

NEW LEADER

*With Which
Is Combined*

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

*Founded by
Eugene V. Debs*

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KARL MARX 1818-1883



*Drawn for
The Marx Memorial Issue
of The New Leader
by David Atkins.*

A HALF-CENTURY after the interment of Karl Marx in Highgate Cemetery the capitalist system of production is involved in one of its inevitable periodical crises. The man who was called the "Aristotle of the Nineteenth Century" had studied the economic history of England and Europe. He had mastered the writings of the economists and the philosophers and took up the task of a scientific analysis of the capitalistic epoch.

As a result of his labors he bared the inner laws of capitalism. The system was merely one phase of

universal history, a phase that, like other social systems, must in time give way to its successor. Each epoch had generated a new class or classes that eventually ascended to power and put an end to it. Capitalism would be no exception to this universal economic law.

Marx bared the accumulating economic trends and contradictions that brought periodical crises, forecasting a general collapse of the system, and pointing out that capitalism created the class, the proletariat, that is destined to turn against it and destroy it because this class could not satisfy its

wants and its interests within the capitalist order.

Today the pallor of death creeps over capitalist civilization while the world's enlightened proletariat pays its tribute of affection to the memory of the man who served it so well. There may be frightful struggles and sacrifices ahead before we master the anarch forces inherent in the dying system, but when the Socialist order of human emancipation, industrial democracy and social equity is realized, Karl Marx, in all the eras thereafter, will tower above all the philosophers of history and will be remembered as the world's Great Emancipator.

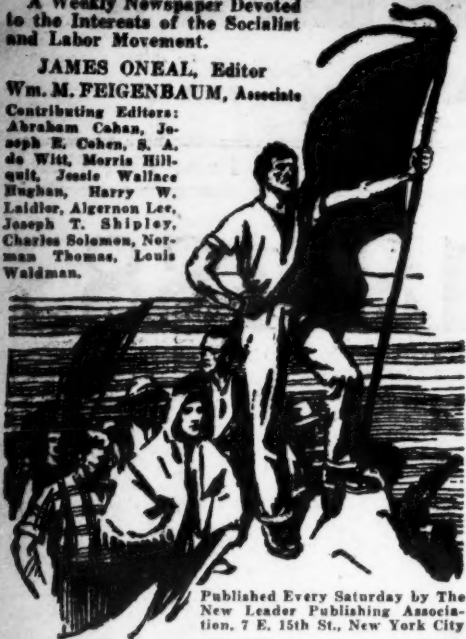
NEW LEADER

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

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SATURDAY, MARCH 11, 1933

An Appalling Emergency

NEVER has a ruling class been so thoroughly deflated as the American banking class is today. It was only yesterday that they were sources of wisdom and dictators to industries, city governments and the wage standards of the workers. Pompous and insolent, conscious of vast power yesterday, today they are huddled usurers slinking in the shadows with no one to do them feudal homage. Their gilded structure went to pieces after a career of power and practices bordering on swindle. They should never be permitted again to have the power they once had. Whatever is done at Washington, the ultimate aim should be to nationalize banking and forever end the class control of the money system.

The present Congressional session is probably the most important of any since the eve of the Civil War. It faces the necessity of providing a billion dollars for the Federal Treasury by next Wednesday if the government's credit is not to be impaired. The printing of scrip has been held up until March 10th because no agreement has been reached to maintain parity in the scrip of the various states. Aside from this temporary expedient, a general plan of recovering financial stabilization is the big job before the statesmen, and as this is written no fundamental program has been announced. The best brains of the capitalist and financial world have been concentrated on the problem this week.

Meantime, Senator Dill is in charge of a measure which would raise the limit of postal savings deposits from \$2,500 to \$5,000 and also permit postal savings depositors checking privileges. A Norris amendment would extend the usefulness of the system by vesting postmasters in small towns where postal savings cannot be safely kept to issue legal tender checks against deposits held elsewhere. These proposals are in the right direction, as they would make the postal savings system the popular banking agency of millions of people with small incomes.

Whatever program may be adopted, the working masses must be alert as it unfolds in Congress. The workers and farmers have been degraded to a low level and they can stand no lower descent into the abyss. If currency inflation follows Congressional action, with an increase in commodity prices, wages should be increased in the same proportion. Deposits in the banks up to \$5,000 should be guaranteed by the Federal Government. There should also be a more rigid supervision and control of the banks. This action would assure millions of small depositors who are possessed with fear as to the future of their savings.

If there is any "liquidation" it should be at the expense of the capitalistic and financial masters whose measureless greed and chicanery have contributed to the present disaster. Moreover, any program for recovery must take into account the need of increasing the buying power of the masses. There are plenty of foodstuffs and materials but little purchasing power. The demand for these things is enormous but the buying power is at low ebb. Capitalism takes no account of what the masses may need but of what they can buy, and if they cannot buy they are compelled to do without the things that exist in superabundance.

The need of relief is also more pressing than ever and it cannot be neglected. The next few weeks present an appalling emergency situation, and the masses should be on guard to protect their interests and to speak sternly against any injustice.

The World We Live In

A Socialist View of the Week

BREAD

By William Allen Ward

OUT of the ground I grow. . . . Covering the fields with the golden grain. . . .

The millionaire cornered the market and children went hungry because they could not have me. . . . But millionaires die and are buried. . . . The worms are my friend. . . . They make dirt out of them. I grow better in fertilized soil. . . .

dependent upon these groups and the only concern of the latter is profitable gains from their holdings. If the profits and dividends cannot be obtained the useful labor of the wage workers and the useful products of the farmers become a drug in the market.

The capitalist class cannot effect the sale of commodities which workers are willing to produce; therefore, the workers cannot produce what they are willing to consume. So there is a deadlock between the owners of the means of production and the workers who need access to them. This paralysis in the basic economic foundation of society spreads like a poison through all other phases of economic life, through commerce, exchange, banking and agriculture. Give us "honest" bankers and that poison will continue to seep into every niche of the capitalist structure and bring about a stoppage.

Why is this not recognized? Because its frank recognition would lead to the logical conclusion that the whole system of capitalistic economy is no longer workable. That admission would ring the death knell of capitalism, require the elimination of the bankers and owners of industry, and make necessary the nationalization of industry and the banks. This would break the fetters in which production and distribution are bound, open the gates of employment, and the masses, no longer subject to the will of a profiteering class, would be masters of the industrial powers that run wild and then plunge into the ditch. This is the Socialist answer to the problems presented by the depression.

Socialists must keep their heads in these trying times, stand by their program and philosophy, maintain discipline, go to the masses with a fervor and earnestness never before displayed, and be prepared to act intelligently in any emergency. Important responsibilities may come to us in various localities because of stupid officials lacking knowledge of what to do. Our philosophy is our guide; let us not forget it in any crisis.

The "Progressives" In a Smoky Role

THE progressives at Washington will organize a biparty strictly nonpartisan political organization and set up a national committee representative of each state. There is also a seven-point program that is as substantial as cigarette smoke.

This program proposes to (1) to "promote progressive government at Washington"; (2) to obtain cooperation of the progressives in the two houses and throughout the country; (3) to work out a program for the new Congress; (4) to "keep the progressive philosophy of government and its objectives before the country"; (5) to encourage the election of progressives; (6) to provide the rank and file with an alternative to the two leading parties; to (7) cooperate with the "incoming and any future administration" for progressive purposes.

That's all. Can any reader possibly place his finger on any one definite proposal in this "program" that even hints at some method of grappling with the greatest disaster in the history of the world? We have not expected anything more enlightening and yet there are many thousands of people who look to this source for guidance. Its only contribution to politics has been confusion and to give a few politicians jobs. What is the "progressive philosophy"? Has any "progressive" ever defined it and do they

define it in the seven-point program? Certainly not. Even Hoover could accept the vague language of this program because it says nothing and may mean anything.

The Comintern Answer To the L. and S. I.

IS the old barren policy of the Communist International of dividing the working class of all countries into two warring camps before the exploiters and reaction being abandoned? We hope so. This week brings news from Moscow of a response to an appeal of the Labor and Socialist International for a concert of action. It appears that a manifesto was adopted by the Communist International in Moscow on January 22 but it was not published till Monday of this week. Or was it adopted after the German elections and dated January 22? We do not know. Signed by the executive, the Communist parties throughout the world are instructed to arrange a joint program of action with the Labor and Socialist International.

Why was the document not sent out on January 22? Hitler was not in power then and it was possible for some combination of Socialists, Communists and Centrists to form a majority government even if it took only the form of Communist toleration to erect a barrier to the reaction of the extreme Right. Such unity of action at that time would also have prevented the raid in Prussia where the Communists and Hitlerites acted together in opposition to the Braun-Severing government. Because of the Communist policy in that state the Hitlerites ascended to power and the reaction set in.

In the meantime the danger increased throughout Germany as a whole in the recent electoral contest and it was obvious that the Left parties should act in concert. Hitler was attacking not only the Left but the Catholic Center. Issue after issue of the opposition press was being suppressed, Hitler monopolized the radio, and ill-disguised coercion showed that he had put the whole opposition parties in the same sack. Socialists appealed for united action with the Communists but this was refused by their leaders.

Now that the Socialists have practically held their own and a million and a quarter Communist votes have disappeared the Communist International's acceptance of united action is made public. The anti-Communist terror is on in Germany, Hitler's recent anti-Soviet speech indicates that German cooperation with Soviet Russia is probably at an end and the Russian masses will face more hardships. To be sure, Poland is a buffer state between Germany and Russia and Poland distrusts a nationalist Germany. On the other hand, a bargain may be possible between Hitler and Pilsudski by which Poland will release German territory in return for Hitler's aid for a big slice of Russia.

However regrettable all this may be, let us hope that this acceptance is genuine and that it will lead to fruitful cooperation. Within a week or two we should get some word from the executive of the L. S. I. The gaping wounds in the post-war years should be healed and any promising program of genuine cooperation against the black reaction that is rising in many countries will be welcomed by Socialists and class conscious workers everywhere.

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

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By James Oneal

One of Marx's Great Contributions

The Materialistic Conception of History Is Not Limited to a Mere Economic Interpretation—Marx's Great Contribution to an Understanding of Society.

ONE of the greatest contributions of Karl Marx to the understanding of human society is the materialistic conception of history which, in the hands of the professors, has been limited to the economic interpretation. This modification in turn has been vulgarized by some critics into what they call the "economic man." The latter ascribes to Marx the view that human beings always act in accord with their economic interests. If this were Marx's view, then a child could refute it. Millions of the working class whose economic interests are in conflict with the maintenance of capitalism support capitalism.

That the economic structure is the primary basis of society few will doubt today, but even back of it is the physical environment in which that structure has its setting. Soil, climate, rainfall, vegetation and water courses determine what type of economic activities are permissible to society. The stony soil of New England and its bleak winters made it impossible for any great development of agriculture in that region. On the other hand, being contiguous to the Atlantic Ocean, it was certain that commerce and fisheries would play an important part in New England history. Its ample streams for driving machinery and lack of any pronounced agricultural incentives also made it certain that its physical environment would be favorable to capitalistic production.

The physical environment of the Rocky Mountain states, on the other hand, prohibited the development of a commercial and mercantile class as well as the development of fisheries. Its ore deposits were certain to foster the extractive industries of mining to provide raw materials for capitalistic industry. That the topography of the Mississippi Valley determined that this region would be largely devoted to agriculture is also obvious to all.

The Basis of Society

Now it is the "sum total" of the physical and economic factors, as Marx expressed it, that constitute the basis of society and which have a profound influence on its whole superstructure, including the governing forms, the politics, political parties and ideas, moral and even religious concepts, the economic antagonisms, class struggles, etc. It is precisely because "economic determinism" does not include the physical factors that Socialists object to the phrase.

How powerful the whole material environment is in influencing the conduct and shaping the ideas of human beings may be illustrated by chattel slavery in the Old South. That the physical environment in that region was favorable to the development of large plantations worked by slaves is a commonplace of American economic history. Out of it came a ruling class of landed magnates who loved to imitate the culture of the old English landed squirearchy. No other ruling class in history so absolutely dominated as the planter class in the last twenty years of its rule.

The church of all denominations, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish, excepting a tiny handful of Quakers, in the last twenty years of the old regime accepted the ideas of the ruling class regarding slavery. Some churches even owned slaves and thought no more of it than a modern church does of hiring a janitor. The economic interests of the planter class was interpreted in terms of religious piety and property in slaves came to have a religious sanction.

Slavery

In the North, where slavery had disappeared and a capitalist class was acquiring mastery, the

churches were adopting anti-slavery views, while in the border regions between capitalism and slavery the churches were about evenly divided. In the South the preachers were hurling Bible texts at the North, and in the North the preachers were hurling other Bible texts at the South. In both sections it was the subtle coercion of the major property interests that were behind the respective ideas. The northern agitation, of course, was supplemented by a humanitarian revolt against the harsher aspects of slavery, but when the southern apologists replied by pointing to the exploitation of women and children in New England industries, the Northerner

usually denied that the indictment was sound.

All this does not imply that millions of human beings do not

More Marx Articles

MUCH of the memorial material on the life and work of Karl Marx has been crowded from this issue of The New Leader for lack of room. More will appear in forthcoming issues.

By William M. Feigenbaum

German Socialists Hold Ranks

The Party of Marx and Lassalle Stands Solid as a Rock in Face of Nazi Terror—A Pyrrhic "Victory" for Hitler.

GERMAN Social Democracy stands solid as a granite rock. The storms of Hitlerism beat about it; the lightning and thunders of passions and hatred crash; crazed youths march with guns and threaten its members with torture and death, and still the old party is there.

German Social Democracy stands the rear by the madness and treachery of those who would sooner see the triumph of reaction and the blood lust of Fascism than and savage repression; struck in

Lessons From the History of Our Own Country—Even Theology Has Been Affected by Material Factors.

Reformation which had an important underlying economic content. Filtered through the succeeding centuries, brought to the American colonies, evolving in accord with changing civilization (Continued on Page Sixteen)

any but themselves, still the German Social Democracy is intact.

Hitler won—but what a victory! Like Pyrrhus he can exclaim: One more such "victory," and I am lost!

The madman Hitler did not win his majority despite his four weeks of unparalleled terror. He will be unable to govern under the constitution except in partnership with the Hugenberg reactionaries; or unless he goes to the extreme length of outlawing the votes of many millions. And in his unholy alliance with Hugenberg and his brutal pre-war German capitalism, millions of his deluded followers who followed him because of the vague promises of his bastard "Socialism," will be disillusioned and desert him, leaving him to his capitalist and Junker allies; which was the idea in the first place of the big industrialists who backed him from the moment his movement became menacing.

Hitler won his "victory," but several facts stand out like beacon lights on the tops of high mountains:

1. Despite terror, despite the most savage brutality ever known in Germany, despite the most outrageous gagging of the voices of the masses, despite the most spectacular theatricalism in whipping up a mass hysteria, HITLER DID NOT WIN THE MAJORITY HE CRAVED.

2. Despite his arrogant boasts that he was bringing in a New Deal passionately desired by all the people of Germany, 21,926,400 Germans cast their ballots AGAINST Hitler and all his works, including, of course, his Nationalist allies, who detest him. Counting them in, 15,695,000 voted against the Hitler-Hugenberg-von Papen reaction.

3. Despite the iron control of his vast, privately owned press, his radio and his movies by the arch-reactionary Hugenberg, the vote of that strange political bed-fellow of Hitler gained a mere 45,074 votes.

4. Despite the reign of terror against the Socialists, the suppression of their press, the arrest of their leaders, the lying propaganda against them by Hitler, the complete and absolute shut-down of their propaganda, the suppression of their organizations, THE SOCIALIST VOTE HELD ALMOST STABLE, THE PARTY LOSING ONLY 129,904.

5. The Communists, waging their unrelenting war against the Socialists to the very end on the ground that the Socialists were "misleaders," have lost over 1,232,333 votes—MOST OF WHICH APPEARS TO BE IN THE NAZI TIDE. Some leaders ran away, leaving the masses, whom they had led to expect an early revolution, leaderless and confused.

As to the Hitler "victory"—the dear fellow is welcome to whatever (Continued on Page Sixteen)

By Herman Kobbé

The Role Played in the Crisis By the German Communists

THE following remarkable article is by Herman Kobbé, well-known American Socialist, who has lived for the past two years in Europe. Kobbé, whose articles on European Socialist conditions in The New Leader are based on intimate first-hand information, is a trained observer as well as a Socialist veteran of many years' standing. The article here presented bears out in every detail statements made by The New Leader from time to time since the German crisis began. It was, of course, written before the election.

OBERBAMBACH, Germany.

IT would be presumptuous to try to tell such a well-informed paper as The New Leader what is happening in the political coultron of Germany, especially as the news would only reach the paper two weeks late. But perhaps it may be instructive to American Socialists to know what role the Communist Party has been playing in the great drama of the class struggle.

In no other country has the leadership of the Communist Party been so loyal to the orders of Moscow as in Germany. For over a decade they have been receiving large subsidies from their Russian chiefs, and obediently following their every wish down to the smallest detail. They have not (up to this date) succeeded in bringing about a dictatorship of the proletariat, with workers' and soldiers' councils, but they have succeeded in dividing the organized working class almost evenly in two warring factions.

Their main war-cry has consistently been "Down with Social Democracy" on the political field, and "Down with the Labor Unions" on the industrial field. Every

number of every Communist publication teems with bitter and scurrilous attacks on the Socialist leaders, the union leaders, and even the Jimmy Higginses of our movement. This continuous barrage has succeeded in puzzling and fooling half the working people in Germany; though we should note it has had no effect to speak of on the members of the Social Democratic Party themselves. Only some of their outside sympathizers have been misled by it.

Now, with Hitler in power, at the head of a Fascist movement that threatens to put an end to the Republic and to wipe out the whole labor and Socialist movement at one blow, the rank and file workers in both the proletarian parties are beginning to realize the urgent need of unity. With the election only a few weeks off, they are trying to form a united front.

But the Communist leaders are still keeping up a barrage of slander and vilification against the S.P.D. and its standard-bearers. The Hitler government is shutting down on Communist papers, closing their headquarters, and forbidding all meetings, even funeral processions. And yet in spite of these repressive measures, directed at the very life of their party, the Communist leaders put their energy solely into vicious attacks on the Socialists. Could men sink lower in unreasoning hatred and folly?

How can this thing be rationally explained? Only in one way: by placing themselves in the pay of Moscow, and under the orders of the Kremlin, the Communist leaders in Germany have signed away their own power of reason, their independence of judgment, their ability to think. They themselves may escape the consequences of their insanity, but the price paid by the working millions will be a heavy one.

The leaders responsible for the impending debacle may save their

The L. S. I. on the United Front

(By Cable to The New Leader)

ZURICH.—Our administrative committee published yesterday a declaration of 540 words concerning the Moscow "United Front" offer, which was a reply to our Manifesto of February 19th [printed in last week's New Leader]. Moscow's appeal will be considered at the next meeting of the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International. Affiliated parties are asked to refrain from definite action until then.

(Signed)

Adler, for the Secretariat, Labor and Socialist International.

skins and go to Russia or France to live [this has already begun. Ed.]; but the workers will pay, and the price may well include the existence of the S.P.D., the existence of the Communist Party, the existence of the labor unions and of the consumers' co-operatives, the freedom of the press, and the right to hold a public meeting.

The Communist wise men in the Kremlin may have just brains enough to be able to keep the iron heel of the party dictatorship on the necks of the helpless Russian people. But they haven't got enough brains to know that they can't make a world revolution by sending out orders from Moscow, even when the orders are backed up by good gold rubles. The ruthless suppression of the Socialists in Russia serves to keep the Communist dictatorship in power.

The ruthless campaign of abuse against the Socialists in all other countries has thus far only resulted in delivering the working class over to the capitalist class and their Fascist and militarist allies.

By Karl Kautsky

Karl Marx and His Disciples

The Greatest Socialist Scholar of Today Tells a Fascinating Story of the Close Associates of the Founder of Scientific Socialism.

(Translated for The New Leader by S. Kaminski)

MARXISM is superior to all Socialist systems that preceded it. The mighty personality presented by the youthful Marx early impressed all Democrats and Socialists with whom he came into contact. And yet it took a long time before Marxism became dominant in the labor movement.

At the end of 1847 they had been already synthesized and classically formulated in the Communist Manifesto, but this happened too immediately before the outbreak of the revolution to have had during its course any influence upon the proletarian movement. The collapse of the revolution made an end to the labor movement for a decade. When it came to life again it found itself to a considerable degree under the spiritual influence of bourgeois radicalism, as in England, or still under the influence of Proudhon on the one hand or Blanqui on the other, as in France.

In the International that came into existence in 1864 Marx's dominating personality became its leading personality, and this through his spiritual superiority rather than through the adaptation of his way of thinking.

In Germany at the beginning of 1862, when the labor movement emerged again, two friends of Marx, Ferdinand Lassalle and Wilhelm Liebknecht, were dominant. Both of them were Socialists even before they were acquainted with Marx. Due to contact with him they learned a lot, but not in a

way as to change their way of thinking into Marxian channels and thus to give their Socialist conception a new and systematic development, but they enriched their Socialist thinking by adding to it the numerous results of Marx's and Engels' researches. They preferred, however, to stick to their previous way of thinking. The results obtained by Marx they enriched by those of Weitling, Blanqui, Rodbertus and others, but they did not use for this purpose any uniform method.

Marx on Lassalle

From the exchange of letters between Marx and Engels it can easily be seen how the former disapproved of the teachings of his disciples, especially of Lassalle who in his agitation was not inclined to present clearly to the German proletariat the Marxian point of view.

In sharp contrast to Lassalle was Wilhelm Liebknecht. At the time that Lassalle began his agitation Liebknecht returned to Germany from his 12 years' London

exile after the collapse of the revolution. Now his Fatherland was again open to him, due to the amnesty granted by Wilhelm I.

Liebknecht did not disapprove of Lassalle's agitation for political reasons but rather on theoretical grounds. This disapproval was caused to a considerable degree by regional differences, as Lassalle came from Breslau, Silesia, while Liebknecht was from Hesse in Western Germany, where the democratic influences of neighboring France were strong. The sphere of Liebknecht's activity after his return from exile was in Saxony.

Whereas Lassalle had confidence in Bismarck, Liebknecht would not conciliate himself with the Iron Chancellor, and he hated him and all his works. He was enthusiastic about "freedom in Austria" but his sympathy could not be won for the North German Reichstag based upon universal suffrage. Marx and Engels thought more calmly and therefore saw more clearly the situation created by Bismarck since

Kautsky, the Sole Survivor of the Circle of Marx's Intimates, Writes of Marx's Early Followers.

1867 and took it as a *fait accompli*.

May 31, 1869 Liebknecht delivered in Berlin a lecture in which he claimed that the German democracy must oppose and fight the North German Bund. Liebknecht was not against participation in the Reichstag elections, but was in favor of the elected representatives walking out in protest from the Reichstag, through which the people can achieve nothing, because "Socialism is no more a question of theory but a question of power, and as other questions of power it cannot be solved in any parliament but on the street, on the battlefield."

Liebknecht on Bismarck

Speaking about Bismarck and the universal suffrage he granted he contended that it is impossible to negotiate with adversaries and in

(Continued on Page Six)

By Jacob Panken

Marx Dead Fifty Years, Still Thrillingly Alive

KARL MARX was less than 65 years old when he died a half century ago. In less than 45 years he had revolutionized economics. He raised sociology and social economics to a science.

He was tried for high treason, expelled from his homeland, persecuted in France, and expelled from that so-called "free country," he found a haven in London. While in England he was constantly under great financial straits; compelled to live a life of penury. He was confined to just a few rooms with a large family; almost all of the time his children were sick, and sorely needed funds were absent. In a life of turmoil he found time to devote himself to scientific research.

In 1864 the First International was founded in London. Marx was its soul and spirit. All of its public pronouncements were prepared by him. He was its sponsor, its leader, its mentor, and at the same time its interpreter. The activities of the First International were outlined by him, and yet were acceptable even to the uninitiated, to the backward groups in the labor movement.

The First International

The struggle which developed in the International between Marx and Mikhail Bakunin clarifies Marx's position. He thought that the class character of society and its political institutions do not keep in step with the forces of economic change, and as a result may require a revolution. He had an abiding confidence in the capacity of the working class. It was his view that the proletariat, properly organized, would develop a capacity to rid itself of the masters and organize the forces of production, of economic and social life on a basis of a classless society.

The state to him meant the exercise of power in the interests of a ruling class, so that its interests may be enforced upon society. But such a state and such a society would necessarily bring into being an opposing class. A social system based upon the private ownership of the means of production and distribution results in a class society and gives rise to a state based upon class interest. Thus, capitalist society divides itself into two

His Ideas Laid the Groundwork for the Great Movement of Emancipation—He Had Faith in the Proletariat.

classes—the proletariat, which depends solely upon wages for its means of life, and the capitalist class, which depends upon rent, interest and profit as the basis for its existence and control.

Marx Had Confidence

Marx had confidence in the capacity of the proletariat. Because of the very conditions under which the proletariat lives its organization becomes a necessity. A struggle between the classes ensues. This tends to educate the workers; weld them together into class organizations for the purpose of improving their immediate lot and for the acquisition of ever more and greater power.

In the First International the struggle between Marx and Bakunin was on matters of vital principle. Marx defended the position of Social Democracy while Bakunin advanced the viewpoint of the direct actionist, the Anarchist.

Marx, I repeat, had faith in the proletariat; Bakunin had no faith in the masses at all. Marx believed in the efficacy of education; Bakunin depended upon the heroism of a few.

He Believed in Democracy

Marx espoused democracy and believed that by political action the revolution from capitalism to Socialism might be effected; Bakunin, on the other hand, rejected political action; his view was that all states must be destroyed, and that that could not be done otherwise than by insurrection. Two schools of thought were fought for in the First International.

In a measure, the position of the present-day Bolshevik coincides with that of Bakunin. The Bolsheviks have given new terminology to the ideas expressed by Bakunin. They call a dictatorship of a party executive in a great land a "dictatorship of the proletariat." Bakunin was more frank; having no faith in the proletariat, he desired to set up a group, call them,

if you will, "benevolent tyrants," but in fact it would amount to a dictatorship by a few over the many.

Just a personal note. It was my privilege in 1926 to participate in the celebration of the Socialist Party of Belgium on the occasion of its 45th Anniversary. While there were tens of thousands of workers and their wives and children in Brussels from all over Belgium to participate in the celebration, and while the Belgium Socialist Party has a tremendous building, the "People's House," which accommodates thousands upon thousands, the celebration was had in a little narrow hall facing the "Grande Place." In that little hall in 1848 Karl Marx carried on his educational work. It was there that he lectured. It was there that he talked.

It was thrilling to sit on the platform from which Marx had spoken to the proletariat of the world. It was a thrill to sit in the same hall where Marx had spoken down the ages.

Rand School Book Store Offers Marx's Works

Karl Marx was a prolific writer but quite a number of his works are not now available in this country. Some volumes are now out of print, including his "Critique of Political Economy," "The Eastern Question," "The Poverty of Philosophy," and some minor writings.

The Rand School Book Store has compiled a list of the writings of Marx which it can supply, and they include the following:
Capital: With an introduction by G. D. H. Cole, 1930, Everyman's Library, 2 volumes, \$1.80.
Civil War in France: With an in-

MARX MEMORIAL MEETINGS

THE memory of Karl Marx will be honored at two great mass meetings in Brooklyn and Manhattan, and in countless other meetings in every part of the country.

The Karl Marx memorial of the Brooklyn Forum will be held at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, Lafayette Avenue near Flatbush, Sunday night, with an attractive program. B. C. Vladeck, noted Socialist orator, will preside and the speakers will be David P. Berenberg, noted Marxian scholar and writer, and Charles Solomon. There will be a Rebel Arts Pageantry and a musical program of piano and vocal selections.

Sunday afternoon, March 19, there will be the great meeting at Town Hall, at which the Party of the entire city will commemorate the memory of the great teacher. The speakers will be the two national leaders of the Party, Morris Hillquit and Norman Thomas, and Algernon Lee will preside.

Other Marx memorial meetings will be held by locals and branches in every part of the country. Details in the Party News sections, pages 11, 12 and 13.

A BUST OF MARX



Here is a bust of Karl Marx with the sculptor, Marx's great-grandson, Charles Longuet, who is a son of Jean Longuet, Socialist member of the French Chamber of Deputies. The original of the bust is in the archive room of the German Social Democratic Party in Berlin.

roduction by Frederick Engels, tr. from German by E. Belfort Bax, 25 cents.

Communist Manifesto, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Rand School, 10 cents.

Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, tr. by Daniel De Leon, 60 cents.

Essentials of Marx, containing the Communist Manifesto by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels; Wage-labor and Capital; Value, Price and Profit and other selections by Karl Marx, with introduction and notes by Algernon Lee, Rand School Press, 75 cents.

Free Trade, New York Labor News, 15 cents.

German Ideology, tr. from Russian by Harry Watson, 50 cents.

Gotha Program (Criticism of), New York Labor News, 10 cents.

Paris Commune: including the first Manifesto of the International on the Franco-Prussian War: The Civil War in France, New York Labor News Co., 40 cents.

Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany in 1848, (Kerr), ed. by Marx Aveling, 60 cents.

Value Price and Profit, 25 cents. Wage Labor and Capital, 10 cents.

By Morris Hillquit

Marxism Is a Living Force

No Statesman, Ruler, Preacher or Philosopher Has Had So Powerful and Lasting an Influence Upon the World as Karl Marx.

FIFTY years after the death of Karl Marx the embattled forces of German reaction under Fascist leadership wage savage war against all the "parties of Marxism."

In this phrase the Hitler cohorts include the Communists as well as the Social Democrats and all organizations of "free" trade unions, in fact the whole labor movement of Germany.

The designation is not inappropriate. Not only in Germany, but in most other modern countries the Socialist and labor movements, with their millions of adherents and enormous political and industrial power, are essentially Marxian. It is safe to assert that no individual in modern history, statesman, ruler, preacher or philosopher, has so powerfully and lastingly influenced the course of social development as the founder of the theoretical basis of international Socialism.

Yet Socialism is not synonymous with Marxism.

Marx did not originate the Socialist philosophy nor did he create the Socialist movement. The idea of political and economic equality is as old as human thought. It runs through philosophic concepts beginning with Plato and through religious teachings since Christ.

Early Socialism

The organized Socialist movements of the French schools, from Babeuf to Fourier, the English Owenites and the German followers of Wilhelm Weitling antedate the first organization of Marxian Socialists, the Communist League.

But Karl Marx was the first to remove Socialism from the sphere of mere philosophic speculation, religious vision or ethical concept and to plant it on the solid ground of practical politics.

The fundamental difference between Marxism and all other Socialist schools is that, while the latter view Socialism as an ideal equally valid in all times and places, Marx conceives of it as a distinct phase of modern civilization.

The Socialist program contemplates the socialization of the basic industries, and it is one of the cardinal tenets of the Marxian philosophy that the material conditions for the realization of that program did not exist before the modern or capitalist era ushered in by the Industrial Revolution.

In this view the individualistic and competitive system of wealth production paves the way for a Socialist system of collective ownership and operation of the industrial processes and instrumentalities. No Socialist state is possible without a full antecedent industrial development, and conversely, when a country has reached a state of industrial and technical maturity Socialist transformation becomes possible and in the long run inevitable.

The Marxian philosophy is by no means rigid and doctrinaire. It has been subject to constant evolution and modification.

Marxism Is a Living Thing

The Marxism of 1933 is not the Marxism of 1848. During the eighty-five years that have elapsed since the first formulation of the theory in the famous Communist Manifesto some of its tenets and postulates have been limited, developed and modified by Karl Marx himself, by his faithful collaborator, Frederick Engels, and by a host of interpreters and disciples, or corrected by the industrial and political developments of the times.

Yet the substance of the Marxian philosophy is as valid and true as vital and inspiring as it was when first formulated by its im-

mortal author.

Like all great scientific discoveries its guiding thoughts are so simple as to appear self-evident, almost commonplace. They may be summed up as follows:

The ever-changing forms of social and political organization in human society are not fashioned by arbitrary causes, but are deter-

mined by the changing mode of wealth production. The modern system of production is the system of capitalism, which is characterized by mass production, the factory system and by the separation of the worker from his tool. Under this system industrial society tends to a division into two main interest groups or classes: the capitalists or "bourgeoisie," who own the sources and instruments of wealth production and appropriate the profits of the industrial process, and the modern workers, "proletarians," without property or tools, who are compelled to work for wages, to "sell themselves piecemeal" to the capitalists as a commodity.

Between the two classes there is not a mere lack of mutual understanding or fair dealing, but an

inherent and irrepressible conflict of interest, which results in an uninterrupted struggle, open or hidden.

The history and politics of our time are largely shaped by the struggles between the capitalist or possessing classes and the propertyless producing classes.

The Struggle

In this struggle the workers have the advantage of steadily increasing numbers. Their ranks are reinforced, not only by migration from the village to the city, from the field to the factory, but also by the progressive displacement of small independent producers and traders, who are compelled to seek employment in the service of large capitalist concerns. These growing masses of industrial workers are, moreover, being organized al-

most automatically by the very processes of capitalist production. Unlike any dependent class of the past, they are brought together in large numbers for common work in the factories, mills and mines, and thrown into close association and contact by the uniformity of their daily lives and interests. The possibility of an organized struggle of the working class against the employing class is thus developed; the basis of a political Socialist movement is thus created.

But while the victory of every new class in the past has entailed the subjugation of another class, the victory of the industrial working class must inevitably result in the freedom of the human race as a whole. Dependence in modern society is primarily economic. The working class can free itself from this economic dependence only by abolishing the private ownership in the means of wealth production and making them the common property of society as a whole, thus abolishing all classes and removing all causes for class struggles. The struggle of the modern workers is therefore a struggle for the emancipation of the whole human race.

In the Marxian philosophy the character of the modern Socialist movement is thus indelibly stamped as a labor movement. Its battlefield is fixed in the arena of the industrial and political struggles of the working class. And therein lies the real significance and force of Marxism.

Some historical forecasts of Karl Marx may have gone wrong. Some of his isolated statements and theories may have proved erroneous. Some of the methods of combat which he advocated may have been rendered inefficacious by new social and political developments.

But the all-important fundamentals of the Marxian philosophy, the economic basis of politics and history, the class struggle as the motor of social progress and the reliance on the working class as the main instrument of human emancipation have remained unshaken.

Marxism as a simple social theory undiluted by nebulous revisionism and unmarred by scholastic commentaries or absurd literal interpretation, Marxism as a living force, not as an ossified dogma or oracular priestcraft, still remains the safest basis and surest guide of the international Socialist movement.

nomically in industries, that it build up workers' clubs and organizations—so that it will gain experience and be able to follow the example of the bourgeoisie, which is anticipating its moves and is preparing for its defense.

Marx carried on a broad day-to-day activity at the same time that he was writing his monumental work, *Das Kapital*. The latter work in scope and brilliance compares favorably with that other colossal work of the 19th century, Darwin's "Origin of Species." Marx kept a sharp eye on contemporary events, and when anything of great imminence or importance to the working class occurred, he saw to it that the "International" took a definite stand thereon. In the struggle between England and Ireland, for example, he pointed out that the working class of England would never be able to make any real progress, unless, and until, it broke with its ruling class on the question of territorial oppression, and instantly came to the aid of the Irish workers, which it was in duty bound to do.

It was also at his instigation that the International dispatched the

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By Joseph Baskin

The Philosopher of the Masses

FIFTY years have passed since that genius of 19th Century political thought died; fifty years since his voice, which became the conscious expression of the working class of the world, was silenced, and his pen, the sharpest and mightiest of his time, forever stilled.

And during those fifty years—what far-reaching changes have occurred! Kingdoms and empires have been wiped out, the map of the world has been altered, new discoveries have been made, and wonderful mechanisms to delve into the mysteries of nature and the men set up. New remedies for healing disease have been discovered.

Professors, bourgeois economists and politicians have applied their strongest rays to uproot Marxism. It didn't help because Marx's ideas, Marx's whole line of thought, was not an accident, not a pious wish. It was the logical expression of the dynamic evolution of society from economic and historic conditions.

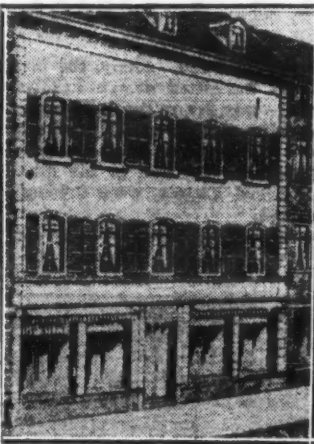
Armed with Knowledge

Armed with profound knowledge of the philosophy, jurisprudence and political economy of his time, Marx examined with the keenest analysis every branch of human society, bringing to light forces and tendencies which impel men to this and that action, which lead them toward the establishment of one form of social organization and not another, which drive them to vital changes, and which will again drive them with iron logic toward the establishment of that new society which Marx envisioned.

Marx's line of thought flowed directly from Hegel's accepted thesis: everything moves, nothing is static. Every manifestation must be viewed not in its static, frozen condition, but in its dynamic form. Applying this concept to human society, Marx came to the conclusion that the chief force impelling men to set up and to change institutions is the economic force; materialism; the urge of people to provide themselves, first of all, with the necessities of life. To live man must produce; and to produce he must have tools and machinery. The struggle within society, therefore, is a struggle between different economic groups to gain power for their desired ends. As soon as a system of production changes, there is a reshuffling of economic groups and of their relationship to one another in the struggle for power; a new social form is created, and a new ruling class takes the place of the old.

Every society carries in its vitals the germ of its own destruction. The whole process is charged with social revolution. The feudal regime was swept away by the Revolution

Marx's Birthplace



In this house in Treves (Trier) in the Rhineland, Karl Heinrich Marx was born May 5, 1818.

of 1789—capitalism taking its place, developing slowly, then proceeding with giant strides. But capitalism, too, carries in it the force which will ultimately destroy it—the proletariat; that mighty class which possesses nothing but its muscles, its intelligence, its mass strength, and which produces profits, the only criterion of "worth" in capitalist society. And the further this trend of development continues, with capital concentrating in fewer and fewer hands, the sooner will the capitalist system collapse, and the proletariat of city and village take the place of the present bourgeoisie.

This is the essence of the Marxist interpretation of history. Small wonder, therefore, that the bourgeois rulers and theoreticians have detested in Marx's teachings so dangerous an enemy of the status quo, so ominous a threat to their own existence. They commenced a ruthless persecution of Marx and his followers, driving them from one corner of the globe to another, giving them no breathing spell, even forcing them to die of starvation—all out of fear that these dangerous doctrines might spread.

But history bows to no one—not even to the greatest. Their persecution came to naught. Marxist doctrines and ideas spread rapidly. Even before the Revolution of 1848, the Communists, the revolutionary Socialists of their

day, formulated their beliefs in the famous "Manifesto," pointing out to the worker with logic and clarity: "Only in open struggle will you win your rights. You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain." And like wildfire this slogan spread to all the radical and workers' societies, and the "Communist Manifesto" became the bible of the revolutionary Socialist movement.

The Manifesto

It has lost nothing of its freshness and vitality to this day. On the contrary, it is really only today that we are fully beginning to appreciate the profound insight which Marx possessed. He felt the pulse of history, and like a prophet was able to envision its future course of development.

Marx lived through the February and June Revolutions of 1848. He saw the liberal bourgeoisie betray the working class—the same bourgeoisie which at the end of the 18th Century proclaimed the ideas of "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality," only to trample them under foot sixty years later when the working masses began to take them literally. He exposed this with sharp and bitter irony in his pamphlet, "The Eighteenth Brumaire," which deals with the Revolution of 1852. He had seen how Guizot, with the iron hand of Cavaignac, throttled the Revolution of 1848; and still later, how these self-same revolutionaries of 1848 betrayed the Commune of 1871, drowning it in a sea of blood. With savage irony and a wracking pain in his heart, he exposed this new betrayal in his brochure, "The Civil War in France," sparing no one. Marx was no respecter of persons.

Against Illusions

Again, as leader and guiding spirit of the International, founded in 1864, Marx carried on a relentless struggle against all dreamers and utopians who nurtured the illusion that by means of a successful revolt of a determined few they could overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie. He carried on a bitter fight against Bakunin and his followers. And he always maintained the healthy viewpoint that political change could occur only when the inner forces of a country call it into being, and then only through the medium of a well-organized mass movement. The duty of Socialists is to prepare the ground by educating the masses, so that when the time comes they will be ready to carry out the task which history has prepared for them. That is why Marx was so anxious that the working class participate in parliamentary activity, that it organize itself eco-

Karl Marx's Pupils

(Continued from Page Four)

order to support this contention he refers to Bonaparte. "While Bonaparte plotted against the Republic he granted universal suffrage. Now Bismark did the same. Here as well as there it means triumph of despotism. In an absolute state general suffrage can be nothing but a toy and an instrument of absolutism."

Both Lassalle and Liebknecht were interested in universal suffrage and both wondered if it would be the miraculous key to open to the disinherited proletariat the gates of political power. Lassalle said yes, Liebknecht said no, but neither considered the effect of universal suffrage upon the development of the proletariat in their class struggle.

Political experience made Liebknecht later to change his opinion on this subject. In 1889 he published his speech of 1869 and in its preface he added the following: "The educational effects of general suffrage are too clear to require any explanation. Had we followed the policy of refraining from instead of participating in elections we would still be a sect and not a party around which our entire political life revolves."

Liebknecht was personally closer to Marx than Lassalle. For a decade Liebknecht was a frequent visitor in Marx's home in London. While Marx resented Lassalle's vanity and opportunistic "Realpolitik," he was attracted by Liebknecht's simplicity, readiness to sacrifice and his modesty. Lassalle was superior to Liebknecht in learning and in insight, but Liebknecht had this advantage, that for many years he actively participated in the English labor movement which at that time was very highly developed.

The French Movement

The German Socialists, as a rule, knew only the French labor movement. Marx, too, spent his years of Socialist apprenticeship in France. Engels was fortunate in having a father who was partner in a factory in Manchester, where he sent the young Friedrich in 1842. There Friedrich Engels became acquainted with the economic conditions of England, with the Chartist movement and thoroughly learned English Socialism, which is clear from his youthful brilliant work on "Conditions of the English Working Class." Later through his contact with Engels Marx became acquainted with conditions in England.

These conditions were thoroughly alien to Lassalle and in this respect he was far inferior to Liebknecht. Liebknecht had a thorough knowledge not only of Chartism, which was incidentally in a state of decline, but also of the trade unionism whose significance Marx so largely emphasized as yearly as in 1846 in his *Misere de la Philosophie*, directed against Proudhon. To Lassalle this was alien to the end of his life.

In spite of this Liebknecht never fully apprehended nor consistently applied the Marxian method of thinking and research.

While Lassalle in his propaganda carefully avoided mentioning Marx's name, Liebknecht loudly proclaimed the significance of his great friend. Marx however, found it necessary severely to criticize some of Liebknecht's teaching.

A consistent Marxist Liebknecht never was. This is corroborated by Kurt Eisner in his biography of Liebknecht. Eisner says that "on leaving London Liebknecht's political character was accomplished. He found his mission was to spread Marx's teachings and philosophy. Not that he was a slave to the ruling philosopher. Quite the contrary: Liebknecht never was an —ist. When his son, who was

named after Karl Marx, told him that he chose as his vocation to be an economist and a defender of Marxism, Wilhelm Liebknecht became very angry that his son planned to give up his spiritual independence."

Those who cherish the illusion that they are not —ists, evidently never seriously thought what this means. They seem really to believe that to be a Marxist one has to give up his own thinking and gullibly take in everything that Marx ever uttered. We cannot deny that there are such Marxists, but only outside the confines of modern civilization, where the Moscow knout rules unrestrictedly.

In science an ist means thoughtlessly repeating, like a prayer, all that a philosopher, whom one is spiritually associated with, ever uttered. But fully independent work by means of those ways of thinking and methods adopted after testing various other philosophies. As a rule, every way of thinking has its origin in a certain individual who first worked it out to perfection. To distinguish it from other ways of thinking it is associated with the name of his author. This and nothing else, is

what an —ism means. It doesn't mean in the least any spiritual dependence or slavery.

Ists and Isms

Any one who wants to work methodically must work as this or that ist. He is free to choose his own method, but he cannot indiscriminately go over different methods and use them all together.

The only way of escaping the need of making a choice between the existing methods, without becoming unmethodical is to develop one's own method. This is possible only after applying and testing all existing methods and finding out that they are inadequate. If the researcher is so brilliant that he is able to develop his own method then he can disregard all the existing —isms, and this only because he himself became the starting point of a new —ism.

One may regret that a certain method is associated with the name of this or that person. But this cannot be helped, as there has not yet been found any other way of distinguishing one method from another. The world speaks very calmly about Kantists, Hegelists, Darwinists without attributing to these —ists any spiritual slavery. Why should it be different with

the Socialists?

One can of course be opposed to a particular ism, when one finds it to be false. One however who believes the teaching and philosophy of Marx to be sound and considers it his duty to teach them, and at the same time feels degraded when labeled with the name Marxist, such a person proves that the Marxian method and principles are alien to him. Such a person can, no doubt, render great services to Socialism, but not to Marxism.

Marx and Engels did not live in Germany. The German workers of the 'sixties and 'seventies therefore learned Socialism from the writings of Lassalle. About Marxism they learned only as much as Lassalle cared to refer to it without giving its source. They did not even know to what extent the Lassallean conception deviated from the Marxian.

(Concluded next week)

Socialist Alderman Scores

BRIDGEPORT. — The city of Bridgeport will save \$22,000 as the result of the efforts of Socialist Alderman Fred Schwartzkopf, who initiated a move for reduced rates for fire hydrant water service. After repeated attacks by Schwartzkopf, nearby cities backed him up and the water company succumbed and announced a 10 per cent reduction in rates.

Marx Number of A. S. Q.

THE Spring Number of the American Socialist Quarterly devotes most of its space to five articles on various phases of Marxism and its relation to immediate problems. The issue is dedicated by its editors to the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Marx.

The most informative article in the issue is by Haim Kantorovitch, "Living Marxism." Kantorovitch maintains that to the true Marxian Marxism is not a dead dogma, a source of quotations and texts, but a method of economic and philosophic analysis by which the phenomena of the modern world may be understood. Particularly interesting is his definition of utopianism which convicts not merely the Owens and Saint-Simons but the modern Social planners and the Communists.

S. Lipschitz's article on "Marxism and Social Democracy" is a discussion of the Social Democracy in action in Germany since the war, of its rise and of its decline, and of the cancerous growth of Fascism within the body of the German state. Paralleling this article is Vincenzo Vacirca's "Fascism: a Marxist Interpretation."

Mark Starr's article on "Marxism in Trade Unionism" draws heavily on the experiences of the British Trade Unions since the war. The balance of the issue consists of David P. Berneberg's article on "The Influence of Marx," editorials dealing with the present crisis here and abroad, a list of important dates in the life of Marx, and a Marxian bibliography.

By Gertrude Weil Klein

A Woman's Point of View

WHEN Karl Heinrich Mordecai, known to us as Karl Marx, married the "Beautiful Jenny" von Westphalen, daughter of a Baroness, he committed one of the gravest blunders of his life. Perhaps I should rather say of his career, since Marx had no "life" as we understand the term, but devoted himself unremittently and exclusively, first to his scientific and philosophic studies and later to the Socialist movement, and to his labors on *Das Kapital*. For any woman, married to the impecunious, impractical and absorbed scholar, life would have been difficult. For the gently-bred, sheltered Jenny, the acknowledged belle of the neighborhood, it was starkly tragic.

That Marx had successfully courted and married the unattainable Jenny was a tribute to his intensity and ardor in overcoming seemingly insurmountable obstacles, no less than to his brilliant mind. A Jew, member of the race despised as usurers and money lenders and detested as the last prop of the feudal system, Marx felt the disabilities of his race keenly. When his parents turned Christian, he felt it was the right and proper thing to do. He argued, the most authoritative sources show, that by dropping the Jewish faith, the Jews could better become citizens and free people.

How much his feeling of inferiority influenced his determination to marry Jenny we leave to the psychologists. Certainly he was no better equipped for an independent existence than his wife. His own parents had been in comfortable circumstances and he had never seriously considered the question of earning a livelihood. Having won the lady of his heart he promptly threw himself into the revolutionary ferment, leaving Jenny to grapple with the elemental details of their existence.

For the young couple, the years that followed were a harrowing adventure, with poverty, illness and exile dogging them at every turn. Six children were born, weak, spindly babies, three of whom died

in early childhood. Jenny, the individual, the gifted woman, hardly existed—only Jenny the indifferent housewife, the distracted mother, whose "nocturnal tears and lamentations," Marx wrote to his lifelong friend Engels, were driving him mad.

Marx's Wife



Mrs. Karl Marx, who was Jenny von Westphalen, sister of a high official of the Prussian government under Bismarck. Despite her aristocratic birth and upbringing she stood loyally by Marx during his long years of privation and devotion to the cause of the proletariat.

By the time the fourth child was born Jenny was so wasted and broken that she was unable to nurse it. The meagrest necessities for existence were begged and borrowed from friends and neighbors. Her letters, describing the agonies of this period, are heart-rending. Marx spent his days in the libraries at his titanic labors of research, and his evenings in writing. For years he averaged no more than four hours sleep a night. Thus was *Das Kapital* born.

If not for the devotion of Frederick Engels the whole family would have perished of neglect and starvation. From his own slender store and by his incessant efforts

he was able to support the family while the remarkable Marx continued his work. In almost every letter from Marx to Engels and from Engels to Marx there is mention of money. "For ten day we have been without a sou in the house," Marx once wrote. And in every letter that Engels wrote there was mention of money being sent to the Marx family, money that went into the "bottomless pit of a household that was not very well managed."

Such sacrifice and devotion as Marx gave to the movement do not inspire me at all. Rather they imbue me with a deep melancholy that refuses to be shaken off. Surely, we as Socialists, cannot afford so completely to forget the individual in our crusade for a cause. A remarkable man, one of the great minds of all time probably—it is no exaggeration to say this—a man tremendously moved by ideas, and yet totally lacking in the fundamental elements of human intercourse. This is no criticism; heaven knows I am too much aware of my own humble status, but merely a passing sigh of regret for the wasted life of the beautiful Jenny and her children.

Perhaps a different woman would have managed better. A harder, cruder character, or a woman also imbued with the frenzy of an evangelist or the indifference of a scholar—but not the woman who lovingly handled her store of damask and linen, when through the inheritance of a small sum of money, it was put back into her care again.

Of course, there are very few men ready to go to the extremes of sacrifice and devotion to a cause as Karl Marx. And no doubt that is Socialism's loss. I offer no solution for a grave dilemma. I only wonder whether it might not be a wise thing for us as Socialists to fight for some sort of a mother's compensation measure—a measure by which the State would pay to working class mothers a specified sum for the support of their children. Then men of genius and men whose greatest happiness would be in devotion to a cause, might marry without the resultant tragedy that is their lot and the lot of their families.

The Philosopher of the Masses

(Continued from Page Five)

following message to Lincoln at the time of the Civil War: "So long as the workers permitted slavery to taint the Republic, so long as they harbored the illusion that the white worker was superior to his black brother, so long were they helpless in winning real freedom for themselves, or in aiding their brothers in their battle for liberation. The American Civil War must be another milestone in the struggle of the working class for the creation of a more humane society."

It is impossible to give more than a sketchy view of Marx's activity as a fighter for the working class. In the many years of his active struggle on behalf of the workers, Marx literally felt the pangs of hunger and want; there were days when his cupboard was completely empty of a crust of bread, when there was not even a pillow in the house to sleep on, or a fire to keep out the cold. When his first child died he could not muster the few pennies to buy the coffin in which to bury it. His devoted wife and companion, Jenny Marx, former aristocrat, wrote: "When my child was born I was unable to buy him a cradle, and when he died I still didn't have enough with which to buy him a coffin."

One has to be a Marx himself to be able to live through such hardship, and yet be able to live, fight and study. He was the supreme genius of his age—the champion of the proletariat, its philosopher, thinker and guiding spirit.

And today, fifty years after his death, the proletariat of the whole turbulent world stands, with bared head, mourning the death of its great teacher, enshrining in its heart the fundamental principles of his thought, which to this day have lost none of their freshness, none of their logic and vitality. It will keep a jealous guard over them long after they have been translated into reality. And only then will it really be in a position to erect a monument fitting enough to his great memory.

RULE OR RUIN TACTICS IN CARPENTERS' LOCALS

THE "rule or ruin" tactics of the Communists in the guise of a "rank and file" movement has taken root in Locals 2009, 1164 and 2717 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, in this city. A joint committee of these local unions has issued a call for a mass meeting for March 11th at the St. Nicholas Arena for the purpose of discussing conditions in the trade.

The statement issued by Charles W. Hanson, president of the District Council, declares that certain dissatisfied members are attempting to establish working rules to quit shop committees appointed or elected in the individual shops throughout the city, and to set the Constitution of the New York District Council aside. Some of the leaders have been convicted in the District Council for working under the union scale of wages. Local non-payment of per capita tax and Union 2717 has been suspended for violation of the Constitution. They have not paid their per capita tax and the General Office has empowered the Executive Committee to receive dues and issue transfers to members of this local who care to continue their membership, thereby keeping in good standing both in the national body and the District Council.

The intention of this group is to appoint shop committees in violation of the by-laws. They want every man to make his own conditions in the shop. The District Council has an agreement on wages, hours and working conditions and are enforcing it.

In many localities many mills manufacture trimmed doors, etc., and are paying far less than the shop man's scale in New York City, and under the guise of democratic rights they want to regulate wages and conditions. They also demand a reduction of dues and taxes, yet they do not realize that their death and disability donation and pension paid out by the national body and District Council cannot continue unless dues are paid.

Kentucky Miners' Relief

THE Kentucky Miners' Defense and Relief Conference of New York, N. Y., has received the following communication under date of March 1st from the Church Emergency Relief Committee, New York:

"Enclosed please find check for one hundred dollars from the Church Emergency Relief Committee for relief of the families of Harlan prisoners. This money comes from church people all over the United States who want you and the prisoners and their families to know of their sympathy, and who stand for justice and brotherhood in industry. Sincerely yours, James Myers (secretary), W. B. Spofford (treasurer), Church Emergency Relief Committee."

Thomas Given Russian Visa

Plans of Norman Thomas to travel in Russia next June have been disclosed with the announcement that he has secured a visa from Soviet authorities after considerable delay. Thomas pointed out that he had been in favor of recognizing the Soviet Union before the World War was over, and said he had been threatened with imprisonment because of his views.

"It is fantastic to hope for world peace when such an immense country, occupying a sixth of the earth's surface, is ignored," he said. He will be accompanied to Russia by Dr. Louis Sadoff of Brooklyn.

Muste Out at Brookwood

BROOKWOOD Labor College at Katonah announces through David J. Saposs that Dean A. J. Muste has been voted out of office because he declined to resign as Chairman of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, and the college felt that an erroneous impression of its own connection with the movement was widespread.

"The Conference for Progressive Labor Action," Saposs said, "is merely one faction of the labor movement. Brookwood College was formed to serve the whole labor movement, and the board of directors felt that it was inconsistent that the head of the college should also be the head of a small sect that is antagonizing all the other elements of the labor movement."

J. C. Kennedy, instructor of economics and former head of the Seattle Labor College, was named acting director of Brookwood. He said, Muste had proposed to the faculty last May that the college be used to further the activities of the C.P.L.A., but that the faculty had rejected the move. As head of the C.P.L.A., Muste had attacked the policies of the American Federation of Labor as "inadequate." With Muste, Thomas Tippet, a member of the faculty, and nineteen students resigned.

CRISIS IS REACHED IN ROSSVILLE STRIKE

ROSSVILLE, Ga.—The strike in the woolen mills reached a crisis last week when the Mayor, merchants and business men called a mass meeting of the strikers on a vacant lot at which the Mayor presided. About a thousand strikers met and heard company speakers from the door of a store. A Baptist speaker said he was only interested in souls. All speakers had supported the company when an invitation was given to the audience.

Don West, of the Highlander Folk School, accepted and began to speak from the store door in support of the strikers. The Mayor and company preachers permitted him to speak five minutes when he was knocked out into the arms of the growling workers. He continued to speak in front of the door and he was again struck. He climbed to a pile of coal and succeeded in finishing his speech.

The situation is very serious for the workers in the strike area, and due to privation they may have to go back to work and accept a drastic cut in their wages, already low.

"Add 50 papers to our regular order. The New Leader beats them all. It's a great paper."—Sid Kosowsky, of Ypsel Circle 2, Philadelphia.

Labor Committee Notes

The postponed meeting of trade union members will be held Saturday, March 18, at 3 p. m., at 7 East 15th Street.

All who have unemployment petitions will please bring them to the Party office or mail them to Room 601, 1 East 15th Street.

The State Federation of Labor has gone on record favoring the following bills:

Senate Introductory No. 119, which provides for the reorganization of the present State Insurance Fund for Workmen's Compensation as the sole carrier under the law.

Senate Introductory No. 139, which provides that all workers disabled by disease contracted in or caused by their employment shall be compensated in the same manner as if disabled by accidental injury.

Senate Introductory No. 144, which provides that the only doctor who shall be present when a physical examination of claimants is being made shall be the doctor employed by the state.

Senate Introductory No. 134, which provides for the equalization of the maximum weekly payments for all classes at \$25 a week.

Senate Introductory No. 132, which provides for the removing of the present time limit on reclassification of disability. At present the Industrial Board is only permitted to make such reclassification within the period of three years after the accident.

Senate Introductory No. 146, which provides for the continuation of payment of awards to claimants during the time that an appeal for such awards is being heard.

Senate Introductory No. 128, which provides that the loss of the use of two or more fingers, or toes, shall be classified as the loss of part of hand, and part of foot.

Senate Introductory, which provides that the contractors on public work shall file a bond to assure the payment of the prevailing rate of wages.

Senate Introductory No. 291, which provides for the state regulation and licensing of all private fee-charging and employment agencies.

Senate Introductory No. 204, which creates wage boards to establish minimum standard wages

for employed minors.

Senate Introductory No. 807, which limits the hours of labor to eight hours for operators of motor trucks and motor busses.

Senate Introductory No. 712, which provides for the amending of the State Labor Law so as to enable speedy and fair determination of prevailing wages on public work, and re-defining "locality" for that purpose in the law.

The Federation went on record to oppose Senate Introductory No. 725, which provides that, among other things, surviving wife not living with husband at time of injury shall not be entitled to any benefits at time of accident.

The Wisconsin Federation of Labor backs organized farmers responding to a strike call of the Wisconsin Cooperative Milk Pool, according to President Henry Ohl, Jr.

Three San Francisco contractors have been fined an aggregate of \$4,150 for violating the prevailing wage rate law in public construction. The contractors were convicted of hiring workers on the basis of the prevailing rate and forcing them to return part of their pay. It has been recommended to the legislature that the state law be amended to make it a felony to accept such rebates, to require the contractor to post the prevailing wage scale on the job, and to turn over to the state inspector a certified copy of his payroll.

The Textile Workers of Salisbury, High Point and China Grove, N. C.; and Danville, Virginia, in cooperation with the Full-Fashioned Hosiery workers have organized the Piedmont Textile Council, originally established in 1930, but it has not been active for some time. Since the uprising of last summer, the United Textile Union has established several new branches in the Piedmont section. The Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers' Union has also organized locals in these centers. The organization drive has received momentum due to persistent wage cuts. Cotton mills in this vicinity have set up machinery, thus cutting wages still further. Threats of strikes have frustrated all moves so far to "chill" wage cuts in some of the Full-Fashioned plants.

PROTEST QUEENS POWER PAY CUT

The Brotherhood of Edison Employees denounced the action of the Board of Directors of the New York and Queens Light and Power Company at their meeting on Friday, March 3, when they voted to cut salaries approximately 8 per cent and hours of salaried employees.

The policy of the company in cutting wages in spite of increasing dividends and surplus is a challenge to public officials and citizens of Queens. It means that a monopoly, existing through the good will and sufferance of the people, is contributing to the deepening of the present depression.

The Brotherhood of Edison Employees will petition the Public Service Commission and will organize the people of Queens to protest.

JUSTICE CATCHES UP

UTICA—The mills of Justice grind slowly in Oneida County and more than two years have passed since election crooks in Oneida County made it possible for Senator Samuel H. Miller, subsequently unseated, to capture a Socialist primary nomination. It was only last Tuesday that Justice caught up with Nicholas Lisandrelli, one of the minor offenders against honest primaries. Judge Frederick H. Hazard sentenced Lisandrelli to six months in jail for perjury. In passing sentence Judge Hazard declared that the identity of the person who instigated Lisandrelli to perjure himself before the Grand Jury was unknown to the Court, but rumor and hearsay in Utica allege that it was somebody very high indeed in the councils of the Democratic Party.

Sweetland Discharged

Monroe W. Sweetland of Syracuse was released from jail Tuesday after being in jail since the previous Saturday for having placed a sticker to a window of the National City Bank bearing the inscription, "Closed. Socialism will keep them Open." Max Delson and Abraham C. Weinfeld appeared for Sweetland the night of his arrest and the accused pleaded guilty to part of the charge when the two attorneys intervened.

The magistrate asked one attorney to step aside and Delson acted and induced Sweetland to change his plea which was not accepted

RAIL PROBLEM IS NOT SOLVED BY WAGE CUTS

By Carl Rudolph
Editor, Locomotive Engineers Journal

THE railroads, as we have often pointed out, have nothing to sell but transportation. When people buy the finished product, then that product, and also the raw material to manufacture it, must be transported. Business in general must pick up before the railroad business can possibly pick up. Killing the purchasing power of the railroad employees through wage slashes is one sure way to delay a revival of business.

The loans from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation have mainly gone to pay interest to those who gamble in railroad securities. If the carriers ever intend to pay these loans to the government, then they are just as much in debt as before. It may be that the roads intend to borrow all that the traffic will bear, and then let the government wake up some morning in possession of the railroads. The point is that they are as much in debt to Peter as they were to Paul, and the "depression" is still with us.

All of the wage-slashing that has been done has just stirred up still rougher the waters of the general crisis into which the railroads have sailed. The companies borrowed more than \$200,000,000 from the pay envelopes of their employees in the past year, and now they have succeeded in borrowing another \$150,000,000. Meanwhile they are apparently planning, according to statements made in Chicago, to move for a slash in the basic rate of pay.

The companies succeeded in getting an increase in rates on certain commodities; they slashed wages hundreds of millions of dollars; they borrowed from the government; they cut hundreds of thousands of employees from their payrolls, while the employees' productive efficiency has increased tremendously through the use of more powerful locomotives, larger cars and other labor-displacing machinery.

by the magistrate who remanded the accused to jail for 72 hours. On Tuesday Weinfeld represented Sweetland and renewed the motion to change the plea, a representative of the bank also asking for a withdrawal of the complaint. The magistrate granted the motion and Sweetland was discharged.

Painters' Organization Drive Is Gathering Momentum

By I. Polstein

THE drive to unionize New York City, initiated by Local Unions 261, 905 and 1011, and endorsed by the Organization Committee of District Council No. 9 of the Brotherhood of Painters, is taking on new life, as evidenced by the establishment of a central headquarters at 143 East 103rd Street, and the further fact that other local unions are now considering undertaking similar work. Local Union 442 is calling a special meeting for this Friday for the purpose of electing a permanent organizer.

The coming of the spring painting season is giving added impetus to this drive to unionize all the painting work of homes, offices and public buildings of Manhattan and the Bronx.

The present plans call for the concentration of publicity and picketing on the large property owners and real estate offices.

To date, many of these have agreed to the union conditions of an 8-hour day and 5-day week at \$8 per day. Among these are in-

cluded contracting painters working for the N. Y. Title & Mortgage Co., Manufacturers' Trust Co., Bachrach & Bachrach, London Terrace, Simon Ackerman Stores, B. Wishardt, and numerous alterations, stores, restaurants, apartment houses, theatres, etc., where many skilled union painters have been placed at work.

Chiefly these accomplishments are due to the efficient work of the organizers—P. Baron of 261, L. Kosloff of 905, and Bialik of 1011—with the able support of their respective organizing committees and the cooperation of David Shapiro, secretary of District Council No. 9.

The next step contemplated by the Joint Organization Committee is the agitation for and recognition by District Council No. 9 of some hundred odd contracting painters doing work on apartment houses chiefly in the Heights section of Manhattan. This will open up a large field for the employment of hundreds of union men and will greatly add to the prestige and strength of the Brotherhood of Painters in Greater New York.

Bill and Joe Dispute Whether Marx Is Dead or Alive, but Agree Dead Men Walk the Earth

By Autolycus

"I SEE you guys are celebrating a Marx anniversary," said Joe as he munched a sandwich in the Rand School cafeteria. "Why don't you let the dead rest in peace?" he asked, with a malicious grin.

Bill turned to his pal half-amused and half-angry at the sudden outburst. "We have to keep prodding the dead in the hope of a resurrection, Joe, and I still have some hopes for you."

"Getting sarcastic, eh? I was referring to Marx whom everybody has known to be dead for fifty years," Joe shot back.

"Physically dead, yes," Bill replied, "but his philosophy is more alive today than when he died. Do you like poetry, Joe?"

"Trying to change the subject, are you?" Joe asked almost with a sneer.

"No, I was thinking of a jingle appropriate to this matter of who is dead and who is living," Bill replied. "Try this on your piano," and Bill proceeded to quote:

The Dead and the Living

*"Life is a mystery and death is a doubt;
Some men are dead while walking about."*

"Where did you get that stuff?" asked Joe.

"One of the liveliest men that ever lived liked to repeat those lines, especially when sleep-walkers sneered at men like Marx," said Bill.

"Who is the boob?" asked Joe.

"He was a jail bird," Bill replied.

"Oh, a crook," said Joe, with a sneer.

"No, Gene Debs, a man who still lives although his ashes lie in a Terre Haute cemetery. He knew that many human beings go through life dressed for their funeral, creatures always prepared for burial. Ever meet Debs?"

"Never had the opportunity," Joe replied.

"Perhaps you would have heard the lines if you had met him," said Bill.

"What do you mean?" Joe asked with a trace of fire in his eyes.

"That some men are dead while walking about and others still live for ages after they have been interred," Bill replied.

"Getting personal?" Joe asked, still more aggravated.

"That's impossible with one who is prepared for burial," said Bill.

"Come outside and I'll show you who is alive," said Joe, rising.

"Where will we go? To a tomb?" Bill asked mockingly.

"Cut it out or we'll have it out right here," said Joe with a menacing gesture.

Sneers at Marx

"ALL right, we're getting nowhere with this duel anyway," said Bill. "However, you started this with your cynical remark about Marx. You certainly know that Marx, Debs, Darwin, Plato, Jaurès and others have passed on and yet if you are alive you know that they are not dead. It is only those who are dead who think that such men are not alive, alive in the sense that their ideas profoundly influence those who are alive. Will you concede that?"

"Oh, I suppose there is some truth in that," Joe replied.

"Certainly," said Bill. "There are the pompous liberals, the professorial police of capitalism, the Hitlers and the Mussolinis, the editorial tribe wearing their brass checks, all in a united front sneering at Marx. Why should you line up with that crowd?" Bill asked.

"Well, they may be wrong, but you must admit that they also are very much alive or they would not have the influence and power that is theirs," said Joe.

"They are very much alive, but they do not live for you," Bill replied. "They live and think and work for the ruling classes that keep the working class in subjection. The dead among the workers follow them, not the living."

"Agreed, but Marxism may be wrong just the same. Isn't that true?"

Marxism a Living Force

"NOW you are alive," Bill replied. "Marxism may be wrong, but you do not prove that it is by a sneer. Marxism as an evolutionary philosophy provides for its continuous re-examination in accord with a changing world and it has been expanded and modified by Marxists since Marx died. That is why it is today a living force influencing the world's proletariat. It probably would have died long ago if it did not have this evolutionary character. What is really dead lives only in the brains of those who themselves are dead."

"For example," said Joe.

"Ku Kluxism," Bill replied. "It is the survival of ideas that may be traced back to the Reformation. It has filtered through the ages and in this country it is anti-Catholic, anti-Jew, pro-American and fundamentalist. Its current diabolism is objection to Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt smoking cigarettes. Its supporters are dead men walking about."

"Why don't you let such dead rest in peace?" asked Joe.

"We would were it not that in walking about they disturb the work of the living," Bill replied, as Joe finished his sandwich and they walked out mentally agreeing to a truce.

By George R. Kirkpatrick

Marx Gave Us the Scientific Exact Knowledge That We Need

It Was Only When Scientists Gave Us the Microscope That We Were Able to Conquer the Disease Germ—And Marx Gave Us the Social Microscope.

AN unarmed man fighting a fullgrown, hungry lion has no chance—especially if he mistakes the lion for a pet puppy. Similarly a physician fighting a deadly germ disease—in total darkness as to its fundamental nature and primary cause—has little chance to win. Since some disease germs can and do double their numbers three times per hour they can and they do multiply to countless billions in forty-eight hours, and thus amazingly multiply their power to devour, befoul and poison human flesh and blood and bone—their power to kill. Unmastered Asiatic cholera, for example, kills from 50 to 90 per cent of its victims—promptly. And there are near a score of germ diseases capable of havoc in the human body.

In the past, treating these diseases hundreds of thousands of physicians have fumbled and bungled and lost, lost hundreds of millions of cases. And thus it was for thousands of years—till a correct diagnosis became possible through knowledge of the causes and the fundamental nature of these diseases. The myriads of microscopic serpents, lions and tigers, that is, the countless millions of tiny devils—that, as invisibly small plants and animals swim, suck, bore, eat, void, spill poison and spread death in human flesh and blood and bone—these have slain far more human beings than all the famines, wars and wild animals of all time.

The Great Discovery

These myriads of microscopic killers were uncovered for the first time in 1879 by means of the compound achromatic microscope. Then and thus began to be revealed the fundamental causes and the fundamental nature of the devastating diseases that had puzzled medical men for ages; and thus also was revealed the fundamental nature of the procedure required for curing—and preventing—such diseases.

Then followed the revolution—in medicine. And in the fifty-four years since 1879 medical science has made more progress than had been made in the five hundred thousand years preceding. Ignorant bewilderment, pretentious fussing, learned guessing, pompous puffing—and also futile whimpering and whining supplications to the General Manager of the starry galaxies—all this stuff and nonsense was promptly banished from the laboratory, the hospital and the sick-room; banished by the compound, achromatic microscope that uncovered the tiny, deadly devils that far surpass a hungry lion or the god of war in spreading death.

Helpless, hopeless "muddling through" gave way to scientific diagnosis; and therefore human beings have ceased to be slaughtered wholesale by disease—like flies in a January frost—since that revolution. Thus the human physical organism, the beautiful human body, is the fortunate heir of that glorious medical revolution, a revolution rendered inevitable by reliable, revolutionary information secured by means of the compound achromatic microscope—gladly used by open-minded, revolutionary scientific men.

Today society, the social organism, is sick, desperately sick, and daily growing sicker, stumbling toward complete collapse and disaster. Havoc has its way all around the world. Hundreds of millions are shivering, starving and whimpering in fear and want in the midst of plenty or potential plenty.

Here in the United States there is plenty, plenty of everything, everything except reliable information, fundamental knowledge of what is fundamentally wrong in the social organism; knowledge of the fundamental cause of the mal-

ady that grips, robs, poisons and wrecks the world. Tens of millions are sputtering and stuttering, cursing and threatening, dully repeating, "There is something wrong." Yet the multitude is abysmally ignorant of what is wrong, and therefore dangerously ignorant of what to do. Shallow analysis and puffing suggestions are urged on all sides, urged by the hungry and the desperate.

Muddling Through

Thus, alas! it is also with our so-called "best minds," our leaders (and looters.) A meddling, muddling, swindling crew of social parasites have brought us to the present appalling situation. Hither, to this present, threatening whirlwind of blind and bitter rebellion have the industrial buccaneers, the financial wizards, captains of industry—and the statesmen—have brought us, for these pretentious mighty ones have had full charge and management of the social organism. Ignorant physicians they are, ignorantly muttering, "There is something wrong." But, like the plain people, they seem abysmally ignorant of what is wrong; and therefore they have muddled and waited for three and a half years, hoping, guessing, complaining, accusing and passing the buck, all the while guilefully expecting that sickened society will "come back" rosy and rotund with health and prosperity.

The strutting buccaneers of finance and industry and their shameless time-servers in the capitalist legislatures of the world are simply incapable of correct diagnosis, and are, therefore, useless and dangerous in the matter of the correct procedure for the climax phases of the capitalist parasitism that poisons and sickens the social body.

In this sickening situation, the Socialists, heads erect and smiling, thrilling with confidence, march forward toward the New Time to follow the impending and certain revolution.

And for our confidence we commemorate the memory of Karl Marx and to him we render thanks, for to him we owe a glorious contribution to the philosophy of social evolution. We owe him for a correct diagnosis of the social malady that now maddens mankind. We owe him for an understanding of the historic forms of social parasitism, understanding of the clashing of the classes, for an understanding of the legalized looting of the world, for an understanding of the technique of the legalized looting that today masquerades as statesmanship and industrial genius.

We owe Marx for a fundamental understanding of the significance of the revolutionary machinery of modern industry and of the revolutionary procedure necessary to rid ourselves of the capitalist parasitism that fattens on the blood and tears and poverty of the workers of the world. Now we better understand why we are poor and

(Continued on Page Sixteen)

Socialis

No. 12

TODAY, fifty years after the death of Karl Marx, Marx lives more vividly than ever before. Today the words he uttered as prophecy are sober, scientific truth. Today the proletariat he called to action in the greatest rallying cry in all history are engaged in the grim Final Conflict for the time when "L'Internationale sera le genre humain."

In 1848 the youthful Marx and Engels wrote the Manifest, the greatest pamphlet of all time; and concluded with the words: *The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!*

Great words; the angels of great deeds. Great words, coming from two obscure young journalists representing an obscure and secret political sect, in a revolutionary time, when the world teemed with obscure and secret revolutionary organizations.

But from those words, from that organization and from the brain and the flaming soul of the main author of that pamphlet came a great philosophy, a great movement—and the only hope of a tragically suffering world.

Karl Marx was many things; journalist, political leader, lecturer, writer and pamphleteer, economist and historian, sociologist and scientist. And not the least of the things for which he is honored are his manliness and his courage. He was a man!

The greatness of Marx's personality is often neglected because of the greatness of his work; but as the world pays tribute to his contributions to economic and historical science and to his great leadership it is well also to recall his sterling character, the simple-minded heroism with which he served his great Cause.

Karl Heinrich Marx was born May 5th, 1818, at Treves (Trier) in the Rheinland. His father was a prosperous Jewish lawyer who had accepted formal conversion to Christianity (for strictly business reasons). His mother came from a long line of Dutch rabbis.

Marx was a brilliant young man and it was hoped he would adopt a university career, becoming a

The showment of the memorial postage stamp

professor of deep, though made him philosophical. In his thinking, affected by the Hegelian economic work, Bonn and his degree the last name had by the tion of career.

He had Jenny von a noble for forty with her in or tiful romances

In 1842 Marx the Rheinische and from that longed to the letariat. The pa and Marx went met many poli period of rev and there he b to discuss, as there, also, he with Bakunin, Heinrich Heine ant of all, Fre thereupon beca and most trust

In Paris Ma organ of Germ he was expelled request of the F He went to Bru ed still ano Deutsche Brü

Don't Be

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT made a speech last Saturday and explained what the New Deal is to be like. The cards are to be reshuffled, but it's to be the same old gambling system.

He said something about chasing the money changers out of the temple. But he said nothing about chasing them out of the banks.

He said he wants to have the power he would have if this country were at war. That's the Roosevelt way of announcing that he's a Mussolini Democrat.

It was a typical Roosevelt speech. It was frankly evasive.

For a whole week Roosevelt and his "brain trust" had been hard at work packing the platitudes.

It was a very elastic speech. Every sentence bounced back to where it had started after reaching the middle.

He said that the thing we have to fear most is fear. It would seem that if the unemployed hadn't

been afraid they been laid off.

No sooner did the nation with a Governor Lehman banks in New

After Lehman holiday, Roosevelt financial fest nation, with and the deposit

And Woodin paper.

Confidence was all official statement closed the banks appealed to de withdraw their m

All the fellow to the banks about their fail

Business man ing of their fa But there American fam needn't worry ab families of the they have nothing

Profiles Marx

there he joined the Communist League, the successor to the former League of the Just and in which reposed whatever there was of modern Socialism in the confusion of philosophies of the time.

As members of that League Marx and Engels in 1847 were invited to draft a platform; and so the immortal Manifesto was written. Engels generously says that the central idea of the pamphlet—hence of the philosophy—was Marx's. The Manifesto was read in February, 1848, coinciding with the revolutions of that month. In May Marx was called to edit the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, which he founded together with Engels and others, a post he continued until arrested for high treason.

His trial was a historic one; he addressed the jury and the jury passed a resolution thanking the learned Dr. Marx for his brilliant lecture on history and economics; he was acquitted, but in June, 1849, the paper was suppressed, its last issue appearing in red ink.

Thereafter Marx took up his residence in London, where he lived until his death, with occasional visits to Germany for agitation purposes. He earned a meager living as contributor to the *New York Tribune*. He lectured to countless workingmen's clubs. He almost made his home in the library of the British Museum, making himself a master of mountains of material. In 1859 he published "*Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*," in which he laid down the bases of the Marxian system. From that time until the end his life was devoted to two great enterprises; the writing of "*Das Kapital*," and the organization of the International Workingmen's Association.

The latter was launched in London in 1864, and its national sections became the labor and Socialist parties of the various countries. There is no room here for more than mere reference to the bitter internecine strife with the anarchists under Bakunin, who sought to "capture" the International and whose intrigues destroyed organization. Marx did not live to see the reorganization of the International in 1889; but he did live to see Socialism on the march in country after country.

In his private life Marx was a man of charm and beauty of character. (Continued on Page Sixteen)

Frederick Engels' Noble Oration Over The Grave of Karl Marx

Marx's Great Friend and Co-worker Spoke Feelingly of His Loss, and the World's Loss, at Marx's Death.

Karl Marx, who died in London March 14, 1883, was buried three days later in Highgate Cemetery together with his wife and his five-year-old grandson Harry Longuet (brother of Jean Longuet), who died six days after Marx. The funeral was simple, the only persons present being Frederick Engels, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Frederick Lessner, and two of Marx's sons-in-law, Charles Longuet and Paul Lafargue.

ON March 14th, at a quarter to three in the afternoon, the greatest of living thinkers ceased to think. He had been left alone for barely two minutes; but when we entered his room we found that, seated in his chair, he had quietly gone to sleep—forever.

The loss which his death has inflicted upon the fighting proletariat in Europe and America, and upon the science of history, is immeasurable. The gaps that will be made by the death of this titan will soon be felt.

Just as Darwin discovered the law of evolution in organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of evolution in human history. He discovered the simple fact (heretofore hidden beneath ideological excrescences) that human beings must have food and drink, clothing and shelter, first of all, before they can interest themselves in politics, science, art, religion, and the like. This implies that the production of the immediately requisite material means of subsistence, and therewith the extant economic developmental phase of a nation or an epoch, constitute the foundation upon which the State institutions, the legal outlooks, the artistic and even the religious ideas, of those concerned, have been built up. It implies that these latter must be explained out of the former, whereas usually the former have been explained as issuing from the latter.

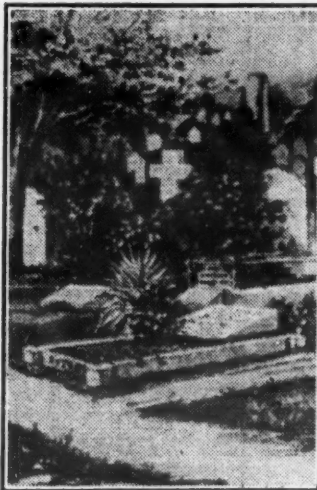
Nor was that all. Marx likewise discovered the special law of motion proper to the contemporary capitalist method of production and to the bourgeois society which that method of production has brought into being. The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light here, whereas all previous investigators (socialist critics not less than bourgeois economists) had been groping in the dark.

Two such discoveries might suffice for one man's lifetime. Fortunate is he who is privileged to make even one discovery so outstanding. But in every field he studied (the fields were many, and the studies were exhaustive), Marx made independent discoveries—even in mathematics.

I have pictured the man of science. But the man of science was still only half the man. For Marx, science was a motive force of history, was a revolutionary force. Whilst he took a pure delight in a purely theoretical study, in one which had not and perhaps never would have a practical application, he experienced a joy of a very different kind when he was concerned with a discovery which would forthwith exert a revolutionary influence on industry, on historical evolution in general. For instance, he paid close attention to the advances of electrical science, and, of late years, to the discoveries of Marcel Deprez.

For, before all else, Marx was a revolutionist. To collaborate in one way or another in the overthrow of capitalist society and of the State institutions created by that society; to collaborate in the freeing of the modern proletariat, which he was the first to inspire with a consciousness of its needs, with a knowledge of the conditions requisite for its emancipation—this was his true mission in life. Fighting was his natural element. Few men ever fought with so much passion, tenacity, and success. His work on the *Rheinische Zeitung* in

Marx's Grave



The inscription on the tomb reads as follows:

Jenny von Westphalen
The Beloved Wife of
Karl Marx
Born 12 February 1814
Died 2 December 1881
and Karl Marx
Born May 5 1818; Died March 14 1883
And Harry Longuet
Their Grandson
Born July 4, 1878; Died March 20 1883
And Helen Demuth
Born January 1 1823; Died November 4 1890
Helen Demuth was the faithful
Lenchen, the devoted friend who
lived with the Marx family
through all the years of their
privations.

1842, on the *Parisian Vorwaerts* in 1844, on the *Deutsche Brüsseler Zeitung* in 1847, on the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848 and 1849, on the *New York Tribune* from 1852 to 1861; a great number of pamphlets; multifarious activities in Paris, Brussels, and London; finally, as crown to his labors, the foundation of the Workingmen's Association; there you have his record. Had Marx done nothing but found the International, that was an achievement of which he might well have been proud.

Because he was an active revolutionist, Marx was the best hated and most calumniated man of his time. He was shown the door by various governments, republican as well as absolute. Bourgeois, ultra-democrats as well as conservatives, vied with one another in spreading libels about him. He brushed these aside like cobwebs, ignored them, only troubled to answer them when he positively had to. Yet he has gone down to his death honored, loved, and mourned by millions of revolutionary workers all over the world, in Europe and Asia as far eastward as the Siberian mines, and in America as far westward as California. I can boldly assert that, while he may still have many adversaries, he has now hardly one personal enemy.

His name and his works will live on through the centuries.

THE CHATTERBOX

The Day Has Come for the Good Gray Prophet of Our Socialist Cause; Will We Heed His Advice?

By S. A. DeWitt

GREAT are the prophets, and strange indeed the way of prophecy. Just at the time, almost to the hour of an anniversary commemoration in which the name and work of the economic prophet of modern times is the whole sum and substance, the system he described and prophesied against is toppling definitely to ruin. There is a poetic justice, a perfect coincident of history between the day of judgment for *Das Kapital*, and the philosopher who devoted his lifework analyzing its rise, its course of usefulness, and its inevitable passing into limbo. . . .

Somewhere he says with the terseness of a real scientist that capitalism contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction. And that Socialism would take its place as a logical consequence eventually. . . .

Standing on blasty corners and before lackadaisical audiences for all these years, preaching out of the text of Karl Marx, has been the grim, grit-testing task thousands of young men and women set unto themselves. A generation passed, and a new one carried on. . . . We are still carrying on to-day. And strangely enough, there is more potency in Karl Marx's prophetic utterances than in all the myriads of meetings and billions of pamphlets our fathers and we have expended toward fulfillment. . . .

True, the old order is not entirely dead. True, there must come a few feeble attempts to keep the shrunken and fever-wasted body twitching with life, in the vain hope of convalescence. A form of dictatorship in the interests of big and smaller business will ensue. And the starved, unprepared workers and farmers may take its advent peaceably, supinely. . . . Everything except the actual abolition of rent, interest and profit will be tried first. . . . Scrip, refutation, inflation, wartime decrees against hoarding, against profiteering, public gouging and all that may be invoked against a hoarding, profiteering and gouging public, but the virus for capitalistic suicide is rampant in the veins of the system. . . . The end is near. . . . It won't be long now. . . .

Then what? . . . Either orderly, disciplined planning and entrance into a collective, profitless, socially conscious form of civilized life or ruthless revolution, civil strife, and utter chaos. . . . I can hear Karl Marx say to us across the distance between the dead and the quick. . . . "Comrades, persist relentlessly in your struggle to arouse the masses to a consciousness of their class interests, and to the strength that will be theirs for self-emancipation once they unite for the Co-operative Commonwealth."

And no time is more propitious, and the workers were never more needful of our message than now.

The recent bank holidays and the mania for hoarding currency that preceded the emergency orders from governors and the President have given even the ordinary observer a distinct object lesson of behaviorism under capitalism. . . . In all my life I have never as yet seen terror so wretchedly written on the faces of otherwise courageous human beings. . . . Especially as they stood in line before the savings banks and crawled up one by one to withdraw their savings in cold cash. . . . And then the cruel, selfish manner in which each of these slinked off home or to the safety deposit vault when they had "rescued their cash." Yes, these were the same people who gave a little to charities, spoke kindly of poor people, and were even generous around the bridge tables not so long ago. . . . Talk to them in their parlors, at their Masonic meetings or after mass on a Sunday morning, and you would have learned how patriotic they were for their country, what civic righteousness they displayed in their communities, how concerned they were with relief for the unemployed, and how sure they were that the tradition and institutions of this country would survive this or any other crisis. . . .

Suddenly an unprecedented thing happened. Crooked high finance made a goat of a Charlie Mitchell, who happened to be president of the second largest bank in America. As such things go, Charlie really was small-fry in his piratical expedition against the money that his clients entrusted to his bank. . . . Someone had to face the music, and this fellow had been dumb enough not to cover up some of his manipulations thoroughly. Maybe he was just too stingy to hire the best lawyers and accountants before or after the deed. Well, anyway, Charlie stood up, confessed and got it in that portion of his body that supports his curly covered head. . . . And Charlie, you should know, was one of those "newspaper babies" who had been puffed into public fame by publicity ballyhoosers. . . . You know . . . that poor boy stuff and rising by dint of perseverance, honesty and ability into the highest position in the second biggest bank. . . . Well, here, they picked the wrong goat. Charlie saw himself prepared for the sacrifice, and made a few squeals more than an ordinary goat usually makes under the knife. . . . And his revelations brought down the whole temple a la Sampson and the Philistines. . . . A run started on the big bank, and soon enough the fever spread down to the smallest one in the city. . . . And all this right after the plague of dread that had attacked the country elsewhere, left nothing but disaster to the whole financial set-up right in its own citadel. . . . Wall Street. . . . So making a goat of Charlie proved their own undoing. . . .

And for once we saw the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Masonic past masters, and the Chambers of Commerce-men in their true patriotic perspective. . . . Gosh, I'd like to make a list right now of these honorable men and women who grabbed up their cash and socked it away in strong boxes at home, and in vaults at the banks. . . . It wouldn't make pleasant reading as an oration on July Fourth next. . . .

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Things are easing up, though. In the early stages of the depression the same people had to do both the worrying and the starving. Now the fellows who have money in the bank do the worrying and the unemployed have nothing to do but the starving.

Everyone is talking about inflation as a possible remedy. They want to change the theme song to "Brother, can you spare a quarter?"

Inflation would mean more money for those who can get it; which would be a great help to those who can get it.

Inflation means tying a kite on the buffalo in the nickle and trying to fly him to catch up with the eagle in the quarter.

One good result has followed the banking holiday: Stock in the social revolution is going up, and the workers own all of it!

This is the anniversary of Karl Marx, an appropriate occasion for the collapse of capitalism.

P. H.

By Milton S. Mautner

Solomon Defends Socialism In Debate with Nearing

CHARLES SOLOMON set forth the case of Socialism against Scott Nearing's defense of Communism at Sunday's debate at the Brooklyn Forum at the Academy of Music.

Solomon devoted much time in his first speech upon the definitions of Socialism, Communism and Capitalism and drew the background of the proletarian movements, of the rise of capitalism from the Industrial Revolution in England to the complexity of today's system. This concisely presented picture of essentials took away from Solomon's time, forcing him to bring out hastily, though forcibly, his first point in the indictment of Communism.

"We must realize," said Solomon, "that the proletarian revolution for the emancipation of the working class must, if it is to succeed, take root in the peculiarities of the American soil and cannot depend upon any arbitrary transference of tactics used elsewhere."

When Nearing said capitalism's development proceeded along economic lines and was not effected by political boundaries, Solomon immediately questioned the validity of the assertion, and, with this point as his base, insisted that the entire argument of his opponent to be a series of unproved assertions. Further, in respect to this argument, Solomon pointed out the importance of social and cultural differences in various peoples, and quoted from Marx, Engels, and Lenin to show that they realized the importance of differences in particular countries, quoting from the highest authority Solomon quoted Marx's address at the Hague Congress of the International, in which he said that in certain countries "Like England and America, the Socialist order may be achieved by peaceful means." Further, Lenin himself had said, "Tactics depend upon the peculiar conditions of the country. The objective state of affairs must be taken into consideration."

Nearing attacked the Communists of Germany and the United States, saying that neither had learned how to "seize" power. There was laughter when he charged that the German Communists had failed because they followed the tactics and general lead of the German Social Democrats.

"It seems that now neither the Socialists nor the Communists know how to 'seize power'" was the biting comment of Solomon. "Only Nearing, presumably, knows. The Socialists and the Communists should come to him and learn."

From the beginning of the debate, in which Solomon had to oppose not only Scott Nearing but Communists in the audience who worked like a college cheering section, the defender of the Socialist cause swept into his subject with a burning zeal, overturning argument after argument, nailing unfounded assertions, and vigorously belaboring his opponent with a mass of evidence not only of factual conditions of the present, but of the words of Communist leaders whose statements in all cases supported the Socialist rather than the Communist viewpoint.

"The Communist movement, so-called, attempts dogmatically, without regard to specific social conditions, to utilize the tactics employed in the Russian Revolution. But," Solomon explained, "Lenin himself admitted that in Western Europe and America the proletarian revolution will assume a different course. In Russia it was easy to begin and difficult to carry on. And the logical corollary of this

is that the tactics employed in the West must be of a different nature, fitted to the differing conditions," Solomon concluded.

Against the criticisms by Nearing to the Socialist movement in various countries, against the method of revolution presented by Nearing, Solomon brilliantly retorted, turning Nearing's own statements against him.

"I have demanded from Nearing his plan for the success of a proletarian revolution. He says seize this and that economic unit. I agree with him. But how, how, how, should these economic units

be seized? That we are not told, and that is what we want to know. Nearing says the Communists must make certain class allies and then derides the Socialists saying 'Look at them associating with the petty bourgeoisie.' He calls the Socialist movement the hangman of the proletarian revolution, ignoring the fact that Soviet Russia has just assured the German government that it will in no way facilitate a Communist revolution in Germany."

The Communists were held fairly well in hand until the period devoted to questions arrived, when they abused their privileges as usual, seizing this opportunity to make speeches. Dr. Henry Newman of the Ethical Culture Society and presiding chairman of the debate finally, in disgust at their tactics, refused to allow further questions and adjourned the meeting.

Penna Socialists Fight for Socialized Banks

HARRISBURG.—The Pennsylvania General Assembly rushed through legislation dealing with the banking situation, approving the various moratoria of Governor Pinchot. Last week the Assembly had hastily forced legislation to avoid declaration of any moratoria.

Darlington Hoopes, Reading Socialist, immediately urged that the Assembly memorialize Congress to socialize banks either through the extension of postal savings system to all banking operations or by the establishment of a government-owned bank of the United States. The resolution, laid aside for printing, said, among other things, "The testimony of Charles E. Mitchell as to the conduct of the National City Bank of New York and General Dawes as to the loans made by his bank to the Insull companies has caused many people to think that Al Capone was a piker."

In another attempt to have the Assembly memorialize Congress to declare a National Emergency, Representative Lilith Wilson, Berks Socialist, urged that by use of the power of eminent domain industry could be acquired and used for the benefit of the unemployed worker. The issue presented, a squarely Socialist measure, was practically evaded in an attempt to send the resolution to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Representative Wilson secured the floor finally and pointed out that the cost of unemployment relief was rapidly becoming prohibitive and breaking the back of the small taxpayer. Demanding an end to doctoring a diseased system with the political medicine of public charity the Socialist legislator painted the glaring contradiction of fifteen million unemployed suffering in want, while great industries stand idle and raw material lies at hand, rusting and decaying.

The Republican and Democratic members of the Assembly immediately combined in an effort to kill, table or refer the bill to committee. Finally, by the combined efforts of the Socialist representatives a vote was taken. Two Pittsburgh trade unionists and five new independent members combined with the Socialists, giving the result of 176 to 9 against.

Further efforts of the Socialist representatives in respect to the Old Age Pension amendment forced a calling of the Committee at least to consider the amendments. The four proposals for amendments were killed in subcommittee, the members of which are all Grundy Republicans. Representative Wilson was present at the House Committee meeting and protested against the high-handed procedure of the committee chairman, and decided to continue the fight, forcing the issue to a vote not later than the fourth week in March.

Bill 408, although apparently doomed like other labor legislation

(Special to The New Leader)

HARRISBURG.—General Assembly today passed resolution suspending all sheriffs' executions of foreclosures and sales until April 3rd. Socialist Representative Darlington Hoopes, under threat of opposing this Senate resolution protecting property, secured unanimous approval of his resolution suspending evictions of unemployed until the same date. Measure snaggled in Senate, where there is no Socialist representation.

A. G. McDowell.

was referred to by Rep. Blumberg, of the House Committee of Unemployment Relief. The bill, introduced by Darlington Hoopes, bans all evictions of unemployed whether for rent, taxes, interest or mortgages. It has been in the Committee on Judiciary Special since January 25th. Blumberg suggested that it was "too drastic" but the Socialist insisted that to meet the

California Convention

By Samuel S. White

Pasadena, Calif.—With speakers emphasizing that the state "is rotten ripe" for a great Socialist Party in California, the state convention of the party laid plans for the coming year.

A constitutional amendment guaranteeing every worker a job and providing that the state take over idle farms and factories, if need be, will be pushed by the party. The convention also referred to the National Executive Committee a farm program which it is believed will sweep the farmers into the Socialist Party.

The convention met in the City Auditorium, paid for out of the earnings of the publicly owned power and light plant for which the Socialist movement a generation ago is responsible. Los Angeles comrades turned out in full force, the young people being well represented. Students from the University of California and Stanford were also among the delegations from Berkeley and Palo Alto.

More than 250 delegates and alternates were in attendance, and practically every local in the state was represented. Chaim Shapiro, state chairman, called the convention to order, and Cameron King, San Francisco, was elected chairman.

The convention was harmonious, a lively battle was fought over provisions of the constitutional amendment mentioned above, and the election of a State Executive Committee also provoked a great deal of interest. The new S. E. C. consists of John W. Packard, Pasadena; Ralph A. Burton, Lynnwood; Chaim Shapiro, Los Angeles (all re-elected); William Busick, Los Angeles; Harold E. Asha,

Scott Lewis, Hollywood; Mrs. Florence Kirkpatrick, Pasadena; Dr. Harry Darby, Santa Monica, and Hyman Shearin, Los Angeles, who also represents the YPSELS. The election was by proportional representation.

The farm program provides that farm lands be socialized, that absentee ownership be abolished, that the debt burden be lifted and that a marketing corporation be formed which will assure the farmer a fair price for his products and a fair price to the consumer.

The convention asked the N. E. C. to consider this plan, and to draw up a farm program applying to the nation. The convention authorized the S. E. C. to call a convention of all farm delegates to consider any program submitted by the N. E. C. and to formulate plans for an organization campaign based on the N. E. C. program.

Other resolutions adopted were: Endorsing the work of the American Civil Liberties Union and urging all locals to support its work. Denouncing all attempts to curtail education, including adult education. Demanding repeal of the criminal syndicalism law. Pledging co-operation to the organized labor movement, and aid to the Progressive Miners of America. Demanding release of Mooney and Billings and all class-war prisoners, as well as the Scottsboro defendants. Opposing a sales tax law, state or national. Denouncing war and the proposal to establish military training camps for the unemployed.

The resolution introduced on Russia was unsatisfactory, and the S. E. C. was instructed to draw up a resolution giving the state party's policy.

Waldman Outlines Party's Program in Banking Crisis

LOUIS WALDMAN, state chairman of the Socialist Party, sent a telegram to Governor Herbert H. Lehman, urging immediate action for the relief of the needy during the bank crisis. "to provide an uninterrupted milk supply to the people of the city and for the commandeering, if necessary, of agencies for the supply and distribution of food and other essentials under prescribed terms. The emergency also requires that while the banks are closed or withdrawals restricted a moratorium be declared on the payment of rents, interest and amortization on mortgages. There should be no evictions and no foreclosures during the crisis."

Waldman developed his plea for immediate action, addressed to the Administration, in an address over Station WEVD on "The Outlook of the Roosevelt Administration."

"We have reached the end of an epoch," he said. "We are witnessing the end of a system. We are face to face with the necessity of economic and social reconstruction."

The Administration can only weather the storm by ignoring all attempts at half-way measures. Legislation to be fundamental must be built on progressive and Socialist lines, and must be enacted without delay. The immediate problem facing the nation is the banking crisis. The great money monopoly controlled by the private bankers in the interests of themselves has destroyed the faith of the people in the private banking system run for private profit."

Waldman demanded the Administration take three highly important

steps in reorganization of the banking system. First, the extension of the Postal Savings System into a national banking system owned and operated by the government. Second, the separation of the Postal System, thus reorganized, from the Post Office, which should have as its chief duty the carrying of mails. Third, in co-operation with the states, immediate legislation must be enacted to authorize the taking over of the banking institutions by the government.

"If this step be regarded as too drastic," he states, "I call your attention to the fact that we are faced with a crisis more serious than war and only drastic measures can meet such an emergency."

The issues of social legislation were dealt with, Waldman pointing out the practicability of public works, as opposed to money relief. There is work to be done in clearing of slums, erection of low-rent homes, construction of highways, afforestation, and the immediate development of water power resources, all of which would make the expense of public relief count by putting the unemployed to useful work. Further, Waldman said we must build Unemployment Insurance funds, Health Insurance funds, and Old Age Insurance funds, instead of reserves for the payment of interest and dividends.

"The nation must put its business house in order," Waldman concluded, "Private enterprise has proven its inability to function in the machine age. Collective ownership and control is needed. Dare we expect it from the Roosevelt administration?"

Each 75¢

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Socialist Party Progress

DEBATES — LECTURES — FORUMS

CHICAGO.—A call for combined celebrations between March 14 and 18, to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx on the earlier date, and the sixty-second anniversary of the proclamation of the Paris Commune on the later, has been issued by the Young People's Socialist League, through George A. Smerkin, national secretary. As aids in the celebrations, Smerkin has sent out a brief mimeographed summary of the life of Karl Marx, with bibliography, a selection of excerpts from Engels' funeral oration, and a summary of the history of the Paris Commune.

The Yipsels have also prepared a celluloid button to be sold at these celebrations for 5 cents. In quantities, these may be secured for 3 cents each from National Headquarters, 549 Randolph St., Chicago, or New York Headquarters, 7 East 15th St., New York City.

State Conventions Planned

Tennessee.—Monteagle, April 30. For details, address G. J. Braun, state secretary, 125 Vance Ave., Memphis.

Missouri.—Columbia, May 14. For details, address W. C. Meyer, state secretary, 7543 Harter Ave., St. Louis.

CALIFORNIA

Karl Marx memorial meeting held by San Francisco with Ernest Untermann, translator of some of Marx's works, and Austin Lewis as speakers.

MINNESOTA

During February three new branches were organized and two Ypsels. The state office is being moved from 320 Lumber Exchange Building, Minneapolis, into much larger quarters in the same building.

ILLINOIS

Chicago.—The fiftieth anniversary of Karl Marx's death will be commemorated at the Open Forum of the Sixth Congressional District Branch when Harold Kelso speaks on "Karl Marx and the Paris Commune" Wednesday, March 15th, at 8:30, at 3322 Douglas Boulevard. At the same place will be held a debate, "Has the Post-War Policy of the German Socialists Been Sound?" Friday, March 31st, at 8:15, between Adolph Dreifuss (County Secretary), affirmative, and John Mill (Bundist Leader), negative.

Cook County Secretary Vacancy. Local Cook County advertises for a county secretary. Applications must be submitted not later than March 20th to the chairman of the executive committee, Maynard Krueger, 6044 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill. Only applicants will be considered who are in good standing and have been members of the Socialist Party for at least two years.

MAINE

Commemorating the 50th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, a banquet will be held at Hotel North Augusta on March 14, at 7:30 p. m., under the auspices of the Augusta Socialist Party. State Organizer Lawrence E. Brawn will speak briefly on the new administration outlook, and the chairman of the Augusta Local, Franklin C. Brawn, will briefly review the life and works of Karl Marx and tell why the world today lies in his shadow. Benjamin S. Stern, Socialist Representative in the legislature, will be the guest speaker.

WEST VIRGINIA

Petitions with 2,297 signers have been sent to the legislature of West Virginia calling for an amendment to the present laws to permit all minority parties to have representation on election boards. R. D. Holt, Assemblyman from Weston, will present a bill.

MICHIGAN

Detroit.—Women's International Day was celebrated by the Detroit

A number of the forums have found that The New Leader sells readily at all meetings. If your organization has not placed a standing order for a weekly bundle of papers, an excellent opportunity for propaganda is being overlooked.

Socialist Branch No. 1 in a cosmopolitan program Saturday evening, March 4. The speaker was Mrs. James Duffy, and there was a group of musical numbers, including Czech, Polish, Russian and British folk songs, rendered by James O'Neal, editor of The New Leader, will speak in Detroit at a Marx memorial meeting and at two other meetings in Detroit and vicinity March 11 and 12.

VIRGINIA

Richmond.—The four Richmond party branches will join in a Karl Marx celebration Sunday, March 12. Richmond Socialists will be mobilized at 10 a. m. in South Richmond and will hike about five miles for an all-day outing. Each comrade is to bring lunch. Several games, red flag races and a treasure hunt will be staged. Herman Ansell, David George and Raymond Brothers will speak briefly on the life of Karl Marx. Both going and coming we will march under a large red flag.

MARYLAND

Broadcasts from Cumberland.—R. T. Kerlin broadcasts every Tuesday at 4:30 p. m. over Station WTBO, Cumberland, Md., reaching a large part of several states with a Socialist message.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia will commemorate the Paris Commune, together with the fiftieth anniversary of Karl Marx's death, Friday evening, March 17, at the Labor Institute, 810 Locust St. Tableaux and the German Männerchor will be followed by Gertrude Hartshorne, dancer. August Claessens will be the speaker.

Organization Notes.—A mimeographed bulletin now being issued by the Philadelphia local of the Party shows a remarkable amount of material in six typewritten pages. Two fairly long articles discuss "Unemployment in Philadelphia" and "The Problem of City Taxes" in one page each. Short paragraphs manage to give seven topics of general news editorial mention on another page. Two pages of branch notes follow, and a final page of announcements.

MASSACHUSETTS

Newton.—Election of officers

LECTURE NOTES

Dr. Henry Neumann of the Brooklyn Ethical Culture Society, will lecture on "Karl Marx after Fifty Years," Mar. 12 at 11 a. m., in the Brooklyn Academy of Music, Lafayette Ave.

The following Cooper Union lectures are scheduled by the People's Institute: Mar. 10, "Aristotle and Aristotelism," Professor Richard McKeon. Mar. 12, "Key Ideas in American History," Professor Houston Peterson. Mar. 14, "Science and Society: What Science Is Doing to Our Civilization," Dr. Benjamin Gruenberg.

Irma L. Lindheim of Palestine will speak on "The Socialism of Palestine," at the Community Forum, 550 W. 110th St., Sunday at 8. The Town Hall service at 11 a. m., will be addressed by John Haynes Holmes. Subject: "Is a Dictatorship Inevitable?"

Scott Nearing will lecture on "Economic Planning," Wednesday evening, Mar. 15, in Burnside Manor, 85 W. Burnside Ave. (near University Ave.), Bronx.

Howard Scott will speak on "Technocracy and Social Change" under the auspices of The Group, in the Auditorium, 150 W. 85th St., Mar. 14, at 8:30. Sunday, Mar. 12, at 4:30, Elias Tobenkin will speak on "Stalin and Soviet Russia of Today."

"Karl Marx after Fifty Years" will be the subject of the Symposium at the Bronx Free Fellowship, Azure Masonic Temple, 1591 Boston Road, near 172nd Street, Sunday evening, March 12 at 8. The speakers will be Jacob Bernstein, Eli B. Jacobson and Aaron Levenstein. Chairman, Leon Rosser Land.

held March 6, as follows: Organizer, Mary Coleman; corresp. and rec. secretary, Venila Colson; fin. secretary, Florence S. Grinspoon; educational director, Samuel Grinspoon; literature agent, Ellsworth Young; naturalization agent, Achilles Di Matteo. The educational program was a study class on Henderson's Case for Socialism, led by John Hall of Harvard. The program for the remainder of the month follows: March 13, Michael Flaherty, prominent leader in trade-unionism; March 20, study class by John Hall; March 27, Warren D. Mullin, British Labor Party. Meetings are held every Monday at 8 p. m. in Colby Hall, Institution Ave., Newton Centre.

NEW JERSEY

Paterson.—Headquarters, 66 Washington St., 2nd floor. March 11—State executive meeting in afternoon; meeting and entertainment in evening. March 15—Committee meetings. March 18—Meeting and educational discussion, "Socialism and Unions." Forum: Every Sunday at 8:30 p. m., Odd Fellows Hall, Ellison St., opposite City Hall. March 12, E. Michael White, "A Socialist in the City Hall"; March 19, Henry J. Rosner, "Is Economic Recovery in Sight?" (Continued on Page Twelve)

SHIPLEY ON WEVD FOR NEW LEADER

The New Leader period over WEVD, the Debs Memorial Radio Station, is becoming increasingly successful. Each week a larger and larger number of inquiries from widely separated points come to The New Leader and the station direct inquiring about this paper and asking for sample copies.

On Friday, March 17, Joseph T. Shipley, the talented dramatic editor of The New Leader will be the speaker. Shipley is a distinguished teacher, lecturer, poet and novelist, and has been a regular radio lecturer on the drama for various of the large commercial stations. He will be at the microphone from 4:45 to 5 p. m., Friday, March 17. The New Leader is on the air every Friday at that time, featuring members of the staff and other distinguished speakers.

Features of the Week on WEVD

Sunday, Mar. 12—11 a. m., Forward Hour; 1 p. m., Bakers' Union Program; 8 p. m., Modern American Composers; 10 p. m., Debate: "Is Inflation the Way Out of the Crisis?"

Monday, Mar. 13—4 p. m., "Spotting the Movies," with Evelyn Koch; 5 p. m., American Birth Control League—talk; 5:45 p. m., The Woman Looks at Politics—talk.

Tuesday, Mar. 14—10:15 p. m., University of the Air Philosophy Course—Professor Sidney Hook—"Philosophy of Karl Marx."

Wednesday, Mar. 15—4:45 p. m., Marvin Lowenthal—"The European Scene"; 5:15 p. m., Adele Katz—Lecture on Wagner, illustrated on piano; 8:15 p. m., The Nation Program—talk by Oswald Garrison Villard; 10:15 p. m., University of the Air Psychology Course—Dr. David Mitchell, "Children's Ability and Opportunities."

Thursday, Mar. 16—4:30 p. m., Children's Repertory Theatre; 8:45 p. m., The World Tomorrow—talk by Kirby Page, editor; 10 p. m., National Negro Forum Hour.

Friday, Mar. 17—4:45 p. m., New Leader—Labor News—Joseph T. Shipley; 8:15 p. m., Hendrik Willem van Loon—History Course; 10 p. m., Karl Marx Anniversary—Dr. Harry W. Laidler, S. A. DeWitt and Michael Strange; 10:30 p. m., The Author Reviews His Book

Saturday, Mar. 18—8 p. m., Professor Victor Robinson, "Vivid Contrasts in Medical History"; 8 p. m., Richard Rohman, Theatre Guide; 8:15 p. m., Henry Cowell, "Contemporary European Music."

KARL MARX COMMEMORATION

Speakers: DAVID P. BERENBERG, CHARLES SOLOMON

SUNDAY, MAR. 12th
8:30 P. M.
BROOKLYN FORUM
B'lyn Academy of Music
39 Lafayette Avenue
near Flatbush Avenue

B. C. VLADECK, Chairman
Rebel Arts Pageant Under Direction of Frances Leber. — Musical Program by Workmen's Circle Chorus and Well-Known Artists in the Musical World
Tickets—\$1.10, 65c, 25c at Box Office or Rand Bookstore, 7 E. 15th St., N.Y.C.

THE COMMUNITY FORUM

550 West 110th Street East of Broadway
Sunday, 8 P. M.—IRMA L. LINDHEIM, of Palestine
"The Socialism of Palestine."
11 A.M.—Sunday Service, Town Hall, 123 West 43rd Street
MR. HOLMES: "Is a Dictatorship Inevitable?"

L. I. D. DANCE

Skits with Broadway Stars
(Rabies, Just Rabies)

Friday Night, Mar. 24, 1933
at 9:30

WEBSTER HALL

119 East 11th Street, New York
HEYWOOD BROWN
Master of Ceremonies
Alg. 4-5865

Admission: 99 cents At Door, \$1.50
Students, 75c
Auspices—New York Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy

SCOTT NEARING

Fourth Lecture in Course of Seven
on
"The New World Economy"

Subject—"Economic Planning"

on
Wednesday, March 15th, 1933

8 p. m., at

Burnside Manor
85 W. Burnside Avenue, BRONX
(near University Ave.)

Admission 25c

Auspices—Friends of the Soviet Union,
799 Broadway, Room 336, N. Y.

RAND SCHOOL NOTES

THE Committee on the Concert urges all comrades to help make the concert at the Metropolitan Opera House on Sunday, March 12, a success. Tickets are still available at the office of the School, 7 East 15th Street.

New Courses

A series of new lecture courses has begun at the Rand School, including the following: Prophets of a New Social Order, by Walter E. Peck; History of Russian Revolutionary Movements, by Dr. Sergius M. Ingberman, and The Social Crisis and the Public Mind, by Harold O. Rugg, who will give their lectures Monday evenings at 8; Social Attitudes, by August Claessens, Tuesdays at 7 p. m.; The Social Approach to Literature, by A. E. Fischhof, on Wednesdays at 7 p. m.; The Problems of Contemporary Philosophy, by John Dewey, Wednesdays at 8:30 p. m., and The Literary Revolution in Europe, by Dr. Emil Lengyel, Thursdays at 8:30 p. m. Detailed folders are available at the Rand School office. Special rates to Party members.

KARL MARX EXHIBITION

To commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Karl

The Student Outlook

Norman Thomas, Max Eastman, Reinhold Niebuhr, Malcolm Cowley, Scott Nearing and other participants on "What's Meant—Class Struggle?" in the March issue of The Student Outlook. Concurrently the editors offer a copy of Trotsky's three-volume History of the Russian Revolution to the reader who sends in the best answer on what he means by the term "class struggle." Replies should be limited to 500 words. The magazine is published at 112 East 19th St.

PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At Cooper Union, 8th St. & Astor Pl.
at 8 o'clock Admission free

Friday evening, March 10th:

Professor Richard McKeon
"Aristotle and Aristotelism."

Sunday evening, March 12th:

Professor Houston Peterson
"Key Ideas in American History: Frontier."

Tuesday evening, March 14th:

Doctor
Benjamin C. Gruenberg
"Science and Society: What Science Is Doing to Our Civilization."

Tuesday Evening, Mar. 14th, at 8:30 P.M.

HOWARD SCOTT

speaks on:
"Technocracy and Social Change"

This Sunday Afternoon, at 4:30 P.M.
ELIAS TOBENKIN speaks on:
"Stalin, and Soviet Russia Today"

at THE GROUP, 150 West 85th Street.

Brooklyn Ethical Culture Society

ACADEMY OF MUSIC, Lafayette Ave.

Sunday morning March 12, at eleven

DR. HENRY NEUMANN

"KARL MARX AFTER FIFTY YEARS"

Marx, the Rand School has arranged an exhibit in the school library. The exhibition will be open to the public beginning Monday, March 13, and will continue for two weeks. It will be open during library hours from 2 to 10 p. m. Monday to Thursday, and from 1 to 6 p. m. on Friday and Saturday.

Symposium on German Crisis.—The Eugene V. Debs Club announces a student meeting to protest against German Fascism at 8:30, Friday evening, March 10, in Room 508. Speakers are: Dr. Siegfried Lipschitz, Phil Heller, Bruno Fisher and Israel Saltzman. Ronald Duval will preside.

Student Organization.—At a meeting of students Saturday evening, March 4, Terry Donaghue resigned as president of the Student Association and Ronald Duval was elected to take his place. Bruno Fisher was elected as Student Representative on the Board of Directors of the School.

Student Mass Meeting.—Sam DeWitt and Terry Donaghue will be among the speakers at a student mass meeting Tuesday evening, March 14, at 8:30. This meeting will take up some matters of vital interest to the School.

Newark Symposium

"What Political Party or Program, in the Light of the Present Industrial Crisis, Assures Permanent Economic Security?" will be the subject of a symposium in the Griffith Auditorium, Broad St., next to Hahnes, Newark, Thursday, Mar. 16, at 8. The Socialist viewpoint will be presented by Prof. Luther H. Evans.

Socialist Party Progress

(Continued from Page Eleven)

Passaic.—Friday, March 10th, at the old People's Bank Building, Passaic Branch One will present Louis Magnat on "The Outlook for 1933." Friday evening, March 17, Alter E. Fischhof will speak at a Karl Marx Celebration Meeting. Thursday evening, March 9, the

CONVENTION VOTES WIDER POWERS TO THE COUNTY UNITS

THE proposal to dissolve Local New York and organize the Socialist Party into autonomous county organizations failed of accomplishment at the second session of the city convention last Saturday at the Peoples House when the delegates, by a vote of 83 to 33 accepted a substitute offered by Henry Fruchter conferring wider powers upon the county units within the present city organization.

Outside of the election of three committees and the passing of a resolution on the bank crisis, the convention devoted its entire session to the matter of organization.

The Resolutions Committee brought in a resolution calling upon the government to exercise the same police power it employed in closing the banks to take them over and operate them as public agencies.

Those who advocated a change from the present structure of the Socialist Party, declared that the county form of organization would result in more intensive organization work and that there would be a tendency toward enflating the energetic support of Socialists in their respective districts. It was also stated by proponents of the county form that the movement would make more progress if the county organizations were permitted to solicit funds during campaigns instead of limiting that activity to one central organization.

Those who favored the present form of organization declared that the formation of county organizations would greatly increase the Party's expenditures by duplicating in each county the work now being carried on by Local New York and that the location of the present office is convenient for a large proportion of the membership. It was also pointed out that when there was county organizations in addition to the city organization, the results were not successful, as the county organizations raised funds for their respective counties, to the detriment of the local office.

After a debate lasting two hours, the substitute motion was adopted.

The following additional convention committees were elected:

Organization and By-Laws; James Oneal, Louis Hendin, U. Solomon, Emil Bromberg, G. A. Gerber, Bradford Young and Walter Dearing.

Education and Party Activities; Algernon Lee, Matthew M. Levy, Julius Umansky, Bela Low, Gus Tyler.

Ways and Means: Henry Fruchter, David Kaplan, Harry Kritzer, N. Chanin, Irving Knobloch.

Committees to Hold Hearings

THE convention committees, elected at the first two sessions of the city convention, are prepared for work, and are receiving suggestions from Party members for resolutions, etc.

The committees on Platform, Organization and By-Laws, Labor, Youth Activities, Women's Activities, Education, Cooperation and on Resolutions want to hear from Party members.

The Committee on Organization and By-Laws will hold a public

City Council brought Giralamo Valenti, editor of "La Stampa Libera," to organize an Italian branch.

Roselle.—The following is the lecture schedule for the forthcoming weeks: Walter E. Peck, "The Dusk of Democracy," March 12; Esther Friedman, "The Declining Family," March 19; Max Delson, "Breaking the Breadlines," March 26; Wm. E. Bohn, "Technocracy," April 2; August Claessens, "The Plan for Action," April 9.

Norman Thomas will speak in Plainfield Monday evening, March 13, in the High School Auditorium on "The Program for Action—America Plans." The lecture is being sponsored by the Plainfield Citizen's Committee.

CONNECTICUT

Hartford local has changed its meeting time to second and fourth Fridays at 2003 Main St. Party members have been active in the formation of a committee in charge of headquarters of the Association of the Unemployed and have maintained a center at 75 Windsor St.,

New York State

State Secretary Herbert M. Merrill has issued a statement to the effect that the Edward Gubernick who has been active in the Communist-promoted conference at Albany this week, although professing to be a Socialist, is carrying on in defiance to the local of which he is a member. Local Huntington voted Feb. 21st to withdraw its delegates from the so-called New York State Provisional Committee of Workers' Conference for Labor Legislation, of which Gubernick continues to function as chairman. In disregarding the action of his local, declares the state secretary, Gubernick has been guilty of disloyalty to the Socialist Party and has made himself subject to expulsion.

Buffalo.—The Riverside Branch will hold a dinner Tuesday, March 14, the 50th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, at Croatian Hall, Vulcan and Condon Sts. Christ N. Hawkland will be toastmaster. The speakers will include Herman J. Hahn, Robert A. Hoffman, Mrs. Elizabeth C. Roth, James Battistoni of Buffalo and Edward W. Gray and Thomas Justice of Niaga Falls.

Nassau County.—The branches in Nassau County are engaged in many lines of activity. Secretary Gertrude B. Stone of the central committee reports that the meeting of the Hempstead Forum on March 7th was very successful. The speakers were Mayor Stratton, of the Charter Committee of Nassau County; Dr. Stewart, secretary of the Emergency Unemployment Bureau; Benjamin Bronne, of the Consumers' League, and Edward Marks of the Socialist Party. The meeting was a symposium on the subject of county government. Meetings of the branches will be

conducted by Leonard Bright.

New York City

Unemployment Insurance Petitions.—Every branch of the party and all allied organizations now have petitions in circulation. Those who want more are urged to get in touch with the city office, 7 E. 15th St. The objective is one million signatures and there must be constant solicitation. The job must be done!

Symposium.—Thursday, March 16th, 8:30, speakers: Morris Hillquit, Theodore Shapiro, and Nor-

where relief, social and educational activities and a series of lectures have been conducted. Friction with the regular city relief authorities was developing at first but difficulties have been ironed out. The committee has also inspected the places where unemployed men sleep and the methods of distribution of food and other supplies.

Plans are going forward for another big meeting at Bushnell Memorial, with Norman Thomas, April 30th.

Bridgeport.—5th Dist. Socialist Club and the Young People's Socialist League are holding a Mock Trial, "People vs. King Capitalism," Friday, March 10th, in the Workmen's Circle Hall, Capital and Hudson Sts. The cast of players is: Judge, Frances Horn; Clerk, Minnie Gordon; Sheriff, Isadore Kravetz; King Capitalism, Geo. Ribak; Defense for King Capitalism, Fred Cederholm; Attorney for the People, Seymour Landau; Witnesses for the People: Widow, Rose Diamond; Soldier, Jack Clark; Wife of Kentucky Miner, Esther Zeidel; Worker, Alex Ribak; Politician, Irreal Rebak. This play is given under the direction of Minnie Cederholm and Seymour Landau, chairmen of the Ways and Means Committee.

held as follows: Hempstead, at the home of George Freeman, West Hempstead, Tuesday, March 14; Cedarhurst and vicinity, at Socialist headquarters, Lord and Bayview Aves., Inwood, Wednesday, March 15; Southeast Nassau, at 65 Sunrise, Freeport, March 15; Valley Stream and Lynbrook, at 129 Rockaway Ave., Valley Stream, Thursday, March 16.

Poughkeepsie.—Socialists of Dutchess County are mourning the death of one of the old-timers of the movement, Albert M. Brower of New Hamburg. The deceased spent a considerable part of his life at Wappingers Falls. He ran for many important public offices as the candidate of the Socialist Party. Last fall he was the Socialist Party candidate for Representative in Congress from the 26th Congressional District, including Dutchess, Orange and Putnam Counties.

Valenti Tour.—The State Office is endeavoring to make dates during the latter part of March for Girolamo Valenti, who will lecture in English or Italian on the subject of Fascism, will be en route to Buffalo, and locals along the line of the New York Central are urged to embrace the opportunity of arranging meetings in connection with the latest subject of the day. Valenti has just returned from the New England states, where successful meetings were held in Boston and elsewhere.

Woodridge.—William M. Feigenbaum of The New Leader will speak March 12th on "The Road to Freedom."

Westchester.—The class in Publicity will meet every Friday from 7:30 to 8:30 at the headquarters of the Mount Vernon local, 201 S. 3rd St., beginning March 10, conducted by Leonard Bright.

man Thomas. Topic: "The Crisis of Capitalism and Its Significance for Socialism." Third of a series of meetings arranged by the Educational Committee, Local New York. Admittance to party members only.

Women's Committee.—The class in Socialism and Public Speaking with instructors, Esther Friedman and August Claessens, continues sessions every Monday afternoon at 8:30.

New Leaflet.—"The Bankers Force Wage Cuts," a four-page leaflet is now ready for distribution. The price is \$3.00 a thousand. Get on the job!

Volunteers for Typing Needed.—All the enrollment books of the five counties at the city office and a group of volunteers needed to type 35,000 names and addresses of enrolled Socialists. Volunteers can do this work at the city office, at home or elsewhere. Books and material will be furnished. Imperative that these lists be typed at once because of numerous meetings being planned, canvassing and organization work that will be undertaken.

Concert, March 24th.—Jacob

Membership Drive

WORK is now in progress for an intensive membership drive throughout the five counties in Greater New York. A good squad of volunteers is typing the enrolled voters' list and copies of these are getting into the hands of the branches from day to day. Meetings are being planned and canvassing is in progress.

An effort will be made to reach most of the 35,000 Socialists who enrolled last October and whose addresses are now available. Mass meetings are being arranged in every section of the city.

Feuerring, the youthful American pianist, will appear at the Debs Auditorium, 7 E. 15th St., Friday evening, March 24th, for the benefit of the Rand School and the 6th A. D., Manhattan. Tickets \$1.00 and 50 cents on sale at Rand School.

Spanish Speaking Socialists will hold a meeting Sunday, March 12th, at 2:30, at 1539 Madison Ave.

Branch Secretaries are urged to send branch news to the city office not later than Wednesday noon of each week.

MANHATTAN

6th A. D.—Branch meeting, Mar. 13th, 8:30, at headquarters, 48 Avenue C.

8th A. D.—Branch meeting, Monday, March 20th, 8:30 p. m., at headquarters, 144 Second Ave.

Greenwich Village (formerly Chelsea Branch) has collected \$15 for the Briggs auto strikers. More than 700 workers attended branch meeting, unemployed league and lectures by Heywood Brown, Bradford Young and Paul Sifton last

The first of these was held last Tuesday in the 1st A. D. Bronx. Despite the heavy downpour there was a fair attendance and a number of new members was obtained. During the next weeks there will be meetings in Brighton Beach, Sheepshead Bay and 8th A. D., Bronx.

Besides this, many branches have squads that are canvassing—making house-to-house visits. Thanks to their work, large numbers of applications for membership are coming in.

Lawrence Rogin has begun class in Socialism, to meet Thursdays. Branch meeting, Tuesday, March 14th, will hear Jessie W. Hughan and Algernon Lee on "Socialist Anti-War Tactics." All meetings at 52 West 8th St.

Upper West Side.—Executive Committee will meet March 14th, at 100 W. 72nd St., 8:30 p. m. A meeting of Membership and Propaganda Committee on Saturday, March 11th, 2:30 p. m., at office of Jerome Count, 285 Madison Ave. 19th-21st A. D.—Saturday, Mar. 11th, 8:30 p. m., Karl Marx Memorial Service. Speakers, music, refreshments; admission free, at 2005—7th Ave.

Morningside Heights branch meets Tuesday, March 14th, 8:30, at 3109 Broadway. Irwin Nussbaum on "Election Frauds." Unemployed League is growing.

Washington Heights.—Branch meeting Monday, March 13th, 7:30 p. m. promptly. Then adjourn to hear debate at Y.M.H.A., 159th St. and St. Nicholas Ave., between

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

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.
New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th St., New York, N. Y. Phone Tompkins Square 6-5400. Hyman Blumberg, Sidney Reisman, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

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

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

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

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2.
International Fur Workers Union. Office and headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn; Stagg 2-0798. Reg. meetings 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Morris Reiss; Vice Pres., Joseph Karrass; Business Agent, R. Kalmikoff; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Held.

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. Pinatone, Secretary-Treasurer.

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

AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA.
New York Local No. 1. Offices, Amalthone Bldg., 305 West 14th St.; Phone Watkins 9-7784. Regular meetings every second and fourth Tuesday at Arlington Hall, 19 St. Mark's Place. Albert E. Castro, President; Patrick J. Hanlon, Vice-President; Frank Sokol, Fin. Secretary; Emil Thelen, Rec. Secretary; Joseph J. O'Connor, Treasurer.

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

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION.
Local 24. Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union. Downtown office, 640 Broadway, phone Spring 7-4548; uptown office, 30 W. 37th St., phone Wisconsin 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 P. M. Manager, N. Spector; Sec'y-Treas., Alex. Rose; Organizers, I. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodas.

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. Hofer, President and Business Agent; Max Liebler, Secretary-Treasurer.

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NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11016.
A. F. of L. 7 East 15th St. Phone Algonquin 4-7084. 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.

INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION.
New York Joint Board, Affiliated with the Amer. Federation of Labor. General office, 53 W. 21st St., New York. Phone Gramercy 5-1023. Charles Kleiman, Chairman; Charles I. Goldman, Sec'y-Treas.; Abe Stein, Manager.

NEW YORK TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6.
Office and headquarters, 24 West 16th St., N. Y. Meets every 3rd Sunday of every month at Stuyvesant High School, 15th St., East of 2nd Ave. Phone Tompkins Sq. 6-7470. Austin Hewson, President; Daniel McCauley, Vice-President; James J. McGrath, Secretary-Treasurer; J. J. Fahy, J. J. Bambrick, John Sullivan, Organizers.

WAITERS & WAITRESSES UNION.
Local 1. 41 East 28th St.; Tel. Ashland 4-5107. Julius Berg, Pres.; Wm. Lehmann, Sec'y-Treas. Regular meeting every 2nd and 4th Thursday at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th Street.

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Party Progress

(Continued from Page Twelve)

Louis Waldman and George Gordon Battle Saturday night, social at headquarters, 4046 B'dway (170th St.). Dancing, card party. Admission 25 cents; unemployed free. Theater party to "Biography" Thursday, March 16th. Tickets from Edwin Koppel, 460 Audubon Ave.

BRONX

Bronx County Ball.—The annual ball of Bronx County will take place Saturday night, March 18th, in the Winter Garden, Washington and Tremont Aves. In addition to the fine concert program in early part of the night, Otto Mautner's Flying Dutchman will supply dance music. Tickets can be obtained at county headquarters, 9 West 170th St., and at branch headquarters. All members are urged to obtain advertisements for ball journal.

2nd A. D.—Branch meeting on Tuesday, March 14th, 8:30, at W. 170th St.

5th A. D.—Branch meeting on Tuesday, March 14th, 8:30, at 904 Prospect Ave.

8th A. D.—Enrolled Socialist voters' meeting Thursday, March 30th, 8:30, at Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves., with Norman Thomas as the principal speaker. Sunday morning forum continues successfully.

BROOKLYN

Downtown.—Monthly business meeting held at headquarters, 122 Pierrepont St., Thursday evening. YPSL Circle and Unemployed League progressing. Mass meeting for unemployment insurance will be held Tuesday, March 14th, 8 p. m., at Public School No. 5, Bridge and Tillary Streets. Meetings of the unemployed Tuesdays at 8 p. m., at 157 Montague St., 2nd floor.

11th A. D.—Successful meetings continue every Tuesday night, 8:30, March 17: Spencer K. Binyon will speak on "The Revolt of the Actor."

Borough Park.—Tuesday forum

Lecture Calendar

SUNDAY, MARCH 12

Prof. Thomas C. Cochran: "The Tariff and Prosperity," 11:30 a. m., Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Aves., Bronx; West Bronx Socialist Forum.

William E. Bohn: "Socialism and Technocracy," 3 p. m., 2005-7th Avenue, Manhattan; People's Educational Forum.

well attended. Katharine Pollack spoke on "Red Vienna." Membership campaign shows progress. Combined social affair planned by Bay Ridge, Brighton and Borough Park branches. Next comradeship: "Mardi Gras" costume party April 1st.

18th A. D., Branch 1.—Branch meeting in the new clubrooms, 1686 President St., Tuesday, March 14th, 8:30. Sarah Frank will lead discussion on proportional representation.

18th A. D., Branch 2.—Branch meeting Tuesday, March 14th, at headquarters, 844 Utica Ave. Arranging a card party for March, and a dance in conjunction with 18th A. D., Branch 1, on April 1st, at headquarters. Sunday school meets Sundays at 11 a. m.; class in Socialism, led by Comrade Hays, Thursdays at 8:30. Enrolled Socialist voters' meeting March 22nd.

Midwood.—Branch Executive Committee meeting Monday, Mar. 13th, 8:30, at headquarters, 1722 E. 12th St. Sunday school at 11 a. m. Party will take place Sunday, Mar. 12th, at 3 p. m.

21st A. D.—Regular branch meeting Monday, March 13th, 8:30 p. m., at headquarters, 2239 Church Ave.

QUEENS

Sunnyside.—At branch meeting, Tuesday, March 14th, Comrade Lifschitz will deliver a lecture, at Monroe Court Community Room, 4313-47th St. Branch planning mass meeting on the banking situation March 21st; also a social Saturday evening, March 25th, at the Sunnyside Progressive School.

August Claessens: "The Instinctive Basis of Behavior," 2nd lecture on Social Psychology, 4 p. m., 1014 East 74th St., Bronx; 5th A. D.

Charles Solomon, David P. Berenberg, B. C. Vladeck: 50th Anniversary of the Death of Karl Marx, Academy of Music, Flatbush and Lafayette Aves.; Brooklyn Forum.

William E. Duffy: "Political Parties—Their Nature and Function," 241 E. 84th St., Manhattan; Yorkville Branch.

August Claessens: "Problems in the Nation's Development," 1st lecture in series on "Recent Social Trends," 48 Avenue C, Manhattan; 6th A. D.

Conrad Labelson: "The Poetry of Social Protest," 800 Fox Street, Bronx; 3rd A. D.

Henry Rosner: "A City for the Workers," 4046 Broadway (170th St.), Manh.; Washington Heights Branch.

MONDAY, MARCH 13

J. B. Matthews: "One Week of Roosevelt," 52 West 8th St., Manhattan; Greenwich Village Branch.

Bradford Young: "Socialism and Religion," 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn; 23rd A. D.

Samuel A. DeWitt: "A Poet Looks at the World," Bohemian Hall, 2nd and Woolsey Avenues, Astoria, L. I.

Eather Friedman: "Women and Socialism," 122 Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn; Women's Unit, Kings County, Downtown.

TUESDAY, MARCH 14

Jessie W. Hughan, Algernon Lee: "Socialist Anti-War Tactics," 52 West 8th St.; Greenwich Village Branch.

William M. Feigenbaum: "Hitler or Marx?," 1722 E. 12th St., Brooklyn; Midwood Branch.

Siegfried Lifschitz: "What Next in Germany?," Monroe Court Community Room, 43-13 47th St., Long Island City; Sunnyside Branch.

Conrad Labelson: "The Poetry of Protest," 1539 Madison Avenue, Manhattan; East Harlem Branches.

Herman Salzman: "Socialism and Communism," 789 Elmsere Pl., Bronx; 7th A. D.

Bradford Young: Topic to be announced, 167 Hompkins Avenue, Brooklyn; Young Socialist Forum. Jacob Axelrad: "Our Economic Wilderness—The Way Out," 331 Sheffield Ave., Brooklyn; 22nd A. D., Branch 1.

Henry Fruchter: "Capitalism—Dead or Alive," 133-10 Northern Boulevard, Flushing, L. I.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 15

B. C. Vladeck: "Present Day Problems," 532-86th St., Brooklyn; Bay Ridge Branch.

Esther Friedman: "The Marxian Theory of Value," 1855 Mott Ave., room 114, Far Rockaway, L. I.

John Chamberlain: "Votes Will Do—For the Present," 52 West 8th St., Manhattan; Greenwich Village Branch.

THURSDAY, MARCH 16

Matthew M. Levy, Isidore Berger: Symposium, "Landlords, Tenants and Evictions," 904 Prospect Ave.

Morris Hillquit, Theodore Shapiro, Norman Thomas: "The Crisis of Capitalism and Its Significance for Socialism," Debs Auditorium, 7 E. 15th St., Manhattan. (Admittance by party membership card.)

FRIDAY, MARCH 17

Max Delson, Prof. A. B. Williamson: Symposium, "City Fusion," 1113 Brighton Beach Ave., B'klyn.

William E. Duffy: "Political Parties—Their Nature and Function," 126 Delancey St.; 4th A. D.

Charles Solomon, F. H. LaGuardia, Louis Cuvillier: Symposium, "City Government," Paradise Manor, Mt. Eden and Jerome Aves.; Mid-Bronx Socialist Forum.

William M. Feigenbaum: "Karl Marx—50 Years After," 144 Second Ave., Manhattan; 8th A. D.

Louis Waldman: "A Socialist Legislative Program," 7308 Bay Parkway, Brooklyn; 16th A. D.

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A sure way by which those who attend lectures and forums may be kept in touch with Socialist Party activities is to sell copies of THE NEW LEADER at all meetings.

Y.P.S.L. NOTES

Strike Relief Dance.—Active Yip-sels will attend the basketball game and dance Saturday, March 11, at 8:30, at Stuyvesant High School Gym, 15th St. and First Ave., N. Y. C. Admission 25 cents. The dance and game are being held jointly by the Young Circle League and YPSL Debate with Loveston-

SOCIALIST SCHOOLS

All classes start at 11 a. m. unless otherwise listed.

MANHATTAN

6th A. D., 48 Ave. C: Junior Class, Sylvia Weingart; Senior Class, Katherine Pollak (Essentials of Unionism), 12:30 p. m.

8th A. D., 144 Second Ave.: Senior Class, 1:15 p. m., Samuel H. Friedman (History of Socialism).

Chelsea, 52 W. 8th St., 11:30 a. m., Agnes Martocci and Esther Eisenberg.

BRONX

9 West 170th St.: Gertrude Turkeff and Clarence Greenberg. 904 Prospect Ave. (Bellamy Club): Ida Y. Kaufman and Jean Friedberg (last attempt to reorganize).

BROOKLYN

Downtown, 250 South 4th St.: Edward P. Gottlieb.

Midwood, 1722 East 12th St.: Viola Levenson.

Brighton, 1113 Brighton Beach Ave.: Junior Class, Al Meyer; Senior Class, 3 p. m. (to be announced).

Brownsville, 219 Sackman St. (Brownsville Labor Lyceum): Junior Class, Pugh Press; Senior Class, Sam. H. Friedman.

18th A. D., 844 Utica Ave.: Sarah Rosenberg.

Elementary Class, Etta Meyer. Borough Park Labor Lyceum, 1377 42nd St.: Gertrude Gross and Etta Meyer (being reorganized; children please appear at 11).

21st A. D., 2239 Church Ave.: Senior Class, 3:30 p. m., Samuel H. Friedman.

ites—Socialism vs. Communism will be debated with the Communist Youth Opposition Saturday, April 8, at 8:30 p. m., at the Debs Auditorium.

YPSL Songbook.—The new song book of the YPSL will be on sale at the city office Saturday at 5c. The book contains 43 songs, including all the old standbys and a number of new favorites. The book is attractively mimeographed with a durable cover printed in red from a linoleum cut by Bernard Finestone.

Greenwich Village.—Caroline E. Whitney, Financial Economist, will speak on "Money-Scrip and Bank Failures," Sunday, at 8. A social will be held Saturday, March 11. Admission 15c; ladies free.

New Bronx Junior Group.—Youngsters between the ages of 14 and 17 are invited to attend meetings on Fridays at 8 p. m. at 1575 Washington Ave., Apt. 3A.

Astoria.—Bob Delson will speak at the regular meeting Sunday, March 12, at 4 p. m., at Bohemian Hall, Woolsey and Second Aves.

Sunnyside.—Charles Youngstein will discuss "Schools and Socialism" on Sunday, March 12, at 3:30 p. m., at Monroe Community Room, 47th Street, near Queens Blvd.

Flatbush Juniors.—Young people between the ages of 14 and 17 are urged to attend the meetings of a new circle at 1686 President St. on Sundays at 2 p. m.

Brighton.—Irving Smith will speak Sunday, March 12, at 5:30 p. m., at 1113 Brighton Beach Ave.

Harlem.—Winston Daniels will speak on "The Bank Crisis" Sunday, March 12, at 8:30 p. m., at 1539 Madison Ave. (105th St.)

Financial Secretaries.—All circle financial secretaries will meet on Saturday, March 18, at 2 p. m., at the Rand School. Every circle must be represented.

Esperanto.—Those interested in learning this international auxiliary language are urged to communicate with the city office.

League Band.—Comrades who can or want to learn to play musical instruments are urged to communicate with the city office.

The Theatre Guild Girds Its Loins For Society

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

A VERITABLE PLAGUE

"BOTH YOUR HOUSES." By Maxwell Anderson. At the Royale.

I wish I could set down the whole of "Both Your Houses," for every syllable of its indictment of capitalistic government to be spread before you. But even this could not recapture the vigor of the stage presentation, as the Theatre Guild (recapturing the secret of its flawless cooperative playing) gives living fire to the simple but devastating story.

"A plague on both your houses," says Mercutio in Romeo and Juliet as he falls, an innocent victim of their feud. Maxwell Anderson shows that both houses of Congress are a plague on this country, where the business of government is only "graft, special privilege, and corruption"—oh yes, and order; there must be order so that the graft can go on. Beginning as in his own "Washington Merry-Go-Round," Anderson keeps closer to reality. McClean, from Nevada, tries to clean an appropriation bill that, starting at 40 million dollars, the politicians are now pruning down to 200 millions. Failing in his efforts, the young idealist (knowing the chairman's graft) forces the flooding of the bill with all the claims of special privilege, until it reaches 400 millions. This, he thinks, must be defeated; but every grafter, overjoyed at seeing his pet profit included, votes "aye," to give the bill a majority beyond political apathy and indifference to expose each item of graft in the measure; but the seasoned politician Sol knows that honesty has no chance: "our natural resources of a possible veto. McClean threatens have scarcely been tapped! Has Sol a solution? Yes! Cut out economy and renew the graft! This country was made by brigands. They looted states in the process; but they built our railroads and dug our oil wells, they brought our prosperity. Petty economy breeds petty men; open the public purse to the brigands, and let prosperity flow!"

This is the proposal of Sol, who speaks forth what the other politicians feel. And this is the course of action more usually, more politely, labeled "rugged individualism," and given high praise by our leading citizens. Behold to what they have led us! And this is the government of America today—"fifty years overdue" for revolution—as Maxwell Anderson and the Theatre Guild have caught it in a searing play. It is a play every reader of The New Leader should see; and if America could but wake to its message, there

A New Star in the Broadway Heavens



Lloyd Nolan, the young man who has made a star of himself in James Hagan's comedy-romance, "One Sunday Afternoon," at the Little Theatre.

would be near hope for the annihilation of "graft, special privilege, and corruption," and the establishment of a new order, of a just society.

AMERICAN NIGHTMARE

"AMERICAN DREAM." A trilogy by George O'Neil. At the Guild. Passing over the first two of George O'Neil's plays as irrelevant, incompetent, and immaterial, let

The Theatre Guild presents "BOTH YOUR HOUSES"

A comedy by Maxwell Anderson
ROYALE Thea. 45th St. W. of B'way
MATINEES THURS. and SATURDAY
As the Capacity of this Theatre is Greater than Required for Our Subscribers, Good Seats are Available New for All Performances, at Box Off.

The Theatre Guild presents AMERICAN DREAM

By George O'Neil
GUILD THEATRE
52nd St. W. of Broadway
Matinees Thurs. & Sat. at 2:30
Eves. at 8:30

BIOGRAPHY

A Comedy
by S. N. Behrman
AVON THEATRE
45th Street, West of Broadway
Matinees Thurs. & Sat. at 2:30
Eves. at 8:30

us turn at once to the brilliant and bitter act called "1933." In the disillusionment of this picture of our life today, there is the effective counterpart of one of the most powerful presentations in American drama, the first hour of Barry's "Hotel Universe." In Barry's play a group of sensitive, intelligent young folk display the torture life today inflicts upon them; O'Neil retains one such person, and lets

At the Fox Brooklyn



Sally Blane as she appears in "The Big Pay-Off," which opens today at the Fox Theatre.

him—and us—watch the greedy, giddy life that is intolerable.

At the fifth anniversary of her marriage to Daniel Pingree, Gail is using a deal of her husband's inherited wealth to entertain a feverish group, drinking and petting to find forgetfulness. Daniel (come to judgment) can only re-

Eva Le Gallienne presents

NAZIMOVA

In "CHERRY ORCHARD"
By TCHEKOV

"An Absorbing Play"—Herald-Tribune
Alternating with "Alice in Wonderland."
"Cherry Orchard" on Mon., Tues., Wed. Nights & Wed. Mat.—"Alice" on Thurs., Fri., Sat. Nights and Sat. Mats.
SEATS NOW 50c TO \$2.00 (Plus Tax)
NEW AMSTERDAM THEA., W. 42d St.

GILBERT MILLER presents

PAULINE LORD

THE LATE CHRISTOPHER BEAN

with WALTER CONNOLLY
"Most enjoyable comedy of the season; almost too good to be true."—Kratz, The Nation
HENRY MILLER'S
Thea., 124 W. 43rd St.—Eves. 8:45
3 Mats. Weekly Wed. Thur. Sat.
Prices at all Mats. 85c-\$2.20 incl. Tax

"Here's something to be thankful for..."
—John Mason Brown, Post

PEGGY FEARS presents

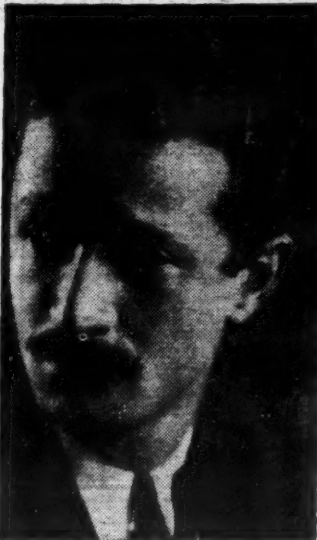
"Music in the Air"

By Jerome Kern & Oscar Hammerstein 2d
with Reinold WERRENATH,
Tullie CARMINATI, Natalie HALL, Walter SLEZAK, Al SHEAN, Katherine CAR-
RINGTON—Curtain at 8:30

ALVIN THEA., 52 St.
W. of B'way
Eves. 8:30. — Matinees
Thurs. and Sat. 2:30
EVES. ENTIRE ORCHESTRA 33

member that one of his forebears had come from England with a dream of liberty; that from New England another had gone, defying

Jacob Feuerring



Who will be heard in a series of three piano concerts—March 12th, at the Brooklyn Academy of Music; March 19th, at 2 p. m. in Town Hall; and March 24th, at the Rand School.

the tyranny of a father and that father's puritanical God; and still another had set out rather than submit to the imposed tyranny of a factory boss. All had journeyed on the wings of a dream; and Daniel, too, and the Negro poet, and the submissive Indian, and the comprehending Communist, all felt the brushing of those mighty wings. But the "American dream" of Daniel's fathers is not the nightmare his waking eyes behold; nor can the wings of alien dreamers, of other lands and peoples, give him flight. Science? What farthest reach of knowledge does not the financier close within the precincts of his greed? And "the pride of Harvard," America's most promising scientist, spends his hours out

of the laboratory getting drunk. Daniel cannot descend to this escape, nor can he discern a pathway through the quagmire beyond the swamps: the swamp of greed we glimpse in banker Stern and manufacturer Park, and the quagmire of indifference on the part of the sensitive ones, of those that should be leaders in the march to a new, a better life. In the face of this double morass of life today, Daniel takes the one road of sure withdrawal.

The first act, "1650," and the second, "1849," show the two earlier American dreamers, and their flights. Both are contained within the third, which renders them unnecessary (save that the fashion of a theatre calls for two hours' play); and indeed the direction and much of the acting fail to take hold until "1933" is before us. The play and the players redeem the night with vivid satire; the pace quickens; the direction improves; and the Theatre Guild has added another to the lengthening list of dramas that keenly vivisection our dying social order.

At the Original Roxy

Zane Grey's action romance of the West, "Heritage of the Desert," with Randolph Scott, Sally Blane, J. Farrell MacDonald and Vincent Barnett, comes into the Roxy Theatre, 50th St. and 7th Ave., today.

"If you see only one more musical show this year, let that one be 'Melody.' Beautifully staged, delightfully melodious and thoroughly enjoyable."
—New Outlook

GEORGE WHITE'S MELODY

Entrancing New Musical
with the Greatest Cast ever assembled
EVELYN HERBERT, EVERETT MARSHALL, WALTER WOOLF, JEANNE AUBERT, HAL SKELLY, GEORGE HOUSTON
and a brilliant cast of 100, including 50—GEORGE WHITE BEAUTIES—50
Music by Sigmund Romberg. Book by Edward Childs Carpenter. Lyrics by Irving Caesar.
CASINO THEA., 7th Ave. & 50th St. CO. 5-1300
Evenings 8 to 11—Wed. and Sat. Mats. 50c to \$2

MUSICIANS' SYMPHONY, TUES. EVE., Mar. 21, Metropolitan Opera House

GIESEKING

SOLOIST in Rachmaninoff's C Minor Concerto Op. 18

HALL JOHNSON

In Spirituals, Work Songs & Blues, including "RUN, LITTLE CHILLUN!"
CONDUCTOR TO BE ANNOUNCED LATER
SEATS NOW 25c to \$2—Proceeds Unemployed Musicians. (Baldwin Piano)

"Startling, Exciting, Gripping, Ecstatic."—Eve. Post

Run Little Chillun!

By HALL JOHNSON — CAST of 175
LYRIC THEATRE West 42nd St. Telephone, Wisconsin 7-9477
PRICES, 50c to \$2.00
Evenings at 8:40, Matinees Wednesday and Saturday at 2:40

Tallulah Bankhead FORSAKING ALL OTHERS

"I enjoyed it all. It is grand—it is New York."
—Winchell, Mirror.

W. 42d St. Eves. 8:50
Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:50 Entire Balcony 50c to \$1.50
CHECKS ACCEPTED AT BOX OFFICE OR BY MAIL

"DINNER AT EIGHT"

A New Play in Eleven Scenes—by
GEORGE S. KAUFMAN and EDNA FERBER
CONSTANCE COLLIER MARGUERITE CHURCHILL
PAUL HARVEY OLIVE WYNHAM
MARY MURRAY CESAR ROMERO
AUSTIN FAIRMAN SAMUEL LEVENE
ANN ANDREWS MALCOLM DUNCAN
JUDITH WOOD GREGORY GAYE
HANS ROBERTS
Music Box Theatre
45th Street West of Broadway
Matinees Thursday and Saturday 2:30

CARNEGIE HALL
Sunday Eve., Mar. 12, at 8:15

YEHUDI

Menuhin

World-Famous
Boy Violin Genius
Mgt. Evans & Salter (Mason & Hamlin)

PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY

TOSCANINI, Conductor
Metropolitan Opera House, This Aft. at 3:00
FRANCK—RAVEL—RESPIGI
Carnegie Hall, Thurs. Eve., Mar. 16, at 8:45
Friday Afternoon, Mar. 17, at 2:30
ALL-RUSSIAN PROGRAM
ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgt. (Steinway Piano)

Rich Upsurge of Song in "Run Little Chillun" at Lyric

HAIL JOHNSON
"RUN, LITTLE CHILLUN." By
 Hall Johnson. At the Lyric.

The efforts of earlier Negro "revival" scenes grow pallid before the power and beauty Hall Johnson has woven into two scenes of his "Run, little chillen, run; fo' de devil's done loose in de lan'." The first scene, with a measure of awkward playing but natural development, sets the old story of the man of God swayed by the daughter of earth; then we follow Jim and Sulamai to the meeting place of the New Day Pilgrims, where this sect, in a woodland ritual, rise to a rousing orgy of religion and sex. If there is an eerie magic spell in this forest celebration (it is staged by Frank Merlin), it grows to a gripping sense of awe in the Hope Baptist Church three nights later, while the sinners repent and the righteous pray for Jim's redemption. With an unflinching sense of symmetry the chorus of revivalists is banked and shifted as a background for the several who set the mood; surging and swaying; breaking into ecstatic chant or muted with low mourning, they draw the audience into the meeting's mood, until God's lightning seems the inevitable doom upon the unrepentant Sulamai, and the chastened Jim rests on his wife's broad bosom as peace and the curtain fall.

"Hertha's Awakening" to Have American Premiere at the Little Carnegie

Leo Brecher, director of the Little Carnegie Playhouse, announces that he has completed arrangements for distribution of Ufa's film success of the season, "Hertha's Awakening." Mr. Brecher adds that the new importation, the German translation of which is "Hertha's Erwachen," will be presented at the Little Carnegie as soon as it will be passed by the Board of Censors.

The German government, in its constant effort to further the advancement of the cinematic art, adjudged "Hertha's Awakening" an "artistic triumph," and the film was awarded a "kunstvoll" certificate, indicative of its merit. Running simultaneously in various countries on the Continent, the new Ufa production is described as a romantic drama dealing with a young girl's first encounter with love and the mystery of life.

"Hertha's Awakening" will be shown in America with English explanatory titles.

Mae West Returns to the Brooklyn Paramount

Mae West returns to the Brooklyn Paramount Theatre today for six days following her third week at the New York Paramount. Miss West will appear in her own original stage revue in addition to starring in her picture, "She Done Him Wrong."

Held Over Third Hit Week!
GLORIA SWANSON
 in
"Perfect Understanding"
 Her Greatest Since "The Trespasser"
 with LAURENCE OLIVIER
 JOHN HALLIDAY
 GENEVIEVE TOBIN
 MICHAEL FARMER
 (at lowest prices in the history of the Rivoli)
RIVOLI
 Broadway at 49th St.

In the Newest Soviet Film Which Again Has Its First American Showing at the Cameo



Tamara Gunetskaya, who plays the role of Katia in the Russian film "Shame" at the Cameo.

"Three-Cornered Moon" Due at the Cort Thursday

On Thursday evening, March 16, Richard Aldrich and Alfred de Liagre, jr., will present at the Cort Theatre Ruth Gordon in a new comedy by Gertrude Tonkonogy entitled "Three-Cornered Moon," with Celia Loftus and Richard Whorf featured. Other players in the company will be Brian Donlevy, Elisha Cook, Jr., Ben Lackland, Eunice Stoddard, Paula Bauer-Smith and John Eldredge.

Yiddish Art to Remain Repertory Theatre

The Yiddish Art Theatre has not changed its repertory policy to the production of long-run plays, states an announcement issued by Maurice Schwartz, director of the Yiddish Art, referring to the forced postponement of new plays to next season because of the unprecedented long run of his current production, "Yoshe Kalb."

THE NEW SOVIET MORALITY!

"SHAME"

Eugene Lyons, Moscow Correspondent of Variety, says of "SHAME":

"If it reaches America—doubtless it will—audiences there are slated for a treat such as they received from 'Road to Life' last year. A first rate film."

REO CAMEO, 42nd St. & B'way 25c to 1 P.M. 35c to 6 P.M. Mon. to Fri.

CONSTANCE BENNETT
 in **"Our Betters"**
 AND ON THE STAGE
JACK McLEN
 AND **SARAH KITTY DONER**
VANDERBILT BOYS
 and other REO Acts
 25c to 2 P.M.—35c to 5 P.M.—Eves. 55c
REO ALBEE Albee Square
 BROOKLYN

Here is the Picture of Tomorrow!
"MEN MUST FIGHT"
 with **DIANA WYNARD**
 IN PERSON
 Held Over!
Milton BERLE
 Gloom Takes a Holiday
Eddy DUCHIN
 and Central Park Casino Orchestra
DICK and EDITH BRASTOW
IVAN TRISSAULT - MARIE RIO
MARIA SILVERIA
CHESTER HALE GIRLS
 And ADDED ATTRACTION
Bing CROSBY Radio's
 Popular Star
CAPITOL Broadway
 at 51st St.

FOX B'KLYN
 25c to 3 P.M.
"THE BIG PAY OFF" SALLY BLANE
 VICTOR JORY
 RALPH INCE
 JACK OSTERMAN and the Club Richman Revue
 WALTER WINCHELL
 in "I Know Everybody and Everybody's Bother"

"Big Pay-Off" on Screen at Fox Brooklyn—New Revue on Stage

An ambitious program is being offered Brooklyn's amusement seekers by the new management of the Brooklyn Fox Theatre this week. It includes "The Big Pay-Off" on the screen, and the night club show from the Club Richman revue. Walter Winchell, the famous columnist, makes a screen appearance in a short studded with the names of radio stars, and the equally famous Mickey Mouse appears, as usual, to entertain the younger contingent.

Specialties are offered by Miss Frances Faye, "blues" singer and Dolores Farris, who is billed as the "darling of the rumba," and by Florence and Alvarez, adagio dancers.

The stage show also includes Joe and Jane McKenna and Wilton Crawley, a "hot" dance specialist.

The film feature, "The Big Pay-Off," was adapted to the screen from Peter B. Kyne's magazine serial, "Pride of the Legion."

"Woman Accused" at Paramount

"The Woman Accused," a story authored by ten of America's best known writers, will provide the screen fare at the Paramount Theatre beginning today, with Nancy Carroll, Cary Grant and John Halliday in the leading roles. Rudy Vallee will present an original "Varieties" program on the stage with an all-star cast.

"Far Away Horses" Opens Wed. at the Martin Beck

This Wednesday evening, March 15, Sidney Harmon and James R. Ullman will present "Far Away Horses" at the Martin Beck Theatre. This is a comedy of an Irish family in America by Michael Birmingham and Gilbert Emery.

Michael Birmingham, until recently an actor, counts this as his first play. Gilbert Emery, fresh from acting triumphs in Hollywood, is even better known for his dreams, and is perhaps best remembered for "Tarnish" and "The Hero." The authors of "Far Away Horses" are also its directors. Sointu Syrjala has designed the settings.

"Shame," New Soviet Film, Has Premiere at the Cameo

"Shame," the new Soviet sound film now at the Cameo Theatre, was selected in Moscow as the prize film of the year. The Moscow critics voted it the most mature movie turned out by the Soviet studios and added that this was one of the few films that showed Russians as they are, not as they ought to be.

Frederick Ermler and Sergel Yutkevitch, two of the foremost Soviet directors, produced this film. The music was written by Dmitri Shostakovich. The cast includes many famous Russian actors and especially Vladimir Gardin, who has been hailed as "the Emil Jannings of the Soviet screen."

RADIO CITY SHOW PLACE OF THE NATION
 SPECTACULAR STAGE SHOWS AT BOTH THEATRES
 Continuous—3:30 to 1 P.M.—5:30 to 6—7:30 to close (except Sat. and Sun.)
KATHARINE HEPBURN in
"CHRISTOPHER STRONG"
 An RKO Radio Picture with
 Colin Clive - Billie Burke
MUSIC HALL 30TH STREET AND 6TH AVENUE
 Direction "Rox"
NEW ROXY 49TH STREET AND 6TH AVENUE
 (Until Script is available, checks will be accepted)

14 Stars—200 Girls in
"42nd STREET"
 NEW YORK STRAND
 Broadway & 47th St.—Low Popular Prices
 He signaled for a Grand Slam and got it!
LORETTA YOUNG and PAUL LUKAS
 in **"GRAND SLAM"**
 BROOKLYN STRAND
 Fulton & Rockwell—Low Popular Prices

THE ROAD TO REVOLUTION!
 M-G-M's Gigantic Spectacle of
 Rasputin's Debauchery and
 the Birth of a New Day!
RASPUTIN
 AND THE
EMPRESS
 with JOHN, ETHEL, LIONEL
BARRYMORE
 Daily 2:50 - 8:50. Three
 times Sat. Sun. & Hols.
 at 2:50, 5:50 and 8:50.
 Sat. Matinee Show. Good
 seats at 50c - 75c - \$1.00.
ASTOR
 B'way & 45th

THEATRE PARTIES
 Party Branches and sympathetic organizations are requested when planning theatre parties to do so through the Theatrical Department of THE NEW LEADER. Phone Algonquin 4-4623 or write to Bernard Feinman, Manager New Leader Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th Street, New York.

There Is Method in All This Madness

THE victory of the brown-shirted gunmen and firebugs at last Sunday's election in Germany was not quite so great as they had hoped and as some of us had feared it would be; but like Mercutio's wound, "it is enough." It would be folly to deny that the dangers to democracy, and therewith to peace and to labor interests, have been greatly increased. All the more reason to strengthen democracy when and where we can.

It is curiously significant of the differences between public morality in Central Europe and in the United States that, although the Fascists did not scruple to murder opponents during the campaign and to burn the parliament hall in order to throw ignorant or apathetic voters into the state of hysteria they desired, there is no suggestion that they have falsified the election returns. And a study of those returns leads to very interesting results.

The total vote was enormously increased. Last November 35,410,000 votes were cast, this time over 39,000,000—an addition of 3,640,000, or more than one-tenth. The increase within so short a time in the number of persons entitled to vote is of course almost negligibly small. What the figures mean is that practically every old woman of either sex in all Germany was brought to the polls. This inert element, which ordinarily neglects to vote, and can be gotten out only in exceptional moments and under pressure, can almost always be counted on to vote on the reactionary side.

But the Fascists gained nearly 5,600,000 votes, and the Monarchists or so-called Nationalists gained 150,000—together, 5,740,000. Let us make the supposition that every one of the 3,640,000 "new" votes went to one or the other of these two parties. That leaves 2,100,000 to be accounted for. The various tiny minority parties lost altogether 880,000. Let us make the further assumption that every one of these likewise went to the Fascist-Junker combination. That leaves 1,220,000 still to be accounted for. Among the parties of democracy (Socialist, Centrist, and so forth) gains about balanced losses. Whence came the remaining Hitlerite gains? There can be but one an-

swer: Considerably more than a million former Communists cast aside the hammer and sickle to put on the swastika.

And there is nothing very queer about this. Last fall the Communist Party and its press brazenly coquetted with the Hitlerites. Up to the eve of last Sunday's election they kept up the cry that at all costs the Social Democratic Party must be smashed. To destroy democracy is avowedly their first aim. Dictatorship, they declare, is the only hope of the masses. Well. Hitler outbid them. He offered a dictatorship as cruel as theirs, with an equally demagogic program, and with a better chance to win. No wonder if he swept away more than one-fifth of their followers.

Moscow need not be much disturbed—and by all accounts is not. The one real disappointment for Moscow is that the German Social Democracy and that the other democratic parties have somewhat increased their strength. From the "realistic" point of view of Bolsheviks who know their own minds that is discouraging.

I say "Bolsheviks who know their own minds" to distinguish them from their shamefaced sympathizers in this country—goo-goo liberals, parlor radicals, advocates of the four or five Communist secession groups, and (alas! that it must be said) some who call themselves Socialists—who find fault only with what they call the "crazy antics" of the Communist Party, not with its basic principles. They don't know, what is clear to every real Communist as well as to every real Socialist, that these so-called crazy antics are thoroughly consistent with the fundamental doctrines of Lenin and his party.

A. L.

Marx's Great Contribution

(Continued from Page Three)

since the end of the colonial period, still bearing a marked trace of the old hatred of the poor whites for the Negro and fears of everything not of native origin, this Fundamentalism and Ku Kluxism has its modern setting in the changing South. These ideas have a history. They are not independent of the environment but are to be explained by it.

Surviving Debris

They are the surviving intellectual debris of centuries, ideas that have floated into the modern age and found a lodgement in the rural and backward regions of meager culture. Where capitalistic production is least developed, these backward areas of Ku Kluxism are stagnant pools similar to the peasant areas of Europe. They are ideal carriers of archaic prejudices and superstitions.

Archaic views having their origin in an old environment and surviving into a modern environment may be so strong as to even arrest economic development. This is evident in Mississippi, where a rising capitalist class seeks to break down old statutes, including Sunday laws, that restrict economic change and the development of the modern corporation. This is the answer to the smart critics who cite such instances as a refutation of the materialistic interpretation of history. Moreover, these critics overlook

an important problem. The Marxian interpretation offers an explanation of the origin of such psychic reactions; these critics offer none at all. They see the reaction, cite it against Marxism, but do not explain it. By avoiding any attempt at explaining its origin they leave it shrouded in profound mystery.

These considerations also answer the objection that racial, national, and religious prejudices are more powerful in influencing the conduct of many workers than economic interests. Marxists have never denied this. How often have we not read in manifestos of the Socialist movement an appeal to the workers to avoid such prejudices? The very fact that Marxists make such appeals is evidence that they recognize the influence of these prejudices. Most of the agencies of information and education are in the hands of the ruling classes who foster such prejudices. It is a case of exploiting interests perverting the thinking of the exploited. The Socialist appeal is to the class interests of the proletariat, which is real, even though it is not recognized by workers whose minds are drugged by ruling class intellectual coercion.

The opponents of the materialistic conception are forced to embrace some form of ideological interpretation, to become more or less mushy, impressionistic, sentimental and, necessarily, vague. It is the great merit of Marx that he dealt a powerful blow to the ideological

By Norman Thomas

TIMELY TOPICS

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

The "New Deal"

IF on March 7, 1928, anyone had prophesied that four years later, in the richest country in the world, we should not only have around fifteen million totally unemployed, a whole class of farmers approaching bankruptcy, and a sweat shop level of wages, but also that the first act of a newly inaugurated President would have been to proclaim a bank holiday or moratorium, the prophet would have been declared a candidate for an insane asylum. Yet that is exactly what has happened. Not even the prospect of the inauguration of "The New Deal" could check the panic lack of confidence in a banking system in which extortionate greed and incompetence are so badly mingled as in ours. The capitalist system is writing its own doom faster than its critics can keep up with it.

Probably the business and banking interests supporting President Roosevelt's lead, which has been endorsed by Ex-President Hoover, will be able to pull us at least temporarily out of the present financial panic. This is a very different thing from restoring prosperity. It ought to be accepted as a principle that banks saved only by government action, Federal or State, should pass absolutely into the control of the government and not be returned to the owners who could not manage them. The Federal Reserve Bank should be completely owned by the government; all commercial banks should be compelled to join the Federal Reserve System; all solvent banks should be compelled under the Federal Reserve to guarantee their depositors against loss. Then the Postal Savings Bank should be developed into a complete publicly owned bank under a Federal Board, with segregated thrift and commercial accounts. States and cities should be allowed to form publicly-owned banks affiliated with the Federal Reserve. There should be a Federal Board to direct the flow of credit. In this way the machinery of socialized banking can be built up. We shall not have the fact of socialized banking, however, if public banking is carried on under a capitalist government by a capitalist party, to stabilize the capitalist system. Socialized banking can only be achieved along with the socialization of natural resources and the means of production and distribution, under the direction of a party which uses the power of the state for the interest of workers with hand and brain. Nothing of this sort will be offered by the Roosevelt administration. It cannot be obtained until the workers do some organizing on their own account.



Norman Thomas

Karl Marx

(Continued from Page Nine)

acter; although he was bitter and intolerant with those with whom he engaged in controversies. His struggle with Bakunin was a battle of Titans; Bakunin won the battle but Marx won the war. His home life was saddened by fearful poverty, but lightened by love and understanding.

Marx dedicated his life to an ideal, and he lived his ideals to the very end. "How is it," asked a young Comrade, "that you who have endured so much are still patient?" And Marx replied, "When you have been impatient as long as I have been you will have learned to be patient."

Marx never wearied, until in 1881, when his wife died; then the love of life went out of him. He traveled to Algeria, his one visit away from Europe, but his health continued to fail. On March 14, 1883, he died quietly, and he belonged to the ages. W. M. F.

(Next week: William Mailly)

weapons that have served ruling classes and their retainers in the task of perverting the thought processes of the working class.

German Socialists Stand Solid

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satisfaction he can derive from the fact that in the face of his arrogant boast that he was about to lead a united nation he has a divided nation behind him, cowed at the point of the revolver, quarrelling, snarling and hating; that with the aid of the most outrageously, brutal and unfair campaign methods in all history, with the aid of terror, provocation, intimidation, assassination and the unleashing of wild fears he was able to stampede the vote he did.

Out of the murk and smoke, out of the clamor and clangor, out of the shrill and hysterical "Heils" and artificially stimulated enthusiasm for the world's most arrogant clown, one fact stands out: THE RED FLAG STILL FLIES IN GERMANY!

Fifty years after the death of Karl Marx, after the passing of the founder of our movement, the party he called into life still lives and battles for Socialism. What Bismarck could not do the clown of the Munich beer halls will not be able to do. The party of Marx and Lassalle, of Bebel and Liebknecht, of Singer and Auer, of Kautsky and Bernstein, of Haase right the wrong.

In Durham

A BIT of first-class organization work is in Durham, N. C., where Socialists from Durham and Chapel Hill, notably Prof. Ericson of the University and Beulah Carter of the Hosiery Workers have taken the initiative in helping a really splendid organization of the unemployed, both white and colored, in the city which is one of the great cigarette centers of America. With those active comrades Prof. Ericson and Secretary Lawrence I went to visit a textile town, which shall be nameless for the present, to see what we could do to reorganize workers now crushed after a valiant strike. I think later on those workers are coming back in spite of the fact that their leaders have been black-listed and driven out to live in shacks even more miserable than those of the mill village itself. Wages there in mills now operating full time are less than six dollars a week. And the workers are obliged to come early to "set up" and stay late to "clean up" without extra pay. If ever in the world men and women had reason to rebel it is in villages like these. But rebellion will be futile unless we can help these workers to find organization and purpose.

I HAVE neither space nor time to tell of excellent meetings at Richmond, Va., Greensboro, Durham, Chapel Hill, Asheville, N. C., and Atlanta, Ga. Neither can I thank the comrades as we should like for their hospitality to Mrs. Thomas and me. I am looking forward to a big meeting here in Birmingham arranged by Comrades Sokol, Barber and others. We have just come back from a very big meeting with an overflow meeting at the conservative State University at Tuscaloosa. In Atlanta I found the comrades rightly concerned that the appeal to free Angelo Herndon, a Negro Communist, should be successful. He received a vicious 18-year sentence, under an obsolete statute running back to the Civil War and reconstruction days, for no other crime than trying to hold a Communist meeting. The Allard, Tennessee, comrades whose mountain village holds about the highest record for proportion of Socialist votes, together with other friends arranged an inspiring meeting for us in the mountain town of Crossville on our way to Wilder. People came from far and near. What we need is the budget and the organizers to get results from this immense interest.

The United Front

FAR and away the best news I have seen in our gloomy papers is the despatch from Moscow that the Third International has agreed to a united front in Germany at the suggestion of the Second International in order to fight Hitlerism which is a menace not only to Germany but to the world. May this United Front not only be successful for its immediate object, but may it pave the way to greater daring on the part of Social Democrats and a more reasonable attitude of fair play on the part of Communists in troubled Europe. No possible verbal memorial to Karl Marx on the day when his memory is honored can be as important as unity of action to stop that descent into new dark ages which the triumph of Fascism portends.

and Ebert—the party of the nameless men and women who saw a vision of a better world and gave their hearts and souls and lives to its service—that party lives and will live and will triumph.

In the week of the half-century memorial of Karl Marx the words he uttered so defiantly in his younger days still ring, the rallying cry of the working class: WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

And the Socialist workers respond:

Mit uns das Volk;
Mit uns der Sieg.

The Scientists

(Continued from Page Eight) desperate in the midst of plenty—and because of plenty.

The workers of the world are the heirs of the revolutionary economic and social philosophy of Marx that arms them for the supreme fight of light against might. For inspiration to fight and for the certain glorious victory we render thanks to Karl Marx—whose correct diagnosis shows us not simply that something is wrong but what is wrong—and how to