

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

The Vote for Socialism—The Road to Victory—Non-Partisanship or Organization—Tammany's Gangsters—In England—WEVD To Continue on Air

THE SOCIALIST VOTES

ONCE more I have to write a comment on election without full returns before me. I know how splendidly our comrades did in Bridgeport. Incidentally one of the finest campaign meetings I ever attended in any place was in Bridgeport. Here in



NORMAN THOMAS

New York City the increase in the straight Socialist vote, particularly in the Bronx and Queens, is gratifying. If anyone had told me at the time of my nomination that I myself would receive 10,000 more votes for Borough President of Manhattan than I received in the same borough when I ran for Mayor, I should have been well pleased. The complete discrediting of Col. Carrington, however, made me hope for more. When I say "more" I mean more than Tammany would allow me to have, for, of course, thousands of votes were stolen. In general, as I see it, the degree of our success is closely proportional to the excellence of our organization and the intensive work it does. That is true in Bridgeport, in the Bronx, in the Washington Heights district in Manhattan, and elsewhere. The moral is obvious.

NO AUTOMATIC TRIUMPH

EVEN without complete returns I can safely say that this election illustrates once more the fact that the forces which are making inexorably for the breaking up of the old order, economic and political, do not by any means rapidly and automatically make for the victory of Socialism. There is enough discontent in America to swamp the old parties and the old order. There is not yet enough courage, intelligence and solidarity of the workers to build socialism. The immediate drift is to Fascism and catastrophe.

Nothing better illustrates the situation than the New York election. Never in my political experience have I known such universal admission of the character of Tammany government. Never have I seen so little popular enthusiasm for the corrupt and crooked tin box brigade to whom the voters of New York have again turned over the city to look. Everybody knows and knew in advance that a plurality for Tammany meant endorsement of the barter and sale of justice; of the Third Degree in the Police Department; of gross political chicanery in the District Attorney's office; of a judiciary from which one judge has fled and six magistrates have resigned under fire or were ousted. Everybody knows and knew before election that a plurality for Tammany was a plurality for graft in building bureaus and in the dock department whose chief engineer either committed suicide or was murdered when the Seabury investigation got too hot. In short, everybody knew that a victory for Tammany was a victory for racketeering at its worst.

But Tammany won with the aid of Sam Koenig's Republican organization in New York County and of the Republican machine in Brooklyn which has been bribed by giving sure-bund judicial nominations to some of the boys. Why did the plundering win?

BEHIND THE APATHY

THE answer to this question ought to be interesting not only to some of our excellent "non-partisan" friends who believe that campaigns can be won by last minute enthusiasm, but to some radicals who talk and occasionally act as if they thought that economic depression would automatically make Socialist voters. As a matter of fact, at the present stage of our tragic depression it makes Tammany voters because in a society like ours without unemployment insurance the disgraceful-political doles dealt out by Tammany bribe men in their misery to vote for the robbers who throw them a few bones to keep them from starvation. This is not rhetoric but sober fact. If I had space I could give concrete illustration after concrete illustration to prove it.

Basically what you have is a small privileged and owning class on one hand, with great masses of economically insecure workers on the other. Tammany is the political broker who keeps the masses quiet at the lowest price to the classes. Some honorable men and women break over class lines in disgust of Tammany's extortion, but few even of them realize that to the masses the great racket is not Tammany but this dying economic order with its extortion of private landlordism and private ownership of public utilities and, indeed, of the wasteful and chaotic profit system generally. With some reason they ask why should we vote for "good government" when the program of good government means so little to us?

In a situation like this it is not surprising, however pitiful it may be, that the masses are apathetic, fearful, or cynical, and so they are. Thousands of workers have come to a pitch where they do not believe that anyone will be honest in a position of authority either in government or in the trade unions. Their cynicism and despair is exaggerated. It springs naturally from the soil of these times.

THE GANGSTER IN POLITICS

THE COMPLETE even an outline of the picture one must remember that to all other factors in the situation must be added outright intimidation. Gangsters do dominate certain election-districts in New York that it is literally a dangerous thing for more or less isolated socialists to vote their convictions. The secrecy of the ballot is mocked openly. One of the things I am proudest of in this campaign is the real courage of men like Eymann Marcell and Jack Shur and some other watchers who stuck to their posts in spite of attack upon them. In the 17th Assembly District in New York more than one citizen openly declared that they dared not vote their convictions because the whole district was overrun by Dutch Schultz's gangsters.

THE ALTERNATIVE TO DESPAIR

IS THE answer to this situation despair? Never. Out of worse situations brave men have arisen when they have been inspired by the right hope, the right vision, the right philosophy. Yesterday we could have done infinitely more than we did with halfhearted decent organization. If Tammany can organize for plunder for the few and bones for the many we can organize for the cooperative commonwealth. What I have said may apply peculiarly to New York but with some changes applies to many another smaller city and town.

BRITISH LABOR'S LOSSES

TO SOME extent we in America have been hurt by the sweeping Parliamentary victory of reaction in Britain. This is only a temporary thing. The victory was a last flare-up of an old order with MacDonald's eloquence and emotional appeal to British nationalism as window dressing for frank Tory reaction. The victory was a calamity to democracy and peace. It probably renders vain all hope of friendly settlement of the Indian issue. But the victory will not stop the dissolution of the capitalist imperialist order. I profoundly trust that it will purge the ranks of labor and make them bolder and more effective in their plans. Only in British labor is there hope for England.

THE VICTORY FOR WEVD

THE victory of W.E.V.D. in getting a renewal of its license is immensely encouraging. It means that the broad and generously supported plans of the Forward to build a great nation will come true. Both literally and figuratively you are going to hear a lot from a W. E. V. D. which will be worthy to be a memorial to Gene Debs. Our thanks are due to a host of folks who supported W.E.V.D. in its hard days; to G. August Gerber who never gave up the battle; to Louis Sadoff and others who aroused the interest of Forward; to Forward's committee which went so carefully into the possibilities of the situation; to Sam DeWitt who has been acting as manager as part of his long service to the Party; to Mr. Louis Caldwell, our very capable attorney; and to others too numerous to mention.

JUSTICE IN JERSEY!

WHATEVER happened in the election we win a victory in the Watson court in the case I discussed last week. Judge Freeman himself (though he was alleged to be responsible for the theory that brought about our arrest for picketing) felt obliged to admit that we were right.

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NEW LEADER

With Which Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by Eugene V. Debs

VOL. XII.—No. 19

Published Weekly at 7 East 15th St., New York, N. Y.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1931

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

Price Five Cents

Socialists Lose Reading To Fusion

Party Scores Increased Vote But Stump, Maurer and Snyder Are Defeated

READING, Pa.—Despite an increased Socialist vote in this city on Tuesday the Socialist Party suffered a reverse in the election because the Republican and Democratic parties combined on candidates to defeat the Socialists. The increased Socialist vote and the fact that the capitalist parties have been driven into one party are advances for the Socialists.

With returns complete from 57 out of 71 precincts the figures show that the Fusionists have elected Herber Armentrout as Mayor, two Councilmen, City Comptroller and City Treasurer; regained control of the City School Board, and swept their candidates into county offices.

It was a narrow victory for the capitalist's allies. The Socialist candidate for Mayor, J. Henry Stump, ran only 1,100 votes behind the victor. Armentrout received 11,787 votes and Stump 10,619.

The development left the Socialist party with two Councilmen who have two years to serve and two representatives from Berks county in the General Assembly.

The continuing Socialist Councilmen are: William C. Hovert and Jesse C. George, elected in 1929 for a four-year term. In addition, Darlington Hoopes and Mrs. L. W. Wilson, Socialist Assemblymen elected in 1930, will represent Berks county at the coming special session of the Legislature.

While the Fusionists elected not only the mayor but their entire ticket, two councilmen, the city treasurer, city controller, and three members of the school board, every contest was hard fought.

With the defeat of Councilmen James H. Maurer and George Snyder by William J. Smith and George Yocom, Fusion candidates, by majorities that will probably reach 2,000, the new council will be composed of two Republicans and a Democrat, indorsed as Fusionists, and two Socialist, Councilmen Jesse George and William Hovert, Socialists, holding over.

Conrad High, Republican-Fusionist, will be the new city treasurer, having defeated A. P. Bower, Socialist, by a majority that will approximate 2,000.

Harry F. Menges, Democrat and Fusionist, former controller, will be the new city controller, having defeated Walter Hollinger, Socialist, the present controller, by a majority that will exceed 2,000.

The campaign which preceded yesterday's election was one of the most exciting in Reading's history. It was fought out by rallies, in street and hall, on the radio, in newspaper advertisements, lithographs, trucks, and every conceivable means of publicity.

The Fusionists carried on the kind of campaign to be expected by them. They carried full page ads in the Reading paper, "Save Our Schools from Socialism" was one slogan and voters were warned against the introduction of Karl Marx in the schools. The allies were flag-wavers, posing the American flag against the Red Flag, and on a local scale repeated the Tory-Liberal coalition in the recent British elections.

Financing the fusion of the capitalist parties was the Berkshire Hosiery mills, biggest in the country and arch-enemy of the hosiery workers' union, whose plants just outside the city have twice been threatened with unionization this year. The hosiery union used the Socialist assembly park at Sinking Spring as a base for their organizing campaign among Berkshire workers.

West Reading, where Berkshire rule is unlimited, is known as Little Prussia. State troopers helped there in the recent hosiery strikes. Activities such as that of Editor Raymond Hofes of the Reading Labor Advocate in forcing cancellation of addresses by U. S. army officers to appeal to high school students to join the military training camps was looked upon with horror and alarm by the little Prussians.

The Socialists come out of the election with knowledge of having accomplished what will be achieved in every city where the Socialist Party becomes a power. They have driven the political organizations of the capitalist class into one organization to fight the last fight for the rule of their class.

CHARLESTON, W. V. (FP).—An engineer and pipe fitter were killed and another worker hurt when a new machine exploded at the Carbide and Carbon Chemicals Corp. plant at South Charleston.

Thomas, "AP" Smith And Houghton to Be Peace Rally Speakers

Though he had declined to act as a sponsor of the meeting, Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, has been invited to address the Armistice Day peace meeting to be held in New York next Wednesday night under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation for Peace at Mecca Temple, 55th street, west of Sixth avenue.

Thomas has accepted the invitation as an opportunity to present the Socialist view of war and peace to a large audience. He had declined to join the committee of sponsors because it did not appear at the time that any Socialist would be on the speaking platform.

The speakers in addition to Mr. Thomas, will be former Governor Alfred E. Smith and Alonson B. Houghton, former U. S. Ambassador to Germany. The chairman, of all things, will be Nicholas Murray Butler.

Lester Shulman Is Run Out of Lawrence, Mass.

Socialist Organizer Beaten Up for Activities in Lawrence Mill Strike

LAWRENCE, Mass. — Lester Shulman, Socialist Party organizer and active helping the United Textile Workers in the Lawrence strike, was kidnapped Oct. 29 by two men and a boy in the pay of textile bosses, held overnight and released the next day when his captors became frightened.

Shulman related this when he appeared the day after the kidnapping at Newburyport. He was approached as he completed his picketing before the Shawheen mill in Lawrence, he said. The two young men asked him if he wanted a ride to U. T. W. A. headquarters. He jumped in their car, was taken into the country, beaten up, and held all night. During the night he talked with his captors and they told him that they had been paid by business men of Lawrence who had told them that they wanted "Shulman to be a hospital case."

In the morning one of the men went out to get a paper. Reading that the police were looking for their prisoner, they became frightened and Shulman completed the job of scaring them into letting him go.

Investigation showed that the auto license on the car in which Shulman was kidnapped had been taken out by a man named Avery, who was known to be related to a textile boss.

Later a large crowd of workers surrounded the home of the man believed responsible for the kidnapping and cut the telephone wires. Police arrested seven.

The mill strike against a 10 per cent wage cut is entering its fifth week with the workers still standing together under the leadership of the American Textile Workers in the Pacific Mills and the United Textile Workers, affiliated with the A. F. of L., in the other mills of Lawrence.

Hunger stalks the ranks of the strikers. Relief kitchens have been opened by both organizations. Funds for relief can be sent to Socialist Party headquarters at 21 Essex street, Boston, and will be forwarded one-fourth to the A. T. W. and three-fourths to the U. T. W. unless otherwise specified by the sender.

Three of the shocktroopers of the Socialist party, each of them a host in himself, have gone to Lawrence to help out in the strike, namely, Shulman, Sam Bakeley, and Leonard Green. They are doing work organizing picket lines, addressing the strike meetings, and keeping up the morale of the strikers.

Shulman has charge of the picketing of the Shawheen mills in Andover, the most difficult of the mills to picket. He did such a good job, however, that he was kidnapped from the picket line by three unknown persons in a machine hired by the son-in-law of the most notorious scab in the Shawheen mills. Luckily the three men hired to kidnap him were not professional New York go-men but amateurs. After slugging him they lost their nerve when they found that the morning papers carried front page accounts of the kidnapping and ran away after taking him about twenty miles from Lawrence. His kidnapping aroused the strikers so much that 2,000 of them marched on foot from Lawrence Common to the Shawheen mills where they met another 1,000 who had gone by automobiles and staged the biggest demonstration

in the history of the Lawrence strike. (Continued on Page Three)

Bridgeport Socialists in Big Triumph

McLevy Comes Near Capturing City—Alderman and Five Others Elected

(New Leader Correspondent) BRIDGEPORT, Conn.—Some 42,000 men and women of Bridgeport wrote a new chapter in the political history of the city Tuesday.

They re-elected Mayor Edward Taylor Buckingham, giving him 17,889, or a plurality of 2,805 votes. They rolled up the amazing total of 15,084 votes for Jasper McLevy, Socialist nominee, who finished second to the mayor. They mustered only 9,374 votes for William S. Mason, the Republican nominee.

Socialist Alderman Wins They elected one Socialist alderman, Fred Schwarzkopf of the Twelfth district, three Socialist sheriffs, and two Socialist selectmen. The Socialists missed having a second seat in the council by the defeat of James H. Kane in the Third district by only eight votes.

They returned Mayor Buckingham to office a minority choice, with a total of 24,709 out of a total of 42,698 votes registered against him for all other candidates.

They registered in their unprecedented vote for a Socialist nominee what Democratic Town Chairman John A. Cornell in a formal statement pronounced "an unmistakable mandate to the administration to exert every effort to cut the cost of government."

Out of the welter of election day figures and election night comments, there rose to a place of commanding importance in Bridgeport's public affairs the figure of Jasper McLevy, the Socialist nominee for mayor, whose startling vote came close to remaking the local political map. McLevy conducted his campaign almost single-handed. He directed his fire against both old-time parties and appealed to the people to "get rid of the political bosses."

Beaten by Machine The vote more than bore out the distinct McLevy trend that had been apparent. Scooped at by old-line party leaders as campaign propaganda, the trend mounted to surging tide at the polls. It was turned back only by the superior machine-like organization of the Democrats, with the powerful resources and polling strength which have always been the backbone of the governing party.

Admittedly baffled throughout the day, political leaders of all hues were given a tremendous surprise—in some cases it was almost a distinct shock—when the backs of the voting machines were opened at the several polling places. The machine figures disclosed McLevy carrying the Sixth district precinct in which both he and Mayor Buckingham reside; they found him carrying both precincts in the Twelfth district; they found him carrying the Third district; and they found him victorious in the second precinct of the Fifth district, heretofore rock-ribbed Republican through all sorts of political turmoil.

Much Cutting Seen Mayor Buckingham and William S. Mason, the majority nominees of the old-line parties, were the low men on their respective tickets indicating a sizable amount of cutting in favor of McLevy by otherwise strict party adherents. McLevy's best showing on the west side of the Pequonnock was in the

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Socialist Vote Rises Throughout N. Y. City; Thomas Polls 48,438

Comparative Figures Show Marked Gain for Thomas in Tammany's Stronghold

Vote for Borough President of Manhattan		Amter, Socialist Vote		
A. D.	Levy Democrat	Carrington Republican	Thomas Socialist	Comm. 1929*
1.....	13,572	1,490	904	18
2.....	13,497	1,625	710	101
3.....	11,796	1,739	1,451	45
4.....	12,398	1,087	361	9
5.....	13,376	1,537	883	40
6.....	8,597	4,477	2,428	240
7.....	10,820	3,356	3,727	13
8.....	7,948	2,025	1,682	349
9.....	10,794	3,053	4,238	32
10.....	6,581	5,810	3,016	55
11.....	11,042	2,860	2,878	33
12.....	13,343	2,383	1,785	94
13.....	8,732	2,951	2,389	21
14.....	11,993	1,994	1,937	111
15.....	8,623	5,240	4,179	36
16.....	12,012	1,955	1,817	72
17.....	11,182	1,816	482	120
18.....	11,094	4,604	1,366	99
19.....	7,559	4,162	950	51
20.....	6,979	1,901	828	80
21.....	7,884	4,269	1,393	39
22.....	8,504	3,396	2,247	43
23.....	16,582	3,924	6,448	93
Total.....	247,110	65,891	48,438	1,798

*Vote cast for Thomas when he ran for mayor.

38 New Socialist Locals Formed in Three Months, Senior Reports to the N.E.C.

National Committee Gets Report of Advances in 19 States

(By a New Leader Correspondent) BOSTON.—"The formation of thirty-eight new locals in nineteen states," says the report of Clarence Senior, executive secretary of the Socialist party, to the National Executive Committee, meeting here Saturday and Sunday, "since the last meeting, sets a record for the past several years. Particularly significant is the fact that the big majority of these states have had no organizers in the field to bring these locals into existence."

States where new locals or branches have been formed are California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, Utah, Washington and Wisconsin.

No Summer Slump The states showing the greatest activity are Washington and Idaho—states that have been practically dead so far as Socialist activity is concerned for the past six years. Both required a great expenditure of time and money in order to get presidential electors in the field in 1928.

In the past few years, the work of National headquarters has slumped during the summer months, when many of the comrades have been under the impression that they should take a vacation from propaganda and organizing work. This year no

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Hillquit and Panken Poll Over 60,000 in Judgeship Contests

Morris Hillquit, the national chairman of the Socialist party, and Jacob Panken, former Socialist judge, polled over 60,000 votes for Judge of the Supreme Court, 1st district, which includes Manhattan and the Bronx. The official returns were:

	Hillquit	Panken
Manhattan.....	23,032	22,635
Bronx.....	37,336	37,627
Totals.....	60,868	60,262

In the second judicial district, where the Socialist ran against the candidates of the infamous G. O. P.-Democratic deal, the Socialists polled unusually high totals, ranging from 64,000 to 72,000 votes. The vote for the Socialists were:

Axelrad.....	72,537
Rappaport.....	69,863
Frankle.....	68,804
Sholes.....	68,459
Weinfeld.....	68,580
Shulman.....	69,955
Ulanoff.....	65,017
Bell.....	65,896
R. Halpern.....	68,006
Goldberg.....	65,255
Meserole.....	64,190
Daublin.....	64,314
Rivkin.....	69,431
H. Halpern.....	65,123

The elected candidates receive about 690,000 votes each, while the candidates of the "No-Deal" party polled about 101,000 each.

Alleged Labor Paper Repudiated by Leaders Whose Names it Uses

A publication styling itself "The Labor World" has recently made its appearance in New York City, posing as an official organ of the labor movement. The character of the paper may be judged by its bootlicking of Tammany Hall and above all by its false use of endorsements by trade union officials. The publication box of the paper carries the names of the officials of the United Hebrew Trades in such a manner as to make it appear that these officials stand behind it. M. Tigel, chairman; Michael Brown, vice chairman; and Morris Feinstein, secretary of the U. H. T., have this week repudiated the publication.

The occasion for the repudiation was the publication in "The Labor World" of an attack on the Socialist Party and Norman Thomas as the party's spokesman in the recent campaign. Julius Gerber, executive secretary of the party, has received the following letter from Tigel, Brown and Feinstein: "The scurrilous attack upon Norman Thomas and the Socialist party in 'The N. Y. Labor

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Socialist Leader Increases Vote by 11,000 in Manhattan—Gets 13% of Total

Straight Party Vote Is Over 110,000

Three Beaten by Tammany Gangsters as Thomas Party Is Attacked

By Edward Levinson

BATTLING a Tammany in its most vicious mood as well as the apathy of an "off year" in politics, the Socialist party in New York succeeded in polling good increases for its candidates and a substantial increase for Norman Thomas, its candidate for president of the borough of Manhattan. Thomas' vote rose from 37,316, in 1929 to 48,438. He polled 13 per cent of the total vote, of which 247,110 went to Samuel Levy, Tammany nominee, and 65,891 to the Republican "set-up," the unfortunate Col. Edward C. Carrington.

The straight Socialist city vote, as measured by the total of ballots cast for the party's district candidates, rose to over 110,000. The Socialist candidates for Assembly in the city received 110,851 as compared with 103,307 in 1930, and 76,046 in 1929. The Socialist candidates for Aldermen received 111,397 as compared with 77,971 in 1929. The Bronx and Queens proved the banner Socialist boroughs. Manhattan brought a good increase to the party while the Brooklyn vote for assemblymen remained about the same as last year.

Three Socialists Beaten Tammany procured its record plurality for the sanctimonious Mr. Levy, much advertised almoner of the poor, by the use of a collection of gangsters, gunmen, crooked election board officials and acquiescent police. In at least four of the twenty-three assembly districts in Manhattan, the great bulk of the Thomas vote was brazenly stolen and given to Levy. Remonstrance by Thomas and other Socialists brought an attack on him during which three Socialist workers were slugged. Two pitched battles took place in the 23rd election district of the assembly district, with over a score of gangsters joining in attack on a group of Socialists.

Socialist levers pulled down for Thomas were pushed again and Levy levers pulled down before the astonished eyes of the voters who wished to vote Socialist; election board inspectors and old party watchers supervised voting by drawing aside the curtains of the polling booth; there was a steady procession of two—some always an old party leader—into the polling booths, although the law is definite in prescribing this as a violation of the election rules; would-be Socialist voters were ejected from the polling place.

All this contributed to the Tammany "vindication" which appeared on the official rolls as a "record plurality." In the theft and violence, Republican watchers and election board members proved themselves even more spineless than usual. This was probably due to the fact that Col. Carrington's party, the party and candidate endorsed by Nicholas Murray Butler, was on short rations. Hopelessly out of the race, the organization refused to supply the usual election day "expenses."

Seabury Quiz to Go On Having thus succeeded in winning its "record plurality," Tammany nevertheless fell short of its prime objective. This was to kill the current investigation of the Walker administration by capturing control of the state legislature. The Democrats failed in this. The state assembly stands with a Republican majority and the Seabury inquiry will go on. Added to the list of sore spots to be investigated will undoubtedly be a probe of the Tammany election methods on Tuesday.

A trying day at the polling places during which Socialist workers were beaten under his

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eyes, found Thomas in a grim mood at the end of the day. He termed the result of the vote "a triumph of organized greed, cynicism, indifference, apathy and despair."

"The vote is about equal to the occupation of the city by a conquering army. In no sense does Tammany's victory come from a people who love it but rather from a people who fear it and are hopeless to find a better way," the Socialist leader declared.

"Speaking solely for myself, I am grateful that I received this year 48,435 votes according to unofficial returns,—that is at least 11,000 votes more than I received in Manhattan when running for Mayor."

"I do not mean to say that I received 48,435 votes. I received, or would have received, were it not for intimidation, thousands more votes. Tammany with the aid of its corrupt Republican allies in the second, fourth and seventh Assembly Districts, and possibly in others, was at the top of its form in getting votes by colonization, fraud, intimidation and appropriation for themselves of votes cast for others."

In district after district this election was dominated by the lowest order of gangsters whose beneficiary Mr. Levy is.

Tammany at Its Lowest

"To make its moral vindication complete Tammany has pressed into its service the lowest elements in New York to which it will owe a new debt of gratitude which it will pay as it always pays such debts. There is no hope for clean government or democracy as long as gunmen dominate polling places, and citizens whom one meets on the streets, as happened to me on election day, assure me that my presence in the election district is a waste of time, so thoroughly are the citizens intimidated."

"Again speaking for myself, mindful of the weakness of our organization and the virtual impossibility of getting constructive discussion of issues which the candidates of both major parties deliberately ignore, the vote Tammany could not steal is gratifying and I want to express my thanks to the hard workers who made it possible."

Counsels Year-Round Fight

"Yet the outstanding lesson in this disaster is not despair of the future but the necessity for matching the Tammany sort of organization with the organization of workers with hand and brain who have the new point of view, and the new program for the city in which alone is there any hope for our children."

More than ever, I am a Socialist!

The lesson for our Socialist party is the need of more effective organization. Still more vital the lesson for my non-Socialist friends whose help I have appreciated, but who must realize that until the end of time there is no such thing as defeating Tammany by good intentions which find expression in last minute campaigning. There is no such thing as defeating Tammany by mere moral indignation at illegal racketeering. The Tammany victory is only one expression of that disaster to which the old order drifts without courage, without plan, without purpose, and without organization for the achievement of that cooperative society in which our one hope is to be found."

Despite Thomas' disappointment over the size of the vote given Tammany and his outrage at the handling of the Socialist watch by gangsters, Socialist party headquarters felt his vote represents a splendid increase which, with the rise in the straight party vote, record a substantial advance for the party in the city. Thomas' 13 per cent of the total Manhattan vote compared well with the 10 per cent of the total he received in 1929 in the same borough. He carried four assembly

Socialist Vote for Assembly, New York City

	1931	1930	1929
Manhattan	19,014	16,865	14,378
Bronx	29,968	27,930	21,667
Brooklyn	48,362	38,630	31,973
Queens	12,470	8,956	7,044
Richmond	839	926	984
Total	110,651	103,307	76,046

Socialist Vote for Aldermen, New York City

	1931	1930
Manhattan	19,765	14,644
Bronx	29,987	22,311
Brooklyn	48,206	32,909
Queens	12,483	7,137
Richmond	974	970
Total	111,397	77,971

districts this year over the Republican party—the seventh, ninth, eleventh and twelfth—and came within a few hundred votes of taking five others from Carrington.

Thomas' experiences in the 17th assembly district are worthy of detailed description. The situation which brought him to the polling place in the 23rd election district there was typical of what was happening all day in varying degrees in the 1st, 2nd, 4th and entire 17th assembly districts.

Socialist Group Attacked

Complaints from the 17th district began to come to Socialist headquarters early in the day. Two voters reported that Thomas levers pulled down by them had been pushed up and votes recorded for Levy. At about noon, Jack Shur, Socialist watcher, complained against the intimidation. Before he knew what was happening, he was assailed and thrown bodily through the door of the school house, the impact of the blows forcing the heavy doors open. Jack Herling, who had been sent by the Socialist party in response to the complaint, found his efforts fruitless and sent in a call for Thomas.

Thomas, accompanied by Mrs. Thomas, Mary Fox of the League for Industrial Democracy, Amicus Most, secretary of the Thomas Non-Partisan Committee, The New Leader correspondent and two other reporters, arrived at about 1:30. Thomas was immediately surrounded by a gang of hoodlums who at a signal from Otto Anderson, chairman of the election board, began an attack on the party.

Most, Shur and Hyman Marcal, another Socialist watcher, were beaten. A rush of gangsters tried to force Thomas out of the school, none of them daring to use their fists on him as they were doing to the others. Thomas and other members of the Socialist group demanded the arrest of the thugs before they got away. One of them was held for a few minutes, while fruitless requests for his arrest were being made. More than three policemen were in attendance.

Just a "Practical Joke"

Since no satisfaction was to be obtained, Thomas started for the police station at West 125th street. His automobile was surrounded by members of the gangster mob. One pulled a knife and slashed a tire. Thomas then commandeered a taxi. At the station house he found Tammany Alderman William Solomon, himself a beneficiary of the vote stealing, unready to offer assistance. He declared the trouble had started when Thomas brought a crew of gangsters to the polling place.

Mrs. Thomas and Miss Fox were evidently the "gun-mollies" and Most and the reporters just part of the Thomas "mob." Solomon soon changed his tune and offered to give Thomas "protection."

This offer the Socialist candidate curtly rejected.

Accompanied by Police Captain Martin Cuff and a detail of reserves, Thomas returned to the polling place where he and those who had been attacked identified the police who had refused to make the arrests. The gangsters had in the meantime chosen a less conspicuous hangout. Thomas had hours before requested the Board of Elections to send a representative to take charge of the situation. The representative, though promised, never arrived. The Tammany machine was hitting on all cylinders—crooked election board, indifferent police, uninterested Board of Elections. A representative of the attorney general's office, also run by Tammany, made his contribution to restoring order by suggesting the cutting of the tire was "just a practical joke."

Tammany's Vindication

While waiting for the Board of Elections representative, Mrs. Thomas and the others in the Socialist party were approached by a Republican watcher of swinish proportions and men (he'll never understand that word), one Joe Blumberg by name. Blumberg averred that the Socialists were just lice, who robbed the poor and went out to steal votes. Thomas immediately placed Blumberg under arrest for disorderly conduct. Taken to the station house, Thomas agreed to withdraw the charge on condition that the Republicans withdraw Blumberg as a watcher.

The final incident at the Harlem polling place, and a fitting close, came when the voting machine was opened at 6 p. m. The election district has seven enrolled Socialist voters and in 1929 gave Thomas 51 votes. Tuesday night the machine showed that not a single vote for Thomas had been recorded!

Tammany and Jimmie Walker had won their vote of confidence.



SENTIMENTALISM

Drawn by Clive Weed.

38 Socialist Locals Formed in 3 Months

(Continued from Page One)

such slump was noticeable; in fact, many sections of the country kept up street corner meetings all summer, that had not had them in recent years.

Big Wisconsin Gains

"A special election of the First Congressional District of Wisconsin gave the party an opportunity to show a great increase in activity and in votes. O. J. Bouma, the organizer for the Racine party, ran as a candidate, and greatly to the surprise of the capitalist papers carried Racine county, which is one of the five counties in the first district.

"The total vote was Progressive Republican, 14,548; Socialist, 7,247; Democrat, 3,501. The Communists, who had concentrated a large number of organizers in that district to carry on the fight against Socialism, secured a total of 506 votes.

"The Wisconsin state organization has decided to concentrate on one industrial city after another until good organizations are built up. The results in Racine are well known. Organization work is now being carried on in Kenosha, the next largest industrial city.

New Literature Ready

"The demand for information from persons who are not connected with the party continues to grow. The number of inquiries that are sent out in answer to general inquiries has increased appreciably.

The report points out that three new leaflets, "End Slavery in the Coal Fields," by Powers Hapgood; "Farmers' Your Enemy is Capitalism," by James O'neal; "Socialists in the City Hall," by Clarence Senior, have been issued within the last three months. All have been quite popular. A fourth leaflet, as yet unnamed, on the subject of banking, was presented to the committee for approval. "The Little Library of Socialism" will be published early in November by E. Haldeman-Julius.

Plans were outlined for the National Headquarters bulletin to be issued, subject to the referendum now being conducted among party members. It was Senior's recommendation that "the paper is not primarily for propaganda purposes to convert non-Socialists or for any other purpose which can be better served by The New Leader or other propaganda organs. The bulletin should be, primarily, an organization bulletin with the chief purpose of activating the party membership, and particularly of getting them behind national campaigns."

Recommendations contained in the report include: A special organizing campaign under the supervision of the national party to be conducted in West Virginia and Kentucky, which at present offer peculiar opportunities.

Submission of a resolution on Tom Mooney to the executive of the Labor and Socialist International.

Keep Chicago Headquarters? Maintenance of National headquarters in Chicago to prevent ill will among Western States which protested against moving to Washington. Removal of the offices, however, to a more centrally located building in Chicago.

Endorsement of cooperation between the Socialist party and the General Defense Committee in activities relating to relief and legal defense of the Kentucky miners.

Distribution to Socialist locals of information regarding motion

Local Socialist Candidates Boost Party's Straight Vote

Vote for Aldermen, New York City

NEW YORK COUNTY

District	1931	1930	1929
1. M. Girdansky	601	389	
2. M. Goldowsky	415	448	
3. L. C. Kaye	653	537	
4. M. Markshale	217	358	
5. Algenon Lee	384	298	
6. A. Claessens	1,156	1,116	
7. McA. Coleman	1,348	626	
8. Hank Rosner	1,092	1,008	
9. Heywood Brown	1,911	786	
10. Evelyn Hughan	781	535	
11. Simon Berlin	943	606	
12. Goldine Hillson	730	557	
13. J. Martindale	955	602	
14. R. Fidler	849	534	
15. Bela Low	453	578	
16. S. E. Beardsley	659	477	
17. J. Beckerman	270	430	
18. G. A. Gerber	641	369	
19. E. F. Cassidy	550	667	
20. A. Grossman	448	414	
21. E. Brown	527	469	
22. E. Koppel	992	798	
23. Max Edelson	2,731	1,675	
24. B. Kaufman	457	358	
Total	19,765	14,644	

KINGS COUNTY

33. Brad Young	719	332	
34. Greenblatt	929	902	
35. J. Dubno	1,064	1,444	
36. J. Afros	211	179	
37. L. Sadoff	455	262	
38. Dorman	247	177	
39. J. Turvin	8,076	5,364	
40. Bobrick	3,434	1,736	
41. H. Nensner	6,686	4,350	
42. Rothenberg	1,267	767	
43. Harry Laidler	8,802	5,826	
44. Th. Shapiro	2,672	1,408	
45. Wise	1,242	819	
46. Goldberg	734	376	
47. H. Schwartz	1,119	561	
48. Helfgott	716	500	
49. H. Kritzer	1,570	1,330	
50. S. H. Friedman	2,156	1,845	
51. Morris	610	494	
52. Lader	469	186	
53. Maiman	618	633	
54. Chastuff	651	402	
55. Block	1,357	979	
56. Breslow	2,604	2,037	
Total	48,206	32,909	

THE BRONX

25. S. E. Marcus	4,341	3,150	
26. S. Hertzberg	1,533	1,136	
27. D. Wolinsky	3,417	2,218	
28. S. Goodman	1,154	334	
29. L. Hendin	7,947	6,229	
30. G. I. Steinhardt	6,504	5,049	
31. W. Dancis	2,465	1,825	
32. L. Painken	2,626	1,670	
Total	29,987	22,311	

QUEENS COUNTY

57. W. G. Hodge	2,526	1,633	
58. B. Wolf	3,368	1,886	
59. C. W. Jewell	1,323	862	
60. H. Cherkas	1,973	994	
61. J. Dean	1,880	966	
62. H. Doering	1,393	794	
Total	12,483	7,137	

RICHMOND

63. E. K. Barnard	418	337	
64. A. Christenson	299	355	
65. M. A. Jacobson	257	278	
Total	974	970	

Total for Entire City.....111,397 77,971

Vote for Assembly, New York City

NEW YORK COUNTY

District	1931	1930	1929
1. B. Blumenberg	537	510	391
2. Max Edelson	425	479	430
3. J. W. Hughan	590	495	540
4. L. Lieberman	384	429	373
5. Elliot White	388	253	302
6. A. Weinberg	1,232	1,761	1,067
7. W. Montross	1,137	984	608
8. Ed. Levinson	1,128	1,429	1,019
9. S. Seldman	1,533	1,027	803
10. W. E. Bohn	569	726	528
11. H. H. Coryell	978	735	628
12. Hilda Claessens	720	551	552
13. R. T. Drake	868	818	640
14. L. Binger	837	563	538
15. Bertha Mally	438	641	527
16. H. Volk	951	740	633
17. N. Zughaft	267	382	405
18. Sophie Segeloff	698	585	567
19. F. Crosswalth	512	345	564
20. A. Regaldi	537	388	343
21. F. Poree	567	483	569
22. F. Hogdon	861	627	685
23. M. Fried	3,007	1,894	1,705
Total	19,014	16,865	14,378

KINGS COUNTY

1. D. M. Cory	612	421	331
2. M. Rosenbaum	8,448	8,465	5,310
3. H. Block	199	209	177
4. H. Sussman	872	893	825
5. Viola Levinson	851	652	519
6. Abs Belsky	1,496	1,833	1,336
7. Reba Pushkopf	499	338	253
8. S. Knebel	190	231	165
9. C. Kanowitz	3,503	2,868	1,716
10. Marx Lewis	727	493	301
11. Elitz Smith	1,485	993	864
12. F. Smith	1,017	780	570
13. J. Lipahits	636	523	480
14. H. Schachner	1,118	1,300	1,298
15. H. Smith	339	194	191
16. H. Haskell	6,978	7,565	4,099
17. J. N. Cohn	1,096	1,110	778
18. J. Viola	8,367	9,539	5,759
19. J. A. Well	630	784	678
20. W. Hoens	976	774	684
21. Ann Gould	2,624	2,849	1,283
22. A. I. Shiplock	3,628	3,327	2,761
23. Jack Altman	2,120	2,390	1,796
Total	48,362	48,630	31,973

THE BRONX

1. M. Gross	1,333	1,142	1,132
2. A. Mollin	5,300	4,967	3,813
3. J. J. Umansky	2,727	2,546	1,909
4. D. Kaplan	2,403	2,404	1,787
5. H. Fruchter	3,481	3,903	2,663
6. Sol Perrin	5,423	4,868	3,758
7. H. Woscow	2,967	3,047	2,475
8. Esther Friedman	6,332	5,053	4,190
Total	29,986	27,930	21,667

QUEENS COUNTY

1. E. Steinerberg	1,428	1,026	814
2. C. B. Garfinkel	1,967	1,226	860
3. H. H. Layburn	2,020	1,369	997
4. A. Schoenbaum	3,113	2,210	1,893
5. A. Simpkins	2,579	2,203	1,631
6. S. A. de Witt	1,368	922	840
Total	12,470	8,956	7,044

RICHMOND COUNTY

1. W. Deering	466	519	518
2. A. Muralshain	373	407	466
Total	839	926	984

Total for Entire City.....110,651 103,307 76,046

Bridgeport Socialists In Signal Triumph

(Continued from Page One)

Third, which he carried by 186 votes.

He took his and Mayor Buckingham's home precinct in the Sixth by 146 votes, but this lead was offset in the First precinct which he lost by 638. McLevy also carried the Second precinct of the Fifth district by 55 votes, but lost in the Fire precinct by 170. An indication of the complicated vote in the Fifth may be seen in Buckingham's plurality of 115 over McLevy, as contrasted with Alderman Edward H. Jones' plurality of 513 over his Socialist opponent and 302 over his Republican rival.

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Early returns indicated the certain blasting of the Republican hopes. The First district, with only two machines to tally, disclosed the G. O. P. running third even in that stronghold of Republicanism. Almost immediately upon the heels of the announcement of the result in the First, came the figures from the Third, where McLevy was first, Buckingham second and Mason trailing.

Interest Centers On McLevy

"That let the Republicans out of the picture and interest thereafter centered on the mounting vote of McLevy which, at times, threatened to land him in the mayoralty chair. Among the early precincts to report was the home precinct of both McLevy and Buckingham in the Sixth, with McLevy showing in front. The lead was erased in returns from the other precinct of the District and the Sixth was Buckingham's banner district with a plurality of 592.

The superiority of the Democratic organization was evidenced as other returns came in from precincts west of the Pequanock. The Second, Fourth, Seventh and Eighth turned in Buckingham pluralities ranging from 400 to 450 to give the mayor a commanding lead, which was never overcome.

The sensational vote accorded the Socialists gives them three city sheriffs, six are elected biennially, the offices going to six nominees, who poll the highest

totals. The other three sheriffs are Democrats.

McLevy Issues Statement

The election "should serve as a warning to the powers-that-be in the government of Bridgeport that they cannot forever plunder the pockets of the workers and the taxpayers," McLevy declared election night.

McLevy said he saw in the record-breaking total of 15,084 votes "a stinging rebuke to the spoils system, which has infested and weakened Bridgeport's civic structure for a decade or more."

"This election," he said, "should serve as a warning, as final notice, to the sponsors of an infectious spoils system that the people have awakened, and that even the best-oldest machines are sometimes wrecked by faulty drivers."

"Happiest Man in World"

Although visibly disappointed because he had come so close to victory and yet missed his goal

Rail Labor Seeks Parley With Roads

First Request Was Ignored—Unions Acting Together to Fight Slashes

WASHINGTON.—(FP)—Since rail management wants to cut wages, and rail labor wants to reduce hours of work and the danger of further permanent displacement of men, the Railway Labor Executives' Association, meeting, Nov. 2 in Washington, invited the Association of Railway Executives to meet them in conference, to discuss proposals from both sides.

This challenge to the managers to meet rail labor and talk over the problems caused by the depression is the second which rail labor has sent to the bosses this year. The first one was ignored. Nov. 3 to R. H. Ashton, chairman of the Association of Railway Executives. It was signed by D. B. Robertson, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, as chairman of the Railway Labor Executives' Association.

Union's Position

The resolution adopted by the 21 rail labor chiefs, which is interpreted as a suggestion that rail labor may consider a wage reduction for a strictly limited period, such as one year, in return for the six-hour day which would be permanent reads:

"Whereas, the economic conditions affecting the operations of and employment on the railroads have changed materially in the current year, and the earnings of railroad employees and the amount of available employment have been reduced severely; and

"Whereas, proposals affecting railway wages have been made public by several of the railroads and are known to be under consideration by others; and

"Whereas, the employees of all the railroads face the urgent need for the adoption of measures which may provide, not only temporary relief, but assurances of future stabilization of employment and relief from continuing reductions of employment and cyclical periods of grave unemployment; and

"Whereas, both the management of the railroad systems and their employees are organized so that they are able to deal nationally with problems and emergencies affecting the entire transportation industry, and these organizations have a responsibility not only to their membership, but to the public, to act in concert to work out prompt and adequate solutions of their conflicting interests in order to promote the general welfare and to do all in their power to aid in the restoration of prosperity; therefore

Unity of Action

"Be it resolved, that the chairman of this association transmit a copy of this resolution to the Association of Railway Executives and endeavor to arrange a conference between the appropriate representatives of said association and the members of the Railway Labor Executives' Association, for the purpose of considering and recommending to the respective associations action regarding (1) any proposals affecting railway operation which railway managements desire to advance; (2) any proposals, including present and future relief of unemployment and stabilization of employment, which this association desires to advance; and

"Be it further resolved that the Railway Labor Executives' Association carry on cooperative action in conformity with the laws of the respective organizations in aid of each and every organization of employees affiliated with this association to protect and to promote their common interest in meeting the needs of the present situation."

Rail labor is ready to apply the six-hour rule to the transportation industry, in order that the steady depletion of the ranks of the rail workers may be stopped. To win the six-hour day as a fixture, rail labor may discuss a temporary cut in pay—if and when the managers come into a joint conference. Meanwhile each of the 21 organizations of rail labor is pledged the support of the other 20, and all pledge themselves to deal with the problem on a national rather than a regional basis. Unity of action appears to have been firmly established in the ranks of the rail workers, whatever may come of these negotiations.

Socialist Party Battles Poverty Among Pennsylvania Miners



Committee in the Western Pennsylvania mine country. At the upper left Mrs. Anna Durovich is baking bread from the committee's flour in an old-fashioned Dutch oven at Naomi in the Monongahela Valley.

Her son, John, 19 months, is watching. Yvonne Deneen with her doll. Yvonne is barefooted in October. George Klochak is distributing potatoes to women at Naomi in the upper right.

Shulman Kidnapped In Lawrence Strike

(Continued from Page One)

on the Shawheen picket line that has yet occurred at that mill. The Arlington mills against which previous strikes have been shut down practically entirely by the strike as a result of a mass picket line estimated by the Boston Post to contain 15,000 people. This is believed to be the largest picket line in the history of organized labor in the United States. The Workers' Cooperative Union, whose manager is Joseph Salerno, is undertaking to bake bread free for the strikers and is operating their headquarters as a relief station.

When the mills made their first determined effort to induce strikers to return, Shulman arranged with the state office of the Socialist party to send some of our party members who are clergymen to lead the picket lines so that if there were any arrests the police would catch in the net some one who was a minister and thereby perhaps burn their own fingers. Trimble got some members of the party who are students at the Boston University School of Theology for this purpose.

Horace Riviere, the organizer for the U. T. W., and Robert J. Watt, president of the Lawrence Central Labor Union, have compiled from the pay envelopes of the strikers figures on the wages of different crafts working in the mills. These figures have been compared with the wages paid in woolen mills outside of Lawrence which were ascertained by a survey made throughout New England by the Stillwater Worsted Mill of Rhode Island. These figures show that for weavers, which is the craft having the largest number of workers in a woolen mill, the lowest wage paid for a full time forty-eight hour week outside of Lawrence is \$28.80. In Lawrence the lowest paid for weavers for a full time week is \$15.00.

Governor Aids Bosses

Outside of Lawrence the highest wage for weavers for a forty-eight hour week was found to be \$42.00 while in Lawrence the highest wage for a full time week for weavers was \$30.00. This shows the sort of wages which the Lawrence mill barons want to cut still further.

As a matter of fact, during this summer the Lawrence mills were working full time and even night work. In this they differed from textile mills in other parts of Massachusetts as I can testify from my experience in speaking throughout the state. So it is obvious that the Lawrence mills could get orders and did get orders at the old wage scale.

Governor Ely and the Citizens Committee of Lawrence are trying to break the strike by inducing the workers to go back to work on a "compromise" that all wages shall be cut except wages for men already getting less than \$18.00 a week. Apparently Governor Ely and the "citizens" of Lawrence think that \$18 is enough for a man to bring up a family on.

FAIRMONT, W. Va. (FP)—Union street car men in Fairmont have started a campaign to increase car riding to stave the lines from abandonment.

BOOKPLATES \$1.00

Your own name, or any other, beautifully printed on a genuine Gaudin-Ex-Libris. Only \$1.00 per 100 packed in a neat gift box. Ideal for personal and family gifts. A variety of designs including one for children. Write immediately for samples to Department 255, Gilbert Import Co., 174 5th Ave., N.Y.C.

AUNT CLEMMY'S

For delicious food, properly served in quiet, inviting surroundings, visit Aunt Clemmy's. Luncheon 11:15 to 2:30. 49 E. 5th St. near W'way. Stay 9-1338. Dinner 5:30 to 9:30—59 cts. to 1.25. Sandwiches and salads at all hours. Also a la carte at moderate prices.

Mayor Hoan Speaks In Bronx This Friday

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee, will speak on Friday evening, Nov. 6, under the auspices of the Amalgamated Cooperative Homes Branch in the auditorium of the Amalgamated Cooperative Homes in Moshulu Parkway and Sedgwick Ave. This gathering will be in the nature of an intimate reception. The people in the neighborhood have been invited to meet Hoan.

In his talk, Hoan will give a description of the work of the Socialist administration in Milwaukee during these many years. As this will be the last opportunity to hear Comrade Hoan during a brief visit here, all Bronx Socialists and sympathizers are urged to note the date, place, and time.

W. J. C. Wismar, Pioneer Socialist of Ithaca, N. Y., Dies

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

ITHACA.—William J. C. Wismar, 76, pioneer member of the Tompkins County Socialist Party, died unexpectedly last Monday afternoon. Born in Germany, Mr. Wismar moved to this country with his family when a small boy. He came to Ithaca in 1899.

Lecture Calendar

BRONX

Friday, Nov. 6, 8:30 p. m.—Daniel W. Hoan, Mayor of Milwaukee, "The Accomplishment of the Socialist Administration in Milwaukee," auditorium, Amalgamated Cooperative Homes, Moshulu Parkway and Sedgwick Avenue. Auspices, Sedgwick and Amalgamated Cooperative Homes Branch. Sunday, Nov. 8, 11 a. m.—Elliott White, "Socialism in the Church," Bohemia Manor, Woodside and Harrison avenues. Auspices, Socialist party, 8th A. D. Branch.

BROOKLYN

Sunday, Nov. 8, 8:30 p. m.—Debate, Charles Solomon vs. Hamilton Fish, Jr., "Is Capitalism Worth Saving," Brooklyn Academy of Music, 30 Lafayette Avenue. Auspices, Socialist party of Brooklyn. Tuesday, Nov. 10, 8:30 p. m.—Jacob Bernstein, "Social Forces in American History Which Retard the Growth of Socialism in the United States," 1637 East 11th Street. Auspices, Midwood Branch of the Socialist party.

QUEENS

Friday, Nov. 6, 8:30 p. m.—Herbert Merrill, "Socialism and Inventions," Bohemia Hall, Woodside and Second avenues. Astoria. Auspices, Astoria Branch of the Socialist party.

On WEVD

Nov. 9, 2:30 P. M.—"Labor's News Reporter," The Federated Press. Nov. 10, 2:30 P. M.—"Labor's News Reporter," The Federated Press; 8:15 P. M.—Helen Pickenback on "Between the Headlines"; 9:00 P. M.—E. M. White, "City Affairs." Nov. 11, 1:30 P. M.—Women's Peace Union, Armistice Day Program; 2:30 P. M.—"Labor's News Reporter," The Federated Press; 8:15 P. M.—World Peace Posters, Inc. (Speaker to be announced); 8:15 P. M.—Howard Y. Williams, "Time's Topics"; 8:45 P. M.—"Current Events." Nov. 13, 1:00 P. M.—"Labor's News Reporter," The Federated Press; 4:00 P. M.—Helen Hannan, "Unemployment Insurance." Nov. 14, 2:00 P. M.—"Labor's News Reporter," The Federated Press; 2:30 P. M.—Symposium between the Debating Society of N. Y. U. and the Y. P. S. L. The subject is, "Littvinoff's Proposal of Complete Disarmament. Should be Adopted by the Nations."

Nothing is so commonplace as to be remarkable.

Socialist Relief Committee Feeds 1,200 Families in Pittsburg Coal Districts

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PITTSBURGH.—The Socialist Party Miners' Relief Fund is feeding and clothing 1,200 families in 35 committees in the Western Pennsylvania mine country, where depression is not a new calamity but a seemingly interminable horror that has crushed some towns for six years and longer.

Through five counties where most mines are either shut down or working only a few days a week, the cars of the Socialist committee bear food and clothing each day.

Each family on the relief rolls will average five children. That means the committee is feeding almost 6,000 boys and girls, as well as their parents.

Socialists Impartial

The Socialist group distributes its aid impartially. In one town the distributing committee will be composed of members of the United Mine Workers of America, and in the other of representatives of the National Miners Union, bitter left-wing opponent of the older union.

The field workers of the Socialist group are attempting to give every needy person a meal and the clothes he needs.

Soup kitchens, which feed not only miners but any man who is hungry, have been established in miners' houses. In an old-fashioned Dutch oven in the backyard of a miner's home at Naomi, near Donora, close to the bank of the Monongahela River, a woman who speaks poor English but bakes with exceeding skill, is making bread for 250 persons from the flour provided by the committee.

Crowds Patiently Await Aid

Boys and girls, still going barefoot in the frosty October mornings for lack of shoes, jug pails of soup home from the distributing station.

Help Evicted Families

The committee began its work July 5. It has concentrated its work in aiding miners evicted during the coal strike which began in June.

Members of the local administrative committee are Julius Weisberg, chairman; Jane Tait, treasurer; Sarah Limbach, secretary; Robert Lieberman and Maurice Schneirov.

The national committee is composed of Oscar Ameringer, Heywood Brown, John Dewey, Theodore Debs, Ludwig Lore, James H. Maurer, James Oneal, J. Henry Stump, Sidney A. Teller, Norman Thomas and E. C. Vladdock.

Three More Meetings Honor Memory of Eugene V. Debs

CAMDEN, N. J.—Camden Socialists, acting upon the suggestion of the national office, held a meeting at their headquarters, 718 South Fifth street, to pay their respects to the memory and labors of our departed Comrade Eugene V. Debs.

namesake of Eugene V. Debs, played a number of fine selections on the piano. Powers Hapgood, Edward Henry and Dr. William Swales were the speakers. This was by far the finest memorial meeting we have held since the passing of Comrade Debs.

Kalamazoo Meeting Honors Memory of Debs

(By a New Leader Correspondent) KALAMAZOO.—A Debs Memorial meeting was held in the Labor Temple on Oct. 25. Guy H. Lockwood of Kalamazoo, one of the old-timers in the Socialist movement, was the principal speaker. His spirited address was frequently punctuated with applause.

During the coming months local Socialists will hold a number of mass meetings and the outlook for a revival of interest in the Socialist party is better in the Furniture City than it has been for many years past.

Fake Labor Paper Exposed

(Continued from Page One) World's is just as repulsive to us as it is to you. We assure you that the name of the United Hebrew Trades, or for that matter our own names appearing on page four of that publication, was printed without knowledge or sanction. We are not responsible for the article and condemn it as a vilification and perversion of everything that is decent and

Debs Memorial Meeting Held in Indianapolis

(By a New Leader Correspondent) INDIANAPOLIS.—A meeting of Socialists and sympathizers was held in this city Sunday, Oct. 25, in commemoration of the passing of our beloved Comrade Eugene V. Debs. An appropriate program was arranged for the occasion, consisting of music and

Biggest Bank In Dayton, O., Closes Doors

(By HY FISH)

DAYTON, Ohio.—The fear of "what next for the workers" has become greatly intensified when the largest state bank in Dayton with its ten branches closed its doors this week.

The banking company that failed was the Union Trust Company which grew out of a merger two years ago of three banks who tried to save each other's necks.

Observers feel that the closing of the Union Trust will be the straw that will break the camel's back.

Already \$100,000,000 of frozen assets are tied up in the building and loan associations. The confidence of the workers of Dayton was won by these associations by offering six per cent on their investments and agreeing to allow investors to withdraw any amount at will although legally they are not required to. Now, most of the building and loan associations are not paying anything on demand, and one or two are allowing investors to withdraw up to \$40 a month.

When the National Credit Corporation was organized to dispose of the \$500,000,000 which was to melt frozen assets, a committee of 100 was organized in Dayton headed by ex-Governor James Cox to dispose of \$1,000,000 of this amount. Many of the workers, fooled by this large figure, thought it would relieve the situation, but now they are beginning to realize that it would only mean one dollar on 160 dollars.

Jobless Organizing

Businessmen and industrialists are beginning to fear "hunger riots" and an increase in crime. They are using every means to fill the community chest fund to the top and to secure the passage of a one mill levy for "poor relief." Signs in favor of the levy are in every store. Parades are being held on the main streets in honor of its passage. "Four-minute men" are being sent out to organizations. Radio addresses are given every afternoon and evening. Literature is being distributed from house to house. Mass meetings are being held with the city officials as the main speakers. The industrialists are desperate. "If the one mill levy fails, who knows what the unemployed will do?" they ask.

Or, the other hand, a move is now under way, sponsored by the Socialist Party of Dayton, and various labor unions, to organize a Workers' Committee on Unemployment. One of the plans, it is understood, will be discussed with municipal mutual aid exchanges. These exchanges, according to Joseph W. Sharts, a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, will give to the workers what they want—work, not doles. The plan is to get the city to obtain for the unemployed empty warehouses, factories, etc., so that the unemployed can use them to produce for themselves and exchange their products with the other unemployed without the use of legal tender.

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DR. ELLIOT WHITE, recently of Grace Church, Bronx, N. Y.
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2:15 P.M.—STANLEY A. DAY
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3 P.M.—DR. ALEXANDER LYONS
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10

Private Ownership of Railroads Bungles Again

Interstate Commerce Commission Forced to Step in and Tell Companies How to Run Their Business; Railroad and Capitalism

By Louis Stanley

THE inability of private ownership to conduct an adequate national transportation system is revealed in the decision handed down by the Interstate Commerce Commission in which the I. C. C. refused to grant a 15 per cent increase in freight rates to the railroads of the country. Instead of granting a flat rise the commission explained to the railroad owners and managers how they might proceed to run their business in the most efficient way under the present temporarily trying circumstances.

It is true that the I. C. C. was careful to state that it was not responsible for the carrying on of the railroads' affairs; nevertheless, it exposed the private operators as bunglers. Said the commission: "We have often referred to the fact that we are not managers of the railroads and have taken the position that we ought not to interfere with those who are entrusted with management on matters which are not controlled by law but must be determined in the last analysis by wise administrative policy and judgment. That is still our view."

"But here reliance upon the judgment of the executives as to the revenue effect of an increase in rates is much weakened by their failure to adduce any substantial reasons for their

judgment and the definite withholding of the best available information on this point in their possession, namely, the information of their traffic departments."

It is a well known fact that before the business depression set in the railroads had completed almost a decade of prosperity. As soon as the economic crisis began to affect them as it did other lines of business, they began to grumble. They wanted relief. Did they analyze the situation to find out what the trouble was and then prescribe the remedies that their great knowledge of railroading and their self-interest would indicate? They did not. They seized upon the obvious cure: to boost the rates.

Increase Is Bad Economics

Now, as a matter of fact, a flat increase in freight rates was economically unsound:

1. The depression which had made the railroads feel the pinch was but one phase of the business cycle. There has been good times before and they would probably come back. Freight rates were actually at a much higher level than the prices of commodities.
2. Some railroads, particularly the largest ones, were doing rather well during the depression. It was only the weaker roads which had

cause for complaint and required help. A plan to give additional revenue to those carriers which did not need it as well as to those which were in urgent need of assistance was just a new kind of skin game.

3. The railroads were suffering from more than the depression. They had been severely injured by rival forms of transportation. The motor truck, the bus, the airplane and boats had stolen many customers. The loss in passenger revenues alone was equal to the \$450,000,000 which the roads claimed they could gain by the 15 per cent increase in freight rates. To increase the cost of railroad transportation would only hasten the process of transferring freight from the rails of the country to the highways, the waterways and the sea. Once factories were relocated to adjust manufacturing to the new transportation facilities, it would be difficult to turn the tide.
4. An indiscriminate raising of rates at the present time would show ignorance of the elements of railroading. Some industries could not withstand the burden of additional transportation costs, while others would not be materially affected. If there had been any doubt as to the advisability of considering the effect of rate changes upon general industrial conditions it was

cleared up by the Hoch-Smith resolution which Congress adopted in 1925 as a guide for the I. C. C.:

"... It is hereby declared to be the true policy in rate making to be pursued by the Interstate Commerce Commission in adjusting freight rates, that the conditions which at any given time prevail in our several industries should be considered in so far as it is legally possible to do so, to the end that commodities may freely move."

When the railroads put in their plea for a flat increase in freight rates they were counting on the panicky state of mind of government officials and business men to enable them to secure at least part of what they had requested. They cried that if they could not get more money their credit would be had, they could not keep up improvements and they might even find it necessary to cut wages. The Interstate Commerce Commission held extensive hearings on the question. As day after day passed, it became clearer and clearer that the opposition to the railroads' proposal was tremendous. Shippers pointed out the unreasonableness of the increase and threatened to turn to other means of transportation. Only the holders of railroad securities, such as banks, insurance companies and other institutions felt that the rise should be per-

mitted in order to strengthen the railroad credit.

The I. C. C. Comes to the Rescue

The Interstate Commerce Commission went to the heart of the matter:

1. It rejected the flat increase but suggested certain rate adjustments that would produce from \$100,000,000 to \$125,000,000 in revenue. Specified agricultural products would be subject to no additional rates, other commodities would have to pay increases of \$3 per car, \$5 per car, and one cent per hundred pounds. The rate on all other goods would be increased by two cents per hundred pounds. These new rates would be sanctioned by the I. C. C. if the extra revenues gained in this way would be used to help the weaker roads.
2. The commission then outlined a plan to accomplish this purpose. The new revenues would be put into a fund which would come to the assistance of roads in distress. The railroads were directed to submit a detailed scheme for approval on or before December 1, 1931. The suggestion of the I. C. C. that such an emergency fund be created emphasizes once more the ineffectiveness of the provision of the Transportation Act of 1920 which was supposed to provide for a general railroad contingent fund to aid

weak roads. This fund was to be made up of excess income recaptured from roads which were fortunate enough to have a net income of more than 6 per cent of the value of their property. Legal, economic and technical difficulties have made the fund useless. Now the I. C. C. suggests a new device to solve the problem of financing poor railroads under capitalism.

The decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission in the 15 per cent freight rate increase case is but another attempt to save the day for private ownership in railroads. The I. C. C. expresses more clearly than ever before its view that the railroads constitute only a part of the national transportation problem. The highways and waterways are government-owned. The Panama Canal which the decision discusses at great length is an important factor in the decline of railroad freight is the property of the United States government. Trucks, buses, ships and airplanes must be coordinated into a single transportation system but private enterprise with its haphazardness cannot do this efficiently. The commission recognizes the new conditions. It confesses that:

"So far as rates are concerned, it is clear that the present structure has developed under principles and theories which gave no thought

to the competitive agencies of transportation which now exist."

Necessity of Socialization

Formerly the railroads were discouraged from working closely together. It was feared they might develop monopolistic control of transportation facilities. The preservation of competition is still the theoretic foundation of American railroad legislation. Now, however, the I. C. C. in its decision declares: "The new competitive conditions make it necessary, also, for the railroads to cooperate more efficiently with each other and reduce the waste, both in service and in rates, which has marked their own competition. That this waste is of very large proportions is clear. Many specific instances have been brought to your attention. That it can be minimized we also have no doubt, but that this will require a greater degree of cooperation than the railroad executives have yet been willing to put into practice is plain."

The advice to the railroads to cooperate is futile. The law limits the extent of their cooperation and there is no planning to work out the best means of cooperating. The only systematic method of eliminating waste is to turn all the railroads over to the government, which could then run them without regard to private profit but

simply with an eye upon service. The concern of the Interstate Commerce Commission with other industries and the general industrial situation in its rate-making stresses the important fact that railroading is not an isolated business. The I. C. C. must take into consideration not only other forms of transportation but must also study the welfare of other lines of business.

Modern capitalism is exceedingly complex. A change in one part of the economic structure is felt in many directions. What happens to manufacturing, mining and agriculture is of importance to the railroads and vice versa. To plan the transportation system while other industries are free to do as they please is to make regulation impossible. All the factors in the situation must be controlled. This is impossible under private ownership. Freight rates, prices, encouragement or discouragement of certain occupations, controlling the channels of trade can only be accomplished when not only transportation but all industry is socialized. The analysis of the I. C. C. does not venture beyond the possibilities of our present economic system but a frank study of the decision in the 15 per cent freight rate increase case leads us inevitably to the conclusion that socialization must replace private ownership on the railroads and in all other industries.

The Role of the Workers in Building a New Order

Break-up of Capitalism Presents Challenge to Labor to Organize and Take Over Reins of Political and Economic Power

By George H. Schoaf

VIRTUALLY every problem vexes the mind of man. It is related to property question, or some other, and till this question is settled to meet modern social and economic needs no merely human problem can be justly or permanently solved. Many people, especially religious people, are under the illusion that what is the matter with the world is sin—individual sin; when as a matter of fact the principal cause or source of sin is economic misadjustment as it affects the question of property.

People instinctively will do right if given the chance. They will not do wrong, normally, unless driven to it. In the majority of cases people sin or violate the law for the reason that if they try to act honestly and honorably they fall in the face of competition. Inequitable social and economic arrangements are largely responsible for the crowded condition of our asylums and penitentiaries. If the economic mechanism of society were such that men and women could labor and produce, and keep the equivalent of the products of their toil, instead of having to divide with a set of social parasites, it would be easy and natural for them to do right rather than wrong.

Property arrangements are archaic and unscientific and bad under the capitalist system. What right has a robber—a non-producing exploiter—to property? By robber is meant here not the fellow who breaks into your house at midnight or the thug who holds you up with a gun, but the exploiter whose ownership of any kind of private business or industry under capitalism enables him to take material advantage of the necessities of his fellow creatures and appropriate what he has not produced. The robber in this connection is the man who gives wages, receives interest, rents out property or derives unearned increment through the increased value of land. It is any one whose individual initiative and sagacity in private business or industrial achievement has brought him wealth as a result of exploitation.

The Curse of Capitalism

Statements such as the foregoing undoubtedly will surprise and shock the person whose loyalty to the social and economic status quo is strong. The reason for this lies in the fact that the person affected is obsessed with an undeveloped social conscience; his material environment reflects the progress of the twentieth century, but his moral and mental reactions reveal an ideology common to an age that is fast passing away. Once it was conventionally proper for the Hindu mother to throw her babe to the crocodiles in the River Ganges, but not now. Once it was a religious duty for the ancestors of Jesus Christ to sacrifice sons on fiery altars to appease the wrath or show forth the glory of Almighty God, but no more.

In many respects the race has made progress since history began its record. Educationally and religiously we far transcend our forebears. Mechanically and scientifically we have made tremendous strides. In the realm of property adjustments, however, we have made few changes; and therein may be found nearly 100 per cent of the troubles which plague us, individually and socially, and which constitute the major obstacle to permanent advancement.

Private ownership of the means of production is the curse of the world today. This antiquated property relation prevents the scientific organization of society for the

common good. Private ownership is not only unethical and unjust; it is unscientific and absurd. It is an anarchistic hold-over from an age that was primitive in its material development. When land was free and men in a small way worked for themselves with hand tools private ownership had excuse for being; but in this age of mass production with huge machines operated by regimental labor, private ownership is not only oppressively exploitative, but it interferes with a just distribution of the product. To maintain private ownership, governments, even in democracies so-called, must become the agencies of those who own; and just this condition prevails in every capitalist country on the globe.

The Need for Organization

Amidst all the discussions about the cause of hard times and unemployment is the absence of emphasis on this factor of private ownership. This is especially true of discussions printed in the columns of the corporation-owned press and delivered over the radio by orthodox economists. There is a fast growing conviction on the part of many employers of labor that the present industrial depression warrants shorter hours and fewer working days with no increase of wages for those who toil, and no change in the political and economic status quo. Unquestionably the workers will be given shorter hours and fewer working days, but aside from additional time in which to meditate, their lives will be just as barren and hopeless as before.

There can and will be no improvement until private ownership for profit is replaced with collective ownership for use. The instruments of production and distribution, including land and capital, must be collectively owned and operated, and the joint products therefrom must be the property of those who do the work. Justice cannot prevail and crime will never cease so long as society tolerates a class of idle parasites. With the abolition of private ownership and the introduction of planned and coordinated industry, cooperatively owned and administered, this class necessarily will vanish. Since ownership confers rulership, it follows that when the workers become the owners, government will be truly democratic.

To attain this objective it is imperative that the workers organ-

ize. Individually they are a helpless and hopeless lot; organized and capably led they can develop tremendous power. So apparent is this fact that it would seem that its mere statement is enough to carry conviction. Why, the individual wage worker, without property and frequently without a job, should have to be impounded to unite with his class—the working class—and with that class present an unbroken and invincible front to an owning and employing class united, and temporarily triumphant, are mysteries that baffle explanation. In this era of gigantic machinery and monopolized ownership the workers are lost unless they organize.

The Power of Government

In powerful unions is where the workers should join in economic organization. There lies their immediate and greatest strength. But organization for the capture of political power must go hand in hand with economic organization. Force is the only thing the capitalist class recognizes or will heed; the force that goes with the ownership of industry and the control of government. The workers must organize to take the machinery of production and distribution, and

they must prepare to capture the government in order to hold that ownership. Eugene V. Debs had the American Railway Union strike won, and the General Managers Association of Chicago was whipped to a standstill in the great railway strike of 1894, until the government intervened with military power and turned the workers' victory into defeat.

Constitutional and lawful procedure should characterize the efforts of the workers in organizing themselves economically and politically. Their numerical strength is so great that if they unite they will overwhelm all opposition. They do not have to resort to armed combat, and they will not unless their enemies drive them to it. Any time they wish, the workers, through organization, can take back the property their labor produced, but from which they have been divorced; and any time they so desire, they can regain possession of the government their fathers established, but whose control they have lost to an exploiting class.

In the execution of this program it is essential that the workers prepare themselves mentally to measure up to their opportunities

and responsibilities. No infantile enterprise is contemplated here. No child's play can be indulged in the steps which successively must be taken if the road to accomplishment is to be reached. A struggle is on, and it must be recognized by the workers and seriously fought. It is a class struggle—a war between those who use and those who own. It is not only national but international. It is the working class against the capitalist class the world over, and in the struggle the interests of these respective classes clash at every point. In this war there can be no truce. It is a war to the finish, and the end thereof will result either in the complete enslavement of the workers by the owners, or the liberation of the workers whose victory will mean the emancipation of all mankind.

Labor's Fighting Tradition

Capitalism everywhere is breaking down. On this point there is no argument. The owning classes, intellectually and morally bankrupt, understand neither the causes of the disintegration nor how it may be stopped. If permitted to continue their incompetent leadership and misrule, inevitably the owning class will plunge all society to the depths. Having demon-

strated their incapacity and lack of leadership, the owning classes must be disposed of. The working classes, with a historical mission to fulfill, to save the situation for further evolutionary development, must organize and take over society with its institutions and its possibilities. If the workers fail, then, indeed, will a miracle have been wrought, for the age-long social process will cease.

However, the workers will not fail. Signs innumerable indicate that they are up and coming. Necessity, if nothing else, will drive them to unite. Beneath the surface of patient suffering so long endured by the workers of the world there is raging a tempest of rebellion. The crust which covers this tempest and on which the masters of capitalism walk is exceedingly thin, and in places it is beginning to crack. One of these days, perhaps when least expected, that crust is going to cave in, and to the outraged workers the weakness and utter helplessness of the masters will be exposed. Then, like a chemical reaction, the workers will rush together in one gigantic host united and militant for the conquest of a crashing world.

From the overthrow of Pharaoh

and his host to the defiant refusal of Mooney and Billings to accept a conditional parole the workers have never failed when crises called. In every previous period the workers fought the battles of revolution and another class reaped the fruits of victory. The approaching crisis is different from any which preceded it because the conditions which create it are unlike anything ever seen before.

Those conditions have brought about the class struggle for the mastery of the means of life. Until now it was taken for granted that one social class should own and rule, while another class should work and obey. The introduction of new methods and modern machinery, with a growing intelligence on the part of the working and obeying class, constitute a condition which invokes a sweeping social change. A new ideology is enveloping the minds of the intelligent, whose interests, materially and intellectually, are admittedly identical with those of the working class. Under old methods and with primitive tools a class society was unavoidable; improved scientific and industrial processes and widespread education make imperative a classless society; and a classless society there must be, if anywhere on this earth there is to be a society worthy of the name.

The Rulers of the Future

Beyond question the only class fit to survive is the working class. That class is the only class necessary to social preservation. It is the only class which has not only entered the decadent stage but it is the only class which is vibrant with youth and radiant with promise. Upon the activities of that class in perfecting its economic and political organization, and upon its intelligent and successful conquest of industry and government, depend the fate of civilization and the future of humanity.

Agitation, education, organization are the needs of the hour. Every worker able to analyze social phenomena and who envisages the steps necessary to attain the goal should make it the serious business of his life to inform his fellow workers and urge them to unite with their class for action. Time is the essence of this class struggle; and rapid preparation of the workers is mandatory. Unless the workers are awakened to the gravity of the situation another capitalist war may break upon them to find them disunited and unprepared. Despite the asseverations of editorial and political celebrities it is quite evident another war is brewing. Participation therein the workers of all countries must avoid. Agitation, education, organization alone will give them the intelligence and the determination to refuse to fight.

Private ownership of the means of production, the cause of crime and war, must be replaced with collective ownership and control. Political administration by the workers, and workers' ownership of all property are essential to effective production and distribution. When the workers make themselves masters of government they will gain possession of property, and they will never get the property until and unless they seize the government. When the workers control the government and own the property, the parasites will have joined the workers and become useful citizens of the commonwealth.

What call to action is more inspiring and more appropriate than that sounded forth by Marx and Engels: "WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!"

"This Colossal Humbug Called Disarmament"

Russell Takes a Skeptical View of Capitalist Conferences to Scrap Machinery of International Slaughter

By Charles Edward Russell

THIS world, under the competitive organization of society, is stuffed so full of fakes that they stick out of the edges and cracks like excelsior from an overloaded packing box. But of all the fakes of a faking age the superb prize winner for impudence and success is the colossal humbug called Disarmament.

Also, there are in this life of today many wonderful things, but nothing else so wonderful as that intelligent persons, thinking persons, persons not congenitally dumbbells, should fall for a piece of bunk so preposterous.

Consider the way it is worked. In all countries are many people that fervently and often declare their abhorrence of war and usually succeed in making themselves and others believe they are on the level about it.

To please this large and important part of their audience, the gentlemen that conduct the governmental hippodrome stage, at nearly regular intervals, a species of melodramatic tripe they are pleased to call The International Disarmament Conference.

Twenty-five or thirty of them, wearing solemn faces, long black frock coats, and their tongues in their cheeks, come together after a formidable bally-hoo and announce to a waiting world that they are now about to do something to lift from the shoulders of God's patient poor the terrible burden of armaments, abhorrent to all the Right Minded.

Some king, president or prime minister opens the momentous proceedings with a speech packed full of slop, fake and platitudes. This is broadcasted and heard by the open-mouthed with bated breath and some doubt whether ideas so divine could originate in a merely human mind.

The Parley Opens

Then the gentlemen launch the conference while the world joyfully awaits the glad, glad day so close at hand when armaments shall be no more—hallelujah! Then, when patience has been

exhausted, interest has flagged and the football season is at hand, they exchange winks and announce that in the interest of heavenly peace and the burden-bearing poor, they have agreed to discard bows and arrows in the next war and to fight it with sixteen inch guns instead of seventeen.

Then the religious journals and others raise a vociferous cackle over the magnificent triumph for peace, the gospel and the lowly Nazarene, and persons that fall to see anything to rejoice over are strenuously reminded that "a beginning has been made."

After which, the managers clear the stage, give out the contracts for the next cruisers and submarines and all goes lovely as wedding-bells until the time comes to divert innocence with another performance.

Meanwhile, all the preparations for war go on exactly as before. Europe is an armed camp, International and racial hatreds grow and seethe, and some nation like Japan that doesn't give a hoot for plenty and the platitude-mill comes along with one which of its big, spurred military boot, kicks to pieces the whole stage machinery of paint, frame, wires, puppets and pulleys.

As it is about to be patched together and made to do another performance stunt at Geneva, it might be well to consider soberly and patiently what the whole thing means and can mean.

War and Disarmament

Let us take it at its best. Let us suppose it is to be honest instead of a farce and effective instead of a gesture. Let us even suppose the happy dreams of its sincere supporters to be realized, instead of dropping soothing weapons and compelling sobriety actually and completely disarming us.

Suppose every war vessel in the world to be sunk, every fort dismantled, every Big Bertha wreck-

ed, all weapons, great and small, slung into the melting pot, all ammunition destroyed, all armies disbanded.

Should we then have abolished war? Not in the least.

Should we have improved the chances for peace or lessened the danger of conflict? Not by the breadth of a hair.

The notion that armaments make war is merely a fantastic superstition fit for the kindergarten. You might as well say that the sawdust makes the saw, the ashes make the fire or the four grinds the mill.

War makes armaments; armaments do not make war. And war is going on all the time and will continue to go on, armaments or no armaments, so long as we maintain the system that generates war.

Men do not fight because they have arms, but they have arms because they expect to fight. And they expect to fight not because of innate depravity and devilishness but because the system under which they live incessantly goads them to distrust one another, to outwit and surpass one another, to cheat and despoil and wrong one another, and to hate one another.

From time to time the distrust, the despoiling and the hatreds rise to a point where men are ready to fight one another. Then

if you have taken from them all guns, battle ships, bombs and torpedoes, they will fight with rakes and clam shells until they can make more effective weapons.

"These Tiresome Farces"

Until they can make more effective weapons. That is the point. Please consider it. How long in these days of mass and skilled production does it take for a nation to arm itself? The United States went into the World War virtually unarmed. When General Mackensen invaded Roumania in 1916 he took with him more field artillery than there existed in all America. Yet in nine months this country was armed to the teeth that was in the old days of artillery. The next war will be fought with poison gases. In twenty-four hours you can make enough poison gas to kill every living thing in the city of New York, including rats, mice and grass.

How does that make the case for Disarmament look to you?

For these wars do not break out at midnight like a fire; they do not drop from the clouds. They are months or years in developing to the point of physical conflict. Always the discerning see them coming long before they arrive. Remember the history of the Big Berthas and the German 59's. If anything is clear from the war records it is that any nation that

foresees conflict can secretly perfect any kind of armament it may wish and the rest of the world know nothing about it—can do so and will although you pile the agreements as high as the eaves.

Then what is the use of any more of these tiresome farces? Have we forgotten all the Arbitration Conferences and peace conferences that we held at the Hague previous to 1914? Have we forgotten Andrew Carnegie's magnificent monument to Utter Futility, the Peace Palace there? Under its ample roofs assembled representatives of all the nations of Europe; there they solemnly agreed and pledged themselves that they would do this and would not do that. 102 Articles, if I have the number correctly, providing for Arbitration and Conciliation and the Humanizing of War (God help us all!) and every one of them torn to tatters in the first week of August, 1914.

The Noble Kellogg Pact

Or take what is called the Kellogg Pact Outlawing War, that noble instrument that we were assured by the religious press had in the divine providence come like a benison upon us to abolish strife and make us all nice little nations together in the holy nations of brotherly love. Ring out, glad bells! War is abolished! Every nation has signed the act forever outlawing war and pledging itself to walk ever the sweet flowery paths of peace while the Nobel prize is hung upon the proud neck of Frank Kellogg, apostle of peace and the doves sit cooing sweet hymnals in the branches.

Oh yesh? And what does your Kellogg Pact look like now? Like something the cat had brought in. Japan hits it one wallop and the entrails are strewn all over the lot.

Consider these facts if so be that you are tempted to make part of the audience at Mr. Hoover's next farce comedy. There could be no more perfect illustration of one of why we have wars and of the doddering lunacy of trying

to abolish them by working the jaw-tackle.

In the course of its development as an industrial country under the capitalist system Japan comes to a place where she needs the raw material to be found in Manchuria.

So she marches out and grabs off Manchuria, adjusts the thumb of her right hand to the point of her nose, nonchalantly wriggles her fingers and invites the peace makers to go to hell and take the Kellogg Pact with them.

Do you wish to know anything more about Kellogg Pacts, Disarmament Conferences, "making a beginning," tommy-rot, fol-de-rol and fiddle-faddle?

Capitalism Is War

If we had totally disarmed Japan or China or thought we had or imagined we had or pipe-dreamed we had, they would fight nevertheless on this issue—one driven on to grab what she needs and must have for her material development and the other trying frantically to beat back the grabbing claws.

If we have been deceived about these matters, we should now come out of our trance.

Let us face the actualities. So long as we have capitalism we shall have war.

Capitalism is war.

If we want peace, abolish capitalism. We can't have both. If we are not ready to part with capitalism let us put up with war.

But if timid souls and mental nut-travelers decide that they like capitalism better than peace, let them say so and cease to pull down the corners of their mouths, roll their eyes to heaven and smugly declare themselves to be pacifists. Let them cease to corrupt their souls with that sickening hypocrisy.

Pacifists? There are no pacifists in this world except those that stand for the utter annihilation, root and branch of the capitalism that has drenched the world with blood and cursed and darkened the life of man.

Nothing will ever end war but the death of capitalism.

For capitalism is war

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Socialist Dance in Bronx

The second annual ball of the Sth A. D. Socialists, Bronx, will be held this Saturday evening, Nov. 14, in Paradise Manor, Mt. Eden and Jerome avenues. In addition to dancing there will be a program of entertainment. Ott Mautner's Flying Dutchmen will supply the music. Proceeds will be used for the running of the West Bronx Socialist Forum beginning this Sunday morning, Nov. 8, in the Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison avenues, the speaker being Rev. Elliot White, and also for the wiping out of the \$250 deficit.

Annual Mutual Aid Dinner

On Thursday evening, November 12th, Ernest Jerome Hopkins, one of the investigators of the Wickersham Committee, author of "Our Lawless Police—A Study of Unlawful Enforcement of the Law"—will relate some of his experiences in gathering the material for the League's Annual Dinner. Leon Kestrov, Russian dramatic baritone, will entertain with Russian and Jewish folk songs. Chairman, Forest Bailey; Place, London Terrace, Grill, 405 West 23rd Street, (9th avenue elevated, or 7th avenue subway to 23rd, 7 feet); Time:

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Well, That's Over, Gott Sei Dank

THANK you, things are quite all right. On this gray dawn after election night.

That is to say they might be better and then again, so far as the New York City campaign goes they might be worse.

Norman Thomas, stirred, as he has seldom been before, by disgust at being eye-witness to the gang-bang on Socialist voters and workers is sick at heart at now at the results. But it is certain that as a result of his gallant campaign he received more than fifty thousand votes in the Borough of Manhattan alone and fifty thousand votes can't be sneezed at.

As for yours truly, 1,348 voters shut their collective eyes and voted for him for Alderman. As I recall it, last time about seven hundred did this. My undistinguished opponent got 10,703 votes this time, so you see I'm creeping up on them Democrats and some time around 1932 I ought to be able to trotter into the Aldermanic Chamber where I they have a soft chair reserved for Grandpop a parking space for his beard.

As we run we learn. A lot of our youngsters abouts had a good look at the ugly workings of the Tammany machine and I know that instead of scaring them it will stiffen their determination fight to the end to crush this rotten thing.

Well, here we are again with another election and our regular Autumnal jury duty to form. Everything is quite normal. The Columbian football team is beginning to lose its important games, we are getting manuscripts back from a lot of magazines, no one wants our new novel and this is the best of all possible worlds.

We hear that up at the Bronx Zoo, the wolf pack that they have on view there has gone in for steady howling, much to the perplexment of the keepers and the distress of the neighbors. Up to now, it appears, the wolves only howled a little and at irregular intervals, but now they have organized their howling so that they start at noon and end on a high crescendo at five o'clock sharp.

This doesn't perplex us at all. The wolf that has been on our door-step since October, 1929, has been putting in an eight-hour day at howling with frequent overtime. He must have taken a day off and gone up to the zoo to organize his fellow-workers.

As we sit in the jury box deliberating on the intricacies of damage suits started in 1929, our thoughts sometimes wander a bit in spite of the fascination of finding out just what Mr. Arkush said to Mr. Bittlebaum when the latter returned Mr. Arkush's goods. Such language. We try hard to let it shock us and we think of literature and we start making up pretty poor poems in our head.

We have made up one beginning: The fog-horns on the river-front upbay with heavy zooms."

But that's as far as we have gone and we will gladly present it to any of our readers who would like to furnish it up.

It does sound like the beginning of a prize poem "The Nation" and there might be some jack in it, but as usual we fall down where financial matters are concerned.

Mr. H. G. Wells is around these parts being interviewed and brightly pessimistic. He thinks we are all going to hell unless we join up with his open Conspiracy and he writes so copiously and so fully about the depression, that he's probably made more money this year than ever before in his life.

But that we are sore about that. We like H. G. Wells enormously. Lately, to be sure, he's bored us a bit by saying the same thing over and over again. We got the idea the first time, namely that we are in a hot race between catastrophe and education and that we should all get together and do something about it, but just the same, we admire the tremendous energy and earnestness of the man and wish there were more of him.

What does really bore us to the last marrow is "The American Mercury" and that's not because they have sent back any of our manuscripts, either. Mencken has so standardized the magazine that anyone who can read and write should be able to dictate a whole issue at one sitting. You just start by writing a piece about how it feels to be electrocuted for shooting your wife in Oklahoma. Then you say all what crooks lawyers are, or doctors, orologists according to the crowds you've mingled with lately and go on to describe the tactics of what Horse Harry Lee's cavalry at Appomattox, wherever they tacticked. Reaching for some more tough-drops, you dictate a snappy biography of an Arkansas evangelist, dash off an editorial complaining about prohibition, stick in a snooty book-review of the latest Methodist hymnal and there you are with your magazine all done ready to be bound up in a green cover and sold for fifty cents a copy to sophisticated sophomores in the De Witt Clinton High School.

We may now have a few minutes to devote to our reading and we are casting about for some good books. A biography of Clarence Darrow interests us, as we have a sneaking admiration for the man in spite of the fact that we think his philosophy, ethics and economics are the bunk.

We spoke once from the same platform with Darrow. We were talking to a bunch of students at Chicago and I was to have the first lick. Just before I started to speak, Darrow said in a loud whisper, "What the hell will I say? I haven't a thing to say to this crowd." I had no pertinent suggestions but when he stood up and hitched one gnarled hand into his gaiter strap, he drewled away for a whole hour and everyone enjoyed it. Clarence apparently most of all, as he was saying that everything that is, is wrong and that if there is any change it will be for the worse.

Soon we will be on our way to speak at Meriden, Conn., where we were once thrown into the hose-gang for reading the Constitution of the State of Connecticut out loud. The Supreme Court of that state finally decided that this was a harmless occupation and that we could speak freely in Connecticut. Now that we have that kind permission we are much in the state of mind that Darrow was before the Chicago speech. But we hope to be able to think up something between now and the tenth of November and we are looking forward to a reunion with our dear friends and courageous comrades, the Louis Krahls, by all odds the finest folks in Meriden.

McAlister Coleman.

The Prospects for Disarmament

Approach of League Conference, Finds Governments Far Behind Peoples in Desire for Reduction

By Emil Vandervelde (PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL)

Brussels, in October. WITH the approach of the date (February, 1932.) for the opening of the Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations there is an increase in manifestations showing, on the one hand the intense desire of the masses for a heavy cut in military expenses, and on the other the obstinate, sometimes cynical, sometimes hypocritical, resistance to such a cut being displayed in advance by the bourgeois governments not forcibly disarmed by the Treaty of Versailles.

There will be a preparatory conference on disarmament in Paris, Nov. 26 and 27, to which the Socialist International will send an observer and where there will be many French and German radicals, as well as some British pacifists, such as Lord Robert Cecil and our Comrade Baker, who was a particularly active and well informed collaborator of Arthur Henderson at Geneva.

In France and Belgium the sections of the Socialist International and of the International Federation of Trade Unions are organizing big demonstrations, especially along the frontiers of Belgium, France and Germany, at which the Socialists and trade unionists of these three countries affirm their common desire to put a ban on war and, by a joint effort, to deliver themselves from the intolerable burden of armaments.

But at the very moment when M. Briand (French Foreign Minister) and M. Laval (French Premier) went to Berlin, incidentally with empty hands, to confer with Chancellor Bruening and Foreign Minister Curtius, M. Maginot, French Minister of War, and M.

Leagues, French Minister of the Navy, held it timely to declare in public: first, that general disarmament is impossible of achievement; second, that France couldn't consent to any big reduction in armament unless she received fresh "guarantees of security" in addition to those already given to her by the pact of the League of Nations and the agreements of Locarno; third, that military needs are different in different countries, and that each nation should be allowed, in the free exercise of its sovereignty, to be the judge of the obligations it must face and of the importance of the military forces it should have at its disposition.

There is no need of pointing out that if the governments of France and the other countries are going to Geneva in that frame of mind they might better stay at home. And it is true that bourgeois circles are dominated more ever by a spirit of mutual distrust.

Thus Lord Robert Cecil correctly remarked at a meeting in Rome on Oct. 7 that as long as France and other countries feared an attack by Germany, these countries would insist upon maintaining the disparity in armaments, in spite of the promises made at Versailles; and that, on the other hand, as long as this disparity existed we should hear protest of a nationalist character which would intensify the international fears that create and maintain this disparity. This is a real vicious circle.

But is there a chance of breaking this vicious circle? Are there any reasons for hoping that the present distrust will be succeeded by a state of confi-

dence, without which the Conference on Disarmament is doomed to be a lamentable failure, not to be disguised by the cleverest reports?

The answer to these questions depends to a large degree upon what will be the result in the coming months of the pressure of the masses, will put upon the governments and also upon the influence democracy will have upon the governmental attitude in the leading countries.

From this latter point of view there is no use disguising the fact that the immediate prospects are not very favorable.

If it is apparent to everybody everywhere that capitalism is on the way to collapse, it doesn't look as if, from the political point of view, this main fact is favorable to democracy in the present combination of circumstances.

In Great Britain, with the tragic complicity of MacDonald and Snowden, the Labor Government has gone down under the blows of the financial interests. In Germany, the elections in Oldenburg, Brunswick, Hamburg and elsewhere show striking progress by the worst kind of negative and sterile reactionary elements at the expense of the parties of the center; and also of the Social Democracy, whose ranks have been seriously cut into. There is no use mentioning Italy. Even in France, where a few months ago the Socialists were marching from victory to victory in the local elections, our comrades aren't very optimistic as to the outcome of the general elections due next year. Of course they expect to gain votes. But they don't count upon

gaining many seats. The consensus is that in 1932 we shall see a Chamber with about 160 Socialists and near-Socialists (a gain of about 40) faced by a center bloc of about 300 deputies strong enough to govern without the extreme Right or the extreme Left.

All this wouldn't be very reassuring for the outcome of the Conference on Disarmament were it not for two factors, the importance of which must not be underestimated.

First of all there is the fact that there is a tremendous sentiment being manifested all over Europe, not merely in Socialist circles, for a real peace, not the armed peace which now costs the nations more than four billion dollars a year. And then comes the related fact that everywhere the budgets are in such a desperate state that even some militarists and nationalists, like M. Maginot, are obliged to admit that there are imperative economic reasons militating in favor of a substantial reduction of armaments.

This is why the Italian Fascists have suddenly and noisily become converted to a pacifism which causes them to demand the reduction of all military budgets, naturally with the idea of charging the upkeep of their 300,000 blackshirts to some other department.

This is why the governments of Germany and Austria finally have decided to cut down budgetary expenses plainly out of line with the numerical strength of their forcibly reduced armies.

This is why in Belgium, where the crisis has become very acute recently, the bourgeois coalition government has decided to do what the Socialists have been demand-

ing for months—abolish the credits forced through by the department of national defense for the purpose of transforming the country into a vast entrenched camp, at the cost of millions.

Will France, in her turn, abandon the spending of the billions called for by the program of naval construction and the building of fortifications along her Eastern frontier?

This depends, above all, upon her financial situation.

Thus far, in a world unsettled by the crisis, France has stood like an oasis of bourgeois prosperity, relatively speaking.

But when one talks with informed persons, in Paris and elsewhere, it looks as if this prosperity rests on a foundation of clay.

In spite of an exaggerated protection which materially boosts the cost of living, agriculture, especially in the wine-growing districts, is suffering seriously from the lack of a market. The fall of the pound sterling constitutes a formidable menace to the luxury industries making up the bulk of French exports to England. In general the French people appear to be about to learn, by means of a hard lesson, that international solidarity is something more than empty words and that, in the inter-relation of world economy, there is no such thing as political isolation, "sacred egoism," able to shield a nation against formidable shocks from without.

If this should lead the French governments to practice international solidarity more in the future than they have in the past and to depend, not upon military means, but upon political methods, to assure the security of their country in the security of all, this lesson, no matter how hard, will not be in vain.

Scanning the New Books

Edited by LAWRENCE ROGIN

Public Opinion and Constitutional Developments

Is the Constitution Rigid?

By Charles Solomon

THE central contention of this little book ("The Written Constitution and The Unwritten Attitude" by Charles Edward Merriam, Richard R. Smith, \$1.00.) is that the Constitution does not consist of mere words but of public attitudes and habits. That it is in a sense a state of mind and can be changed accordingly. The basic reason for opposition to change is to be found in the habits and attitudes of the American people. Says Prof. Merriam:

"Imagine a Socialist President, a Socialist Senate, a Socialist House, a Socialist Cabinet, and a Socialist Supreme Court, and what would be your guarantees against Socialism?" They lean upon a broken reed which regard a written constitution as a bulwark of property, says Prof. Merriam who supports the assertion that the Constitution was one of the most revolutionary documents of its day by regarding it "from the world point of view" at the time of its birth. Idol worshippers will find no consolation in this writer who says the Constitution was the work of political realists who were experimenting and not establishing finalities.

Anent the difficulty of amending the Constitution, Prof. Merriam states the original purpose was to protect the small states. However, difficulty in this respect, when the social and political balances require change, leads not to immobility but to violence. The great danger today is lack of mobility. The author contends many basic changes in our governmental struc-

ture have occurred under the Constitution—disturbance of the old balance of powers between state and nation, modification of the old balance between three great departments of government to the advantage of the courts and the executive against the legislative, the emergence of political parties.

The foregoing is set forth in the first of the three chapters of the book and from the title of which it derives its designation. The second chapter discusses the nation, state and city under the Constitution, pointing out the decline of the state, the dominance of the nation, and the emergence of the urban community. "Great rivals for position and prestige are now the city and the state."

Appropos the general recognition of corruption in our municipal governments, it is interesting to note Prof. Merriam's contention that while the states have the power of life and death over the cities, they have failed to meet their responsibilities. It is set forth as probable that the near future will witness a strong demand for the organization of certain metropolitan regions as independent states.

The third chapter deals with political parties under the Constitution, the author observing "the trend is strongly in the direction of presidential government, with the constant strengthening of the executive power."

The book comprises three lectures delivered this year at the University of Rochester, N. Y., under the James C. Cutler Foundation. The author is professor of political science at Chicago University.

way it just as readily turned to this party for support.

On the other hand it must not be assumed that Northern diplomacy was conducted in terms of sainthood in relation to Mexico. There was spying and counterespionage, intrigue and counterintrigue. Thomas Corwin had the reputation of a champion of Mexican rights against Southern aggressions in former years and he was chosen by Lincoln for the Mexican post but, to quote the author, "Corwin was just as greedy for Mexican territory as any Southerner had been in 1846. His whole solicitude for Mexico had been that it should not fall into Southern paws."

Into the study, of course, are woven other important factors, the attempt at an embargo, the ineffective Northern blockade of Southern ports, Confederate finances, the attempt of the Confederate government to bring about European intervention, the changing phases of British opinion and Napoleon's fishing in the troubled waters of Mexico. Those who are interested in these dramatic years of the destruction of an old social system in the United States will make no mistake in placing this book on their shelves. It is an invaluable study of the period.

JAMES ONEAL.

A New Pamphlet

We can add to the growing pamphlet literature of the times "War Resistance" by William Floyd (Arbitrator Press, \$20). This is a statement of the problem and stand of militant pacifism in the light of present day conditions. Mr. Floyd has written a well-rounded, simply told pamphlet in which he takes up the various arguments against pacifism, as well as the factors which are working toward war today. He writes in generalities for the most part so that the reader is not oppressed by figures. However, for the reader who becomes more interested in the problem there is an excellent bibliography at the back of the work.

Darrow's Essays

THE essay belongs to a more leisurely period. It does not fit into an age of crunching gears and strident ballyhoo. The essay is associated with an era in which there was less feverish hustle and fewer books of the month, week or day that simply "must" be or at least their titles memorized. Another reason for the wane of this most difficult form of writing is that embryonic essayists have turned to more remunerative fields.

It is almost forty years since a volume of essays appeared from the pen of Clarence Darrow. This collection bearing the title, "A Persian Pearl," has been reissued in attractive form by the Statford Press, of Boston. (2.00). The first essay from which the volume derives its title, is an appreciation of the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam. Walt Whitman and Robert Burns are two other subjects. The manner in which literature and art has been used by the ruling classes for their glorification is the theme

of "Realism in Literature and Art." "The Skeleton in the Closet" is a sane reflection on human behavior and a plea for tolerance in judging others.

A healthy pessimism runs through Darrow's essays which are written in simple, singing prose.

BEN BLUMENBERG.

Dr. Kenworthy and Lindeman To Speak For Pioneer Youth

Pioneer Youth of America is holding a dinner discussion on Wednesday evening, November 18, at the London Terrace, 405 West 23rd street, at seven o'clock. "The Child in Society—Rebel or Builder" will be the subject under discussion.

Dr. Marion E. Kenworthy, psychiatrist and lecturer, will talk on "The Making of the Rebel." Dr. Lois Hayden Meek, director of the Child Development Institute, will discuss "The Constructive Forces in Children's Experiences." Walter Ludwig will tell what Pioneer Youth has learned in the years of its existence, and Professor E. C. Lindeman of the New York School for Social Research will preside.

There will be no solicitation of funds in spite of the fact that Pioneer Youth keeps enlarging its scope each year. After the textile strike in 1930, Agnes Sailer of the City and Country School started a play group modelled

along the lines of modern experimental schools for children of the strikers in Marion, North Carolina. Last summer not only this group was continued but, under Miss Sailer's direction, three new groups were added in Draper, Spray and Highpoint, N. C., and one in Danville, Va.

In addition, Walter Ludwig, director of Pioneer Youth, pitched a camp for himself in the striking coal regions of West Virginia for a month last summer and worked with the strikers' children there. Of course, Pioneer Youth's camp at Kingston, N. Y., goes on and on and so do the summer play groups in the city.

Miss Perkins On "Dole"

Frances Perkins, New York Commissioner of Labor, will speak on "What Is Wrong With the British 'Dole'?" at the next monthly meeting of the Women's Trade Union League of New York at the League House, 247 Lexington avenue, Monday, November 9th, at 8:30 P. M. Miss Perkins has lately returned from a visit to England.

War Resisters Rally

The War Resisters will hold a rally under the auspices of the 126th Street Forum (N. E. corner Madison avenue), Sunday, Nov. 8, at 8:15 p. m. The following will address the gathering: Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughan, Dr. Henry Neuman, Rev. Elliot White and Dr. George Maychin Stockdale, director of the forum.

If You Were DICTATOR!

What Would You Do With

- Too Much Wheat and Not Enough Bread?
- Too Much Cotton and Not Enough Clothes?
- Too Many Bricks and Not Enough Houses?
- Too Much Drudgery and Not Enough Jobs?
- Too Much Goods and Not Enough Money?

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STUART CHASE tells how he would reconcile these paradoxes in the first of a series of programs entitled

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The Chatterbox

Old boy Heinrich Heine leans out from his celestial window and grins down with his delightful German accent: "Against the battalions of stupidity, the gods themselves contend in vain..."

And I just poke back with sophomoric sass, "It's O.K. with me, Heine, but who says we're gods..." And coming to think it over who says, the people who vote Tammany are necessarily stupid?

This last election was all any sane and well-informed human could expect. Tammany has the organization, wherein each man does his duty, makes a house to house canvass, convinces most of the folks that everything will be alright if they vote straight, early, and in some cases, often... that the Socialists are good fellows too, but why waste a vote, when there's no chance of electing them, and the thing is done.

We have done remarkably well, considering our own lack of resources, our struggling form of organization, and the serious responsibility that our message imposes on a people that is so burdened down with personal ills and woes, that this added and impersonal task of moulding the world nearer to justice and plenty for all looks terrific indeed.

The awakening comes slowly at best, unless a cataclysmic force uproots the established order, as the war did for Russia. The fact that the rest of Europe still keeps turning from side to side in throes of intestinal pain, fourteen years after the peace, without seriously disturbing the old order as yet, proves tragically how slowly the processes of change work, and despite cruel provocation toward the left.

If from now on, we can keep intensifying our efforts to teach Socialism to the people, and our results show up in steadily increasing votes over a wide area, as this last election evidences through the Assembly candidates, we will be on our way to real progress.

It is here, that I dare to resume with new variations on an old theme. We lack a unified leadership. Our leaders confuse the membership on such matters as trade union attitude, on Russia, on reform, on platforms, and the like. We, who do the yeoman service of the party are not very happy under such divisional obscurities. For the sake of the thousands who carry on the solid work of Socialist education, a clear, common and unified program must be evolved at once. And if there still remain differences of opinion let them be honestly kept, and decently expressed.

Or else, the membership will rise in delightful wrath, breath a anathema on all the contending personalities, and carry on without leaders... Because I know, honor and really am fond of most of our tried and toll-worn captains, my plea is for peace and good fellowship for the sake of the party.

This business of racketeering in the unions has been a source of much debate, intricate philosophizing, and deft fencing. There is nothing we Socialists can do about it all except expel such Socialist members as may be proven guilty of participating in union bummery.

In our general educational work, we speak for clean unionism, we endeavor to help all workers in their struggle for better standards of living, and in every way impress upon them the ethical standards we profess to follow in every phase of life.

Gangsterism, jobbery, and dishonest leadership are the direct results of the system we want to destroy. In a system where sustenance is so insecure, we Socialists ought to be clear-eyed enough to see, that only the exceptional idealist can remain immune to the madness that impels the individual to grab what he can when there is something to grab nearby.

Even the drastic Spartan code of Communism in Russia has failed numerous times to exact strict adherence to ethical conduct for the cause, from many of its trusted members. Capitalism gets into the bones early in life, and sticks there with stubborn persistence.

Right now, after I had just casually mentioned the fact of my interest in organizing a certain group of workers in a factory near Flushing, quite a few folks have called me up expressing their desire to assist me. I do not happen to know any of these men, and they certainly have no personal knowledge of me or else they might have not been so direct in their volunteering to help.

They do know that I do not happen to need a job at present. The chances are that they do need one. It would be eminently unjust to even suggest that these volunteers have only a job in mind. It is not just this angle that interests me now. Suppose, one of these lads is allowed in to help organize this shop. It would follow then that the workers would give him some sort of leadership retainer. And while his result of union making would redound well to our own principles of helping to organize the working class, the final verdict on Socialist influence would be rendered after a year or two of this comrade's conduct in office. Knowing my capitalistic system as I do, the thought gives me something of a chilly feeling.

So you see, folks, we are cursed sometimes if we do, and we're bawled out merrily if we don't. And again there is nothing we can do about it except to discipline ourselves more rigidly in the Socialist's code.

This racketeering virus has imbedded itself too deeply into the corpus Americanus. Possibly, this is one phase of the process of capitalistic self-destruction Papa Marx could not foresee. Not that there is anything new in this off-shoot of private ownership. Ages ago, the racketeering nobility had their private gunmen or silletto retinue to protect their interests. Fights, bumpings-off, rides, and all that were part of the game then as they are today. And what is more, they will continue to wax bigger and uglier in their being as the system goes down in decay. By what reason, except that of pure idealism, shall we as Socialists expect union leaders to desist from seeking Tammany Hall assistance when that can win strikes and prestige for them? By what process of purification should we proceed to cleanse union headquarters of strong arm henchmen, when these gangsters protect the leaders who fear to lose their jobs, or help to cattle the gunmen hired by employers in a struggle for better wages and hours of work?

Let us be fundamental in this as we are in all of our political professions. It will help to keep our work as Socialist educators effective. We have no more right or reason to attempt to reform existing unions that have gone to corruptive pot, than we have to save the unhealing sores of capitalism. We can however point out with this clear example now corroding the system is to labor even when it goes its way of raising a little into the sun.

I wouldn't fight a union racketeer any more than I would a political scavenger, except in the sense that both of these are part and parcel of one cruel whole, that must be destroyed.

The longer I ponder on this subject, the more thoroughly I swing to the ultimate left, in that nothing remedial can avail us or our cause of complete fundamental change. This bandying at the roadside, snipping down a crook here, or a scoundrel there is just a dead waste of precious time.

S. A. de Witt.

"East Wind" Blows High at the Manhattan

In Elmer Rice's Latest Play at the Plymouth



Constance McKay has one of the leading roles in "Counsellor-at-Law," the new play by Elmer Rice, which stars Paul Muni.

result is a simpler presentation than any other of O'Neill's full-length plays affords.

While some of the technical terms of the psychanalysts are drawn from the very story O'Neill retells, the Greeks had never read Freud; and the present version of the Electra tale probes for motives deeper and more devious than earlier treatments. We see in the son and the daughter elements of the father and the mother recurring; we watch hidden strains of jealousy behind, perhaps prompting, the rigid virtue of the girl; we have a mad flash of conscious incestuousness in the tormented boy. (The Greek acts of incest were largely accidental, and unwitting). Indeed, under an apparent compulsion to find complexity in every person, O'Neill, in his greatest deviation from the older tale, makes Clytemnestra's lover (the mother's paramour and fellow-murderer) a despised relative of the old general, drawn to the wife as greatly for vengeance as for love! These complications, on the whole, are less argumentatively presented than often with O'Neill; their revelation grows out of the successive struggles between the personalities, and seems the natural progression of the drama.

It must be added, however, that the strain of these grim conflicts, these murders and suicides, and even more of the mental tortures that precede them, pierce Ossa upon Pelion in the beholder's mind. The consummate playing of Alla Nazimova, whose face at every moment (whether she hold the center-stage, or wait in the background) shows the many-sided struggle in her mind; the forbidding stern strength Alice Brady puts into the daughter's role; and Earle Larimore's tenderness as the weaker but equally tormented son—to mention but these of the excellent Guild cast—combine to press with almost overpowering cumulation on the overborne listeners.

It is in reflecting on this final impression that reservations creep in, about "the greatest American play." Where is that "purging of these emotions" Aristotle tells us to expect? Where are the lift and surge of poetry, the exaltation that springs of contact with great art? An intellectual recognition there is, of such probing, of human nature—granting the start—to inevitable ends; but with it an emotional heaviness; a feeling that one has watched the approach of doom to a family one knows quite well, but knows as a group of unique individuals; the universal somehow escapes. These humans fail to shadow forth humanity, Simonides (to give O'Neill a Roland) says: that one should never be wholly in earnest: it is the whole-souled seriousness of O'Neill that most straitly binds him; most fully holds him from the wider sympathy that humor, which demands a sense of proportion, helps to bring; and bars him—as yet—from accolade as one of the world's great (though doubtless "our greatest") playwrights.

The Famous Producer of a Smash Hit Musical



George White's annual gift to Broadway is the popular edition of his "Scandals" which again is on view at the Apollo Theatre. Rudy Vallee, Ethel Merman, The Howard Brothers, Everett Marshall and Ray Bolger have the principal roles in an extravaganza worth seeing.

"The Yellow Ticket" at Fox B'klyn—Abe Lyman Band and New Fanchon Marco Reue on Stage

The Fox Brooklyn Theatre's program abounds with personalities this week, with Lionel Barrymore and Elissa Landi on the screen, and Abe Lyman, Ron and Don, and Charles Irwin heading the flesh entertainment.

Lionel Barrymore, who recently gained added laurels in "A Free Soul" and "Guilty Hands," plays the part of the insidious head of Czarski Russian Secret Police in Raoul Walsh's film "The Yellow Ticket." Into his hateful web of intrigue, comes Elissa Landi. Through circumstances beyond her control, she is forced into this situation and is defenceless against his brutal treatment. However, her love for Laurence Olivier, an English journalist, is great enough to make her defy law and face exile in order to see happiness.

Abe Lyman chooses for this week's band numbers, three of the most popular songs of today and presents them with new and original arrangements.

Vladimir Horowitz, Russian Pianist, to Give Three Carnegie Hall Concerts

Vladimir Horowitz, the sensational twenty-seven year old Russian pianist, returned Thursday, October 28, on the S. S. Europa for his fifth successive American tour. He will remain here until April 1 and will play forty concerts, including appearances as soloist with the Cleveland Orchestra, with which his tour opens on November 5 and 7 and with the Detroit, Philadelphia, and St. Louis Symphony Orchestras.

In New York City Horowitz will give a subscription series of three Carnegie Hall concerts. The first, on November 13, will be drawn from works of Slavic composers and will include a Chopin Ballade, Polka-maize, Barcarolle, and Scherzo, two Etudes, Tableaux of Rachmaninoff, Prokofiev's Sonata No. 3, four Mazurkas of Szymanowski, and Stravinsky's "Petrouchka."

Horowitz is an artist whose work is his story. His sensational success—and the adjective is used only because it is literally true—came out of his music and of nothing else. His career has been the logical development of an extraordinary gift and he has made his name world-famous on sheer ability.

Born October 1, 1904, in Kieff, Russia, of an artistic family, Horowitz studied first with his mother, then with Serge Tarnowsky, later with Felix Blumenfeld. The initial years of his professional life were spent giving concerts in Russia. In 1925 he burst on the Continent like a meteor. On January 12, 1928 with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, he made a spectacular American debut. Horowitz returned January 1, 1929, for his second season. He played forty-six engagements in eighty-one days. During 1929-30, his third season here, Horowitz played a full season of seventy-seven dates, including his first visit to the Pacific Coast. No longer a novelty, still a sensation, Horowitz came back once more last January, once more found the country eagerly awaiting him, once more played as often as his time.

Distinguished British Actor



Last night, at the Broadhurst, Raymond Massey made his first American appearance in Norman Bel Gedde's production of "Hamlet."

Helen Twelvetrees Scores Again in "Bad Company" at Mayfair

Helen Twelvetrees again graces the screen at the RKO Mayfair Theatre this time in "Bad Company" from the original story by Jack Lait. Ricardo Cortez, John Garrick, Harry Carey, Paul Hurst, Kenneth Thomson are a few of the splendid cast that surrounds the RKO-Pathé star in her newest production.

The story is timely and vibrant, concerning the problems of a beautiful, well-educated young woman in love with a young lawyer whose business operations are what might

In New Film at the Broadway Theatre



Marjorie Rambeau, in "Left Over Ladies," the new feature on the big bill at Moss' Broadway Theatre. The new edition of Varieties contains well-known stage names.

A Reign of Terror Broken by A Night of Love

"The RULING VOICE"

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The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

BLOWING STRONG

"EAST WIND." A musical play by Oscar Hammerstein 2nd and Frank Mandel. Music by Sigmund Romberg. At the Manhattan.

FOLLOWING the trend, those responsible for "East Wind" have given us something more solid than the musical comedy of the past several seasons: a play with a plot that is more than a pretext for song and dance, and music that is more than an irrelevant—however delightful interruption. The plot of "East Wind" is a familiar tale of an older brother trying to bolster up a young wayward, a sort of Cyrano with a happy ending. The music is constant and excellent, rippling through the evening in snatches and recaptures, as well as in woven songs. And it is sung by singers of rich, sweet voices, especially Charlotte Lansing and J. Harold Murray, and by a competent chorus. The lavish settings, both in Indo-China and in Paris, are pleasing; and the antics of Joe Penner (with his Hoover-Hoover drops—good even if he'd spell them huu-huu—that take the guts out of a man) are entertaining. "East Wind," while not a gale of laughter, breezes gaily along.

AN AMERICAN TRILOGY "MOURNING BECOMES ELECTRA." A trilogy by Eugene O'Neill. At the Guild.

To say that "Mourning Becomes Electra" is O'Neill's best play is so near to calling it the greatest American drama as to give one pause before pronouncing the judgment. Yet the opinion persists. From five to eleven-thirty, any night at the Guild, there is a driving persistence, an inevitability, an implacable march of the "powers that shape our course, that holds the audience tense until the known end. As in the Greek tragedies, the end is fore-known; the steps this story is to take are evident long before

the characters are led to take them. More than any other American play, this tragedy holds us in poised expectancy, sharing the feelings of the persons of the tale, but also watching the currents that bear them—to which in our own lives we are endlessly blind.

The story of the three plays is a simple and continuous one, borrowed directly from the Greek, as the name in the title tells. A leader in the war (the Civil, not the Trojan, War) comes home to a faithless wife, who poisons his mind. The son and the daughter, aware of the mother's crimes, kill her lover and drive her to suicide. Remorse torments the son till he, too, slays himself; the daughter is doomed to live on with her grim memories. Three sentences suffice for the plots of the three plays—and therein is the secret of O'Neill's having surpassed his earlier work. The piled complexity of "Strange Interlude" is dispensed with; discarded are the overwrought symbols of "Dynamo." O'Neill has always been most successful in his revelation of character in his analysis, his psychological probing; always forget unerring in his construction, in the weaving of these figures into a coherent and unified plot. In "Mourning Becomes Electra" the structure is provided for him; he follows the Greek tale in its essential movement, the modified details slipping readily into the form; he need not trouble himself about the growth of the story, and can give all his attention to what he does best, the portrayal of the inner strife of the characters. The

GILBERT MILLER presents "The Sex Fable"

A Comedy by EDOUARD BOURDET with MRS. PATRICK CAMPBELL RONALD SQUIRE

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A New play by Jeffrey Dell with CHARLES LAUGHTON

"The most remarkable character actor New York has been privileged to see in years."

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LYCEUM Theatre, 43 St. E. of B'way. Evening at 8:30

Mat. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

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Additional Music by Richard Myers; Staged by Edward C. Lilley;

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Horne, George Carr, Herbert Ross, and a distinguished cast.

Designed and Directed by NORMAN BEL GEDDES

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with Phoebe Adrianne Stephenson Foster Allen

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

"A normal level-headed, distinguished and entertaining performance, one of the better and sadder dramas of the season."

—Percy Hammond, Herald Tribune.

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with Rudy VALLEE Ethel MERMAN

Willie & Eugene HOWARD

Everett MARSHALL Ray BOLGER

GALE QUADRUPLES THE MOST BEAUTIFUL SHOW GIRLS ON THE STAGE

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Willie & Eugene HOWARD

Everett MARSHALL Ray BOLGER

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Socialist News Reported From Many States

Peace Poster Available for Branch Headquarters—College Group

DISARMAMENT POSTERS READY
All local, branch and sympathetic organizations interested in disarmament are urged to get sample copies of the six posters issued by the National Council for the Prevention of War, 532 7th street, N. W. Washington, D. C. The posters, should appear in all meeting halls, lodges, unions, headquarters and every place else where workers can see them and become interested in this international work.

Arizona
Lester Woolver, secretary at Yuma, reports that the local will begin regular literature distribution in working class sections.

Connecticut
Local Newark, organized last February, now has 70 members. The city election, organized by this local, polled an increase of 300 per cent over the vote for the state ticket in 1930.

Illinois
The University of Chicago Socialist Club has raised a fund to put copies of *The New Leader* and other Socialist periodicals in the general library and in the libraries of each of the residence halls.

Indiana
Indiana is now nominating for state party officers and committees, much interest is being shown, which we consider a very encouraging sign of renewed activity.

Michigan
The Socialist party of Michigan will hold a state conference Nov. 14 at 69 Erskine street, Detroit. All members in the state should attend.

Ohio
Sidney Yellen, state secretary, is forming a Cleveland organization for the defense and relief of the Kentucky miners. The party voted to cooperate

N. Y. Socialists Turn to Task Of Organizing

National Referendum Ballot Out—Notes from the Branches

New York City
THE campaign in the five counties of New York City was an unusually good one. Although the elections were of a local character with the exception of Borough President of Manhattan, few county officers, Kings and Queens Counties, the campaign conducted by the Socialist party was much more widespread and intensive than in previous years. There was no concentration in any county or district, and this gave the branches the opportunity of working their own territory to the best of their efforts. An active campaign was carried on in 50 out of the 63 Assembly Districts in New York City. This consisted of numerous street and hall meetings, canvassing, and about 100,000 leaflets were printed and distributed from house to house in the campaign of 1930. The result is obvious in the fact that there was a steady gain of membership throughout the city for every branch.

Brooklyn
KINGS COUNTY FORM.—The event of the year in Kings County was the inauguration of this Sunday evening, Nov. 8, at 8:30 p. m., in the Brooklyn Academy of Music. This will be the opening of the Brooklyn County, in Kings County, in Brooklyn. These sessions will be held every Sunday evening in the Academy of Music. The topic for the first debate is "Capitalism and Socialism." The debaters are Charles Solomon and Congressman Hamilton Fish. Tickets are for sale at the various party offices and branches.

Queens
QUEENS COUNTY FORM.—A meeting will be held on Tuesday, Nov. 10, in the Paradise Manor, Mt. Eden and Jerome avenues, at 8:30 p. m.

Richmond
5th A. D.—A meeting will be held on Tuesday, Nov. 10, at 8:30 p. m., in the Hollywood Gardens, 903 Prospect street, in Queens County. The program and educational work will be taken up. A report of the campaign committee will be rendered.

Westchester
BROOKLYN
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Referendum.—The State Secretary, J. J. McLaughlin, reminds party members that votes on national referendum A should be filed with local or branch secretaries by Nov. 20. All good-standing members are entitled to vote. Members are in good standing if they are paid up within three months of the filing of their votes. Secretaries should refuse to accept ballots from members who are not in good standing.

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ASTORIA.—On Friday evening, Nov. 6, a meeting of the Astoria branch will be held in the Bohemian Hall at Woolsey and Second streets, at 8:30 p. m. Immediately following the brief business session, Herbert M. Merrill, former Socialist Assemblyman from Schenectady and at present state secretary of the Socialist party in New York, will speak on "Socialism and Inventions." Comrade Merrill is well acquainted with the late Charles Schenectady and familiar with the process of invention of the General Electric plant in Schenectady. His talk will prove interesting and instructive. The branch is also engaged in the plan of a second annual entertainment and dance to be held on Friday, Nov. 20, at 8:30 p. m., in the Bohemian Hall. Norman Thomas has promised to give a brief talk. August Classes and others will assist in the entertainment. There will be dancing, music by Otto Mautner's orchestra.

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ALHAMBRA-CORONA.—A bridge party will be held on Saturday, Nov. 7, at 8 p. m., in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Goodwin, 8418 54th street. Entertainment will be arranged for the benefit of the branch. Admission 50 cents. Refreshments will be served. A meeting of the branch will be held on Thursday evening, Nov. 12, at 8:30 p. m., in the home of Mrs. Phillips, 95-14 40th road, Elmhurst, near Roosevelt and Junction avenues.

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CLOTHING CUTTERS UNION
A. O. W. of A. Local "Big Four" 40-42 W. 17th Street; Chelsea 3-4903. Regular meetings every Friday at 210 East Fifth Street. Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office, Louis Feinberg, Secretary-Treasurer.

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UNION DIRECTORY

BONNAR EMBROIDERY UNION
Local 98, L. L. U. of A., 18th St. Algonquin 4-357-3558. Executive Board meets every Tuesday night in the office of the Union 2 L. President William M. M. Secretary-Treasurer.

BRICKLAYERS UNION
LOCAL NO. 10 J. M. E. and Headquarters Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street, New York, N. Y. Meetings every Saturday from 9 A. M. to 11 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening, Charles Pfingst, Sec'y.

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LOCAL NO. 10, L. L. U. of A.
Office, 109 W. 48th St.; Telephone WU 8-0111. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union, Maurice J. Jacobs, President; Sammie Perimeter, Manager; Sec'y: Morris W. Jacobs, Chairman of Exec. Board; Philip Oretsky, A. Manager.

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"East Wind" Blows High at the Manhattan

In Elmer Rice's Latest Play at the Plymouth



Constance McKay has one of the leading roles in "Counselor-at-Law," the new play by Elmer Rice, which stars Paul Muni.

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

BLOWING STRONG

"EAST WIND." A musical play by Oscar Hammerstein 2nd and Frank Mandel. Music by Sigmund Romberg. At the Manhattan.

FOLLOWING the trend, those responsible for "East Wind" have given us something more solid than the musicals: a play with a plot that is more than a pretext for song and dance, and music that is more than an irrelevant—however delightful interruption. The plot of "East Wind" is a familiar tale of an older brother trying to bolster up a young wastrel, a sort of Cyrano with a happy ending. The music is constant and excellent, rippling through the evening in snatches and recaptures, as well as in woken songs. And it is sung by singers of rich, sweet voices, especially Charlotte Lansang and J. Harold Murray; and by a competent chorus. The lavish settings, both in Indo-China and in Paris, are pleasing; and the antics of Joe Penner (with his Hoover-Hoover drops—good even if he'd spell them huva-huva—that take the guts out of a man) are entertaining. "East Wind," while not a gale of laughter, breezes gaily along.

AN AMERICAN TRILOGY

"MOURNING BECOMES ELECTRA." A trilogy by Eugene O'Neill. At the Guild.

To say that "Mourning Becomes Electra" is O'Neill's best play is so near to calling it the greatest American drama as to give one pause before pronouncing the judgment. Yet the opinion persists. From five to eleven-thirty, any night at the Guild, there is a driving persistence, an inevitability, an implacable march of the powers that shape our course, that holds the audience tense until the known end. As in the Greek tragedies, the end is fore-known; the steps this story is to take are evident long before

the characters are led to take them. More than any other American play, this tragedy holds us in poised expectancy, sharing the feelings of the persons of the tale, but also watching the currents that bear them—to which in our own lives we are endlessly blind.

The story of the three plays is a simple and continuous one, borrowed directly from the Greek, as the name in the title tells. A leader in the war (the Civil, not the Trojan, War) comes home to a faithless wife, who poisons him. The son and the daughter, aware of the mother's crimes, kill her lover and drive her to suicide. Remorse torments the son till he, too, slays himself; the daughter is doomed to live on with her grim memories. Three sentences suffice for the plots of the three plays—and therein lies the secret of O'Neill's having surpassed his earlier work. The piled complexity of "Strange Interlude" is dispensed with; discarded are the overwrought symbols of "Dynamo." O'Neill has always been most successful in his revelation of character; in his analysis, his psychological probing; always least unerring in his construction, in the weaving of these figures into a coherent and unified plot. In "Mourning Becomes Electra" the structure is provided for him; he follows the Greek tale in its essential movement, the modified details slipping readily into the form; he need not trouble himself about the growth of the story, and can give all his attention to what he does best, the portrayal of the inner strife of the characters. The

result is a simpler presentation than any other of O'Neill's full-length plays affords.

While some of the technical terms of the psychanalysts are drawn from the very story O'Neill retells, the Greeks had never read Freud; and the present version of the Electra tale probes for motives deeper and more devious than earlier treatments. We see in the son and the daughter elements of the father and the mother recurring; we watch hidden strains of jealousy behind, perhaps prompting, the rigid virtue of the girl; we have a mad flash of conscious incestuousness in the tormented boy. (The Greek acts of incest were largely accidental, and unwitting.) Indeed, under an apparent compulsion to find complexity in every person, O'Neill, in his greatest deviation from the old tale, makes Clytemnestra's lover (the mother's paramour and fellow-murderer) a despised relative of the old general, drawn to the wife as greatly for vengeance as for love! These complications, on the whole, are less argumentatively presented than often with O'Neill; their revelation grows out of the successive struggles between the personalities, and seems the natural progression of the drama.

It must be added, however, that the strain of these grim conflicts, these murders and suicides, and even more of the mental tortures that precede them, pills Ossa upon Pelion in the beholder's mind. The consummate playing of Alla Nazimova, whose face at every moment (whether she hold the center-stage or wait in the background) shows the many-sided struggle in her mind; the forbidding stern strength Alice Brady puts into the daughter's role; and Earle Larimore's tenderness as the weaker but equally tormented son—to mention but these of the excellent Guild cast—combine to press with almost overpowering cumulation on the overborne listeners.

It is in reflecting on this final impression that reservations creep in, about "the greatest American play." Where is that "purging of these emotions" Aristotle tells us to expect? Where are the lift and surge of poetry, the exaltation that springs of contact with great art? An intellectual recognition there is, of such probing, of human borne—granting the start—to inevitable ends; but with it an emotional heaviness: a feeling that one has watched the approach of doom to a family one knows quite well, but knows as a group of unique individuals; the universal somehow escapes. These humans fail to shadow forth humanity. Simonides (to give O'Neill a Roland) says that one should never be wholly in earnest; it is the whole-souled seriousness of O'Neill that most straitly binds him; most fully binds him from the wider sympathy that humor, which demands a sense of proportion, helps to bring; and bars him as yet—from accolade as one of the world's great (though doubtless "our greatest") playwrights.

The Famous Producer of a Smash Hit Musical



George White's annual gift to Broadway is the popular edition of his "Scandals" which again is on view at the Apollo Theatre. Rudy Vallee, Ethel Merman, The Howard Brothers, Everett Marshall and Ray Bolger have the principal roles in an extravaganza worth seeing.

"The Yellow Ticket" at Fox B'klyn—Abe Lyman Band and New Fanchon Marco Revue on Stage

The Fox Brooklyn Theatre's program abounds with personalities this week, with Lionel Barrymore and Elissa Landi on the screen, and Abe Lyman, Ron and Don, and Charles Irwin heading the flesh entertainment.

Lionel Barrymore, who recently gained added laurels in "A Free Soul" and "Guilty Hands," plays the part of the insidious head of Czarist Russian Secret Police in Raoul Waller's film "The Yellow Ticket." Into his hateful web of intrigue, comes Elissa Landi. Through circumstances beyond her control, she is forced into this situation and is defenseless against his brutal treatment. However, her love for Laurence Olivier, an English journalist, is great enough to make her defy law and face exile in order to see happiness.

Abe Lyman chooses for this week's band numbers, three of the most popular songs of today and presents them with new and original arrangements.

"Opera Ball," German Picture Opens New Foreign Season at the Little Carnegie Play

Leo Brecher, director of the Little Carnegie Playhouse, inaugurates the new season of German films at that theatre with "Opera Ball," a talking film with incidental music, woven around the social life of Vienna. This is the first of the series of productions which Mr. Brecher arranged to exhibit and distribute during his visit to the European film capitals last summer.

"Opera Ball" is distinguished in many respects from any of the foreign language films which have already been presented here. It is the first foreign-made picture of the sophisticated drawing-room variety, developed with a lightness of technique and designed to reflect the atmosphere and conditions in modern society.

Vladimir Horowitz, Russian Pianist, to Give Three Carnegie Hall Concerts

Vladimir Horowitz, the sensational twenty-seven year old Russian pianist, returned Thursday, October 28, on the S. S. Europa for his fifth successive American tour. He will remain here until April 1 and will play forty concerts, including appearances as soloist with the Cleveland Orchestra, with which his tour opens on November 3 and 7 and with the Detroit, Philadelphia, and St. Louis Symphony Orchestras.

In New York City Horowitz will give a subscription series of three Carnegie Hall concerts. The first, on November 12, will be drawn from works of Slavic composers and will include a Chopin Ballade, Polonaise, Barcarolle, and Scherzo, two Etudes, Tableaux of Rachmaninoff, Prokofiev's Sonata No. 3, four Mazurkas of Szymanowski, and Stravinsky's "Petrouchka."

Horowitz is an artist whose work is his story. His sensational success—and the adjective is used only because it is literally true—came out of his music and of nothing else. His career has been the logical development of an extraordinary gift and he has made his name world-famous on sheer ability.

Born October 1, 1904, in Kieff, Russia, of an artistic family, Horowitz studied first with his mother, then with Serge Tarnowsky, later with Felix Blumenfeld. The initial years of his professional life were spent giving concerts in Russia. In 1925 he burst on the Continent like a meteor. On January 12, 1928 with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, he made a spectacular American debut. Horowitz returned January 1, 1929, for his second season. He played forty-six engagements in eighty-one days. During 1929-30, his third season here, Horowitz played a full season of seventy-seven dates, including his first visit to the Pacific Coast. No longer a novelty, still a sensation, Horowitz came back once more last January, once more found the country eagerly awaiting him, once more played as often as his time

Distinguished, British Actor



Last night, at the Broadhurst, Raymond Massey made his first American appearance in Norman Bel Gedde's production of "Hamlet."

Helen Twelvetrees Scores Again in "Bad Company" at Mayfair

Helen Twelvetrees again graces the screen at the RKO Mayfair Theatre this time in "Bad Company" from the original story by Jack Lait. Ricardo Cortez, John Garrick, Harry Carey, Paul Hurst, Kenneth Thomson are a few of the splendid cast that surrounds the RKO-Pathé star in her newest production.

The story is timely and vibrant, concerning the problems of a beautiful, well-educated young woman in love with a young lawyer whose business operations are what might

In New Film at the Broadway Theatre



Marjorie Rambeau, in "Left Over Ladies," the new feature on the big bill at Moss' Broadway Theatre. The new edition of Varieties contains well-known stage names,

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Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Publishing Association, People's House, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
One Year Postpaid in the United States, \$2.00
Six Months Postpaid in the United States, \$1.00
One Year to Canada, \$3.00; to other Foreign Countries \$3.00

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.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1931

Quack Physicians

WE occasionally find something in a conservative editorial with which we agree but as a rule we accompany the writer a part of the way and when he stops we go on to the end of the road. When the New York Times asserts that most of our top hats when considering the industrial depression assume an "indefinable bedside manner" and "approach the patient as physicians called upon to minister to a mind diseased," we agree. We may also agree that "the economic doctors have so often before been mistaken, and seen the patient go from bad to worse under their treatment, that they necessarily have become modest in their diagnosis and prescriptions. If today they appear a little hesitant and even timid, it is because experience has taught them the folly of being cocksure."

But if we called in physicians in an ordinary case of human illness and reaped the same results we would decide that they are quacks and tell them to get out and stay out. The patient might have a feeble mind but that would be no justification for paying fees to quacks.

Striking in the Dark

IN the elections last Tuesday it is evident that the Democrats have made general gains throughout the country. They now have a plurality of two in the lower house of Congress and if they lose a special election for a New Jersey seat the organization of the House will depend upon the vote of one Farmer-Laborite.

In the elections in the North the Democrats more and more become identified with the criminal and grafting elements of the cities although the Republicans in some cities have assumed the same role. In New York City the sweep of Tammany has an elemental force despite all the disclosures of thievery and which again show that the masses will not be much moved to resentment because of it.

In general elections for the past thirty years the masses have acted almost like cattle penned in an enclosure and in charge of rival cattlemen seeking control of the herd. They flock to one end of the enclosure and are herded by one driver and then there is a stampede to the other end where another driver waits to take charge. Eleven years ago in the national election the Democrats suffered a terrific defeat and now the herd has drifted back with the prospect of Democratic control of Congress.

This is not rational voting, and action like this would not be followed by the same voters in any other field of activity. For example, if one of these voters were swindled by a grocer, then transferred his custom to another and was also swindled, he would not go back to the first grocer, then to the second, and so on indefinitely. We are still a nation of political illiterates, blind masses striking in the dark.

Armistice Day

NEXT Wednesday is the thirteenth anniversary of the end of the World War which was to "make the world safe for democracy." Each return of the anniversary has mocked the slogans of the statesmen who sent millions to their death in the trenches and this anniversary is more of a

mockery than any other. Millions of the soldiers who survived the struggle today have no jobs and the capitalism for which they unwittingly fought is stricken all over the world.

Much water has passed under the bridge since November 11, 1918. No intelligent person today believes that the Allies were holy innocents and that the Central Powers were criminals. They were all tarred with the same pitch. They were all after territory, trade, investments, plunder and imperialist dominion. The archives of most of the Powers have yielded their dirty secrets and today intelligent people know that millions of workers were sent to their death to fertilize the fortunes of the ruling classes in all the warring nations.

To say this in this country thirteen years ago was to invite savage prison sentences. There were many great powers then but official lying was the greatest power. The statesmen with inside knowledge were all liars and knew that they were liars. For that reason the truth was jailed. Socialists in this country did not have all of the facts but they reasoned from Socialist premises and drew correct conclusions. We paid then. Hundreds of millions who believed the liars are paying the penalty now.

A new generation has arrived and it is our job to teach the masses that the slogans of another war will prove to be no different from the slogans of thirteen years ago. There will be no armistice for Socialists to celebrate 'till capitalism itself has disappeared.

The Miners' Hell

THE same newspapers that reported the election returns on Wednesday reported that the families of miners in Kentucky and West Virginia are starving. The children are especially in need and many mothers have made clothing for their children out of flour sacks and yet many of them do not have a change of clothing. This hideous situation is accompanied with a contradiction that simply emphasizes the indictment of capitalism. Farmers have raised foodstuffs which they cannot sell for a price to enable them to live and they are asked to give to the miners' families.

Still another contrast. In one region of this frightful misery, at Harlan, Ky., a strike of the miners is crushed with a ruthlessness not exceeded by the czars of Nicholas in the days when the Romanoffs ruled old Russia. Private thugs of the mine owners rule the region. Miners who have lived there for a decade have been deported. A group of miners are charged with murder. Public officials have used their power as though they were chosen by the coal companies. Workers are treated like dogs and endure a slavery as real as that which chained black workers to the plantations of the South for two hundred years.

Here is a foul ulcer that crosses three states, Kentucky, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania. If these miners lived in the caves of our hairy ancestors a hundred thousand years ago they would be better off. They would at least enjoy the soft furs of the animals they killed, eat of the flourishing fruits of the forests and the plains, enjoy the simple amusements of the childhood of the race, and never know the hell that overwhelms the ragged and the starving under the "starry banner of freedom." American capitalism has a terrible indictment to answer at the bar of history.

IN A NUTSHELL

By J. O.

The Smith Democracy
If Andy Jackson were to return from his tomb to attend a reunion of the chiefs of the Democratic Party he would be unable to recognize it. The Jacksonian Democracy that led small farmers and mechanics to victory has become the kept woman of the upper class it fought. Raskob is the banker of the strumpet and Al Smith is her leading barker. Smith gave the bawdy house of Tammany Hall his blessing a few days before the election and also declared that "the working class must forever face breadlines while Raskob has employed a syndicate to shake down bankers and capitalists for the campaign fund next year."

The Worse The Better
An old infantile disease of the Socialist movement is the belief that "the worse the better for Socialism." That is, push the workers down to low depths of misery and they will prove a fertile ground for Socialist agitation. There is no evidence to support this. The worst slum sections of larger cities are generally supporters of capitalist reaction in politics. Unfortunate illiterates who live in these sections, as Marx once put it, generally serve "reactionary intrigue." Workers must have a general sense of economic grievance to respond to Socialist agitation but they can be pushed so low in the scale of life that in politics they will serve as shock troops of dirty politicians. In a period of social revolution they may serve some intriguing adventurer whose mastery of the art of democracy will appeal to those lacking class consciousness and who have been trained in the various methods of stealing elections.

Marxism in England
When the defeat of the British Labor Party became known in Germany the Fascist organs hailed it as the defeat of Marxism. Even the German "liberal" publications pointed out that this was absurd. It is a curious fact that although Marx lived for many years in London, did most of his important literary work there, and was one of the leading figures in the organization of the First International, Marxism has had little influence on the British Labor and Socialist movement. It has practically none in the Labor Party and very little even in the I. L. P. Even Keir Hardie, the most inspiring of the British Socialists and one who never abandoned the working class point of view in all his work was not a Marxist. However, had Hardie lived into the modern period it is probable that his influence would have contributed much to avoiding many mistakes made by our British comrades. What Marxism there was in England was confined to the small Social Democratic Federation, which was never able to translate its Marxism into a living working class movement. Its sectarianism in this respect evoked the criticism of Engels on a number of occasions.

The plight of the Labor party was furthermore amply aggravated by the defection of its nominal support, the Daily Worker. The Daily Worker, under the guise of a "national government" and his aggressive opposition to his former party and comrades probably contributed more heavily to the demoralization of the Labor party forces than any other single factor.

When I first characterized MacDonald's action in forming the "national government" as one of betrayal to the working class, some of my friends in the Socialist party charged me with unjust harshness of judgment. Yet, I do not know of a single similar in-

The Siamese Twins



The Disaster in Britain

The Defeat of Labor and Its Lessons for Socialists

By Morris Hillquit

FROM the point of view of international Socialism the recent British election was not a mere defeat but a downright disaster. The overwhelming Tory landslide will encourage political reaction and blatant Fascism everywhere and retard the progress of the Socialist and Labor movement for some time to come.

From the convenient vantage point of retrospective analysis several causes suggest themselves to account for the collapse of the Labor vote.

England was in a panic. On the heels of the long and severe business depression and fatally growing unemployment came the threat of financial breakdown, inflation of currency and general misery and suffering. The government in power, which happened to be the Labor government, was with the usual shortsighted reasoning of the masses, held responsible for the disastrous economic conditions. It was unfortunate that the Labor party should have come into power just as the world-wide depression began to set in. It was still more unfortunate that its leadership should have clung to the hollow power and tried to save the cracking capitalist order from the fatal results of its own inherent vices.

If the Labor government would have taken the same stand in Parliament two years ago as the Labor party has taken in its last electoral campaign, it would have suffered a decisive Parliamentary defeat and would have scored a lasting victory. The Labor government would have fallen and a Tory government would have been called upon to steer the precarious ship of capitalist state through the rocks and shoals of the industrial crisis. And if the election had taken place two years after a Tory administration under such conditions the chances are that it would have resulted in a landslide for Socialism and Labor instead of one for Toryism and reaction.

The capitalist interests were fully aware of their advantage and knew how to exploit it to the full extent. Practically the whole press of the country and all public and governmental organs united in the frantic cry "The country is in danger" and in a hysterical appeal to the "patriotism" of the voters. Coolly, deliberately and skillfully they created a psychological and political atmosphere of depression, fear and mob agitation similar to that engendered by war. It was this haze and quality of atmosphere in which the campaign was conducted and the votes were cast.

The British Labor party has not been best used. It will recover, probably within a short time. Experience and economic self-interest will enlighten the masses of the workers from their false illusions as soon as the latter will reveal themselves in their true color. But the tragic defeat of October 27, 1931, will be even more tragic if the Socialists of England and of the world will not learn some of its lessons, particularly those relating to Socialist participation in capitalist governments. Socialist political campaigns and Socialist leadership.

Until a first party is backed

Neither Song Nor Sermon

THE distribution of seats in parliament is no sure indication of what happened in the British election. In May, 1929, there were three-cornered fights in most districts and the strongest of these parties could win. This year, with an old party coalition, it took an absolute majority to elect. Comparing the popular vote then and now, we find that the Tories gained over 3,000,000, the Liberals lost over 3,000,000, Labor lost nearly 2,000,000, and the total vote fell off by about 1,500,000. In 1929, with 38 per cent of the votes, Labor won 47 per cent of the seats; this year, with 31 per cent of the votes, we have but eight per cent of the seats. In 1929, with 36 per cent of the votes, the Tories got 42 per cent of the seats; this year, with 55 per cent of the votes, they have 77 per cent of the seats. In 1929, with 24 per cent of the votes, the Liberals got less than 10 per cent of the seats; this year, with 11 per cent of the votes, they get also 11 per cent of the seats. The schism created by MacDonald and Snowden roused half a million out of our eight and a half millions, and so disheartened or bewildered a million and a half that they stayed away from the polls. It might have been expected to do yet worse damage than that.

Farmers are generally assumed to be a very law-abiding class. That seems reasonable seeing that they are property holders and most of them property owners. But when they discover that their property is hardly worth holding, they do astonishing things. Dairy farmers in Illinois are fighting a cut in the price paid them by the milk companies. They have formed a protective association and refused to sell at the reduced price. As usual, there are some scabs. And now association farmers, it is alleged, are beating up their neighbors who continue to sell to the companies, wraying trucks and burning them or at least pouring the milk on the ground, and even filling up the drivers and guards with birdshot. We had the same things in this state, under like circumstances, in 1916. We shall probably have more of it, as capitalism proceeds with its expropriation of the working farmers. Our concern as Socialists is neither to encourage nor to denounce such tactics, but to show the farmers a better way.

I am not one of those who think of violence as a sign of revolutionary spirit. Much oftener what it signifies is lack of revolutionary understanding. Violence is an essential element in the policy of reaction. On the side of revolution it is an incident—from our point of view a regrettable one, and unavoidable only when the reaction makes it so.

Because it is essential, I am not much keener on lamenting than on applauding it. When pickets are getting slugged, I am not going to weep over bricks being thrown at scabs. Throwing bricks seldom does much good, but if the alternative is to "take it lying down," sympathy naturally goes out to those who, knowing no other way to meet brutal injustice, meet it with physical force.

But systematic reliance on guerrillas is a different matter. What we ought to worry most about in this connection is not the pitting of force against force, but the much worse evils to which the practice leads. It is one thing for workmen to fight their own battles, with whatever weapons. It is another thing for them to hire professionals to fight for them.

Linden Campaign Brings Increased Vote And Stronger Party; Jager Made Fight

(New Leader Correspondent)
LINDEN, N. J.—Henry Jager, Socialist candidate for Mayor of Linden, received 1,300 votes in the election on Tuesday. His Republican opponent received 3,100 votes and the Democratic candidate, 1,900.

This is the first time that a Socialist ticket has been filed and as a result of the campaign a strong party organization has been established. Jager started a study class in Roselle nearby a year ago and this eventually became a party branch. A second branch was later organized and three months ago it was decided to nominate a Socialist candidate for Mayor and make a campaign.

The result was a series of street and hall meetings and with an amplifying the agitation was carried to large audiences. For a time the Republicans cooperated with a few Communists to create disorder at these meetings but this failed. The Republican administration had also attempted to prevent meetings in the early stages of the campaign and Jager was twice arrested, but the Socialists plodded on.

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FULLWOOD CITY, Pa. (FP)—Union carpenters have taken a 20 per cent wage cut, bringing their scale down to \$1 an hour.