

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

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Plutocracy In A Panic

Insurgent Congressmen Feel People's Resentment Against The Democrat-G. O. P. Coalition

By Charles W. Ervin

WASHINGTON.—Anyone who thinks that the majority of the members of the insurgent army now engaged in fighting against the sales-tax are actuated by a real desire to look after the interests of the great producing and consuming mass does not know his political onions. The leader of the little army, LaGuardia, who, as a member of Congress, owes allegiance to no party, and also a small group of Progressives would have voted against the Democratic-Republican sales-tax provision as a matter of sincere protest.

The majority of the army are, however, but temporary insurgents against both political machines.

The majority of the Republican and Democratic insurgents have no desire to be such. They are insurgents at the moment because they have a great desire to continue to be members of Congress. They have a dread of that hell of the politician—a placeless existence. And the voters back home can consign them to this hell next November.

For years the spokesmen of the Socialist Party have been telling the people that there is no difference between the Republican and Democratic Party. Absolutely none except a difference of the method to be followed in picking the pockets of the people. The two major parties have year after year supplied incontrovertible evidence of the truth of this statement.

In the past, however, they have been able to cover up with more skill than now. The capitalist system today is not merely creaking as it has in various periods of the past but is cracking in every direction and already a part of it has actually disintegrated.

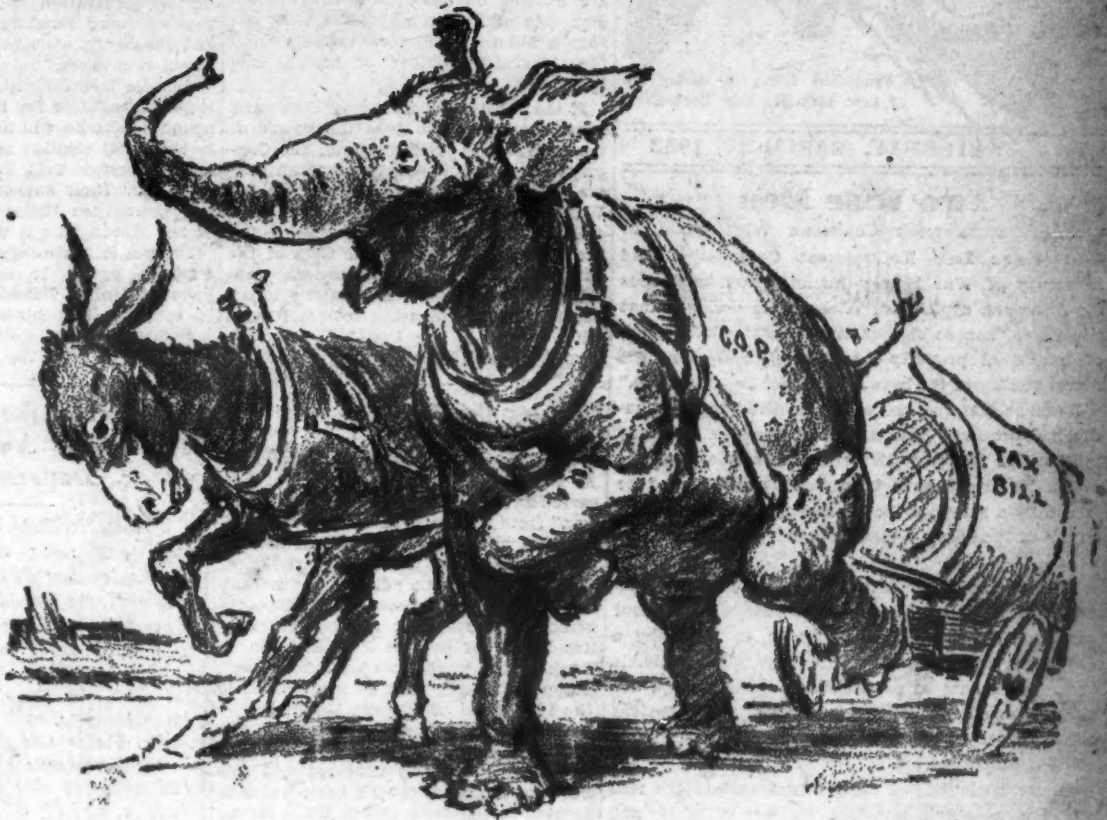
Their political henchmen wearing different labels in order to fool the people must now join forces openly in a stand to help the lords of industry and finance maintain their power.

The capitalist class through its Democratic and Republican retainers plunged us into war and then plunged us into enormous debt the interest on which amounts to hundreds of millions per year. That is the reason why we have such an enormous budget.

At the same time the capitalist class amassed billions of new wealth. They now have the immense impudence, when an attempt is made to take but a small part of it from them through the taxing power of the state, to call it "confiscation" and to place the greatest burden on the mass of the people through means of a sales-tax. And it is an added burden, as already the larger amount of the taxes the plutocracy pays is passed on to the people through their control of the financial and industrial machinery of the nation.

It happens that the Democratic Party is in control of the House of Representatives. It is there that tax measures must originate. The Democratic machine was brought into action to put over tax measures which would protect the coffers of the plutocracy. Pecan Jack Garner, a slick politician from Texas, was the Speaker of the House. There was little trouble in handling him or his staff in the various key positions.

Out of committee promptly came a tax measure with a sales-tax which Democratic national conventions had denounced as iniquitous. The excuse for violating their principles was that an "emergency" faced the



—John Cassell in The Brooklyn Eagle.

They Pull at the Traces—But Stay Hitched

government and the budget must be balanced through taxation. Which statement was a damnable lie.

When the government, under the Democratic Party, put us into a war, it refused to tax the rich to pay the expenses of the murder game and put out billions of bonds. This in turn put billions into the pockets of the plutocracy and the interest on these billions of bonds the poor are now paying.

The Republicans backed up a Democratic President who had betrayed the interests of the people. Now the Democrats are backing up a Republican President serving the plutocracy just as faithfully as did a Democratic President in the war days.

Wilson pledged the people to keep them out of war and broke his promise. Hoover promised them "prosperity" and we all know we didn't get it. It's true that Wilson could have kept his promise, and didn't. It's also true that Hoover couldn't keep his. But then Hoover lied when he promised something that it was not in his power to deliver.

Something happened back home when the Democratic House Committee reported out the sales-tax. This scared some of the Democratic members and also some of the Republicans and Garner and his staff sent out a call for help. The help came at once from the leaders of both parties.

Raskob, the financial angel of the Democratic Party, whose money has paid for their big publicity machine for the last two years, went after the scared members of his party and tried to drive them into line. Everyone knew what was going on. At the same time came Raskob's fellow plutocrat, Mills, Secretary of the Treasury, and went among the scared Republicans.

It was announced that the sales-tax would pass.

Protests from back home, however, grew in volume and those representatives who were supposed to have been put straight by the Democratic and Republican leaders got out of line again. What the end will be a few days will tell. Whatever the result the battle will move on to the Finance Committee of the Senate and to the floor of that body whose members cannot be controlled by the sort of rules which govern the proceedings of the House.

Is there any doubt that the budget could be balanced without a sales-tax if the rich were compelled to pay a decent share of taxes? Not a doubt. And what is more the budget could be made much larger than it is and it should be made larger. Why? Where is a provision in the budget for the relief of the millions of victims of the Black Plague of Unemployment? You will look for it there in vain.

Not only are the rich allowed to escape paying at least part of what they should through the income tax provisions but out of the estimated \$585,000,000 which would come from a sales tax only about one-fifth would come out of those with incomes above \$5,000. The balance would come out of those with less than this income.

A few people have known for years that there was absolutely no difference between the two major parties in this country. Have known that both served the lords of industry and finance when they were put in political power. Plutocracy in a panic has now projected both parties on to the national screen in such a way that no longer can their oneness in service to the House of Have be hidden from the mass of the people.

NEW LEADER

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

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SATURDAY, MARCH 26, 1932

Two Wise Men

IN the same week Chairman Wickersham of Hoover's Law Enforcement Commission and Secretary of War Hurley mounted the barricades for American capitalism. Wickersham declared that Socialism "has so shaken the concept of the right of individual property as largely to destroy the moral quality of the laws enacted for its protection."

Even as the speaker said this the "right of individual property" was a hideous mockery for many millions of working farmers and workers of the cities. He would have been just as logical had he stood by a slaughter house and spoken of the right to life of the animals that were being driven to their doom.

Hurley declared that "we have evolved an American civilization based on private ownership without economic despotism." As he spoke, in Kentucky a despotism jails miners for striking, public officials wear the collars of mine owners, sympathizers are slugged and deported, and a solemn judge deprives a newspaper of the right to print uncensored news of this despotism.

These apologists of capitalism translate the real world of economic injustice, robbery of labor, and despotic power into a phantom world that has no existence outside of their empty heads. A Socialist world would have no room for them.

Observing that all but 8 per cent of the voters in Germany voted in the recent election while in this country about half the voters do not go to the polls, the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce will make a drive this year to get more voters to vote. "Patriotic" societies will cooperate. Only votes for the party poodles of capitalism are desired and if this were the only choice before us we would prefer to spend election day at a slap-stick movie.

Extra! A special commission of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, after months of study abroad, reports against unemployment insurance legislation. It is now in order for the Amalgamated Association of Racketeers to report against the abolition of their profession.

Money has become so scarce in one Washington town that the local Chamber of Commerce issued scrip on this wood in denominations of 25 and 50 cents and one dollar. It might be well for the "rugged individuals" of that burg to contribute the wood to Hoover's campaign fund.

Many of Chicago's 14,000 teachers have lived a year or two on two and a half month's pay. They cannot buy food, afford medical or dental attention, and they are the victims of usurious loan sharks. This is an exhibit in capitalism's show window.

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

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A Socialist View of the Week

Rebels in Congress, Fists Back Home

THE revolt in Congress on the sales tax is instructive and amusing. When its provisions became known many Republican and Democratic members confronted fists shaken at them in their districts back home. The bill might have been put over in an off year but there is a general election in November and the gentlemen up for re-election do not want to confront fists. They want votes and so they turned against the two-party machine that rules the House.

The result is that the opposition cut food and clothing from the sales tax, wrote into the bill a war time surtax on wealth and increased the present estate taxes. The brigade of Tammany agents in the House is reported as standing solid for the original sales tax bill. The leaders of the two parties in the House are worried but they hope to establish discipline and eventually have Congress pass a bill that will please Hoover and the American nobility of capital and finance.

If the rebels face menacing fists back home they will also face the power of the machines in their districts. The Congressman who "jumps the traces" generally finds that orders are sent by the Washington leaders to the district generals to knife him in the primaries and the conventions. Facing the fists of the voters and the scowls of the local generals, many a rebel is sweating blood. Socialists may enjoy the row and work with a will to see that fists are turned against both parties.

Silencing Criticism Of President Hoover

POSTMASTER GENERAL BROWN, Hoover's campaign manager, has barred an edition of the "American Freeman" from the mails and the "Organized Farmer" of Minnesota has been permanently deprived of its mailing privileges. The offense of both publications is that they ran articles devoted to Hoover's career as a promoter and other activities before he became President. So in "making the world safe for democracy" it appears that it must be made safe for the re-election of Herbert Hoover!

The New Leader ran an article on the first page last week which was devoted to Hoover's business ventures and this week we review Liggett's book which is devoted to the same theme. Thus far no thunderbolt has been hurled by Postmaster General Brown against The New Leader but the "American Freeman" and "Organized Farmer" cases may be lightning that precedes the thunder.

However, this despotic arrogance must be fought. If Hoover or any other politician in office is to be protected against criticism by penalizing publications we are facing the most dangerous censorship in our history. Hoover has thousands of publications to chant his alleged virtues and to throw the weight of a federal department against a few critical journals is not only oligarchy but cowardice as well.

Hoover Promotes Two Noble Judges

PRESIDENT HOOVER apparently wants to balance the judicial scales after appointing Judge Cardozo to the Supreme bench by appointing Judge Wilkerson to be Circuit judge. Through Senator Glenn of Illinois Hoover declared that Wilkerson's appointment was made "in recognition of his services in fighting organized crime and gangsters." The implication is that opposition to the appointment in some way sympathizes with the underworld of crime!

This is about the scurviest thing Hoover has done. Wilkerson is the author of one of the most drastic injunctions ever issued by a judge against strikers. In 1922 he issued an order forbidding striking shopmen officials from communicating with each other and the strikers, from paying strike benefits, from peaceful picketing and other normally legal activities. The labor unions rightly protest against Hoover's shabby trick which is apparently intended to divert attention from the judge's servility to the railroad barons.

Hoover has also nominated Kenneth Mackintosh to the United States Court

of Appeals in San Francisco, the same judge who, after the Centralia riots, commended the lynchers of Wesley Everest, I. W. W. hall defender, for their "calm control and loyalty to American ideals." Here is a judge who certainly glossed criminal actions with "patriotism" and Hoover chooses him for promotion. Add the strikebreaker to this gentleman and the sum of both is Hoover.

The Prussian Angle In German Elections

LAST week the headquarters of Hitler's Fascists were raided throughout Prussia and officials declared they had evidence that 500,000 of Hitler's "storm troops" were awaiting mobilization orders upon receipt of a code message—"Grandmother Dead." This was to be the signal for marching upon the nearest large cities. Hitler's answer was that concentration orders were issued because forty Fascists had been killed and thousands wounded in a few weeks by "Red savages."

Theodor Duesterberg, Nationalist-Steel Helmet candidate for President, has announced that he will not be a candidate in the April election and a party statement indicates that its support will go to Hitler. Their support should materially strengthen Hitler but on the basis of the March vote it will not elect him.

Prussia is a strategic state which the Fascists desire to capture. Socialists have controlled Prussia since 1921 and it contains two-thirds of the German population. In the elections to the Prussian Diet in 1927 the Fascists obtained

Hoover Asks Rudy to Croon Away the Depression

WASHINGTON.—Rudy Vallee, Stage and radio crooner, reported Wednesday that during a visit at the White House President Hoover had suggested that he write and sing a new song with a prosperity theme.

The singer and Mrs. Vallee chatted with the President and two of his secretaries.

Mr. Vallee said that while talking in the President's office Mr. Hoover had remarked that the singer would "rate a medal" if he would "write a song to drive away the depression."

6 seats out of 450 but since then Fascism has made big gains, especially among the German youth and students. In the Diet elections of April 24 Fascism will be materially strengthened in that body but it isn't likely that it will control. In fact, Hitler's prestige is somewhat weakened because of the failure of his cocky predictions of victory in the March election.

Watchful Waiting on The Russian Border

THE "watchful waiting" of Russia on the Manchurian border continues and Japan repeated its assurance that the massing of troops on the Korean border did not threaten Soviet territory. The Japanese government added that it would suppress White Guard activities in Manchuria if they threatened the Soviet frontiers. The Japanese Ambassador at Moscow repeated these assurances and in turn asked Karakhan, Assistant Soviet Foreign Commissar, about a reported massing of Russian troops on the border and Karakhan declared that the information was without foundation.

From Washington comes a story reporting "feverish" preparations by Russia to guard the Siberian frontier and that Russia fears a drive by Japan in the spring. This is in conflict with the news from Moscow and any "news" that comes from Washington on such matters must be classified with the output from Riga some years ago.

Japanese Vaudeville And Fascist Dreams

THE Japanese vaudeville show continues in Manchuria. The dummy government will be under way next July with the meeting of the Diet with a

membership of 100 whose terms will be three years. Males of the age of 25 and over are granted the suffrage and the Japanese Foreign Minister announces that the Manchurian regime "is solely the result of self-determination" and that "Japan will regard it sympathetically." The gods must have roared with laughter over this comedy.

Meantime some fears have been expressed of a Fascist regime in Japan. Just as Spain emerged from the Moroccan military adventure under a military dictator so this may come to Japan as a result of the long defense by the Chinese at Shanghai. To Japanese troops leaving Shanghai for home General Shirakawa declared that conditions at home were "difficult" and urged the troops to "be ready to rally to the call when things happen."

The cocky militarists were humiliated by the Chinese defense, Japan has been isolated before world opinion, and many influential Japanese citizens are sore over the arrogance of the military clique. The latter think of settling all this with a dictator supported by bayonets. However, the Fascist danger is not so acute now because the Fascist elements have been discredited by recent murder plots against high officials. It is probable that the Diet will assemble without disturbance and that a Fascist adventure will not be attempted.

Trouble Brewing In Ireland

IRELAND appears to be facing another clash with England over the oath of allegiance required of members of the new government. The Free State declares that "the oath is not mandatory in the treaty." J. H. Thomas, British Secretary for Dominions and former member of the Labor party, declared the statement to be a "serious document." It would be an anti-climax if Thomas is used in the coming months as the instrument of British coercion but that is the price one must pay when he passes from the labor movement over to the enemy.

Last week De Valera broadcast a speech that was heard in this country over the radio. One paragraph had a peculiar Irish flavor. "Ireland alone and Ireland her own and all therein from the sod to the sky," said the speaker. "The soil of Ireland for the people of Ireland, to have and to hold, from God alone who gave it, to have and to hold for them and their heirs forever, without suit or service, rent or render, faith or fealty to any power under heaven."

The ideal is somewhat ambiguous but the sentiment is genuinely Irish. The Irish revolutionary movement for generations has expressed this affection for the soil and it has been ranged against British and Irish landlordism. This love of the "ould sod" has given all Irish struggles their peculiar flavor. De Valera, once with a price on his head, also faces a revolutionary group in opposition. That, too, is Irish.

Socialism in Two Latin-American Nations

CARLOS DAVILA, former Chilean Ambassador to the United States, was recently arrested in Santiago but the charges have not been published. An editor of a magazine he was critical of government policy and it is understood that his views are tinged with an "excessively socialistic color." Hints are made that with active labor men he had planned some revolutionary move on May Day. It is reported that the labor unions had drafted a revolutionary manifesto urging the overthrow of the Montero regime. Davila is also known to be very friendly with Ibanez, former President now an exile in the Argentine, who also had "socialistic" views.

In Porto Rico the Unionist party has passed into history and is replaced by a new Liberal party which includes some other political groups. It appears that fear of the Socialist party had something to do with the organization of the new party. A New York Times correspondent reports that if the groups did not unite "either the Socialists under Senator Santiago Iglesias or the Socialists working under agreement with the Union Republicans would control the island for four years after the next election."

WELL-FED SENATOR BINGHAM

Kept Servant of Conn. Manufacturers Sees No Hunger And 38 Old Party Governors Swear to the Falsehood

GOD'S in his heaven and all's right with the world! No human being in the United States is starving in 38 of the 39 states surveyed by Senator Bingham of Connecticut

Taking a poll of the governors of all the states, Senator Bingham received disturbing information only from Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania who believes that "starvation is widespread" although "no one has enumerated the starving."

Nine governors made no answer while the governors of New York, Alabama and other states reported that no reliable statistics of the starving are available; and that is true. If we want reliable figures on the number of hogs, the value of real estate, and the number of American dollars invested in other countries they can be obtained.

But human life is a cheap commodity, so cheap that figures of the number facing starvation are not worth collecting. Swine have value in the market, the jobless wage slave does not command thirty cents under the "glorious banner of freedom."

He Knows No Hunger

The results of the poll of the states are paraded by the Connecticut statesman just to show that a road construction relief bill is unnecessary.

Let's make a survey of Senator Bingham. Who is this great man sent by the voters of Connecticut to the Upper Diet at Washington?

Well, he isn't starving. He is a sensitive magnet that registers the desires of the masters of capitalist enterprise in his state. A profit lost to them is painful to him. No soul more sensitive to the woes of the investing class will be found in the Senate unless it be Smoot of Utah whose passion is sugar.

Late in October, 1929, a Lobby Committee made a report to the Senate of its survey of the Connecticut statesman. The survey showed that he had established a direct connection with the Manufacturers Association of his state, the president thereof being Mr. E. Kent Hubbard.

Serves His Master Well

The survey showed that the Hon. Hubbard had on the payroll of the association a Charles L. Eyanson as assistant at a salary of \$10,000 per year. The late tariff bill of blessed memory was being framed and on February 5 the Hon. Bingham wrote the Hon. Hubbard whether the latter could not "loan me an expert advisor on tariff problems."

The result was that Hon. Eyanson was "loaned" to Hon. Bingham. The staff of the Manufacturers Association was already figuring out what Connecticut capitalists wanted in the way of tariff doles. The Hon. Eyanson, says the report, was made "a clerk in the office of Senator Bingham. . . . He assembled material for the use of Senator Bingham." He was "sworn in as clerk of the Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions, of which Senator Bingham was then and is now a member." The Hon. Eyanson was charged with drawing the government salary provided for clerk of this committee.

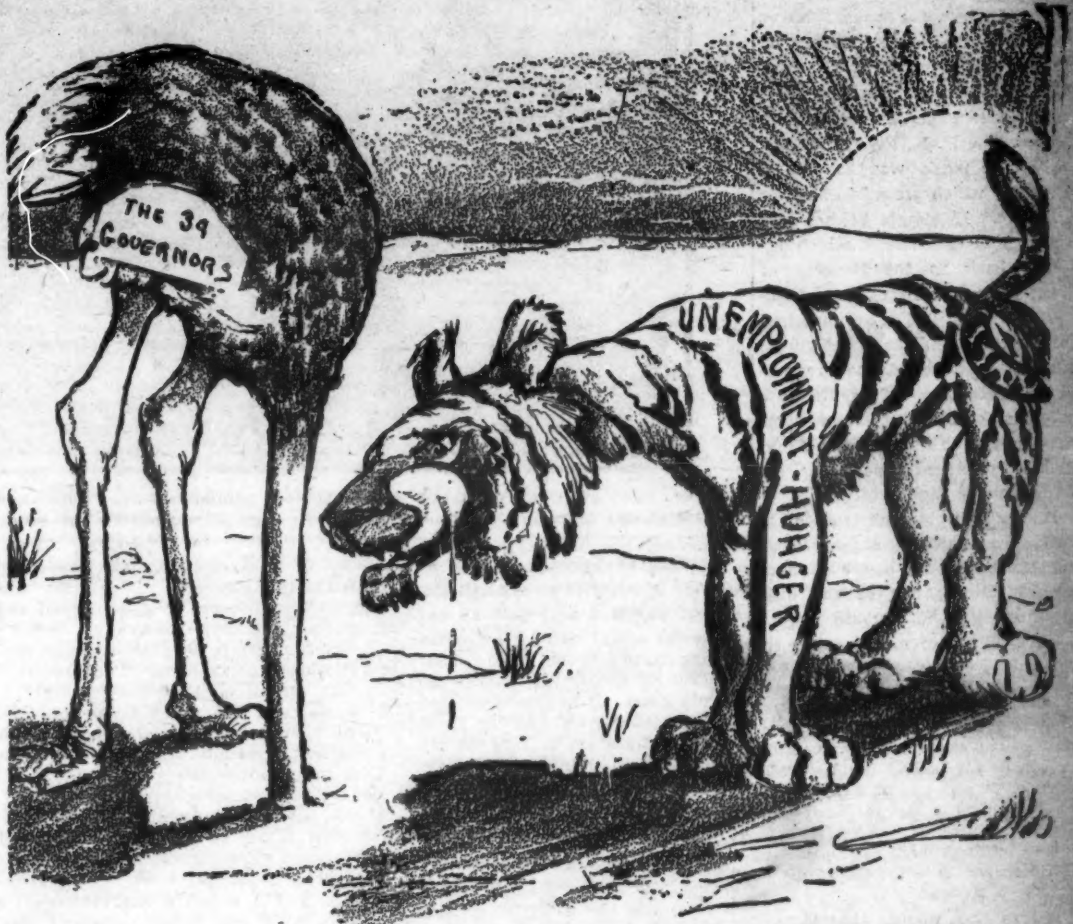
How fruitful was the cooperation between the statesman and the Connecticut manufacturers was made known by the Lobby Committee which said: "In respect to fifty-two of the leading industries in the State of Connecticut, the pending tariff bill recommends raises in the duties on forty-four."

"One of Our Office Boys"

In the background of this moving drama was the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company, which had formed a united front with the manufacturers by affiliating with the association, its annual donation amounting to \$100,000.

The Hon. Hubbard wrote the Hon. E. G. Buckland, vice-president of the railroad, and the latter became almost poetic in his affection for the Hon. Bingham. Referring to the latter's interest in tariff doles, the vice-president wrote the Hon. Hubbard that "The fact that one of our Senators is willing to undertake this work not only justifies but practically demands that the association should support him to the limit."

One of our Senators! Surely the fabled friendship of Damon and Pythias does not surpass this devotion.



THE 39 GOVERNORS: "We can't see anybody starving."

A Dole for the Bosses

The Lobby Committee went on to quote a Federal statute of 1917 which declares: "That on and after July 1, 1919, no government official or employee shall receive any salary in connection with his services as such an official or employee from any source other than the government of the United States, except as may be contributed out of the treasury of any state, county or municipality, and no person, association or corporation shall make any contribution to or in any way supplement the salary of any government official or employee for the services performed by him for the government of the United States. Any person violating any of the terms of this proviso shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$1,000 or imprisonment for not less than six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment, as the court may determine."

And there we have a romance of American politics to which has been added the moving scene of the Hon. Bingham presenting a survey of the states to show that there are no starving men and women of the working class in the United States. Manufacturing and railroad capital in Connecticut also manages to get along on tariff gifts out of the Federal treasury.

Capital's Faithful Servants

No one starving in the United States! Well-fed governors at the state capitals so report. Have they the magic power to peer into the desolate homes of the jobless? Do they know that short rations and endless worry by the unemployed bring ill and that a certain percentage of deaths inevitably follow? Do

they not know that this brooding hell of anxiety and privation is a certain source of physical decline and, in many cases, death?

If they do not know, if the Hon. Bingham does not know, they live in a phantom world, not in this real world of economic disaster and distress.

In any event, they do not represent the voting millions of the working class. The masters of corporate capital in Connecticut can point to a figure in the United States Senate and say, "Our Senator." Other kingdoms of American capital can also point to their faithful servants in Congress.

Not so with the workers of the nation. No fighting group pledged to their interests is to be found in the national legislature. Steel and soap, oil and railroads, coal and banks, copper and textiles, have their loyal spokesmen in Washington.

Starve Them Out of Office

It is time that the laboring millions should be able to point to the two houses and say, "Our Senator" and "Our Congressman." That is the purpose of the Socialist Party. It seeks representation for workers, not for merchandise and invested capital.

The Hon. Bingham serves his class but his class is not our class. His conduct is a text for a hundred speeches on Socialist philosophy. He favors administration of power for the owners of capital. Socialists want administration of that power for the workers.

Complain not of the Bingham. Oust them and put our own representatives in power.

They deny that there is starvation. Starve them out of office. Use our vast voting power to end this servility to the upper classes and become the ruling power at Washington and the state capitals.

Hoover: The Shoddy Material of a "Hero"

Liggett's Book Throws Light on the Past

By James Oneal

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS once declared that many politicians and statesmen wore masks and William Allen White in a book on American politics a few years ago was much impressed with the "queer Dicks" the voters heave into the White House. Walter W. Liggett has given us a study of both themes in a portrait of Herbert Hoover (*The Rise of Herbert Hoover*, The H. K. Fly Co. \$3.50).

Wilson's mask was the "New Freedom" which proved to be gags and fails. Harding's hokum was a return to "normalcy" which reverted back to the thievery of Grant's two administrations. Coolidge was an accident, an undesired child in the Republican family with a third-reader mind that regarded the production of profits as a religious ceremony. Then came Hoover, one of the queerest Dicks that ever placed feet under the White House dining table.

Hoover's origins run true to the Pollyanna pattern of American politics, the "poor boy who made good." Rising out of the drab Iowa seventies, as a youth he goes to Oregon where his go-getter instinct was awakened and was further stimulated as a student at Stanford University. Perhaps it is fitting that our hero's outlook on life was shaped in the Stanford incubator for Leland Stanford who founded it was one of a quartet of railroad pirates that included Huntington, Croker and Hopkins, whose lootings were the subject of common gossip in the California of Hoover's student days.

It does not appear that Hoover had learned to write even good English while a student; he received good marks in mathematics and geology, was conditioned in chemistry, failed in German, and it was only with the assistance of an instructor that he was able to erase some crude spelling and correct some bad English which enabled him to get a diploma in geology. He never acquired a degree in engineering as there was no course in this subject at Stanford in those days.

In short, except for a good knowledge of geology, Hoover was a mediocre student but was fitted for the career of a go-getting promoter, a profession he followed in Australia, China, Alaska and other parts of the world to the sorrow of others who played the game as well as many innocent investors in enterprises which he promoted.

Union Health Center Completes 15th Year

Within a few weeks the Dental Department of the Union Health Center will have completed fifteen years of service to the members of organized labor and their families. The services given by this department have more than justified the existence of the Center.

One of the most recent improvements in the work of the Union Health Center is the installation of a fully equipped testing laboratory. This will make it unnecessary for patients to go outside for blood or other tests. It is suggested that those who suffer from hay fever should register now as nearly testing helps to relieve the patient's discomfort.

Detroit Socialists Protest Ford Massacre

DETROIT.—The action of the Dearborn police in killing four members of the unemployment demonstration at the Ford plant and wounding 30 others should be the concern of all workers everywhere, the Wayne county local of the Socialist Party of Michigan declares in a resolution.

The Michigan Socialists urged the purpose of the parade was peaceable, and the affair could have been handled without trouble, had not the police officers attacked the demonstrators upon very slight, if any provocation, the local Socialists declare.

Tell Your Friends You Saw Their Ad In The New Leader.



ALMOST A COMMONPLACE of the Hoover administration. Police stamping out with repression the protests of workers. This photo was taken in Chicago recently, a few days after similar—but more costly riots—had taken place in Dearborn, Michigan.

Landing in Australia in 1897 at the age of 23, with an assured salary of \$5,000 a year and all expenses as a field man for a London mining company, he was a non-resident of the United States for twenty years. It was this fact that induced Senator Gore at the Democratic convention in 1928 to say that Hoover "intends to take out his first papers" before November. However, Liggett declares that there is no evidence that Hoover voted in England as some of his opponents charged.

From the time of his appearance in Australia the go-getter unfolds from year to year to the time of his election as President of the United States when he is a millionaire several times over. Job after job of stock juggling, mine promotion, and wizard finance is unfolded by the author who cites documents and records, some of them being letters and reports of Hoover himself. The "Great Humanitarian" of Hoover's "official biographers" becomes just the ordinary cynical and not too scrupulous promoter for which American capitalism is noted. Moreover, his attitude towards the workers is that of the "efficiency" exploiter and his callous reference to cheap Chinese labor is certainly shocking. The sordid details of this phase of the life of our hero make very interesting reading. One may well compare the dull platitudes of the President with the activities of the promoter and have lit-

tle difficulty in determining which reveals the real Hoover.

Liggett also disposes of some of the myths regarding Hoover as food dictator first in Belgium and then in Europe at the close of the war. He did not organize the relief in Belgium but found it organized when he stepped in. Nor did he give up his interest and activities in his investments in this period as his "official biographers" contend. The author declares that he was collecting fat war-contract profits with one hand while he dispensed doles with the other.

Moreover, the bread basket in Hoover's hands was used to support many of the post-war reactionary movements in Europe. We know that it was withheld from Hungary during Bela Kun's regime and that Hoover's policy contributed to the establishment of the atrocious oligarchy of Admiral Horthy which survives to this day. The White Terror that followed this job was the most brutal in post-war history. Indeed, the Hoover bread basket cooperated with the German General, "Butcher" Mannerheim, in the overthrow of the Finnish Socialist Republic which was followed by horrible massacres of workers throughout Finland. This job "stabilized" a reactionary government supported by German bayonets.

Just as revolting was the Hoover attitude towards the Russian famine and support of the White Guard armies that invaded Russia. Others have written of this phase of Hoover's activities and yet his sycophants have cultivated the fiction that he is entitled to the credit of Russian relief. Liggett gives the credit where it is due, to Dr. Nansen who evidently was aware of Hoover's White Guard sympathies and independently of Hoover raised a large sum for genuine relief. Here we may remark that Socialists in this and other countries also sent relief supplies direct to Russia and The New York Call was instrumental in sending a ship loaded with food and clothing.

The Return to America

It was only after this independent aid was given that Hoover finally made some concessions and even this was accompanied with much haggling while millions of men, women and children faced starvation. Liggett emphasizes an interesting factor in this nasty affair. He asserts that Hoover was heavily interested in a corpora-

tion with vast properties in Russia which had been nationalized and negotiations were being conducted by one of its agents and the Soviet authorities for a settlement. In parallel columns he presents a comparison of each stage of these negotiations with each stage of Hoover's policy in relation to Russian relief. Liggett makes no charges against Hoover on this score. He makes the comparison and each reader can draw his or her own conclusion.

Our hero returns to the United States to become Food Administrator and how the farmers on the one hand and their exploiters on the other fared during his benevolent administration the rags of the first and the huge post-war incomes of the second bear witness. He becomes interested in the presidency but does not know whether the best road to it is the Democratic Party or the Republican Party but he is willing to travel either. There is hesitation with affectionate glances at the Democracy, then indecision, occasional statements of his "principles" which are meaningless, and then the Harding upheaval which reveals that the Republican road is the one to travel. Having seen the "light" our hero can enjoy the luxury of publicity agents and the promoter is promoted.

In the meantime as Secretary of Commerce since the days of Hard-

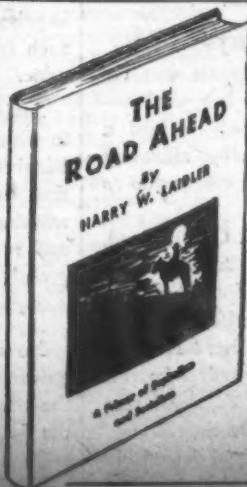
ing he had provided a government nursing bottle to great capitalist enterprises at home and abroad and won the love of the fat boys. Coolidge decides to retire to the Berkshires and Hoover inherits the machine.

The Picture of a Hero

The rest is history. The promoter goes to the White House, a smug barker for the glories of the capitalist system. Its props began to sag and then the crash. The timbers crack and crumble all over the world. Twilight sets in and through the murk the promoter can be seen urging that funds be fed to bankers and corporation magnates but that no food be fed to hungry millions except from the private alms bags of his backers.

Need we be surprised that Hoover would have let Debs rot in prison or that he will say nothing in favor of the release of Mooney because, Liggett declares, although Hoover believes Mooney innocent he does not want to offend the Republican guards of California reaction?

Well, here is an American "hero." The portrait is not overdrawn as Liggett does not accept some of the accusations made by others. He relies on documentary material for his statements, he is restrained where others would be caustic, and the book is therefore all the more convincing.



A Primer of Capitalism and Socialism

The Road Ahead

By Harry W. Laidler

Simply written for young people, this forceful book shows graphically just what is wrong with our present economic system. It will prove of equal interest to their elders.

40 Illustrations by Mabel Pugh
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THOS. E. CROWELL COMPANY, NEW YORK

The Steel Trust Weathers the Depression

By Jessie Lloyd
McKEESPORT, PA.

WHAT next?" is what McKeesport workers want to know. "Who is going to start a new wave of buying when our wage rates and working time keep on being cut? All over the country working people are being forced to cut purchasing still further—then what is going to keep business from getting worse?"

The answer of portly Pres. E. R. Crawford of the McKeesport Tin Plate Co., delivered with a kindly smile, is, "I have been through many depressions, and have never seen one that did not end. Just as things look darkest, the turn comes."

Mr. Crawford gets a salary as large as that of the president of the United States, as well as a goodly share of the company's dividends through his large stockholdings, and it is impossible to disturb his urbanity with such questions. He has faith in the future—and comfort in the present.

Feeling the Depression

Of course the company is feel-

\$75,000 a Year President Has Faith in Future --- And Great Comfort in the Present

ing the depression. New earnings were \$6.51 a share in 1931, compared to \$8.34 in 1930. \$20,000 of the stockholders' money was given to the Welfare Fund in 1931—equal to less than 7c a share for each of the 300,000 outstanding. At the same meeting the directors voted to contribute \$20,000 to the advertising campaign of the National Canners Association.

There are 2,000 unemployed right in McKeesport who have applied to the chamber of commerce for relief work alternate weeks at \$3.20 a day. These men know very well that they want to buy a lot more canned goods. Advertising is wasted on them, one would think—cruel indeed to tantalize people who see only potatoes and beans on their table with pictures of juicy fruits. Yet it must bring returns from some walks of life, or the company would not do it.

McKeesport Tin Plate has done better than many companies by its

3,000 employees. Instead of laying off, it has divided work giving half time to each worker. It gives no relief, except a few Christmas baskets to families of sick wage-earners, and a little coal, but it is related that the officers helped a colored employee keep his home from foreclosure, and that it is company policy to save homes.

"We Are Very Sound"

How can the company afford to be so good, in depression time? Well, Mr. E. R. Crawford said something that throws light on it. "We are in a very sound position," he said. "The original investors only put \$270,000 into this company. Of the more than \$17,000,000 in assets, land, building, plant, etc., only about a half million was put in from the outside. The rest came from earnings."

In other words, by selling what the workers made, the company cleared enough over wages and costs of materials and plant to

plow \$16,000,000 into bigger and better assets for the stockholders—besides paying them regular dividends each year as they went along. \$4 per share is the basic rate since stocks were split two for one in 1928, although a year ago extras brought it to \$5.50.

If the workers had borrowed the million that was put in from the outside, and paid 6 per cent interest on it, they would only have to pay out \$60,000 a year to capitalists. As it is, \$1,200,000 is taken out of what they produce each year for dividends alone.

Depression Salaries

In addition, salaries are \$75,000 for the president, \$50,000 for the vice president, \$15,000 for the secretary, \$5,000 for solicitor, and \$100 a month for each director. For the use of their judgment and their attendance at one meeting a month, the directors are paid just what a laborer in their plant would earn by 10 hours of sweaty

toll a day, six days a week, 43 weeks a year, before the 10 per cent wage cut last Oct. 1. Now laborers' pay has gone down to \$3.75 a day, and skilled workers who used to make \$8 to \$10 a day average around \$6 through the forced sharing of work among the crews on the rolls.

If the workers could run such an industry themselves, it is clear that they would save over \$1,290,000 a year, even if they did pay 6 per cent interest on the capital actually invested. But the workers are not informed how much clear velvet comes out of their efforts; and anyway, they are convinced that industry is run by master minds and that they would not know how. And so \$420 a year per capita employed goes to stockholders and high-priced executives, although the concern has already paid for itself 16 times over.

That McKeesport Tin Plate is no more grasping than most firms is indicated by an estimate of the American Institute of Finance, Boston, that its shares are only a "moderately profitable" buy.

The Birthday of a Great Labor Institution

The Workmen's Circle Sanatorium Celebrates Its Twenty-second Anniversary

By Maximilian Hurwitz

RECENTLY the Workmen's Circle Sanatorium at Liberty, N. Y., an institution for the care of consumptives, celebrated the twenty-second anniversary of its establishment. The sanatorium, one of the finest institutions of its kind in America, represents an investment in land and buildings of over \$400,000, while its maintenance costs the Workmen's Circle about \$125,000 a year.

The Workmen's Circle is the largest Jewish labor fraternal order in the world. Founded in 1900 by a handful of immigrant Jewish workers on the East Side, and chartered subsequently under the insurance laws of the State of New York, it now has 700 branches in all parts of the United States and Canada, with a combined membership of 72,000, most of whom are working men and women. It is therefore natural that one of the first welfare institutions to be launched by this organization of and for wage earners should have been a sanatorium for victims of what has been truly called "the proletarian plague." For this dreaded disease was then more common among the foreign-born Jewish workers, unorganized, underpaid and overworked as they were at the time, than it is today, when they are organized into some of the strongest and most progressive unions in the country, and enjoy incomes and standards of living undreamt of in 1910, the year the Workmen's Circle Sanatorium was established. In those days the fear of tuberculosis hung like the sword of Damocles over the immigrant Jewish workers, who rarely saw the sun or inhaled fresh air, but passed their long working days in foul sweatshops and their weary nights in unsanitary tenement flats. The white plague took a heavy toll of life among them, robbing many a family of its breadwinner. There was thus a crying need of an institution for the care of tuberculous workers, and to fill this want the Workmen's Circle founded its sanatorium.

It was a daring thing to undertake. The Workmen's Circle then had not much more than half its present membership, while its resources amounted only to about a quarter of a million dollars as against nearly six million dollars today. There were other formidable difficulties besides the financial problem. But undeterred by these

obstacles, the Workmen's Circle proceeded with the establishment of its sanatorium, which in the twenty-two years of its existence has housed about 3,000 patients, the majority of whom were restored to health and usefulness.

The Workmen's Circle Sanatorium is situated amid healthful and beautiful surroundings, on a hill about two miles from the town of Liberty, N. Y. Its grounds, which include a lake, occupy 169½ acres. Of this area, ten acres are occupied by the institution and its immediate grounds, while the rest is used as a farm. The farm not only supplies the institution with fresh eggs, milk, poultry and vegetables, but already yields about \$13,000 a year from the sale of its products.

The sanatorium comprises about a dozen buildings, including three lean-tos for the accommodation of patients in the early stages of the disease, a hospital for the more advanced cases, an administration building, a central heating plant, a laundry, a hennery, a cottage housing the medical staff and several buildings in which the minor employes and caretakers live.

The medical staff consists of two physicians, one of whom, Dr. Bruno S. Harwood, is the superintendent and medical director; a dentist, a laboratory man and seven nurses. In addition, Dr. Max Tashman, a noted lung specialist, serves as admitting and visiting physician.

In the sanatorium everything possible is done for the health and comfort of the patients. They are made to feel that they are in their own institution, an institution founded and wholly supported with funds for which they are regularly taxed. They are given the best medical attention and plenty of wholesome food, and taught the art of regular and healthful living. Those who are sufficiently strong are encouraged to take daily strolls along the beautiful walks on the grounds.

Nor is it only their bodies that are cared for. There are frequent lectures and entertainments by lecturers and stage artists brought from New York. In addition, there is a considerable library with books in several languages, but chiefly in Yiddish and in English, which the patients, being Jews and therefore born readers, devour voraciously. It is a common sight to see a novel of Theodore Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson, Sinclair Lewis, Upton Sinclair, Sholem Asch or

Tolstoi on one table, a volume of Herbert Spencer or Karl Marx on another, and a play of Ibsen, Shaw, Chekov or O'Neill on a third.

Members of the Workmen's Circle are entitled to a year's stay at the sanatorium, free of charge. Moreover, they receive the regular weekly sick benefit (\$8 a week for a period of fifteen weeks in any one year) from the order, to which must be added extra sick benefit paid in many cases by the branches out of their own funds. The knowledge that his dependents are not left wholly without support, or, in the case of a single man, that he will not leave the institution penniless, contributes no little to the patient's peace of mind.

In case a member's immediate relatives—his wife, children, parents, brothers, sisters, or in-laws—are stricken with tuberculosis, they are admitted to the sanatorium as paying patients. Such patients pay \$25 a week, which is about \$16 less than the actual weekly cost of keeping a patient in the institution.

The sanatorium is not the only welfare institution maintained by the Workmen's Circle. This immigrant labor order, which must depend for its income on the moderate dues paid by its wage-earning members, spends hundreds of thousands of dollars a year for educational, hygienic, recreational and humanitarian purposes, besides disbursing annually over half a million dollars in sick and death benefits. Let me cite two of its many activities. Its medical department in New York and other large cities, provides ailing members with medical care, including the services of specialists, at moderate rates, and in connection with that operates a large modern clinic in the metropolis (where nearly half of the members are located). Its educational department maintains 103 schools for children, where the education they receive at the public schools is supplemented by courses in the language and literature of their Old World parents (thereby lessening the spiritual gulf between the two generations), as well as in Jewish history, in art and in labor ideals; it also publishes popular science books in Yiddish and during the fall and winter arranges lectures, open forums and concerts in all parts of the country.

Furthermore, the Workmen's Circle subsidizes a number of hospitals and other welfare institu-

tions, while there is scarcely a labor cause that does not receive its generous support. Its contributions to strike funds—whether the strike was one of cloakmakers in New York or of coal miners in Colorado—have been known to run into sums of five figures.

The men and women who compose the membership of the Workmen's Circle are the same who have given America two of its strongest and most progressive unions (the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies' Garment Workers), who have helped to build up our greatest foreign-language daily (the Jewish Daily Forward), and our finest foreign-language monthly (Die Zukunft), where, among other things, the writings of Maxim Gorky were first introduced to American readers, who have created our most

successful labor bank (the Amalgamated Bank), and the best cooperative apartment houses for persons of small means (the Amalgamated Cooperative Apartment Houses). It is their toil and craftsmanship, no less than the business acumen and enterprise of the Reuben Sadowskys, which have contributed to the phenomenal growth of our great needle industries, whose progress one of their leaders and teachers, Abraham Cahan, has described with such consummate artistry in his superb novel, "The Rise of David Levinson."

These Jewish workers have come to America to make it their home; to build the country, not to destroy; to make it, and the whole world, a better and happier place to live in. It is their idealism and social vision which have created the Workmen's Circle with its numerous welfare and cultural institutions, whose story is part of the epic of the American labor movement.

This Week in the Nation
NORMAN THOMAS
WHY NOT?

By Devere Allen
Fifth of a Series on Presidential Possibilities

Panic in the Steel Towns
By Mauritz A. Hallgren

The steel companies boast that none of their workers are starving. . . . A—has a wife and five small children. He gets \$3.50 a week—sometimes.

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The Municipal Elections In Montreal

By Sol Berman

THE Montreal District Council of the Canadian Labor Party is in the coming city elections (April 4th) and has put up two candidates for Aldermen. Joseph Schubert, who has been the lone labor representative in the city council for the last eight years, is running for re-election in the St. Louis Ward. E. Blanchard of Local 606, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, is the Labor candidate in St. Gabriel Ward and has a good chance of being elected. Lack of finances permitted only two Labor candidates. The Montreal Labor Party has recently been reorganized after a period of inactivity. The Party consists chiefly of elected delegates from the Trade Unions. An election campaign can only be carried on in a district where there is a Party Branch which will do the necessary work. The Labor Party therefore is organizing branches in various districts of the city and with the help of the Trade Unions will have a strong and powerful party in the near future.

The most interesting part of these elections is the role the Communists are playing. The Communists are only putting out one candidate, and in the St. Louis Ward, against the Socialist alderman Joseph Schubert. They are not only industrial scabs but political scabs as well; that we all know. But the present affair is something every Socialist should know of, especially those Socialists who still like to "flirt" with the Communists.

Schubert's Record

Alderman Schubert's activity during the last eight years in the City Council as the lone Labor man is something talked about not only in this city but throughout the entire country. Being a daring person and a fearless fighter,

Brilliant Record of Alderman Schubert and Communist Tactics in Limelight

having a dynamic personality and being a forceful speaker, he has made for himself a name and record that the Labor Party can justly be proud of.

From 1924 to 1930, Schubert practically led the opposition forces against the Liberal administration then in power and exposed the dealings of the Liberal administration with the underworld. The city was then flooded with disorderly houses, gambling joints, etc. Because of his activity to rid the city of these, Schubert was frequently in danger of being taken for a "ride."

Schubert was the one responsible for getting statistics and detailed information from all the large cities on the continent and exposed to the public the facts that Montreal had the highest infant death rate on the continent, the largest number of tuberculosis patients and that the city spent less in proportion to its population on health than any other city in America. These facts made a furore in the city and the government was forced to appoint a Public Health Commission. Through public pressure, Schubert was appointed on the committee and was responsible for bringing out the famous Public Health Commission's Report which showed that the city administration was doing nothing to safeguard the public against disease.

Fearful by Enemies

When the Conservative Party captured the city under the leadership of Mayor Houde in 1930, Schubert remained in the opposition and fought the Houde administration most bitterly. Schubert

is the best friend the Montreal newspaper reporters have or ever had. They know that they can always depend upon Schubert to make the City Council meetings interesting; Schubert always has a great deal of information and lets them have it. The Liberal press print Schubert's attacks on the Conservative government (Municipal and Federal); the Conservative press prints Schubert's attacks on the Liberal Party (Provincial government). On account of his vicious and frequent attacks upon both old parties, Schubert manages to get a great deal of publicity in the press for himself and the Labor party.

Last year the Canadian Government put an embargo on all Russian goods and the city of Montreal was asked to endorse the act. Who was the "lone" defender of Soviet Russia at the council meeting? Schubert of course; for nearly two hours the "city fathers" were forced to listen to a lecture on Russia. It was he who exposed to the public the five million dollar graft scandal of the Wellington street tunnel. It was he who led the fight, which he won, against the wage cut for firemen and policemen. Schubert gathered statistics, figures and information from everywhere and showed that Montreal firemen and policemen were the lowest paid on the continent. Instead of wages being reduced they were increased.

A reporter who covers the City Council meetings remarked that "Schubert knows more than all the other 34 Aldermen and the Mayor put together." It is the unanimous opinion of all that Schubert is the most informed man at the City

Council. Mayor Houde himself remarked during a debate in the City Council that "Schubert is too clever."

In the present municipal elections, neither the Liberal nor the Conservative parties have put out any official opposition candidates against Schubert and it is quite likely that they won't for the same reason that both old political parties did not officially oppose J. S. Woodsworth, Labor M.P. for Winnipeg, in the last federal elections.

The politicians at the City Hall hate and fear Schubert, yet they respect and admire him for his honesty, courage, knowledge and sincerity and his continuous battle for the "under dog." The Liberal and Conservative parties know that their candidates against Schubert would not have a chance and would certainly lose the election deposit (\$500) and that opposition to Schubert in the St. Louis Ward is likely to hurt their election campaigns in other districts. Schubert is also likely to bring out more sensational facts and they fear him.

The Communist Role

When the capitalists cannot find any one to do their dirty work they can always depend upon the Communists to do it for them. During the last federal elections, the only one who had the nerve to oppose J. S. Woodsworth was a Communist. In the present city elections in Montreal, the Communists are opposing Schubert. The Communist press and the reactionary Conservative press have formed a "united front" against him and the Labor party. At this writing it is not known under what official name the Communist candidate is going to run, "workers' candidate," "unemployed" candidate, "Communist party" candidate, "Communist-Conservative coalition" candidate or "tenants' candidate (St. Louis

Socialist Wins Seat In Montreal Fight

(By Wire to The New Leader)
MONTREAL — Socialist Alderman Joseph Schubert has been re-elected to his seat by acclamation, the only unopposed candidate in the city election. Schubert's opponent, a Communist, got "cold feet" at the last minute and in the face of an overwhelming defeat for himself retired from the race.

Ward Tenants League is another Communist alias formed a few weeks ago. The "Daily Worker," the "Kamf" (Communist press), the "Canadian Jewish World" and the Montreal Daily Star (Conservative) urge the voters of the St. Louis Ward to vote for A. Rosenberg, the Communist candidate, to defeat Schubert.

At last the Communists have found some one who is willing to go in with them on a "united front." The Communists and reaction always go hand in hand. We can expect practically anything from the Communists. Lately it was disclosed that a member of the Royal Mounted Police ("Comrade" Sergeant Leopold of the R. C. M. P.) was the secretary of the Communist party of Regina for six years, attended conventions of the party, toured the country as an organizer, speaking at Communist meetings and demonstrations and was the Reddest of the Red. Lately, at the Communist trial at Toronto when he was the "star" witness, he admitted that he was sent into the Communist party by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to do "a special piece of work."

The Communist pet names, "faker, traitor, social fascist," which they so often use can be applied better to themselves. A thief will not trust any one and a liar never believes any one. A guilty conscience always tells.

From Our Mailbag

THE NEW LEADER FORUM

Russia—Debating Party Problems—Using The New Leader to Advantage

A REJOINDER

By David Shub

Permit me to reply to the critics on unemployment in Soviet Russia. I have no intention of entering into any discussion with S. A. DeWitt.

I fully expected that my articles would not meet with the approval of those "Liberal-Minded" comrades who receive their information about Soviet "Socialism" from such great Socialist authorities as Mr. Walter Duranty of the New York Times, Mr. Louis Fischer of The Nation and the New York Herald-Tribune, Miss Anna Louise Strong, editor of the official Communist Moscow News; Mr. Albert Rhys Williams of the New Republic (of whom even the Communist Max Eastman has said that he is "a paid agent of the Stalin press"), and other official and unofficial apologists of the Stalin dictatorship.

I knew that I would provoke the anger of some comrades because of my attempt to destroy their illusion that Socialism has been realized or is being realized in Soviet Russia. The object of my articles was not so much to convince such comrades as to point out how false were the arguments of those so-called American "liberals" who have recently begun to agitate openly for the American Communist party, using as an argument the alleged fact that "only Communism can solve the problem of unemployment, because only in Soviet Russia are there no unemployed."

In my articles I cited facts and figures taken exclusively from the official Soviet press and showing clearly that the unemployment problem has by no means been solved in Soviet Russia.

My critics cannot prove that the facts and figures cited by me from the Soviet press are incorrect. Nor can they cite other figures from the Soviet press contradicting my assertions. All I can ask of impartial readers is to read again what I have written in order to convince themselves how unfounded and insincere are the assertions of my critics. E. E. Spelman sees in my articles evidence of "capitalist influence in the party." Well, I can assure Mr. Spelman that I was a Socialist and suffered imprisonment and exile to Siberia for my Socialist activities long before he had ever heard

of Socialism. My sole connection with American capitalism is that for the past twenty years of my residence in capitalist America I have edited various Socialist and labor papers in the Jewish and Russian languages.

Mr. Spelman is afraid that the capitalist newspapers may make capital out of my articles. I wonder whether he is aware of the world he lives in? Does he not know that the capitalist press in particular prints much more material of a favorable nature on Soviet Russia, than it does of unfavorable character; that Walter Duranty of the New York Times has in the past two years printed more propaganda for Stalin and his "Marxism" than all the Communist dailies and "liberal" weeklies combined?

Comrade Norman Thomas says he is not an expert on Russia but he permits himself nevertheless to sweep aside lightly all the facts and figures cited by me from the Soviet press and to say that they belong to "the one can imagine school." This is an "argument" fitting for the Daily Worker.

Spelman says that even if all that I wrote were true it should not have been printed. Comrade Thomas implies the same. He believes that by criticizing Russia we provoke "a real feeling of irritation among those who ought to be friends of Socialism rather than of Communism." I have no means of establishing the number of those who have deserted to Communism because we are not sufficiently enthusiastic about Soviet Russia. I do know, however, that the Communist movement in the United States is insignificantly small, and that by cultivating the false illusion that the working class rule in Russia and that Socialism is actually "being built" in that country we are only preparing adepts for the Communist party and discrediting the idea of Socialism in the eyes of every intelligent and intellectually honest man who knows the true value of the fairy tales cultivated by the Bolshevik press agents and for whom freedom, democracy and human rights are not mere words. This is not only my opinion but also the opinion of the most authoritative Socialist leaders in Europe as well as of many Socialist veterans in the United States. New York City.

THE ETHICS OF DEBATE

By Otto Endris

For many years I have been wondering about the behavior of some of the comrades in New York City. I have observed it in State conventions over 20 years ago. In later years I found that same queer spirit. Some letters and articles in The New Leader and the report of the last city convention prompt me to appeal to the "men" members to make an effort to overcome the incessant "hair splitting," the bitterness in controversial debates, the cynical belittling of the honest efforts of others, the self-righteousness and the mutual suspicion of correct doctrinal interpretation or the misconstruction of statements; in short to insist that the others are all wrong and to "rub it in."

Constructive criticism is highly desirable but the English language is rich enough in words to lend itself to comradely persuasion to one's views. If our movement is to command the respect of discriminating thinkers, if it is to attract, retain and train young idealists, our gatherings should be inspirational and free from petty strife. Discussions should be couched in moderate language, guided by a spirit of tolerance and a friendly appeal to reason. The Socialist Party is composed of volunteers willing to make sacrifices for an ideal. We should respect each other's views and not be vilified for a different opinion, which may be changed by sound reasoning.

I hope that the New York comrades will at least consider this attempt from "up state" seriously and try "internal" reform, individually as well as collectively.

Comrade Endris should not become alarmed. We sometimes consider intense earnestness as bitterness and nearly all delegates to the last city convention considered the discussions the best in years. Heat will occasionally develop in conventions but there are intense convictions but even this is to be preferred to the dull routine of rubber-stamping resolutions without debate. Earnest discussion means life; lack of it may imply sterility.—Editor.

A SUGGESTION

By Robert Lansdown

Way down here in Tampa, Fla., as years ago in New York, and then in more recent time in Bridgeport, Conn., I have found a good medium for propaganda in capitalist dailies, or weeklies.

And to make it easy I often take bodily a short New Leader editorial that is responsive to the political trend of the times and sign it Politic. And I try to get in each paper here once a week.

Comrades in towns where there are no such letters appearing, should now, in these momentous times, do likewise. Use capitalism to gain our ends.

THE DOUBLE MACHINE

By Hanford B. Porter

Unless there is a redistribution of wealth, the United States, like the great powers of the past, will fall. That prediction was made by Senator Huey P. Long of Louisiana in a radio address over a national "hook-up" recently.

"Concentration of wealth in the hands of a few is the cause of our country's economic troubles," Long declared. Although he is a Democrat, Long did not spare the leaders of either party. "Reactionaries, the

sympathizers and agents of the plutocrats, are in the saddle of the Republican party," he said, "but they are also largely in the saddle of the Democratic party."

So, if you vote for the Democratic wing of the Double Machine—or if you vote for the Republican wing of the Double Machine—you are in either case simply voting for the Greedy Old Plutocrats. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Be vigilant. Of all the vile evils under the sun Capitalism is surely the worst.

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STAND BY THE MINERS!

From a poster drawn by Irwin D. Hoffman.

The Chatterbox

Spring Song—1932

WHAT was your crime, O worker,
To do such penance now?
There is no frown from heaven,
No brand upon your brow.

I built my lord a palace,
I fed his lazying kin;
I made myself a hovel
For my own to hunger in.

I made my lord rich raiment,
I delved his warmth and gold.
Myself, I gave this shoddy
Against the rain and cold.

I gave my master leisure,
Laughter, love and play.
Myself I gave the drudging chores
And grovelling for my pay.

You are too troubled, worker
If that be all your sin . . .
Or do I see upon your face
A wrath that burns within . . .?

I have been slow to anger
As a god himself might own . . .
And I have borne my burden
With the patience of a stone.

But today my master made me
An edict strangely new . . .
"Begone," he said, "begone and find
Some other work to do."

You've built enough of mansions,
Enough of robe and shoe,
I have enough for all my needs,
And have no need of you.
"Begone," he said, "begone and find
Some other work to do . . ."

What will you do now, worker,
With idle hands and mind;
And the world so wide and deep in dread,
And tasks so few to find . . .?

My hands will not be idle,
My brain is on a plan—
To take the wealth that I have made
And keep it like a man.

No more my lord will lazy
Within the palace halls . . .
Nor will I be content to keep
My own in beastly stalls.

The mansions and the comforts,
The fruit of tool and plough,
Have been my master's long enough.
I mean to own them now.

And if my hands are idle,
Then let the master rue
Because my mind has found a dream
And righteous work to do.

S. A. de Wit.

Henry Ford's Failure

Production of the Robot Auto King's Only Accomplishment

By Ben Blumenberg

SEVERAL years ago a book mildly critical of Henry Ford was suppressed. What will Henry say about this book? (The Tragedy of Henry Ford, by Jonathan Norton Leonard. Putnam's). The subject of the biography is pictured as a failure in everything save in the field of mass production: a rural Bourbon masquerading as a prophet of the New Era. His contribution to the field of manufacturing science has been the development of a new species, a species of robots.

Ford, says the author, has the mind of the Middle West village dweller of the early seventies, the product of a dying frontier. He is the shrewd Yankee tinkerer—narrow, bigoted, prejudiced, suspicious, intolerant, vindictive, dour and domineering. He loves birds and flowers. The utopia he has built up is fashioned in his own image and its gospel is work. His creed is "a rear-guard battle to preserve the outward observances of religion long after they have become meaningless and dead—a sort of moral dandruff no longer nourished by the scalp and brains within." The utterances of this "semi-literate" billionaire, says Mr. Leonard, are similar to those expressed around the cracker-box in a cross-roads store. His yeomen and sycophantic biographers have been dazzled by his material success.

Despite the stories in the success magazines, Ford's factories have been an industrial inferno. The labor turnover even in dull times exceeded that of other industrial establishments. The widely heralded sociological department inaugurated sixteen years ago, consisting of an espionage system of his employees in their homes and at their work, is the most ruthless ever inflicted by an industrial despot. Spies and stool-pigeons are everywhere. (All the facts indicate that they are responsible for the massacre at Ford's River Rouge Plant). "If a system of this kind had been applied to other groups of workers, coal miners for instance—the results would have been volcanic."

Ford's publicity staff may continue to use large scale production methods but the intelligent part of the public has no illusions

as to the quality of the product. Those familiar with his cunning and craft, his congenital suspicions and ruthlessness, will be less charitable than Mr. Leonard who places some of the blame on Ford's yes-men.

In the jargon of the professional reviewers, "The Tragedy of Henry Ford" is a full length portrait: an x-ray portrait of one who is rapidly slipping as the god of Moronia.

Death of Eva Frank Saddens Her Friends In Labor Movement

A WIDE circle of friends and co-workers in the New York Socialist and liberal movement were shocked this week to learn of the death of Eva A. Frank. Mrs. Frank concentrated her activities in a few sections of the movement. Those who had the good fortune to work with her knew a woman of rare generosity and sympathy coupled with a practical genius for advancing their mutual ideals.

Mrs. Frank devoted most of her time in recent years to work in behalf of Pioneer Youth. She served as treasurer of Pioneer Youth for three years. More recently she was chairman of the organization's committee on Southern Mill Village play schools and camps. The League for Industrial Democracy knew Mrs. Frank as a member of the executive committee of the New York chapter. She was active in recent months in helping the league establish its recreation huts for unemployed workers. Mrs. Frank was a member of the Chelsea branch of the Socialist party.

Indicative of the regard in which Mrs. Frank was held, was the resolution passed by the officers of the League for Mutual aid, Thomas J. Curtis, president; Fannie Cohn, A. J. Muste, Henry R. Linville and Walter Ludwig. "Eva Frank contributed of her means, her energies and her discerning judgment toward the building of our movement for workers' children," the resolution said. "It was for her a focus of idealistic effort and she was to us an inspiring co-worker."

The Finest Labor Novel of the Age—Pelle the Conqueror, 1200 pp. \$3.50. Dittie, Daughter of Man, 1500 pp. \$3.50. By Einar Anderson. Norse, the famous production novelist, are on sale at the Rand Bookstore. Every worker should read these stirring books.

"The Blessed Privilege Of Poverty"

For Eva Frank

A DOOR is closed;
A strong, brave light is quenched.
We who are in darkness
Strike our hands together
In impotent grief.
There is nothing now to say.
But always and ever, we shall be remembering
How once we came upon
Integrity, blithe courage,
And a faith that could move
Her beloved mountains
In the sweet heart of one woman.

THE last bulletin of the City Affairs Committee, "A Non-Partisan Committee for Civic Reconstruction" in New York City, of which Paul Blanchard is executive secretary and John Haynes Holmes, chairman, seems to us admirably to carry out the real function of such a body. It was prepared by Henry J. Roemer and E. Michael White and it presents a compelling argument for the immediate reduction of New York's electric rates, written in plain English that hits every one of us millions of the Consolidated Gas Company in what is left of our pocketbook. It shows that we are paying twenty million dollars a year more for electricity than we need to in order to give the electric companies a "fair" return on their capital. And that we could save eleven bucks a year a family if we only got mad enough to do something about it, even under the present system. All the way through the bulletin there is a marching argument for public ownership of power.

Now here is something that anybody can put his teeth into. We don't know how it is with you but right now eleven dollars looks as big to us as the Empire State Building. If the City Affairs Committee can put a burr under the complacent seat of our Public Service Commission, more power to it. It seems to us again that a whole lot of time and energy has been squandered by this committee in writing long letters to Governor Roosevelt asking him to remove Tammany cronies because they had too much loose change hanging around the house in tin boxes or whatever. This is like asking Al Smith to make faces at Raskob, or begging Jimmy Walker to resign from Tammany Hall and join the Union League. It makes a piece for Monday morning's paper and keeps the Governor's scrap-basket filled up, but it's carrying anthracite to Wilkes-Barre, just the same.

The real job of "Non-Partisan Committees for Civic Reconstruction" all over the country is to make things clearer to the common sucker tottering around under the fell clutch of capitalism. And one way to do it is to somehow get it under his skin that he is being pilfered, looted and sandbagged by every hi-jacker, porch-climber and baby-snatcher masquerading as a "public utility magnate." Once that idea begins to percolate, who knows, perhaps said sucker will begin to roll his eyes around the landscapes and let them fall on such places as Los Angeles, Jamestown, N. Y., Springfield, Ill., and other spots where public ownership, which, by the way is not to be confused with socialization, is working out pretty well. Thus step by step, you may be able to nurse the poor fish along to the point where some day he will stop saying, "You can't change human nature."

There are a lot of boys and girls over in the Workhouse on Welfare Island, not many miles from where this is being written, who are in the Workhouse mainly because they haven't any work to do. One of the toughest jobs they have is to listen to speakers who go over on SunCays to tell them that God's in His Heaven. The latest was Mary Pickford. Mary said: "I look on the depression and set-backs such as you boys and girls have had here as a privilege. It brings out the finer things. Napoleon and Lincoln were made by hard times. You're getting spiritual exercises for your muscles."

Well, Mary we are not in the hoosegow yet, but just the same, this depression has got us muscle-bound. We are beginning to feel like Napoleon right after Waterloo and Lincoln right after he got shot. If you figure this is a privilege, you can take our place any time you want it, and we reckon there are a number of inmates of the Workhouse who will come forward enthusiastically with the same offer. At that, however, Mary's cute Hollywood philosophy is no more weak-minded than the wind-jamming of our great minds of the pulpit and the rostrum which fill the columns of the Monday paper next to Mary's speech. They all seem to agree with Mary that it is a blessed privilege for the poor to be that way, and that the depression is hotcha for our spiritual development and that through suffering, we shall achieve salvation. Now if all this is so, here's our proposition. Let the poor go to the rich and say, "Lords and Masters, we don't want to stand in the way of your spiritual development. We don't want to act hoggish about this suffering business, nor continue to hold an iron-clad monopoly on poverty. You take the depression and all the mystic blessings that it involves. We'll take our chances of deteriorating under the peace, plenty and freedom of Socialism."

McAllister Coleman.

British Labour Builds Stronger and Wiser

Democracy Restored Within M.P.'s Ranks
---Work Begun on Socialist Next Steps

By Fred Henderson

LONDON.

IT IS always difficult to see big things in all their bearings and their true proportions when you are close up against them. The immediate detail fills the vision and obscures the general outlook: you don't see the forest because of the trees. So it was with the outlook of the British Labor Party last autumn; and it is only now, when we are half a year away from the general election which smashed the British Labor Government and reduced the party in Parliament to a mere fragment of its former representation, that we are beginning to get a sufficient perspective on that electoral debacle and the events which led up to it, to enable us to see the situation in its all-round bearings and to get a grip on what it means for us by way of action towards recovery.

No work of rebuilding the electoral fortunes of our party could be sound and durable without a real comprehension of the lessons of the bitter experience through which we have passed; and we have now reached a point at which it is possible to say, with real confidence, that the lesson seems to have been learned, and that the steps which are now being taken are a real beginning of recovery on sound lines. At the moment of the debacle itself, the tendency naturally was to seek for the explanation of it in the immediate details of how the general election was mismanaged. That sort of shallow explanation has faded out of the picture; the general election and all that happened at it is now being studied in its true aspect as only the culmination of a wrong line of policy pursued during the two years preceding it; and the effort of the party is being concentrated on making any such fatal policy impossible for the future.

Two Important Events

Two things in the internal working of the party have happened within the past month of great significance for the future. There is nothing showy or spectacular about them; hardly anything even of publicity; but they reveal the lines on which, in the inner councils of the party, things are being handled towards a reorganization of policy and outlook. The first and lesser of these happenings was the holding of a general conference of the Parliamentary candidates of the party at headquarters a week or two ago

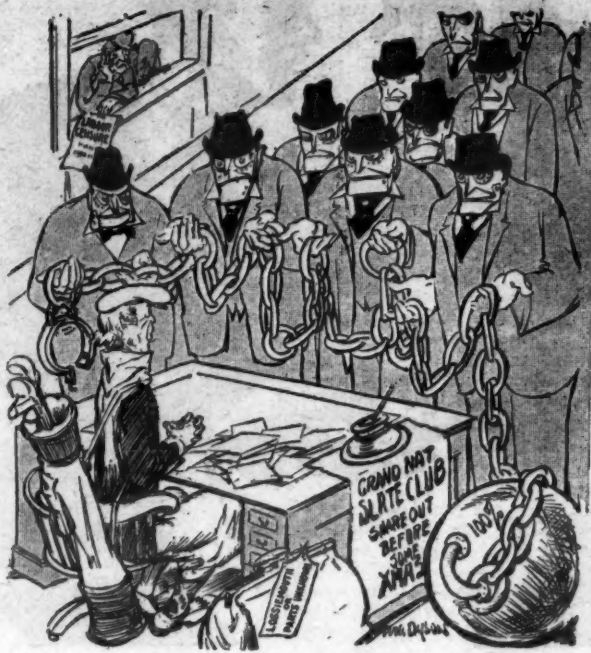
for general consultation as to the outlook throughout the whole country. This in itself is indicative of a changed policy. Under the MacDonald leadership regime, the whole tendency of things was to ignore constituency opinion and to concentrate policy decisions in the hands of the little governing group; and this was carried to such an extent that MacDonald and half a dozen of his particular intimates had come to regard themselves as the party, and to treat any criticism of their actions or decisions as an act of rebellion and mere impudence.

It may now be said with assurance that this sort of autocracy, which enabled MacDonald over and over again to commit the party to policies without consulting it, will never again be permitted. It cannot be too emphatically noted that the policies which led up to the final disaster were not policies for which the party was responsible, but policies dictated by an autocracy of leadership. The fault of the party was that, under pressure of appeals for public unity, it condoned these policies, over and over again against its own known better judgment, rather than raise a row about it; and in that way shared the responsibility for the two years drift towards what in the end became an inevitable break-up of things, and all the worse because of the long suppression of party opinion for the sake of a mistaken loyalty to leadership.

It is notable that at this headquarters conference, representative of the whole country, not a single member of the late Labor Government put in an appearance. And you may take that as an indication of one of the basic factors in our party reconstruction. Every report from the constituencies shows that we have got to dissociate the future of the party as completely as possible from the two years' farce of the MacDonald Government. To that end, it is an enormous help to be rid of MacDonald and the two or three others who left the party with him after dragging it to disaster. But as for the others who did rebel at last, their record of compliance during the years while the mischief was being done is today our greatest handicap; and this pronounced indication their dropping into the background so far as the future is concerned is a fact of the utmost importance.

For a Definite Program

That, however, is the lesser



Will Dyson in "The London Herald"

The British Tories to MacDonald: "We trust you but put these on anyway."

matter, and has mainly to do with the personality of leadership. In the vastly more important matter of a re-orientation of policy, the party is now taking steps which will be effective both from the point of view of public appeal and also for safeguarding the future from any recurrence of the basic error of the past. Under the MacDonald regime, the party never was equipped for the responsibilities of power. It so happened that when the Labor Government took office, it was in a minority in Parliament and had no real power. But we now know that had it secured an actual majority in Parliament it would not have been equipped for the exercise of power. MacDonald's view always was that it was unwise to prepare legislative plans beforehand and commit ourselves to the country with definite pledges of action on the line of such plans. Our main purpose, in his view, was to get into office, and then to live from hand to mouth by opportunism according to the circumstances that turned up. Hence our election pledges were always kept to vague and rhetorical statements of general purposes: we never had any definite plans carefully thought out before hand for translating the rhetoric into legislation. That absence of definite projects in readiness for our access to power was part of the game of

seeking office regardless of purpose. With such clear purposes definitely put to the country, it would have been practically impossible for the party to have committed the fatal error of taking office without a mandate for the announced measures; and because MacDonald had set his mind on office rather than on purposes in office, such measures of preparation for power were always banned under his leadership.

That stupidity is now being rectified. When next the Labor Party appeals to the country, it will be with an announcement of definitely formulated legislative proposals; and the preparation of these, with the necessary close research and scrutiny they involve, is already in hand. A series of special party committees for this work is being constituted. Two of them one dealing with trade and finance, and another with agriculture, are already making a beginning of their work. We shall be in a position to put before the country a clean and definite legislative program, and to fight on it; with the clear understanding that power to supplement that program will be an essential condition of taking office. There will be no more hanging on to impotent office. That is the fundamental lesson of our experiences.

Meanwhile the position of the deserters who were responsible

for the new National Government being set up becomes daily more and more a matter of public decision. Swamped by the vast reactionary majority in the government of which he is nominally the head, MacDonald now seems to have no scrap of real influence left to him. The Conservative majority which he invoked against his old associates, having used him for the purpose of winning the election, seems now to have more use for him than for a sucked orange.

Snowden has not been quite so easily obliterated. Relegated to the obscurity of the House of Lords, he has at least used his position there to fulminate against the policy now being pursued by the government and to predict national disaster as a result of the legislation now being rushed through; legislation which he, more even than MacDonald was responsible for making possible.

There is a prevalent public opinion that the government in these circumstances will not hold together much longer in its present form; and that before the year is out the "National" pretense will be dropped, and we shall see the government reconstituted on definite conservative lines, in accord with its actual policy. But I rather fancy that public opinion, in expecting this development, rather underestimates MacDonald's sheer vanity of office-holding. His views may be treated with contempt, his policy—if anyone could really discover what it is—completely disregarded; but when it comes to a question of putting up with that or leaving office, he is a limpet the Conservatives will find it rather a hard job to dislodge.

Brown Rallies Negroes To Join Socialist Party

Heywood Brown stirred a capacity audience Sunday afternoon March 20, at the Peoples' Educational Forum, when he advocated "complete world disarmament and the equality of all races."

"Fortunately for the Negro, as for the Jew and all other proscribed and persecuted groups in our civilization," Brown said, "their problem has now reached the stage, where with increasing clarity, it is accepted as a part of the major problem of modern man—the problem of building a new civilization based upon economic justice and the brotherhood of all men."

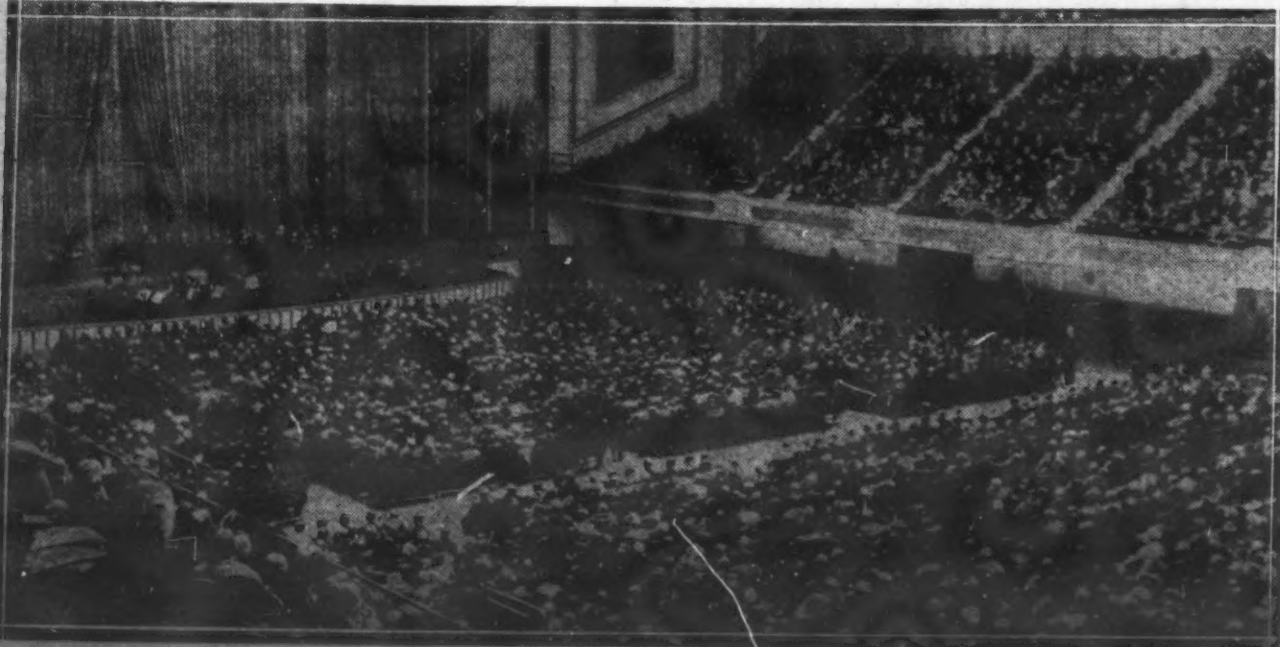
"The economic bases for racial, national and religious prejudices, more and more are being recognized. The solution to most of our problems will be found with amazing precision as the working masses of all races recognize the inevitable triumph of Socialism over capitalism."

Frank R. Crosswaith, director of the forum, presided and announced that Norman Thomas will be the speaker at the forum next Sunday, March 27, at 3:30 p. m. He will speak on "What Socialism Offers to the Negro."

N. Y. Easter Parade To Denounce Poverty

Arrangements have been made to use the regular Easter Fashion Parade on Fifth Avenue for the occasion of a demonstration against the inequalities of wealth existing at present. Members of the Socialist Party and Young People's Socialist League will carry placards up and down Fifth Avenue from 45th street to 57th street from 10 a. m. to 1 p. m. on Sunday, March 27.

Posters will be displayed denouncing the present conditions of misery and inequality and a contrast will be made with the wealth of fashionable society. The paraders will meet and form their lines at 51st street and M. (Madison) avenue, southeast corner, 10 a. m.



PHILADELPHIA DEMANDS JOBLESS RELIEF.—Part of the 15,000 Philadelphia workers who jammed huge Convention Hall to cheer the attacks on the Garner-Hoover machine that has blocked relief for the hungry families of jobless workers.

Millinery Workers' Union Turns the Tide

N. Y. Workers Set Stirring Example

By Max Zaritsky—
President, Cloth Hat, Cap and
Millinery Workers' In-
ternational Union

IN the recent struggle of the New York millinery workers there is food for reflection by trade unionists and all friends of labor. Facing a situation in which workers in other industries had been subjected to wage slashes and seriously impaired standards of work, the millinery workers have just completed a battle which leaves the union in the strongest position it has held since it was first organized.

The facts of the milliners' struggle prove two important facts to the organized workers of our cities: (1) that the workers can be aroused to a determined sense of solidarity which, when mobilized into planned activity, is invincible; and (2) that the industrial breakdown need not be accepted by the trade union movement as inevitably forcing upon it the concessions which up to now they have given up.

The millinery workers enrolled in the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union have not only carried through a victorious campaign for themselves. They have provided the organized trade unionists with concrete evidence that the tide can be turned. The milliners have cried "Halt!" to the hitherto unchallenged verdict that labor must be the first and the foremost to carry the burden of an industrial breakdown which it had no part in creating.

The Battle Lines Drawn

This turning of the tide by the millinery workers of New York—15,000 of them and perhaps four times that many women and children dependent upon them—was made possible by a crusade which showed abundantly that American trade unionists can be aroused to a fighting pitch, the cynics and the disillusioned to the contrary. As an official of the union, I feel humble when I consider the part played by the rank and file of our men, women and girls who took the knotty problems of the industry into their hands and in a whirlwind campaign settled them with glory and credit to the union.

The milliners' union a year ago faced a disorganized industry, with standards going lower and lower in keeping with the universal attack on labor's standards. The difficulties in the industry were compounded by the prevalence of a most flagrant form of racketeering and gangsterism which had defied the efforts of the public authorities to eliminate it. The officials of the union placed the issues squarely before the workers—and the workers squarely took up the gauntlet. A wave of enthusiasm and self-sacrifice swept the membership. Their loss in wages made up by the workers who remained behind in the shops, a shock troop committee of 700 men and women took the problem of racketeering into their own hands. The 700 were the acknowledged leaders of their fellow workers. They were picked for their fearlessness, for their intelligence and for their willingness to act like a disciplined army once a general campaign of procedure had been agreed upon.

"Tough Jake" Kurzman, king pin of the racketeers, symbolized the forces which for years have extorted "protection money" from employers and on the other hand terrorized trade union workers frequently to the point of violence. Today, "Tough Jake" is without a job. His gangmen have been overwhelmed by the union's organization committee. At the end of ten

days, not a single gangster-protected shop remains in the industry, and more than 4,000 workers employed in these shops have become an enthusiastic part of the union's membership of 15,000.

Side by side with the war on racketeering as a major accomplishment stands the agreement signed with the employers group in the industry. For almost ten years the millinery union preferred to do its business with individual employers. The situation in most other industries was reversed in the hat trade. The union refused to deal with an organization of employers as far as handling labor problems was concerned.

The Racketeering Evil

The movement for the formation of an employers group was revived last year when revelations of racketeering in the trade were brought out in a forceful manner. Probing into the conduct of the district attorney's office under District Attorney Crain, Samuel Seabury found that racketeering was flourishing as an organized conspiracy unhampered by the public authorities. "Tough Jake's" gangsters were working systematically. To give their racket the appearance of legality, the gangsters had the audacity to organize a "union," with papers of incorporation duly obtained from the state government. The intent was that workers in the shops under the rule of the racketeers were to be enrolled in this union.

The efforts of Samuel Seabury to clean up the situation brought much publicity at the time but no tangible results. The district attorney's office remained as inactive as ever, except to serve a subpoena on an officer of our union who was then grilled by four assistant district attorneys. He was charged with racketeering! At the time I wrote a letter to the Hon. Thomas C. Crain, the district attorney, in which I protested the outrageous procedure. I told him then that he was not really engaged in a campaign against racketeering and charged that he was only throwing a thick smokescreen over his own ineptness and complaisance in many well known and powerful cases of racketeering. I suggested that if he was hunting for racketeers he might find ample field for activity in the case of the Bank of United States failure, in the food market racketeering, in the systematic robbery practiced by employment bureaus and, finally, I suggested he might turn his attention to that racket "that breeds more misery, poverty and starvation . . . than all the rackets com-



—Forward Photo.

bined." I referred to the gambling in Wall street. Mr. Crain quickly dropped his interest in our union as a possible vehicle of racketeering.

The Employers Group Recognized

The situation brought to light subsequently was such a flagrant one that the union decided it must act once and for all time to root out every trace of racketeering in the industry. Herbert H. Lehman, lieutenant governor of the state, and William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, interested themselves in the problem. Canvassing the situation and the advice of Lieut. Gov. Lehman and President Green, the union arrived at the conclusion that the problem could best be met by entering negotiations with the employers' association for the purpose of signing a collective agreement. It was felt that an employers' association could be able to handle the threats of racketeering more effectively than individual employers could.

As a result conferences were held with the Women's Headgear Group, Inc., the employers' association. The agreement finally signed states specifically that one of the functions of the association is to deal collectively with the union. "Both parties," the agreement declares, "desire to cooperate in improving the conditions in the millinery industry and to establish conditions which will tend to secure to the workers a living wage; to obtain equalization of standards of labor in the industry; and to provide methods for a peaceful and honorable adjustment of all disputes that may arise between the workers and the employers."

For such an agreement as was signed to be reached during a period of depression, is an accomplishment of which our union may justly feel proud. An enumeration of the clauses will bear this out. Only members in good standing in the union are to be employed in association shops. All those now employed by these shops who are not enrolled in the union are to become members not later than May 1st. All work required by

A section of the militant army of the millinery workers union of New York taken during the recent rallies at Mecca Temple. Inset is President Zaritsky.

the employer shall be performed by members of the union only, and at all times there shall be an equal distribution of work among all workers in the shops. All work is to be done on the premises of the members of the association and no work shall be given out to or purchased from contractors.

Dealing with wages the agreement declares that the minimum scales—which are not to effect the wages of those workers now receiving above the minimum—are to be \$55 per week for cutters, \$55 for operators, \$75 for blockers and \$35 for trimmers. The minimum rate for piece workers are to be \$2 an hour for operators, \$1 an hour for trimmers, while blockers are to be paid at a rate to be determined by a joint investigation.

40 Hour Week Is Won

Another clause in the agreement provides that a week's work shall consist of 40 hours distributed over five days a week, a substantial gain. All overtime work shall be paid for at time and a half, but no over-time work is to be permitted unless all the workers are employed full time and all available work benches are fully occupied. The workers are to be paid for seven legal holidays. The next clause protects the worker's right to the job until reasons for discharge are proven. No worker may be discharged without sufficient cause or reason nor until an opportunity has been given for joint investigation of the sufficiency of the reason for such discharge. A pay day shall be specified and wages paid promptly in cash. Sanitary working conditions are to be maintained at all times.

The employers group and the union agree that there shall be neither strike nor lockout during the two years in which the agreement shall operate. All matters in controversy shall be adjusted by a joint machinery provided for in the agreement. The final clause in the agreement gives the union the option to call for the creation of a joint committee to consider the establishment of an unemployment insurance fund and any other new matters of mutual concern which may arise.

These are the essential clauses of the agreement. They represent a monument to the strength of the union. When it went into effect March 1st, the union had already scored advances of great proportion. It affected some 10,000 of the workers in the trade. Never-

theless the union was not satisfied. It had set out to do a complete job. The racketeering angle of the work was now attacked.

The Victory Won

The union recruited a special organization committee of 700 men and women, the picked captains of the union army. The 25 factories for years under the domination of the gangster-racketeers were checked off for battle. The committee went to work with vigor. No "proxies" were used. The workers in the shops were reached directly by members of organization committee. The boasted strength of the gangsters failed to hold. Within two days the tide was turned. Employers actually pleaded with the union to give them an opportunity to join the association and sign the collective agreement.

The full victory of the union was demonstrated at two huge meetings held on Thursday, March 17th. Two huge halls in the Mecca Temple, the second largest arena in the greater city, housed some 7,000 men and women who filled every seat and aisle and hung from the balconies and boxes literally. Called to initiate a one-day stoppage of work, the rallies took on the nature of a celebration rather than a strike. The roll call of the 25 shops whose workers had just joined the union—4,000 new members in all—was carried through with enthusiasm. Each of the shops were represented by the attendance of the workers. The union's leaders, flanked by leaders in the community such as Norman Thomas and Heywood Brown, joined with Edward F. McGrady, representing President William Green in congratulating the members on their great victory. It was by universal consent one of the most inspiring events in labor history in many years. The next day the workers in the association shops returned to work with a renewed sense of the power of solidarity and of the invincibility of a united and determined union.

There is a fitting postscript to the story. In the headquarters of the international union today there hang two charters issued to the fake unions set up by the racketeers. Ousted from the industry, the gangsters had the sense of proportion to realize they were through. Today the charters hang on the walls of the union, draped in heavy black mourning bands as a sign that racketeering in the millinery industry is dead for all time.

Coal Strikers Are Subjected To Brutality

Pa. Insurgent Walkout Registers Gains and Losses in Second Week

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
WILKES-BARRE, Pa.—Fighting bitterly against a combination of state and local police, coal operators and officials of Districts 1 and 9, U. M. W. A., thousands of hard coal miners have been striking against wage cuts, for equalization of work, and against contract work.

The strike has been marked by repeated attacks on picket lines by the Pennsylvania State Police in old time coal-and-iron cop style. Without regard to supposed promises by Gov. Pinchot that peaceful picketing would not be stopped, the state police have driven their motorcycles into picket lines and slashed right and left men, women and children with their clubs.

District 1 officials, part of the Lewis machine, attempted to break the leadership of Thomas Maloney, leader of the rebel strikers by calling a meeting of his local, of which he is president. The effort to disparage him failed when members of the local stopped the proceedings with calls, "We want Maloney."

Pittston Mayor's Ruse

Some 5,000 miners marched to the city hall at Pittston to protest to the mayor on the use of city police in strikebreaking. The mayor held their leaders in conference while a call was put in to the Wyoming barracks of the state police and 16 cops rushed to Pittston and attacked the marchers, clubbing several severely.

Despite all attacks the miners swarmed to the picket lines by the thousands and closed a score of mines. It is a strike of desperation rather than hope as the anthracite industry has been so hard hit by the crisis that about all the strike leaders expect is that they will put a stop to the long series of wage cuts and will force the Lewis leadership into slightly more activity in defense of the members. The men have been working only two or three days in many of the mines, while some have been shut down for months. Suffering has been intense throughout the campaign and when the rebel leaders called a strike the response represented the determination that something should be done to better conditions.

Employees of the three major anthracite operations who voted Sunday afternoon to join the insurgent strike Wednesday returned to their jobs Wednesday, while another large operation whose miners had ignored the strike ordered for ten days was added to the list of idle collieries.

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Philadelphia ROUND TRIP 3.75

	One Way
HOURLY EXPRESS SERVICE	2.00
BALTIMORE	4.00
WASHINGTON	4.75
RICHMOND	7.50
PITTSBURGH	8.00
DETROIT	13.50
CHICAGO	17.00
ALBANY and TROY	4.00
ROUND TRIP	5.40

RATES FOR ROUND TRIPS GREATLY REDUCED
NEVIN BUS DEPOT
 111 W. 204 St. Chicago 4-1000

Dress Union Charges Effort to Sabotage Recent Agreement

The agreement recently signed in the New York dress industry as a result of the walk-out last month has been broken by the Association of Dress Manufacturers, Inc. Julius Hochman, manager of the Joint Board, declares the employers have sabotaged execution of the contract by their lack of cooperation in setting up an impartial chairman for the industry. Because of this gap in the adjustment machinery the union has had to send its own business agents and clerks into a shop of a member of the association to take up a dispute. The employer in question is said to have locked out his employees. The contractors' association claims the right to intervene on behalf of the member involved.

As we go to press we learn that the three employers' associations and the union have met to decide upon an impartial chairman.

Paper Handlers and Cutters Agree to Cuts

Two more local unions in the New York City book and job printing industry have acceded to the requests of the employing printers for wage reductions to take effect before the expiration of the present agreements. They are Paper Handlers and Sheet Straighteners Union No. 1 affiliated with the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union and the Paper Cutters Union No. 119 affiliated with the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

Typographical Union No. 6, made up of the strategic composing room men, and Mailers' Union No. 6, both part of the International Typographical Union have yet to take action on the employers' proposals.

Lecture Calendar

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

SUNDAY, MARCH 27

Dr. Max Winkler, "The Obligations of the United States and Other Creditor Nations," 11 A. M., Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison avenues, West Bronx Socialist Forum.

Norman Thomas, "What Socialism Offers to the Negro," 3:30 P. M., 2005 Seventh avenue, Manhattan; People's Educational Forum.

Norman Thomas, "A Socialist Program for Our Times," Y. M. H. A., 159th street and St. Nicholas avenue, Manhattan; 22d-23d A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

August Claessens, "Genius—Hereditary or Environment," 96 Avenue C, Manhattan; 6th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

MONDAY, MARCH 28

Amicus Most, "The Labor and Socialist Situation in West Virginia," 167 Tompkins avenue, Brooklyn; Williamsburg Branch, Socialist Party.

TUESDAY, MARCH 29

Dr. Simon Berlin, "Moral Concepts—Individual and Social," 1637 East 17th street, Brooklyn; Midwood Branch, Socialist Party.

Samuel Orr, "Current Events," 789 Elamere place, Bronx; 7th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

THURSDAY, MARCH 31

August Claessens, "The Trinity of Plunder," Boro Park Labor Lyceum, 14th avenue and 42d street, Brooklyn; Boro Park Branch, Socialist Party.

FRIDAY, APRIL 1

Debate: Y. P. S. L. Team versus N. Y. U. "Capitalism or Socialism," Hollywood Garden, 896 Prospect avenue, Bronx; Labor Forum.

Paul Blanshard, "Racketeering, High and Low," Paradise Manor, Mt. Eden and Jerome avenues, Mid-Bronx Labor Forum.

Herbert M. Merrill, "Socialism and Invention," 46 Ocean place, Brooklyn; Brighton Beach Branch, Socialist Party.

Leonard Bright, "The American Labor Movement," 327 East 9th street, Manhattan; 8th A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

William M. Feigenbaum, "Technological Unemployment," Bohemian Hall, 2d and Woolsey avenues, Astoria, Socialist Party Branch.

Amicus Most, "The Labor and Socialist Situation in West Virginia," 55 Snyder avenue, Brooklyn; 21st A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

Harry Laidler, "How America Labors," 100 West 72d street, Manhattan; West Side Socialist Forum.

August Claessens, "Our Economic Chaos," 21st street and Avenue X, Brooklyn; Workmen's Circle Center, Sheepshead Bay.

Garment Union Rejects Plea For Piece Work

I. L. G. W. Counters With 21 Demands—Pact Expires June 1st

THE demand of the manufacturers for the establishment of an "elective piece-work" system instead of payment by the week has been decisively rejected by the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union and the New York Cloak Joint Board. The present agreement expires on June 1.

President Benjamin Schlesinger of the I. L. G. W. U. explained the union's objections to the proposals made by the Industrial Council of Cloak and Suit Manufacturers, Inc. He said:

"Piece work will not abolish production cost inequalities which exist in the industry and will not make the smaller shop less of a competitor to the bigger shop as far as production costs are concerned.

"A study of production conditions in the two industries—cloaks and suits, and dresses—the latter a piece-work industry—has convinced us beyond the shadow of a doubt and should convince any fair-thinking person that it is harder to maintain equal labor conditions in a piece-work industry than in a week work industry; that if it is true that wage scales can be secretly violated in the smaller outside shops and thereby create a ruinous competition against the inside shops, surely piece-work rates, which could be juggled with, would make the competition even more destructive.

"That much for piece-work as a remedy for the evils of the industry. As far as workers are concerned, piece-work would bring down their earnings and living conditions to the lowest level."

In opposition to the manufacturers' proposals the union has presented 21 demands of which the following are prominent:

1. No member of the Industrial Council shall send out work to contractors or sub-manufacturers unless he employs a minimum of 14 operators and a complement crew and unless he can supply full-time work to the contractors and sub-manufacturers.

2. The ten per cent reorganization clause in the present agreement shall be eliminated.

3. The Unemployment Insurance Fund that used to exist in the industry shall be re-established as formerly except that contributions to it shall be made entirely by the employers and shall amount to 3 per cent of the total weekly payroll in each shop or establishment.

4. The impartial chairman is to prescribe a uniform set of books and records for the industry and these shall be open to the examination of the impartial chairman and his accountants at all reasonable times.

Labor Editor Wins St. Paul Primary Poll

ST. PAUL, Minn. (F.P.)—William F. Mahoney, editor of the Minnesota Union Advocate, topped a list of five candidates in the St. Paul mayoralty primary, indicating the strong probability that he will be elected.

His vote was 21,337 against Mayor Gerhard H. Bundlie's 21,221. Other candidates were: Courtney, 17,819; King, 1,350 and Anderson (Communist), 1,229. Courtney is a liberal Democrat who supported Gov. Olson, Farmer-Labor, in 1930, and it is expected the majority of his votes will switch to Mahoney in the final election.

Four of the six labor-endorsed councilmen won and William F. Scott, labor incumbent, won for comptroller by 27,529 to 15,995.

Roosevelt Safe to Utilities His Own Speeches Indicate

Waldman Sets Judson King Right—So Does Wm. H. Woodin

THE naive belief that the policies of some "good man" might possibly find expression through the medium of a Democratic administration in Washington—even supposing some "good" man could be found in the ranks of the Democratic presidential hopefuls—is apparently shared by Judson King, director of the National Popular Government League. Early this week Mr. King labelled Gov. Roosevelt of New York the greatest enemy of the power trust among the presidential candidates. Since Gov. Roosevelt has been trying hard to tell the power trust and big business how really "safe" he is, Mr. King's generous endorsement has probably embarrassed him rather than made him happy. Gov. Roosevelt was rather cautious in accepting the crown which Mr. King sought to bestow on him. The governor said he would have to "study" the endorsement before he could comment on it. He is still studying.

Even if Mr. King's strange belief that the Democratic party might through some good man be a vehicle for fighting the power trust had some basis in fact, his eulogy of Gov. Roosevelt is completely misplaced. He must have meant somebody else. Roosevelt's power record is nothing like the picture Mr. King drew. The facts of the governor's power record were set forth this week by Louis Waldman, state chairman of the Socialist party in New York. Mr. Waldman, one of the closest students of power and public utility problems in the country, had this to say in the course of a letter to Mr. King:

Roosevelt's Real Record

"Your survey makes some extraordinary conclusions, particularly with respect to Governor Roosevelt's position. You distinguish his position on the question from that of the other candidates named, and, particularly from that of his predecessor, Governor Smith, by asserting that the latter 'would use his influence for private distribution of the power,'

whereas the former 'would assist and sign measures for public ownership and operation and adequate distribution of power for major public power sites.' The record does not justify your conclusion. On the all-important question of 'public operation,' Governor Roosevelt, in an address at Syracuse, October 24, 1928, stated:

"I do not want, any more than Mr. Ottinger or the power interests, to put the People of the State of New York, into the business of distributing power to the ultimate consumer. This is a matter which can now be properly taken care of by private companies. . . ."

"The Governor has not altered his position. On the contrary, in his last campaign, in an address delivered at Hunts Point Palace, in New York City, on October 28, 1930, the Governor said:

"The Democratic policy towards the great water power of this State does not contemplate the State going into the business of selling electricity to the homes, nor does it seek to deprive any legitimate investor of his legitimate return."

Woodin Unafraid of Roosevelt
 William H. Woodin, president of the American Car and Foundry Company and chairman of the Board of American Locomotive Company, a staunch supporter of the Governor, declared Tuesday that big business has absolutely nothing to fear from Governor Roosevelt, as president. Apropos of the Governor's position on water power, Mr. Woodin declared:

"I have every confidence that with Mr. Roosevelt as president, the problem (of water power) will be tackled in the spirit I have indicated—of fair dealing and of equal justice to all concerned. There is nothing of a destructive nature in Governor Roosevelt's make-up and outlook on life and affairs—for which reason I have no fear that in his approach to the problem he will bring to it either inclination or desire to destroy or hamper the many companies that for years have devoted their time, care and money to the development of this great industry."

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- ☐ Woman and Socialism, by August Bebel.
- ☐ From Marx to Lenin, by Morris Hillquit.

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Hoan Wins Milwaukee in Landslide Vote

Primary Gives Socialists a Sure Victory

Council Majority Seen as Likely in Final Poll April 5th

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
MILWAUKEE. — Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist, received 15,000 more votes than all of his opponents combined in the primary election last week. The Socialists nominated their complete city ticket, 20 of their 27 Aldermanic candidates, and 14 of their 20 candidates for county supervisor. Hoan's plurality over his nearest opponent was 37,536.

In addition to the Socialist showing in Milwaukee, the Socialists nominated all but one of their candidates in the suburb of West Allis. Dr. M. V. Baxter, the party's choice for Mayor, outvoted Del Miller, many times Mayor and considered "car" of West Allis politics, by 3,682 to 2,499.

In Racine, Socialists carried five of the seven wards in both Aldermanic and supervisor contests.

See Council Majority

Fourteen of the 20 Aldermanic candidates in Milwaukee received the highest number of votes in their wards, indicating that for the first time in 20 years the Mayor will have a majority of the council supporting him.

The primaries were bitterly contested. Joseph P. Carney, who ran second to Hoan, has for years led a campaign of pin-pricking persecution of Socialists, and this year lead a vitriolic crusade, but could poll only 37,536 votes to Hoan's 75,178. Philip Westfahl, the third candidate, who had the backing of the Chicago Tribune, received 23,575 votes. Hoan's vote was the largest ever polled in a Milwaukee primary election.

Hoan Thanks Voters

"The election not only shows a decided drift towards the Socialist party," Hoan said in a message of appreciation to the voters, "but is a knockout for the element that called in question my personal integrity."

"I look forward with supreme confidence to the people of Milwaukee giving me a Socialist common council and other officials who will cooperate in keeping Milwaukee in the forefront of American municipalities."

"The Socialist victories in West Allis, Racine and Milwaukee establish the Socialist party as an important factor in Wisconsin politics and will go a long way to wake up the plumes of Wall street."

The final elections in all three cities will be held Tuesday, April 5. The party organizations, meanwhile, will make a strong drive to add enough votes to elect its candidates in wards where the Socialist showing was weakest.

NUDE CULTURE

Read the story of the police raid on a nudist club in New York City which resulted in the nudists' acquittal. Read M. de Mongeot's article on "Nudist Ethics"—written by the editor of "Vivre" magazine, to whom the book "Among the Nudists" was dedicated. Would you like to spend two weeks at a nudist camp near New York City this summer? Read THE OLYMPIAN for March, now on sale at all newsstands, or send 10c direct to publishers for your copy or enclose \$1.00 for a year's subscription.

"Nudism Comes to America," written by the authors of "Among the Nudists," will be ready for mailing on April 6th. Descriptive circular free on request.

The OLYMPIAN LEAGUE
Dept. 28A
West Haverstrax, New York

Cleveland Socialists To Organize Jobless

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
CLEVELAND. — Recognizing their responsibility of organizing the unemployed, the Socialist party of Cleveland is arranging an unemployment conference for Friday evening, April 1, at the International Ladies Garment Workers Hall, 1766 East 12th street. Three hundred labor unions and other friendly workers' organizations have been invited to send representatives. Each Socialist branch will have two delegates. All party members and sympathizers are urged to attend the conference.

The conference will meet just two days after the Ohio Legislature is called for a special session to deal with unemployment. It will choose a committee to appear before the Legislature. The conference will give special attention to unemployment insurance and the provision of adequate relief during the crisis. Old age pensions will also be discussed.

Hillquit and Russell Rally D. C. Socialists

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
WASHINGTON, D. C. — Washington took its place among the growing number of cities in which there is a Socialist reawakening last Sunday evening, when 200 people filled the banquet hall at the Arlington Hotel to hear Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the party, and Charles Edward Russell, noted Socialist author, journalist and speaker. J. Mahlon Barnes, executive secretary of the Washington organization, presided.

A dinner preceded the meeting. Hillquit and Russell united in predicting a phenomenal growth in Socialist sentiment in the United States during the coming campaign. They discussed the question, "Is There an Alternative to Economic Chaos?" A sustaining fund to keep the local organizer at work was started as a result of an appeal for funds made by Morris Stamen.

Brand Scott Rejoins The Socialist Party

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
CHARLESTON, W. Va. — Brand Scott, vice-president of the West Virginia Mine Workers Union, rejoined the Socialist party last week. Scott, one-time Socialist justice of the peace in Kanawha County, said the reconstruction of the party in the state after years of dormancy had fired him with determination to get into the fight once again. James McCleary, another veteran Socialist, now living in the Clydeville tent colony, has also rejoined the party.

L. I. D. Luncheon to Discuss "Drama and Social Change"

Joseph Wood Krutch, Heywood Brown and Cheryl Crawford, director of the Group Theatre, will discuss "The Drama and Social Change" this Saturday, March 26, at 12:45 at the Hotel Woodstock, 127 West 43rd street at a luncheon of the New York Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy. Reinhold Niebuhr is chairman. Reservations are being made now at league headquarters, 112 East 19th street, Algonquin 4-5865.

ANOTHER NORMAN THOMAS

WARD, W. Va. — Mrs. Jean Shiffert, wife of the president of the Ward local of the West Virginia Mine Workers Union, gave birth to a boy in the miners' tent colony this week. The child was named Norman Thomas Shiffert.

Jobless Form 2 More Unions; Others Planned

Rallies Will Be Held April 8th in Woodside and Lowest West Side

NEARLY 100 people heard Norman Thomas, August Claessens and Samuel A. DeWitt speak on unemployment at Moose Hall, College Point, last Saturday. The Flushing Socialists staged the meeting.

Sixty-eight joined the Unemployed Union of College Point in response to the invitation of the chairman, Leonard Bright. So enthusiastic was the meeting that Thomas took advantage of the occasion at the conclusion of his eloquent address to urge those who were ready to do so to join the Socialist party. Eighteen thereupon signed application cards, assuring the formation of a Socialist branch in College Point. A by-product of the meeting was the contribution of \$100 to Thomas for Socialist work.

This makes the third unemployed Union established. The second was organized with 300 present at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum March 17. Speakers were Thomas, A. I. Shiplacoff and Bright, with Louis Sadoff as chairman. The spirit of the meeting at the conclusion was marred somewhat by the disgusting tactics of several Communists.

The Unemployed Union of Woodside, L. I. held its second meeting March 18 with J. B. Matthews as the speaker. Twenty-five more names were added to the membership of this organization. The next meeting will be held April 8.

On the same evening an unemployed union will be organized at P. S. 3, Hudson and Christopher streets, in the Chelsea district, Manhattan. A live committee of the Chelsea branch which is in charge of the meeting will canvass the neighborhood to call on the unemployed. James Oneal will speak.

An unemployed union will be organized Thursday evening, March 24, in the Morningside Heights district, when Max Delson, Leonard Bright and Julius Umanasky will speak to jobless workers in the headquarters of the local Socialist party branch, 3109 Broadway. Canvassing is now being carried on in Washington Heights, where an organization of the unemployed will be formed shortly.

B'sville Bazaar Opens For 10 Days of Fun

Work has been completed for the coming bazaar of the Educational Center of the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn.

Besides entertainment and concerts, dancing will be held every evening. Phil Lynch and his Pennsylvania band will furnish the music. Fifteen booths of useful merchandise will be displayed where bargains will be had. It will be ten days of a holiday spirit. Comrades and sympathizers are urged to attend. The bazaar opens Friday night, March 25.

Harry Laidler to Address New History Society on "Peace"

The New History Society will hear Harry W. Laidler, executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy, give his plan for permanent world peace in an address tomorrow (Sunday) evening at eight-thirty o'clock in the ballroom of the Park Lane Hotel, Park avenue and 48th street.

Minnesota Socialists To Convene on Monday

Senior to Address Rallies in Minneapolis and St. Paul

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
MINNEAPOLIS. — A state convention of the Socialist party of Minnesota will be held at the Central Labor Union, 614 First avenue North, Minneapolis, Monday, March 28, at 7 p. m.

The convention will elect a state executive committee, state secretary and a national committeeman; select Presidential electors and find ways to place their names on the ballot; elect delegates to the party national convention, and plan building of the party in Minnesota.

Every Socialist is invited to attend the convention. "The Socialist

party has been sleeping long enough in this state. The time has arrived to wake up and help to build up the Socialist party to carry on the fight to abolish capitalism," says the convention call which is signed by John E. Sala, state secretary; Mrs. Alex Cordner, A. O. Devold, Lynn Thompson, R. Latz, A. Bellman, W. J. McGongheir, Ed Maurer, P. H. Phelps, Sam Prohofsky, S. M. Slonim, John Kobi, John H. Hirt, J. A. Gonstead, O. P. Viccorian, B. R. Gissien, Albert G. Bastis and Leo Gissien.

National Secretary Clarence Senior will be present at the convention. Senior will also speak the following day, March 29, in St. Paul at a meeting to reorganize the party in that city.

DEBATES — LECTURES — FORUMS

THE COMMUNITY FORUM OF THE COMMUNITY CHURCH

New meeting at Temple Beth-El, Fifth Avenue and 76th Street.

SUNDAY—3 P. M.—VINCENT BURNS

"THE RED HARVEST—A Soldier's Honest Picture of War Through the Medium of Great Poetry"

11 A. M.—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
"A SENSIBLE MAN'S VIEW OF IMMORTALITY"

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At Cooper Union
Eighth Street and Astor Place
At 5 o'clock

Friday Evening, March 25th
NO MEETING

Sunday Evening, March 27th
NO MEETING

Tuesday Evening, March 29th
PROF. FREDERICK BARRY
"The Scientific Organization of Knowledge"

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

Thursday Evening, March 31st
PROFESSOR E. G. SPAULDING
"Types of Order"

League for Industrial Democracy Luncheon

Saturday, March 26, 12:45 P. M.
HOTEL WOODSTOCK
127 West 43rd Street

"The Drama and Social Change"

CHERYL CRAWFORD, Director of the Group Theatre
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH, Distinguished Critic
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Algonquin 4-5865

Tuesday Evening, March 29th
At 8:30 P. M.

PROF. SCOTT NEARING
speaks on
"CAN THE SYSTEM OF SOVIET RUSSIA SUCCEED IN AMERICA?"

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14th Street and Second Avenue

DR. EDMUND B. CHAFFER, Director

5 P. M.—DR. E. G. DECK—Emman

Goldman's Book, "Living My Life"

7:45 P. M.—STANLEY A. DAY—Organ

Recital

8 P. M.—DR. EDMUND B. CHAFFER

Has Psychics Research Proved a

Future Life?

INGERSOLL FORUM

Pythian Temple, 135 W. 76th St.

Sunday, 8 P. M. Admission 25c

March 27: KENNETH BLANCHET

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Sunday Evening, March 27, 1932

8 P. M.—REV. LEON ROSSER LAND

on "Is the Economic Boycott

Ethical?"

8 P. M.—DR. ALFRED W. MARTIN

on "Emerson and His Epoch—

Making Address."

Admission Free

Work Is Begun On Milwaukee Convention

Lewis to Manage Drive
for Funds—Plans Are
Made for Attractive
Journal

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—Preliminary to the meeting of the national convention of the Socialist Party in Milwaukee on May 21, Marx Lewis of Washington, D. C., will be in charge of a national drive for funds up to the time the convention is called to order. At the St. Louis meeting of the National Executive Committee Morris Hillquit and James O'Neal were appointed to take the matter up with Lewis.

Lewis will take up his duties immediately. As manager of the drive he will outline the work to be undertaken within a week and will seek the cooperation of every Socialist and sympathizer in the country. State, local and branch organizations throughout the country are urged to cooperate with Lewis as the plans are announced in letters that will be received from him.

The first delegates to the National Convention in Milwaukee have been elected by New York City. Names of delegates should be in national headquarters by April 1.

The Milwaukee organization is forging ahead on plans to make the convention the most successful ever held by the party.

National headquarters has decided upon the make-up and cost of the journal of the convention. It will be edited by Edward Levinson, assistant editor of the New Leader, and Clarence Senior. Letters requesting greetings to the convention through this journal have gone to active Socialists in every state, and the staff hopes that it will far surpass in content and revenue any heretofore issued. Contributions from famous socialists all over the world are assured. Biographies of the delegates, stories about Milwaukee, and appropriate illustrations are other features.

Locals and branches may help pay expenses of delegates to Milwaukee by soliciting advertising for the journal, according to a plan now being worked out by the journal committee.

NEW LOCALS REPORTED

PENNSYLVANIA. Barnesborough: Arthur Barger, secretary, 708 Philadelphia avenue.

PENNSYLVANIA. Harrisburg: Sam Young, secretary, Box 500, Steelton.

PENNSYLVANIA. Nanty Glo: Dora Ambrose, secretary.

VIRGINIA. Lynchburg.

WASHINGTON. Seattle Branch No. 2: Mrs. Black, secretary, 508 Eastlake boulevard.

West Virginia

All locals are girding for a stiff campaign fight despite the serious handicap of poverty. Petitions are being circulated in conformity with the law requiring nominating papers have signatures of one per cent of the total vote. The task is hard but is being vigorously pushed.

Charleston has elected a committee to negotiate with the Independent Labor Party which convenes in Charleston March 26th to formulate a program, nominate candidates and work out a cooperating plan with the S. P. Comrades Snyder Higgins and Baron, state organizer, will represent the party.

CHARLESTON.—An unemployment and anti-war demonstration was held at the Kanawha County Court House, Tuesday, March 22, under joint auspices of the party, the I. L. P. and the Unemployed Council of West Virginia. The speakers were Harold W. Houston for the I. L. P., Frank Keeney, head of the mine workers union, Murray Baron, and the Rev. W. B. Ritchie. The Rev. F. G. Strickland will speak here April 5th.

HUNTINGTON.—After protracted negotiations and the securing of the city hall for a debate on Socialism, the Rev. Mark M. Fisher and his church board have notified National Organizer Baron that a debate between Fisher and Baron would be "inconvenient and impractical." The board is composed of Negroes, politicians and middle class. Fisher, in a conversation with Baron, said he would have to confer with his board on the debate since all he had was a job, that he was only the board's "paid worker." After the debate had been called off, Baron wrote Fisher reassuring him that his job would now be safe.

Huntington Socialists have made the following nominations: For Congress, J. S. Jeffreys, for State Senator, D. D. Harper; for House of Delegates, J. R. McNeill, Mrs. Laura Smith, Ernest Baker, Ira B. McKee, for Sheriff, C. M. McCaffrey, Jack Gillespie, County

prosecuting attorney, T. Devaney; county commissioner, Charles O. Beckett.

MARION COUNTY.—A straw vote in this county conducted by the Central Press Association places Norman Thomas third, a few votes behind Hoover and ahead of Al Smith, Garner, Murray and Ritchie. Roosevelt was first on the list with 218 votes, Hoover got 61 and Thomas 48. The total cast was 438 votes. The Fairmont Times, commenting on the poll, says one of its surprising results was "Hoover's close escape from defeat by Norman Thomas, Socialist."

Nebraska

An organization tour to include the cities of North Platte, Hastings, Wahoo, Fall City and Lincoln is planned by the state secretary, S. Lerner, 2519 Caldwell street, Omaha.

Washington

The Mooney day parade held by Local Spokane was four blocks long. Twelve propaganda meetings a week are being held by the local in various parts of the city. That a live Socialist movement can get favorable publicity is proved by the Washington comrades, who have received a total of 72 inches of space for news items in the last month, in addition to space given by papers to twelve letters sent in to the forum columns.

Illinois

"Bread or Bullets?" is the title of a new leaflet on unemployment printed by the Socialist Party of Illinois for state-wide distribution.

EVANSTON.—A branch of the Socialist Party was formed here when a score of North Shore members met at the Georgian Hotel for an organization meeting. Roy E. Burt, candidate for governor of Illinois on the Socialist ticket, Adolph Drefuss, secretary of the Cook County Local, and Ben Larks, state secretary, spoke briefly.

R. E. Wolsley was elected secretary-treasurer. He, Mrs. Bessie B. Drefuss and John Irwin, form the executive committee. Kurt Drefuss and A. Theodore Bondy were elected delegates to the central committee. Charter members of the branch are: Dorothy L. Baker of Chicago, A. Theodore Bondy of Wilmette; Kurt Drefuss and Mrs. Bessie B. Drefuss of Niles Center, Mrs. Phoebe W. Herold of Evanston, John G. Irwin of Chicago, Betty Lee, Margaret M. Nelson, G. Earl Page, Sylvia Rothman, John G. Vogel, George J. Wilson, R. E. Wolsley and Mrs. Bernice B. Wolsley, all of Evanston.

Virginia

State Secretary George visited the Lynchburg-Roanoke section March 21-23, organized a new local in Lynchburg and arranged for an organization tour through central and southwestern Virginia, starting April 4th and ending April 24th. Over 20 meetings will be held, including Danville, Lynchburg, Monroe, Roanoke, Salem, Radford, Bedford, Meadowview, Chilhowie, Abingdon, Clover, South Boston, Altavista, Chatham and Martinsville. In late April he will visit Newport News and several other eastern cities.

Big May Day meetings are being planned for all locals. State headquarters will be opened in Richmond in April and Comrade Miller will be brought up from Norfolk for a few weeks' work around Richmond. City conventions will be held next week, to nominate candidates for the city elections June 14th. The new State Executive Committee will meet in Norfolk Sunday, April 3, at 2 P. M.

Representatives of the Negro press were present at the recent state convention, and were enthusiastic at the party program and principles. The Richmond Planet, large Negro weekly, gave a great deal of space to the convention. Locals Norfolk, Hopewell and Richmond have all voted to push work among the Negroes, and it is hoped that large numbers will be recruited into party ranks soon.

Sympathizers and comrades are urged to send in checks for the organizing fund. Send yours to state office, P. O. Box 493, Richmond, Va.

California

May Day is to be a memorable day in Los Angeles. Plans are under way for the biggest and best Socialist picnic ever held. The movement is many times bigger this year than it was last year and a record attendance is expected. The picnic will also be a climax of the local municipal campaign. Many noted speakers will address the assemblage, which is to be an all day affair. Efforts are being made to get Norman Thomas to come to the coast and be the main speaker.

Organizer Bill Busick announced that before May first at least a dozen more party branches will have been organized. Last year's Socialist picnic crowded the picnic grounds, so this year a larger place is needed. The place will be announced later.

A new branch has been formed in the Watts colored district, organization completed in the Sawtelle Branch, a new branch in Redondo Beach and another one in Bell. A Young Socialist League Circle was started in the 15th District. Bill Busick is sponsor of the new circle, at which 38 were present. They will meet every Wednesday in the 15th District Branch Hall at 323 East 112th street.

Herb Estein is organizing a circle of Yipsels in connection with the August Gate Branch. Fred W. Clark, August, is his Union-Singclair circle in the 21st district.

Brooklyn: Workmen's Shipyard Bay.

into better shape. Everett O'Connor is organizing a Young Socialist League circle in Glendale.

The New Era is now on a regular twice a month basis. It is destined to be on a weekly basis under the able direction of its managing editor, Jack Hardy.

George R. Kirkpatrick, Socialist candidate for United States Senate, has made a few campaign speeches already, but his campaign has not as yet really started. Roger Rush, state secretary, is in Berkeley, organizing a branch of the party there. Last week Rush and Harold Fithian organized a branch in Santa Barbara. A branch of the party was started on the University of California Campus with 49 members.

Hymie Sheanin and Willie Goldberg, field organizers, have completed their two weeks' organization campaign in Orange County and are now in San Diego.

California is making plans to send a full delegation of 21 delegates to the National Convention.

Ohio

CLEVELAND.—Dr. F. W. Walls will speak on "City Government" on Wednesday, March 30, at 7:30 P. M., under the auspices of the 32d Ward Branch, at the Slovenian Workmen's Home, 1535 Waterloo road, N. E.

Michigan

DETROIT.—Local Socialists are circulating unemployment petitions and preparing for the Forward-International Ball to be held on April 9th and the mass meeting which is planned for May Day. Active cooperation is being given by the Language Federations. A new East Side Detroit branch is being formed and will hold its organization meeting early in April.

FLINT.—Local Genesee County has formed a second branch in Flint and is preparing for an active campaign next election. This is the fastest growing local in Michigan at the present time although some of the newly formed locals threaten to capture the honor soon.

BOYNE CITY.—A local has been chartered in Charlevoix county with branches at Boyne City and East Jordan. Rev. H. E. LeRoy, who has been active in the labor movement since the days of the old Knights of Labor, is on the job as organizer and promises to make the county the Michigan stronghold of Socialism. Members of the Ottawa Indian tribe, numbering over 7,000 and living near here are very sympathetic toward the Socialist Party and Michigan may soon have a "100 per cent American" local here.

GRAND RAPIDS.—Local Kent County has been granted a charter by the state office and will hold its permanent organization meeting soon. Organizers report interest very strong here and the chance of having a strong and active local are excellent.

GREENVILLE.—The second branch of Local Montcalm County has been organized in Greenville. This is in the heart of the Michigan bean and potato growing section and the farmers are feeling the full weight of the depression. They are turning to Socialism as the answer to their problems in ever increasing numbers in spite of very active opposition from some of the local newspapers.

Pennsylvania

The State Office reports a hectic fortnight, activity blossoming on half a dozen fronts.

EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA.—Organizer Biggony of Local Berks reports the birth of new branches like the popping of Chinese firecrackers. The report for the end of the month. Biggony prophesies, will show well over two thousand members in the county. George R. Cooper, 7251 Radbourne road, Upper Darby, is secretary of the new organization launched in hitherto unorganized Delaware County, with 36 members. Delaware Comrades have at once put a full ticket in the field consisting of Jesse H. Holmes of Swarthmore for Congress, E. Eldridge Brewster for State Senate, and David Lincoff, Amelia Lindley, George R. Cooper and Robert M. Green for Representative in Assembly.

CENTRAL PENNA.—John Hand, Auburn Club, State College, Pa., reports the organization of a lively I. L. D. Chapter at the State University and announces that immediate steps will be taken to build the party in Centre County in cooperation with Comrades Boal and Rote at Axeman. The completion of petitions by branch Johnstown insures a full ticket at the primary for Cambria County Socialists.

WESTERN PENNA.—Comrade David Rinne, a member of the State Executive Committee, continues his volunteer work in rebuilding the party in the soft coal fields, reporting two new locals in Fayette County in one week, the first at Penosa where the first spark was lighted for last spring's desperate coal strike, and the other at Ikerstown near Fayette City. John Bier and Joseph Kucklar are respective secretaries. New Castle Branch, the state organizer reports, shows steady growth as the weekly meetings continue to recruit new members, about evenly divided between old-timers and youth adherents. A permanent headquarters and recruiting office is soon to be established.

PITTSBURGH.—Between 40 and 50 per cent of the students registering for the Model National Political

Conventions to be sponsored at the University of Pittsburgh by the student "Y," have designated themselves as Socialists. Comrade Marie McDonald will tour western Pennsylvania on speaking tour April 2d to 9th.

Connecticut

The March meeting of the State Executive Committee has been postponed until the first Sunday in April and will be held at New Britain, Conn., at 53 Church street, Callimut building, at 1 P. M.

NEW JERSEY.—James C. Rettle of the Yale Graduate School will start a series of lectures on Saturday evening, April 2, at 8 P. M., at the Workmen Circle Center, 73 Legion avenue. Subject, "The World Crisis." An admission of 15 cents will be charged.

HARTFORD.—James O'Neal, editor of The New Leader, will speak at the Socialist Party forum, Sunday, April 3, on "The Crisis in the Labor Movement." Jaspar McLevy of Bridgeport will be the speaker the following Sunday.

New Jersey

Socialists of New Jersey will meet in Linden in the Polish National Hall, Roselle street, on Sunday, April 3, 9 A. M. Candidates for Presidential electors and United States Senator will be nominated.

Resolutions recently submitted to all branches and locals in the state on party policy and instructions to the delegates to the National Convention in Milwaukee will come up for final action. With this meeting the S. P. of N. J. launches its 1932 election campaign. Plans for a vigorous campaign and ways and means for financing it will be discussed.

Every party member in good standing is eligible to voice and vote at this meeting. Membership cards must be presented. The Linden and Roselle branches will prepare a light lunch for all party members attending. The importance of this conference to the S. P. in N. J. is obvious and it is expected that every party member will be present.

NEWARK.—A very successful open air meeting was held last Saturday in Military Park. About 500 people listened for three hours to Comrades Green, Rosenkranz and Goebel. This Sunday, March 27th, 8:15 P. M., Ruth Wilson and Puryear will speak at the open forum in St. Regis Hall, Centre street, opposite the tube station.

PATERSON.—As one result of Norman Thomas' lecture for the L. I. D., an English speaking branch of the

party has once more come into existence in Paterson, under the guidance of State Secretary White. Thirteen members signed the charter application. Regular meetings will be held every first and third Saturday of the month at 8 P. M., at Oakley Hall, 211 Market street, Paterson.

New York State

The State Executive Committee is to meet Sunday, April 10th. The committee will determine the representation at the State Convention to be held in Utica on the second, third and fourth of July, and transact other important business. A meeting of delegates to the National Convention will be called in connection with the meeting to take up the matter of transportation to and from the convention.

SCHENECTADY.—Reports from Schenectady declare that Norman Thomas had a "wonderful meeting" in that city. The success of the L. I. D. lecture course was pronounced despite the abnormal amount of unemployment.

BUFFALO.—The Socialist Women's Club of Buffalo and Erie County have resumed activity. The officers are: Chairman, Mrs. Elizabeth C. Roth, 950 Clinton street, Buffalo, phone Jefferson 5441; vice chairman, Mrs. Jessie E. Faessler, 88 Thatcher avenue, phone Crescent 0986-V; secretary-treasurer, Mrs. Hazel V. Bowers, 64 Ruspin avenue, phone Crescent 8079-R. Miss Edna L. Sickman is chairman of the program committee. At the last meeting a motion was passed requesting the National and State Conventions of the party to insert a plank in their platforms favoring the Woman's Jury Bill. The next meeting will be Friday, April 8th, at the home of Mrs. T. A. Phillips, 291-A Delaware avenue. Mrs. Bowers will speak on "What Is Socialism?"

HEMPSTEAD.—The debate between Paul Blanshard and William S. Fowler on "Socialism versus Capitalism" was a spirited affair delivered to a crowded hall. Blanshard won by a large majority. He was enthusiastically applauded when he countered an attack on the local for not displaying the American flag. Jack Karro of 218-50 Hempstead road, Queens Village, took the names of several young people interested in starting a Yipsel Circle.

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is a warning—

Poisonous food wastes held too long in the digestive system cause bad breath. Ex-Lax rids the body of these wastes promptly. Better for you than vile, violent cathartics.

Important Note! There's nothing else like Ex-Lax. Its scientific laxative ingredient is made more effective through chocoalating by the exclusive Ex-Lax process. Ask for Ex-Lax by name and refuse imitations.

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SPECIAL NOTICE

Workmen's Furniture Fire

Insurance Society, Inc.

MEMBERS PLEASE TAKE NOTICE

The assessment for 1932 is ten cents for each hundred dollars insurance due from all members since the first day of January.

It is advisable not to wait for the assessment notice out to make your payment now in order to avoid the rush in April and May.

Tell Your Friends You Saw Their Ad In The New Leader.

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The Largest Radical Working-

Men's Fraternal Order

in Existence

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Insurance from \$100 to \$3,000

Sick benefit, 18 weeks per year, at \$5, \$10, \$25 and \$50 per week. Many branches pay additional benefit from \$3 to \$5 per week. Consumption benefit \$400 and \$600 or nine months in our own sanatorium, located in the most beautiful region of the Catskill Mountains—besides the regular weekly benefit.

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MAX WOLFF

OPTOMETRIST and OPTICIAN

331 W. 125th Street New York City

Homo Sapiens Bows to Women in "The Warrior's Husband"

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

GREEK MEETS AMAZON

"THE WARRIOR'S HUSBAND."
A comedy by Julian Thompson.
At the Morosco.

The fierce Amazonian women, more deadly than the male, know of no world where men fight and rule, until the rumors of Greece stray into their walled city, on the breath of the ninth labor of Hercules, which was to fetch the girdle of Hippolyta, ruler of the Amazon host. Picture a society where women hunt and kill and have the open power (not through closet-intrigue, and bedroom and table domination, as in our less favored lands!), where men are adorned and wooed—and you cannot fancy half the fun there is in watching Romney Brent, the young lord Sapiens, whom fortune (plus his mother's politics) makes the first husband in the Amazon land. Fully effeminate, with a sweet curly beard such as we see on the Syrian stones, his is no pained panoply, no aping of another sex, but a natural disposition to be petted and coddled and indulged, bred through generations of warrior women and kept men.

While honors of acting and delicate humor go to Romney Brent, the whole society in which he lives is delightfully portrayed, in a novel conception, with Greek mythology providing a background for side-slants at our day. The Amazons (who used to cut off one breast, to permit good shooting of their bows—the authorities tell us—though of course the fair heroines of the play do not exemplify the practice) are invaded by the Greeks, after Theseus, the brains of the Herculean exploits, has failed to gain the girdle by guile. Hercules is, we discover, a coward whose reputation is being built, almost to the extent of a racket, by the clever Theseus and a smart war reporter named Homer, who pays more attention to a good story than to its truth. Various swift vicissitudes come upon the hosts; and we watch with special interest the developing femininity of Antiope, the sister of the Queen, in the hands of Theseus. There is a tumultuous courtship, which Katharine Hepburn makes doubly attractive—she's a rare personality; and Colin Keith-Johnson matches her fire. All of the fun (which not more than once or twice, in the merest details—"Call me Herk"—falls low) is set in effective scenes and costumes by Woodman Thompson. When Greek meets Amazon there's a tug of war; but the war is only incidental, and the tug becomes a hug... and a huge piece of merriment.

STRINGING SHAKESPEARE

The New School is doing most commendable work, these days, in giving aid and encouragement to the marionette movement in this country. As a popular form of entertainment, the puppet show is perhaps the most long-lived of all amusements; it thrives today throughout Europe, and the Soviet government has several hundred traveling companies, using the form to convey incidental education through the fun. In the United States, a greater self-consciousness, and the spread of the motion picture, have made the marionette

a form sought by those trained artistically, for its possibilities as an art form. The New School has been showing effective puppet-plays for adults, not the usual Christmas jiggling for children, but a swift satire, "Stringing Broadway," by the Tatterman Puppeteers, a puppetization of Stephens' "Crock O' Gold" by Meyer Levin; and Remo Bufano's adaptation of Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream." Seeing the last of these, we were at once struck with the fact that this, if not all, of Shakespeare's comedies, suits the marionette better than the stage, for our times. The mischief of Puck, the delicacy and grotesquerie of the fairies, the comic boorishness of Bottom and his troupe, playing—louts as they are—the romantic "Pyramids and Thiasie," these the puppets can make much more real than living players. Had the voiced interpretation equalled the puppet presentation, this would have been one of the most valid productions of the play, in any form, that we have seen. The possibilities of puppet plays are manifest; the audience is growing and growing steadily—for almost everyone who is taken to a puppet show enjoys it: let the good work go on!

MAGIC AND MYSTERY

"TRICK FOR TRICK." By Vivian Crosby, Shirley Warde and Harry Wagstaff Gribble. At the Sam H Harris.

It's an eerie play, indeed, this "Trick For Trick." Opening with a seance, it spins two magicians—former master and pupil; now, the older with a pledge of \$10,000 for any trick he can't prove a fake, the younger in nightly communication with a dead "control"—in the toils of a murder mystery. And during the second seance, one of the magicians is murdered—by mistake, for the other. To Mr. Gribble, who staged the play, must be given credit for weaving his over-tricky ma-

THE THEATRE GUILD presents REUNION in VIENNA

A comedy by ROBERT V. SHERWOOD
Martin Beck Theatre
45th St. and 6th Ave. PEnn. 6-6100

Evenings 8:40
Matinees Thurs. and Sat., 2:40

The Moon in the Yellow River

By DENIS JOHNSTON
GUILD THEATRE, 52nd St.
West of Broadway
Eves. 8:40. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40

Leslie Banks in Springtime for Henry

A Bright New Farce by Benn W. Levy
with HELEN CHANDLER
NIGEL BRUCE FRIEDA DESICORT
BIJOU THEATRE
48th St. West of Broadway
Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

MUSIC

PHILHARMONIC-SYMPHONY BEECHAM, Guest Conductor

Carnegie Hall, Sunday Afternoon at 3:00
BOODIN, DELIUS, HANDEL
REITHOVEN, TCHAIKOVSKY

Carnegie Hall, Thurs. Eve., Mar. 31, 8:45
Friday Afternoon, April 1, at 3:00
Mozart, Tchaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakoff

Carnegie Hall, Sat. Eve., April 2, at 8:45
Mozart, Grieg, Rimsky-Korsakoff
Arthur Judson, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

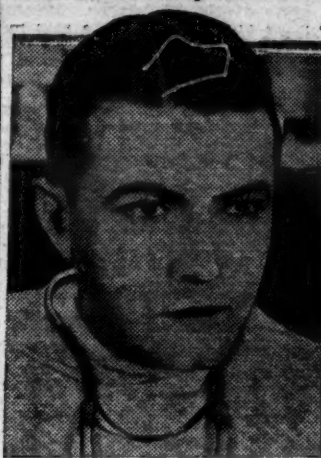
"The Gay Caballero" At the Roxy Theatre

"The Gay Caballero" with George O'Brien, Conchita Montenegro and Victor McLaglen, comes to the Roxy screen beginning today.

terial into an engrossing play.

Hold us as it does during the performance, "Trick For Trick" as afterthought reveals great flaws. The unwanted fiancée is left dangling at the end, no more essential than the red berring dragged in to hide the scent; while the real criminal is not introduced until the last act, after all the plausible paths of guilt are being explored. The real criminal, I say, meaning the man who murdered the magician; for in the final anxiety to clear up this mystery, the authors forget to explain how the girl who "committed suicide," with whose death the play starts, was really murdered. That they can get away with the evening, in spite of the failure to make this clear, shows how closely the play carries its audience along with its story, making the older events forgotten in the excitement of the new.

At the Brooklyn Strand



Richard Barthelmess as he appears in "Alias the Doctor" which opens today at the Strand Theatre.

"Tarzan the Ape Man"

At the Capitol Theatre

"Tarzan, The Ape Man"—based on the thrilling story of jungle adventure by Edgar Rice Burroughs, will be the feature film attraction at the Capitol Theatre for the week beginning today.

HARRY MOSES presents THE WARRIOR'S HUSBAND

A New Comedy by JULIAN THOMPSON
with a Cast Including

Colin Keith-Johnson, Katharine Hepburn, Jane Wheatley, Dorothy Wallers, Al. Ochs, Romney Brent, Irvy Marshal, Porter Hall, Don Beddoe, Bertha Belmore
Directed by Burk Symon—Costumes & Settings designed by Woodman Thompson
MOROSCO THEATRE 45th Street West of Broadway
Matinees Wednesday & Saturday

SAM H. HARRIS presents Mary BOLAND J. Harold MURRAY FACE the MUSIC

A MUSICAL COMEDY REVUE
by IRVING BERLIN and MOSS HART
Book Directed by GEORGE S. KAUFMAN
NEW AMSTERDAM THEATRE West 42nd Street
MATS. WED. & SAT.

SAM H. HARRIS presents "OF THEE I SING"

A NEW MUSICAL COMEDY
Book by GEORGE S. KAUFMAN and MORRIS RYSKIND
Music by GEORGE GERSHWIN Lyrics by IRA GERSHWIN
with William GAXTON . . . Lois MORAN . . . Victor MOORE
AND A SINGING ENSEMBLE OF 60 VOICES
MUSIC BOX THEA. West 45th St. Eves. at 8:30
Mats. Thurs. & Sat.

PHILIPS & THOMPSON present
The SCANDALOUS COMEDY HIT!
"BLESSED EVENT"
THE LOWDOWN ON A BROADWAY COLUMNIST with ROGER PRYOR AND AN IMPORTANT CAST
LONGACRE THEATRE, 48th Street, West of Broadway
Eves. 8:30. Matinees Wed. and Sat., 2:30

Warner Bros. HOLLYWOOD Broadway & 51st St.
Circle 7-5000 All Seats Reserved
Mats. Daily 2:30 50c to \$1. Eves. 8:30 50c to \$2. Except Sat. & Sun.
2nd EDITION Vaudeville Revue
with LOU HOLTZ—Harry Richman
AARONSON'S COMMANDERS—LYDA ROBERTI—HAL LEROY—
MITZI MAYFAIR—GLORIA GRAFTON—NORMAN FRESCOTT—
BEN BERT'S SEPIA NEPHEWS and other BROADWAY STARS

PLYMOUTH W. 45th St. Eves. 8:30
Mats. Thurs. Sat. 2:30
"There is fine material all through it and writing of great sympathy and humanity."
JOHN ANDERSON, Journal.

"Counsellor at Law"

with PAUL MUNI
by ELMER RICE
Author of "THE LEFT BANK"
Now Playing at the Little Theatre

IMPERIAL Thea. 45th St. W. of Broadway Eves. 8:45
Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:45
ANOTHER SMASHING WYNN HIT!!

ED WYNN (THE PERFECT FOOL) in The LAUGH PARADE

with JEANNE AUBERT
and a 1932 Cast
"By far the best and still the funniest entertainment in town."
—GARDNER, WORLD-TELEGRAM

First "Andrea Chenier" At the Metropolitan

"Sadko" will open the last week but two of the Metropolitan Opera Season next Monday evening with Mmes. Fleischner, Bourskaya, Syrtout, Besuner and Falco and Messrs. Thill, Basola, Tedesco, Bada, Ludikar, Anderson, D'Angelo, Cehanovsky, Gandolfi and Altglas, Mr. Serafin conducting.

Other operas of the twenty-second week will be:

"Andrea Chenier" will have its first performance this season on Wednesday evenings with Mmes. Rethberg, Bourskaya and Dalosy and Messrs. Gigli, Deluca, Ludikar, Bada, Windheim, Cehanovsky, Picco Gabor, Malatesta and Ananian, Mr. Bellezza conducting.

"Tristan und Isolde" on Thursday evening; "Rigoletto" as a special matinee on Friday with Mmes. Pons and M. Gigli; "Traviata" on Friday evening; "Aida," the Saturday matinee.

"A Capital Play"
J. BROOKS ATKINSON, N. Y. Times.
"Most Laughable Comedy"
JOHN MASON BROWN, Eve. Post.

RIDDLE! ME THIS!

FRANK THOMAS
CRAVEN MITCHELL

JOHN GOLDEN THEATRE
West 58th St. Circle 7-5078
Eves. \$1 to \$3. Wed. Mats. \$1 to \$2
Sat. Mats. \$1 to \$2.50

GILBERT MILLER presents
EDNA HERBERT
BEST MARSHALL

There's Always Juliet

A Comedy by John van Druten
"Utterly Delightful"
—JOHN MASON BROWN, Eve. Post.

EMPIRE THEATRE
BROADWAY at 48th STREET
Eves. 8:40. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30
MOVES TO HENRY MILLER'S
THEATRE, MONDAY EVG., April 4th

LAST WEEK HELEN HAYES in MOLNAR'S New Comedy The GOOD FAIRY

"In one of the few triple-starred, immediately recommendable entertainments in town."
Gilbert Gabriel, N. Y. American
HENRY MILLER'S
Thea., 124 W. 48th St.
Eves. 8:30; Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2:30

Gilbert Miller and Leslie Howard
Present
Leslie Howard
in PHILIP BARRY'S New Comedy

THE ANIMAL KINGDOM

"The Season's Most Gratifying Adventure."
Percy Hammond, Herald-Tribune
STAGED BY GILBERT MILLER
BROADHURST Theatre, 44 St. W. of B'way
Eves. 8:40; Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30
MOVES TO EMPIRE THEATRE Tues., April 5. Monday performances there omitted. 3 MATINEES WEEKLY:
WED., THURS. and SAT.

MAX GORDON presents "THE CAT AND THE FIDDLE"

"The finest music Jerome Kern has ever written, which is the highest praise I can give a score."
—Robert Garland, World-Telegram
A Musical Love Story by
JEROME KERN and
OTTO HARBACH
GLOBE Thea., B'way, 49th St.
Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed.
and Sat. 2:30. Good Seats Available
at Box Office for All Performances
From \$1 to \$5. No Tax.

"Theft of Mona Lisa" Re-enacted at the Europa

New Foreign Film to Have Premiere Mar. 29

On August 22nd, 1911, the world was astounded to learn of the incredible theft of the Mona Lisa from the Louvre. The news, when made public in France, created a sensation and Parisians, sipping their aperitifs in the evening calm of the boulevards, ceased discussing rumors of war which were even then brewing.

For two years the world was mystified. All kinds of theories were evolved. Thousands of clues followed hopelessly. A amateur sleuths had the time of their lives. But La Gioconda remained undiscovered.

Finally when hope had been given up and the general conclusion reached that the robbery was perpetrated by a madman or unsuccessful artist who had destroyed the irreplaceable painting out of sheer envy, the world was one day (Dec. 13, 1913) electrified by the news that Mona Lisa was found and dramatically enough, in Florence, the city where Da Vinci had created this bit of canvas which had become the tourist lure of the Louvre.

At the trial a few weeks later, the culprit was revealed as Vincenzo Perugia, an Italian, who gave as his only motive for stealing the painting that of revenge for Napoleon's vandalism in ravaging the art treasures of Italy two hundred years ago. He was convicted, given a short sentence and Gabriele D'Annunzio, always ready to do a bit of cheer-leading, led a movement which made a national hero of this unknown Italian. Subsequently a delegation from the Minister of Fine Arts of Italy brought back Mona Lisa to Paris with all the ceremony befitting the return of this lost lady of the Louvre.

This authentic drama of yesterday's headlines has been romanticized in musical film form in "The Theft of the Mona Lisa" distinguished for a fine scenario which one American film writer in Berlin has acclaimed in the following words, "at last, a film with an original story . . . a unique gift of the gods."

"The Theft of the Mona Lisa," which will receive its American premiere at the Europa on Tuesday, March 29th, also has the advantage of the direction of Geza von Bolvary.

Willy Forst in the role of Vincenzo Perugia, the Italian patriot

In New Play at the Selwyn Theatre



Glenda Farrell supported by a fine cast will be seen in "Life Begins," which Joseph Santley will bring to the Selwyn Theatre Monday night.

"The Lost Squadron" And Gus Edwards' New Revue Features at Hip

The Hippodrome, this week, presents as its Easter Week vaudeville attraction, Gus Edwards' New Stars on Parade, a musical-comedy production with a company of Mr. Edwards' proteges, nine in number.

A special stage feature, which has great appeal for the children, is Tarzan, the human ape. Tarzan is a man, who, in make-up and mannerisms, resembles a monster ape in minute detail.

The surrounding attractions include: Eddie Garr, giving his impressions of screen stars; Bob Carleton and Julie Ballew, Raynor Lehr, Henry J. Kelly, The Honey Family, in gymnastic feats; and Moran and Wiser.

The screen feature is "The Lost Squadron," thrill-film of movie stunt fliers, with Richard Dix, Robert Armstrong, Mary Astor, Joel McCrea, Eric von Stroheim and Dorothy Jordan.

Barthelmess at the Brooklyn Strand

Surrounded by a powerful cast and with a novel story, Richard Barthelmess in "Alias the Doctor" will begin his Brooklyn engagement at the Strand Theatre today.

who steals the Mona Lisa, will surprise his followers who remember him only as a love-lorn juvenile, with the superb dramatic portrayal he offers of this difficult role.

Week of Russian Opera Begins Monday Eve. at The Mecca Temple

A season of Russian Opera sponsored by the Russian Opera Foundation will open Monday night at the Mecca Temple. The program which will extend from Monday the 28th through Saturday, April 2nd, with a Saturday matinee will include "Le Coq d'Or," "Hovvanschina" and "Boris Godounoff."

The operas are under the supervision of Vladimir Ivanoff and are directed by Max Pantaleff and will include in their casts Thalia Sabanieva, Mr. Panteleieff, Anna Leskava, Helena Salvina, Lina

Emil JANNINGS

in his Newest Triumph



Little CARNEGIE

146 West 57th Street
35c to 1 P. M.

At TWO Theatres

RIALTO B'way at 42nd
and
RIVOLI B'way at 49th

Maurice CHEVALIER
in
LUBITSCH'S
"ONE HOUR WITH YOU"

A Paramount Picture with
JEANETTE MacDonald

The GAY CABALLERO

with George O'Brien, Victor McLaglen and Conchita Montenegro
FRED WARING
and the Inimitable Roxy Theatre Orchestra in "SHUBERT MELODIES" ON THE STAGE
ROXY "EASTER REVUE"
with
FRANK and MILT BRITTON and their gang, Gene Gory and Tito
PATRICIA BOWMAN
Roger Fryer Dodge Trio, The Ballet Corps, Exoticities and the Internationally Famous "PEPITO"
ADDED SCREEN ATTRACTION
BARB RUTH in "JUST FALS"

ROXY 7th Avenue
& 50th St.
Doors Open at 10:30 A. M.

Fox Brooklyn's Easter Bill Includes "Hotel Continental" and New Fanchon Marco Revue

"An Easter Treat for All the Family" is the phrase that most aptly describes the stage and screen show which begins today at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre. With special features for both the children and adults, this Fox holiday bill is one of the most pretentious ever presented at that playhouse.

On the screen there is the newest Tiffany picture, "Hotel Continental," which features Peggy Shannon and a notable cast. The entire action of this unusual film takes place in a great metropolitan hotel on its closing night. A clever crook, who has secreted \$100,000.00 in cash in one of the rooms, returns to retrieve his treasure only to be balked by an equally clever band of thieves.

A Silly Symphony animated cartoon called "The Ugly Duckling," and the Fox Movietone News are other important features of the screen entertainment.

Children will take a special delight in this week's stage show, the Fanchon & Marco "La Plaza" Idea, featuring twelve acts.

Ostrowsky, Stefan Kozakevich, Joseph Kalini and Dimitri Criona. Eugene Plotnikoff and Alexander Aslanoff will conduct.

The Russian Opera Foundation was established last year with Walter Leighton Clark as President. Its purpose is to produce in New York each winter a series of operas sung by an entire Russian cast, in Russian and from a Russian libretto.

"Cossacks of the Don" Stays On at the Cameo

"Cossacks of the Don," the latest Soviet film, is clicking at the RKO Cameo Theatre box-office and will remain there for a second week. This is said to be a true drama of Cossack life, enacted by a cast composed mainly of former Cossacks, and was directed by Russia's only woman film maker, Olga Preobrezenskaya.

Wheeler and Woolsey At the Mayfair

The latest Wheeler-Woolsey comedy, "Girl Crazy," now at the Mayfair, is the screen version of the highly successful production which graced Broadway in the not distant past.

To the mirth provided by the institutional comics, Bert Wheeler and Robert Woolsey, George Germain's music is added to give the deserving lilt of melodies and lyrics to the story, situations and gags.

EDGAR RICE BURROUGHS'

TARZAN THE APE MAN

A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture with **JOHN WEISSMULLER**

JOE COOK

IN PERSON

REVUE

Yasha Danchuk and Grand Orch.

CAPITOL

Broadway at 57th St.

"AT HIS BEST"—Mirror.

James CAGNEY

in "THE CROWD ROARS" with **JOAN BLONDEL**

WINTER GARDEN

Broadway and 50th Street
35c to 1 P. M. Monday to Friday

ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE'S Greatest Mystery

Arthur **SHERLOCK HOLMES**

The World's Greatest Detective in

"The Missing Rembrandt"

STRAND

Broadway and 47th Street
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Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Taxation and the Two Old Parties—The Sales Tax and Socialists—Socialism Abroad—The Milliners' Fight

THE POSSIBILITIES OF POLITICS

ONCE in a while our creaking political democracy, dominated as it is by an economic plutocracy which owns both parties, shows that there is some life in the democratic principle. Public pressure and a few outstanding spokesmen can get some things done along the right lines. Congress has recently given three illustrations. It passed the anti-injunction bill supported by labor and pushed in the Senate principally by Senator Norris. This bill, as even its friends will observe, still has to run the terrible gauntlet of the courts who pulled the teeth of the Clayton Act which Samuel Gompers thought was labor's Magna Charta. Moreover, most of the state courts are still open on easy terms to employers. Still the bill does represent progress, and progress against the wishes of the dominant plutocracy.

By the same token the final victory of the lame duck amendment for which Senator Norris has fought so long is a victory of common sense over the selfish interests of politicians. It is hard to believe that the states will not promptly ratify an amendment which will do away with the dangers of electing a congress a whole year before it can sit and permitting lame ducks; that is, defeated Congressmen, after their defeat to meet in solemn session to pass laws for the people who don't want them. The situation has been worse because these lame ducks usually vote with an eye to the possibility of getting a job from the President.

Neither of these bills, however, come so close home to the heart of the economic problem under capitalism as the spontaneous revolt in the House against the sales tax. The sales tax is not yet defeated. Adequate substitute taxation is not yet provided. We must keep up pressure. The temptation of both old parties to cater to the income tax paying group which finances their campaigns is very strong. But the gains I have noticed constitute something of a base for substituting for our cynical or irritated despair of political democracy more efficient machinery of political action. That means, of course, building a powerful party of real workers with hand and brain. Such a party even before it has a majority can compel more far-reaching and more rapid concessions than mere spontaneous pressure can win. It is the Socialist party and only the Socialist party which thus seeks to build a democratic party of the workers on a national scale.

THREE COUNTS AGAINST THE SALES TAX

IN the fight against the sales tax we must keep explaining certain things which even the advocates of the sales tax usually admit if they are forced into a corner.

1. In no sense does a sales tax meet the principle that taxation should be levied according to ability to pay. All sales taxes, except perhaps taxes on extreme luxuries such as expensive jewelry, fall on the poor and the very moderately off far more heavily than upon the rich. Henry Dubb with an income of \$1,000 a year and family to support buys more in proportion to his means than Reginald Rocks with \$500,000 income a year.

2. The government gets only a part, perhaps only a half or a third, or less, of what the sales tax costs the consumers. The tax is always pyramided or multiplied when it is passed from wholesaler to retailer, retailer to customer. Everybody knows this is true of all sales taxes, including the tariff and yet because the sales tax is hid in the general price Henry Dubb does not always know he is paying it. He would kick at an income tax but he swallows this bigger tax almost without grumbling. That's why the plutocrats and politicians yearn for it.

3. There is some reason to believe that the advocates of the sales tax overestimate its probable productiveness in a period of depression. But to get the principle of the sales tax accepted is to get the camel's nose under the tent and to give hope to the income tax paying groups that they will find relief in the sales tax in years to come.

SUBSTITUTES FOR THE SALES TAX

THE only argument that even the advocates of the sales tax seriously advance—aside from vague and foolish talk about heavy income taxes being an approach to Communism—is that the sales tax will raise the money and nothing else will. That is true. The ordinary expenses of government even in bad times can be met by proper application of the land tax, especially in cities, and income and inheritance taxes. Of course, income and inheritance taxes will have to be heavy. They will hurt those who have something. They will not, however, be so heavy that they will create that bugaboo of capitalist economists, a dearth of investment capital. What we need in America with our splendid factories idle at this moment is not investing power but purchasing power, and it is purchasing power which the sales tax helps to kill.

To provide a substitute for sales taxes requires not only a willingness to go much farther in taxing incomes and inheritances. It requires action to prevent legal and illegal evasion of the tax law. On this subject Mr. Maxwell S. Stewart has an exceedingly important article in the March 26 issue of The Nation. He amasses figures to show that the decline in the payment of income taxes in 1930 can't be honest in view



NORMAN THOMAS

of the fact that in that year interest and dividends reached the highest point in our history. He shows that 355,000 persons receiving incomes between \$10,000 and \$50,000 in 1928 paid just 2.5 per cent on their gross income. These figures make out a case for cutting out reckoning capital gains and losses under the head of income and also, as Mr. Stewart argues, taxation at the source of income.

BALANCING THE BUDGET

THE problem of balancing the budget, about which we have heard so much in connection with the sales tax, has two elements that must not be forgotten. They apply to expenditures. Why not help balance the budget by having an absolute naval holiday?

When the total wage payments in America are only a little over a half of what they were in 1926, why not stop these great appropriations for more naval vessels for which our big navy men are hollering, as they always do, after the fleet maneuvers in the Pacific? On the other hand, no budget is balanced that makes no provision for direct unemployment relief. No such provision is being made or is being contemplated by any existing bill. The Wagner bill for relief through loans to states for building roads, etc., is neither adequate nor sincere. A lot of these blind governors who deny anyone is starving will never ask these loans. Moreover, while public works, and especially housing, should be financed or underwritten by loans rather than taxation provision must be made in the loan for a sinking fund to be collected by income and inheritance taxation.

THE LIMITS OF TAXATION

THERE is one word of caution a Socialist must give when he hears nondescript radicals talking about solving all our problems simply by taxing incomes and inheritances. Socialists regard such taxation as the proper source of revenue for financing government as of themselves partially useful in redistributing the national income and above all as important for effecting a transfer from capitalism to Socialism. It is this last point which I want to emphasize. The British Labor party made the mistake of never getting very far beyond heavy taxation of the rich when in office. Such taxation was something. Among other things, it prevented breadlines. It did not of itself and could not of itself bring about prosperity which depends upon planned production and distribution for use, not profit. You cannot possibly allow our crazy, acquisitive, chaotic capitalism with all its cruelty and waste to run on indefinitely and simply correct the balance by taxation. You cannot even tax inheritances properly, especially in a depression, unless you are willing to take over property in payment for the tax. Hence the importance of adding constructive socialization to any program of taxation.

GERMAN AND BRITISH SOCIALISM

ALL over the country questions at meetings and after meetings show me that Socialism is handicapped by the record, or alleged record, of the British Labor party and the German Social-Democrats. We Socialists may as well face the facts. True, the criticism is often too impatient and blind to part of the facts. For instance, the German Social-Democrats are up against a terrible dilemma and they are right in wanting to vote to defeat Hitlerism and to keep the peace of Europe. Nevertheless without a more positive and active socialization program than so far they have been able to carry out they are going to have increasing trouble to hold their own young folks. The British Labor party really stood the defection of its principal leaders remarkably well and was less heavily hit by the reactionary wave than the Communist party. Indeed it is remarkable how clearly the mass of the workers have shown themselves in both England and Germany opposed to civil war or what they fear might lead to civil war. Nevertheless those of us who believe in Socialism must hope that the British Labor party as a whole will share the energy and enthusiasm of the I. L. P. Certainly we must hope that it will repudiate the fuss its renegade leader, J. H. Thomas, is now making about the form of oath in Ireland.

THE MILLINERS' VICTORY

TO my comrades and friends of the United Cloth, Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' Union, greetings and congratulations on one of the most magnificent exhibitions of intelligent solidarity and what it can do even in bad times to win victories over the legalized exploitations of capitalism and the illegal racketeering of its underworld allies. These workers have proved that battles may be won for labor, by labor and by labor's power. Who will be the next?

EVA FRANK

IN the tragic death of Eva Frank more organizations than I can name have lost a singularly valuable friend. She gave her time and her money with an intelligence and devotion that is unique. She set an example in the way in which middle class privileged position can be used in the services of the workers and for the building of the new society. In every cause she always worked. Her memory is an inspiration.

Too Bad We Were Not Heard

"Neither Song Nor Sermon"

I'VE just been reading in La Vie Socialiste how the various countries responded to the joint call of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labor and Socialist International for a demonstration in favor of disarmament. From Germany 5,712 meetings sent resolutions to Geneva and to the German government; Great Britain had 5,648 meetings, Sweden 6,422, Denmark 3,282, France 1,554, Czechoslovakia 1,872, Finland 1,308, and so forth. In Poland 588 meetings were held under the very nose of Pilsudski. Our Hungarian comrades held 250, in spite of a decree prohibiting advocacy of disarmament. A similar prohibition in Rumania did not prevent the Socialists from making themselves heard. In Belgium 150 municipal councils went on record along with Labor party groups, trade unions,

and co-operatives. Altogether there were nearly 30,000 meetings with an aggregate attendance of more than twenty millions.

It was a little humiliating not to find the United States in the list. I think we might have done as well as Greece or Esthonia.

Someone may ask: What good would it have done? Have those twenty million voices brought any tangible results at Geneva? No, they have not. Neither have our meetings and petitions freed Moonsey and Billings, yet no one will say they have been wasted.

It was not because of doubt as to the efficacy of the method that we failed to respond to the call of the two Internationals. It must have been because we did not care much about reduction of armaments, or because our feeling of international solidarity is not very deep, or because there is some

defect in our methods of getting into action.

Of course, disarmament is not an exclusively Socialistic ideal. While it is not likely to be fully realized in a bourgeois world, it can be sincerely desired by bourgeois democrats and humanitarians. This is no reason why we should not advocate it; but perhaps it does tend to cool our ardor.

What can be hoped for at this time is not complete disarmament, but gradual reduction. That is not a sure guaranty of peace, but it would lessen the danger of war. It would not put an end to capitalism, but it would lighten the burdens of the proletariat and better its strategic position. It would be a gain for us, though only a partial one.

Certainly this has no such emotional thrill as has the picture of

a classless and warless world. But to say that is only to say that no one step in a great task stirs our imagination as does the vision of the completed work. The question is, whether we can carry into each daily effort the enthusiasm which we draw from contemplation of our ultimate ideal.

It is natural that our party should be influenced by the general ideology of the American people, one feature of which is a sense of aloofness from the rest of the world. That sentiment is rooted in the past, and does not fit the facts of today; but such traditions outlive by many years the conditions which produced them. Not yet do most Americans feel the community of hardship and peril with peoples beyond the sea so intimately as is felt by those people among themselves.

We wish our Socialist movement to be American, but in what sense? Not in the sense of sharing the defects of American provincialism. We ought to know our country and understand our countrymen, in order to work effectively among them. What use we make of that understanding is another matter. It is our duty to help them outgrow ways of thinking that belong to America's past. Among other things, it is our urgent duty to help American workmen develop a sense of international solidarity. And I know no better way to do that than to enlist them in joint action with workmen of other lands.

Perhaps, though, the most important point is the third one—the question of our party's organizational methods. Of that later.

A. L.