidly acted."—J. Brooks Atkinson, Times.

Philip Merivale in Cynara

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

BENN W. LEVY'S

The Devil Passes

"The interesting persons and insinuating circumstances of Mr. Levy's new play made sound entertainment, acted and manipulated keenly as they are by a discriminating cast at the Selwyn Theatre."

—Percy Hammond, Herald-Tribune.

Arthur Byron Basil Rathbone

Robert Loraine Mary Nash

Diana Wynard Cecilia Loftus

Ernest Thesiger Ernest Cossart

SELWYN West 42nd St.

Mats. Thurs. 8:15 to 8:30

Nights 8:30—Prices \$1 to \$3—Mats. 2:30

ERLANGER'S

Theatre, W. 44th St. PENN 6-7963

Matinees Wednesday & Saturday

Beginning WED. EVE., Jan. 27 at 8:30

MILTON ABOEN, Director, presents

THE SEASON'S

MOST LAVISH PRODUCTION

Reginald De Koven's

Eternally Favorite Romantic Opera

"ROBIN HOOD"

WITH AN ALL STAR CAST

THRIFT PRICES

Eves. 8:00 to 8:30. Wed. Mat. 5:00 to 5:30

Sat. Mat. 5:00 to 5:30

Next "Oh Promise Me" — "Brown October Ale" — "Tinkers Chorus"

More Than Jewels Stolen at the Booth

GO ON, THIEF!

"JEWEL ROBBERY." From the Hungarian of Laszlo Fodor by Bertram Bloch. At the Booth.

Basil Sydney sets all his verve as a gentleman robber against the spiced charm of Mary Ellis as the lady who succumbs to the romantic thief. It is easy to make a thief a hero these days; a few words about bankers who fleece the public, the remark that one thief is as good as another, and—if he's otherwise a decent fellow—the spectators are ready to accept him. Everybody recognizes that in a capitalist society, the very basis of wealth is holding for the individual values created by the group.

No one minds, then (she least of all), when flowers—probably stolen—are left by the jewel thief in Teri's room; and there is good entertainment in the various ways in which the woman and the robber grow closer together, until she aids him to escape, and plans a rendezvous. An ingenious, well-acted, to-be-enjoyed-and-forgotten trifle.—J. T. S.

"Lure of the Ring" and "Dance Team," Hip's Film Bets This Week—Larry Rich on the Stage

An exceptional stage and screen show is being presented at the Hippodrome this week of January enemy of the blues and his company of forty artists, to the eight act vaudeville bill while James Dunn and Sally Eilers, famous stars of "Bad Girl," are presented in their newest triumph "Dance Team."

"The Lure of the Ring" an authentic screen record of the famous battles of Jack Dempsey, Max Schmeling and Jack Sharkey is an added film feature, and is having its first New York showing at the Hip.

With Larry Rich and his forty entertainers we find Cheri, Miss Pert of Paris; Phil Rich, Tommy Long, Miss Tom Genaro, South America's newest dance sensation.

Miss Katz at Rand

School Lecture

On Friday, Jan. 29, at eight P. M., Adele T. Katz, musicologist, will lecture in the Rand School, 7 East 15th street. This is one of a series of eight lectures under the general title of "New Forms of Old Music." The main themes of each lecture will be interpreted at the piano by Mr. Kurz Weil.

Popular Team at the Fox Brooklyn



James Dunn and Sally Eilers as they appear in "Dance Team," which opens today at the Fox Theatre—Ruth Etting headlines the stage show

Seventh Week for "Zwei Menschen" at The Little Carnegie

At the Little Carnegie Playhouse, "Zwei Menschen" (Two Souls), the successful Austrian romance, continues for a seventh week. During the many weeks of its New York exhibition, reviewers and public alike have praised this film, adapted from the best-selling novel of the same name by Richard Voss, for its extraordinary photography, for the gripping simplicity of its story and for the exceptionally fine manner in which it has been produced.

The tale of the youth in whose life tradition comes into conflict with his love has been told in a technique as easy to understand as silent motion pictures. English titles have proved of great help to American audiences.

BROOKLYN

FOX BROOKLYN
Flatbush Ave. & Nevins St.

Ruth Etting

IN PERSON

—On the Screen—

James Dunn and Sally Eilers
in
"DANCE TEAM"

—Also on the Stage—
FANCHON & MARCO REVUE
BOB WEST — WILVE STAHL

ANOTHER BLAZING ROLE FOR THE STAR OF "MILLIE"

HELEN
TWELVETREES
in
"PANAMA FLO"
with
CHARLES
BICKFORD
ROBERT
ARMSTRONG

True heart-
story of the
girl from
"Sadie's
Place"

BILL ROBINSON

in
"HOT FROM HARLEM"
and RKO ACTS

RKO ALBEE

REMEMBER
THE NEW LEADER
Eighth Annual Dinner
MARCH 7, 1932
Make Reservations Now

In Macgown and Reed's Hit at the Bijou



Leslie Banks, supported by a fine cast, is responsible for some excellent fun in Benn Levy's "Springtime for Henry"

"Wild Waves" Due at The Times Sq. Feb. 1

Instead of opening next Monday as previously announced, "Wild Waves" will open at the Times Square Theatre on Monday, February 1. "Wild Waves" opened on Monday night in Philadelphia and was most favorably received. The cast includes Osgood Perkins, Betty Starbuck, Edith Van Cleve, Bruce MacFarlane and John Beal.

Second Big Week!

HE REBELLED AGAINST
SOCIETY AND TURNED
TO NATIVE LOVE

CAN
A MODERN
ROBINSON CRUSOE
Coming Thursday, Jan. 28th
THE SOVIET DRAMA
"THE ROAD TO LIFE"

RKO CAMEO
42nd St. and B'way

"One of the most arresting, compelling, dramatic film plots I've viewed in a few cinema seasons."

—Julia Shywell, Graphic

ERNEST LUBITSCH'S

GREATEST ACHIEVEMENT

"The MAN I KILLED"

A Paramount Picture with
LIONEL BARRYMORE
NANCY CARROLL
PHILLIPS HOLMES

Twice Daily — 2:45—8:45 P. M.

CRITERION

Broadway at 44th Street

7th BIG WEEK!

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 83c to 14c W. 57 St.

"Dance Team" on the Screen at Fox B'klyn; Ruth Etting, Fanchon And Marco on Stage

The bill at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre this week consisting of "Dance Team" on the screen and Ruth Etting on the stage as well as a new Fanchon & Marco show and the return of Bob West, should meet with the tastes of even the most discerning.

Ruth Etting, accompanied at the piano by Victor Breides, scores again with songs she has made famous including such popular numbers as "Shine on Harvest Moon" and "Ten Cents a Dance."

James Dunn and Sally Eilers, the stars of "Bad Girl," are re-teamed in "Dance Team." The film is a simple tale of two ambitious youngsters, who on a cash capital of a dollar and ten cents, start out to become Broadway's premier dancers. It realistically depicts their ups and downs, their winning of a dance contest and a silver cup at one place, their bodily eviction from another and their eventual success in Broadway's smartest night-club.

"Charlie Chan's Chance"

with WARNER OLAND

—and on the Stage—

"Beaux Arts"

with

Fred Waring

and the Roxy Theatre Syncoponic Orchestra

Morton Downey

IN PERSON

PATRICIA BOWMAN and ROXY Ballet

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CAPITOL

Broadway and 51st Street

Major Edward Bowes, Mgr. Dir.

Wallace Beery Jackie Cooper

"The Champ"

with

IRENE RICH — ROSCOE ATE

A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture

—On the Stage—

BENNY DAVIS and new Broadway stars

of Future, Yasha Bunchuk, Capitellans

—Friday, Jan. 20—

MARIE DRESSLER in "ENIMA"

Helen Twelvetrees' Latest at the Mayfair

Helen Twelvetrees' latest starring vehicle brings a maze of intrigue and stirring situations to the Mayfair Theatre, where "Panama Flo" is the feature attraction.

Providing Miss Twelvetrees with a fine emotional role, "Panama Flo" tells the story of a beautiful New York show girl who is stranded in a Panamanian "dive" by an unfaithful sweetheart. What happens thereafter leads to a climax which is bound to stir and delight motion picture audiences.

Among the others in the supporting cast are Paul Hurst, Maude Eburne, Reina Velez, sister of Lupe, and Marjorie Peterson. The production was directed by Ralph Murphy from the original story and screen play by Garrett Fort.

*** Really something new under the sun. —News

"UNION DEPOT"

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Party Branches and sympathetic organizations are requested when planning theatre parties to do so through the Theatrical Department of the NEW LEADER. Phone Aigun 4623 or write to Bernard Polman, Manager New Leader Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th St., New York.

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Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Bullets or Bread—The Backward Progressives—The Crisis in New York City—Labor's Duty—Newton D. Baker's Record

BULLETS OR BREAD?

EVERY Socialist local and every Socialist individual should enlist immediately in the war to make Congress pass a five hundred million dollar direct Federal relief bill followed by a five billion dollar bill for public works and housing. For millions of American workers this is the only alternative to starving, stealing, or rioting this winter. Every Socialist local and every Socialist individual should in this connection get from the New Leader or from the National office, 549 Randolph Street, Chicago, the shocking instructions from National Guard Headquarters in Illinois on the best way to kill hungry workers who may riot for bread. Even as shocking as the instructions themselves has been the profound silence of the newspapers, at least here in New York, on these instructions and the demands Clarence Senior and I presented to Congress for immediate action on Federal relief. We must be our own newspapers to circulate the truth about the richest country in the world in which Chicago is short 30 million dollars, Cleveland 9 million, and other cities proportionately even more in the minimum estimate of welfare workers for what is necessary for relief.

PROGRESSIVES FALL SHORT AGAIN

THE La Follette bills both for direct relief and public works now before the Senate are inadequate. The direct relief bill asks for only about half what is necessary as a beginning in this emergency. The public works bill, as Henry Rosner pointed out in last week's New Leader, is very unsatisfactory. It makes no real provision for an attack on the slums at all. Once more it is proved that labor and Socialists cannot depend on progressives for the kind of legislation they want.

THE SITUATION IN NEW YORK

EVEN the 250 million dollar relief bill will not pass without aggressive action by the workers. In every city Socialists should do all that lies in their power to encourage labor to become responsible for mass meetings and demonstrations. These mass meetings and demonstrations should be directed all over the United States to the securing of federal aid. In each state and city they should also have a program for state and city action. In New York City I have sent a letter to Governor Roosevelt based on careful work by our Research Secretary, Henry Rosner, pointing out that it is possible to save New York from the paralysis of relief into which a wasteful city administration, the dictatorial conduct of bankers, the unscientific nature of our real estate taxation and the general lack of confidence of investors in this time of depression has forced us. The way is to increase the state income tax by at least 100% over the increase demanded by Governor Roosevelt. This increase would make available 25 million dollars more revenue to New York City and 15 million dollars to upstate cities for purposes of relief. It would also so strengthen New York's borrowing power that it could save New York's program of public works which would give employment to 150,000 workers besides generally stimulating other enterprises by this additional purchasing power to the workers. All over the state workers should demand this legislation in terms that legislators would have to hear. Was there ever a better case for the need of powerful labor union and Socialist Party organization?

FOR UNION ACTION

I HEAR encouraging rumors of action by the A. F. of L. in Washington but I hear not even rumors that Tammany's little brother, the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York, is going to act. After all, it's only rank and file workers, not the bosses of the Central organization who are very hungry. If this is unjust no one would be happier than I to have the Central Trades and Labor Council prove it by taking up this issue of federal and state relief. That body could organize a demonstration that everybody from Walker to Hoover would have to listen to. If the Central body won't act or confines its action merely to paper resolutions it is still possible for individual unions to help in a monster demonstration.

Socialists of Phila. Act On Party Policies

Membership Meeting Draws Up Proposals For National Convention

By A. J. BIEMILLER

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Philadelphia Socialists affirmed their belief in the working class basis of the Socialist movement at a special membership meeting, Jan. 19th called to pass recommendations to the National Convention. It was the largest and liveliest membership meeting since the City Convention last July.

A motion introduced by Biondillio calling on the National Convention to reintroduce a statement of the existence of the class struggle in the membership blank of the Party was passed unanimously.

A resolution introduced by David Felix urged the National Convention "to adopt as a national policy a rule forbidding the nomination for public office of any party member who is an exploiter of labor for private profit," was adopted by a vote of 35 to 23.

Bilder and Rosen led the opposition and Colton, Felix and Biemiller, the fight for the motion. Biemiller cited recent occurrences in Allentown and Paterson, which made the rule desirable.

On the trade union question the following resolution, introduced by Sam Bakely was adopted unanimously:

"Whereas: Socialist Party members who are also officials of trade unions are in a very important position as to the reputation and standing of the party and its developments within the ranks of organized labor; and Whereas the Socialist Party has been definitely harmed by the actions of some of these members, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that Local Philadelphia calls on the National Convention of the Socialist Party of America to adopt a by-law by which we will use disciplinary methods if and when necessary that Socialists in labor unions shall act as becomes Socialists. We do not seek to control them as unionists, but we do have a right and a duty to see that Socialists as Socialists do not intrigue with gangsters to keep power in unions or give direct or indirect, open or secret support to old party politicians."

Another resolution by Bakely calling for the creation of a special labor department of the Party to aid and assist in and initiate organizing campaigns and to create strike relief machinery, was referred to a special committee of Leithgow, Rosen, Biondillio, Daniel, Bakely, and Biemiller for consideration. The County Central Committee was authorized to make final disposition of the Committee's report.

A resolution introduced

Hawes asking that a special national committee to work among the Negroes be created, that Party members be instructed to work against racial discrimination in their unions, and that party organs carry news of interest to Negroes, was unanimously passed.

On war, a resolution introduced by Biemiller was passed unanimously. It reads:

"Whereas, the present world situation is one in which there is obvious danger of capitalist war in the near future, and, whereas the working-classes of all countries have nothing to gain from war, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that Local Philadelphia calls on the National Convention to reaffirm the Party's historic stand of opposition to all capitalist wars, AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Party instruct its representatives to vote against all appropriations for war preparations of any sort, AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the National Executive Committee prepare plans for agitation for a general strike against war in the event of the threat of war."

Two resolutions were defeated. Bernard Levinson introduced a resolution using the party to send fraternal greetings to the government of the U. S. S. R. and to urge that government to cease political oppression, as contrary to the spirit of Socialism. The motion was defeated 34 to 21. Colton and Levinson fought for the motion, and the opposition was led by Bilder.



NORMAN THOMAS

HELPING THE BANKS

THE principle of relieving business directly by a reconstruction finance corporation and ignoring unemployed workers is characteristic of the Hoover administration. I am seeking for a chance to tell the Senate that if and when the Federal government has to save private business by lending it money the Federal government ought to acquire a voice in running this private business. Such a voice would, of course, not be the degree of socialization we Socialists want, but it would assert the principle and give to representatives of the nation some inside information and some inside voice on the conduct of the kind of business which demands that government keep hands off when it is prosperous and then help it when it is in trouble. I also will seek opportunity to urge not only greater appropriations for housing in any public works bill but a better division of aid between productive and non-productive enterprises. Among the former I would count aid to the electrification of farms by public agencies, NOT by the power of trust.

THE DEMOCRATIC HOPEFULS: NEWTON BAKER

AS Democratic politics shape up it is more and more amazing that there is no leading candidate for the nomination in the year of capitalist collapse anything like as radical as Bryan was in 1896. Even Walter Lippmann was able to see through and analyze Roosevelt's claim to liberalism. As for Newton D. Baker, whose star seems to be rising, I can see how liberals may admire his brain and share his loyalty to the League of Nations, but I cannot see how even liberals think Baker is a liberal. His fine Italian hand in Cleveland municipal politics is said to have been largely responsible for the defeat of the old Tom Johnson radical, Peter Witt, for the Mayoralty nomination in favor of a commonplace Democratic politician and prosecutor.

There's no accounting for liberal taste, but labor ought to know that a vote for Newton D. Baker is an endorsement of the war and peace record of the Wilson administration; that Baker himself toward the end of that administration endorsed universal military training and service; that he arbitrarily and vindictively kept some conscientious objectors in jail until long after they had been freed in Britain, releasing them slowly, one by one; that he denied after the armistice that conscientious objectors were manacled 8 hours a day in standing position in the black dungeons of Fort Leavenworth although he later issued an order ending the practice; that following his return to private life not only did he become one of the country's highest paid corporation attorneys but that also he was president of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce and became a conspicuous advocate of the open shop. Even people who hope to be saved by a Messiah instead of by a party of workers with hand and brain ought to have some trouble in finding a Messiah in the list of Democratic candidates.

WAR AND THE GENERAL STRIKE

SECRETARY STIMSON is a better man than "Hell and Maria" Dawes for the American delegation to the Geneva Disarmament Conference. At best there is little enough to hope from the conference, from the American administration, or from the American delegation save as the pressure of working class opinion in all countries may force upon reluctant statesmen some constructive action. In Europe where labor organizations are stronger than here and far more dominated by Socialist ideals I believe that it is possible and indeed essential that deliberate effort be made to lay the groundwork for a general strike in the event of war. Even in America it is well to agitate for the idea and to urge the kind of organization that would make it effective. Even partial strikes or threats of strikes have helped block wars. They have been endorsed in principle by Socialist and labor bodies. A general strike against war is more preferable and easier to organize than such a general strike as was tried in Great Britain. It is not at all on such a footing as the Mooney-Billings general strike once proposed by the I. W. W. It would produce a far more direct and immediate effect upon government. It would tend immediately to paralyze effective military preparation, and by proper educational work it could be made clear to the workers that a strike against war while no picnic party would involve less suffering for them than enforced participation under conscription in war.

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