## The March of Socialism 1928-1932

#### Journal

of the

Seventeenth
National
Convention
Socialist Party

MILWAUKEE, WIS. MAY 20-24, 1932



Part of the May Day Demonstration, Milwaukee, 1982

Joseph Baskin, William E. Bohn, William M. Feigenbaum, Mary Fuller, Morris Hillquit, Daniel W. Hoan, Harry W. Laidler, George Lansbury, James Oneal, Clarence Senior, Norman Thomas, Julius Umansky, Emil Vandervelde, J. P. Warbasse, Otto Wels, John Work and others.

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The Seventeenth Convention

of the

## SOCIALIST PARTY

of

## **AMERICA**

MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM MILWAUKEE, WIS.

MAY 20 to 24, 1932

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Meta Berger Wisconsin

Daniel W. Hoan Wisconsin

Alfred Baker Lewis Massachusetts

James H. Maurer Pennsylvania Morris Hillquit, Chairman New York

Clarence Senior Executive Secretary Jasper McLevy Connecticut

James Oneal New York

Joseph W. Sharts

Lilith M. Wilson Pennsylvania



National Headquarters - 549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois

Dedicated to the

Memory of

Victor C. Verger

1860-1929

## Why the Socialist Party?

By Morris HILLQUIT

National Chairman of the Socialist Party

N outward form and technical methods the Socialist Party is a political party like the Republican and Democratic ies. It holds conventions, nominates candidates for public office and conducts political campaigns.
Yet there is a world of difference be-

tween us and the old parties in character and substance. We have fundamentally different conceptions of politics and different aims and ideals. We speak different languages and pray to different gods.

To the old parties every election is an end in itself. If they win it they have achieved a complete victory. If they lose

it they have lost all.

Their ambition does not reach above office and power. Their social vision does not extend beyond the "practical" issues of the hour. Their politics is a cold and sordid game of business.

To the Socialists politics, elections, public office and political power are only incidents in the everlasting struggle for the attainment of a lofty ideal, mere local skirmishes in the great international strug-

gle for a noble life, a better world.

The world into which we were born could be beautiful and our lives in this twenties century could be gay and happy.

In the course of many centuries of sustained effort and heroic struggle the human race has practically emancipated itself from the domination of hostile surroundings. It has explored nature, learned its secrets, tamed its forces and harnessed them to its chariot.

It has learned to produce wealth in fabulous abundance and has created new and higher forms of life and enjoyment through the development of the ennobling sphere of scientific thought and knowledge and the fairyland of the fine arts.

Every human being in the civilized parts of the globe could lead a life of moderate work and ample leisure, of culture and pleasure, of

happiness and joy.

But the achievements of the great human mind have been marred by sordid human greed, and our life is ugly and revolting.

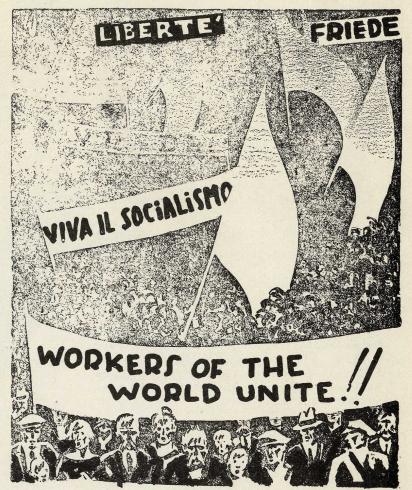
Instead of managing our common heritage of wealth, our rich natural resources and marvelous laborsaving inventions and equipment for the equal and ample benefit of all, we leave it, unorganized and uncontrolled, to be grabbed off in slices by any one who can, in a perpetual and fierce fight for possession by all against all.

The few who monopolize the world and the fullness thereof, the rulers of the nations, the owners of the wealth and the lords of the industries, direct the destinies of mankind without plan or responsibility, in chaos and confusion, in strife and in bloodshed.

At times their whole insane system breaks down because of its inherent anarchy and maladjustment.

Then industry is paralyzed; millions of workers are rendered idle; bankruptcy, poverty and general misery invade the helpless country like some deadly blight or pestilence. Men and women go hungry and ill-clad while tremendous stores of accumulated food and clothes rot for lack of consumers.

At other times the fights of the ruling classes



for greater wealth and new fields of exploitation transcend the national boundaries and lead to armed con-Then "civilized" men become savages.

Millions of them rush upon each other in blind fury, killing, maiming and pillaging. All instruments of civilization, all inventions of science and achieve-ments of progress are perverted into engines of de-struction in the mad and ghastly dance of death.

This is the kind of world the capitalist system

has made for us.

Its condemnation lies not so much in its economic injustice and political misrule as in the utter demoralization and degeneration of the human race which it brings about.

That is why millions of men and women in all lands who are conscious of human dignity and rights have vowed themselves to the utter destruction of the nefarious capitalist order and to the erection of a true civilization of human brotherhood.

This is why the Socialists of America persevere in the struggle for the realization of their lofty social ideal, election after election and at all times between elections, regardless of "practical" results and in spite of all setbacks and disappointments, conscious that they alone can save the country from utter disaster and convinced of the ultimate triumph of their cause.

## Our Organization Forges Ahead

By CLARENCE SENIOR

Executive Secretary, Socialist Party of America

WITH all the grim determination that is given us by the spectacle of the working class sinking deeper and deeper into the morass of pauperism and slavery, the Socialists will enter the 1932 elections with their hearts and minds set on such a campaign as was never before seen in this country. Fortunately, we have something besides the will to arouse the people. We have better organizational and educational machinery today than for years.

A brief survey of the increases in activity and strength since 1928 will be profitable. Among the most significant items are: a doubling of our card-carrying membership, hundreds of times as much literature distributed, an increase of from 400 to 4000 percent in our vote in numer-

ous local elections, and a tripling of the membership of the Young People's Socialist League.

Highly encouraging is the fact that the circulation of Socialist papers reporting to headquarters rose from approximately 301,000 in 1928 to 700,144 in 1932.

Before the 1928 convention, the National Secretary reported that eighteen states would be able to get on the ballot without outside assistance. Only eighteen will not be able to get their tickets on the ballot without national aid in this election.

During 1931, the party organized 96 new locals despite the impossibility of touring organizers because of financial difficulties. On May Day, this year, 113 new locals had been reported organized since January 1.

In all localities, men and women are coming into the Socialist party. They see in it an opportunity to develop leadership in the only kind of politics that will ever count—that which calls upon the workers to emancipate themselves and to build a new society based on human values.

The development of this local leadership is one of the most heartening signs of a genuine rebuilding. For several years, the national organization tried to pump life into the locals in many states with little success. The party had little membership outside some of the larger Eastern cities.

Within three years, the influx of young blood into the party has changed this situation. Every state is now being heard from regularly. Dozens of local papers, many of them mimeographed, show the revival of the movement. The Northwest in particular has shown a rapid rise in activity.

The meeting of the party's executive committee on the Pacific coast in 1930 had a great influence in reviving the movement West of the Mississippi.

The party has shown by dozens of unemployment

conferences and unions that it always has the interests of the victimized worker at heart. Parades, appearances before city councils, state legislatures, and Congress, mass meetings, and petitions have helped keep before the people the necessity for adopting the Socialist program. The educational work of the party in years gone by was done so well that all of the Socialist immediate program for unemployment is now accepted by intelligent persons.

Immediate relief to miners, textile workers, and other strikers has been raised many times by the party and its agencies. A great deal of time and ef-

fort has gone into the Mooney-Billings case and other working class struggles. All these activities have increased the following which the party and its leadership has among the workers. An ever larger number of trade union papers are carrying Socialist news.Workers education classes are being ORGANIZE! conducte d Socialbv

parts of the country. Only through an increase in this activity can the party be rebuilt on a firm foundation.

This election offers those who decry the lack of realism and of interest in politics in this country a chance to remedy that condition. Everywhere, when the Socialists have become strong in American municipalities, the old parties have merged into one capitalist party to fight us. Let everyone who believes in honesty in politics vote Socialist this fall, and we will show them a merged Republicatic party on the national field!

This election offers the workers an opportunity to throw a thunderbolt of fear into the councils of the rulers in Wall Street and Washington, and to force through legislation that will bring immediate relief, some measure of security, and place greater power in the hands of the workers.

Previously, disgust with the Republican record of mismanagement and reaction has simply increased the Democratic vote. Today, millions are through with both parties. It only takes Socialist speeches, literature, and organizers—voluntary or full-time—to bring people into the Socialist party and to get Socialist votes. Every effort brings results.

The Socialist party is the opposition party.

Let its voice be heard unmistakeable throughout this campaign!

this 15 }

## Socialist Opportunities in 1932

By NORMAN THOMAS

THE Socialist Party faces the most magnificent and challenging opportunity in its history. If we do not take it, it may not come in any such measure again. Socialism may have to find a new vehicle and instrument. We must not, we shall not fail.

No longer do we have to proclaim to deaf ears the doom of the capitalist system, arising out of its own inherent contradictions. Its failure to conquer poverty—though it is armed with all the machinery of plenty—does that for us. The misery and insecurity of ten million unemployed workers and their families, the depression of farmers rapidly being crowded down to the level not of peasants but almost of serfs, does that for us. The greater the abundance of things, the greater the insecurity of the toilers which make all wealth!

Only four years ago in the campaign of 1928 American capitalism was at the peak of its arrogance. It had not given us true prosperity; the farmers' share of the national income even then had fallen by 28% since 1917 and 700,000 fewer workers were employed than in 1921. But gambling on Wall Street promised to make everybody rich. Men who had not work felt they should apologize for not being millionaires. Herbert Hoover, leader of the Republican party—one of Wall Street's two political parties—was promising a chicken for every pot, and two cars in every garage. John Raskob, who still holds the first mortgage on the Democratic party, was writing an article in that magazine of high finance, the Ladies' Home Journal, about the crime of poverty. It seems we could all be rich if we invested in the right investment trust! But Mr. Raskob forgot to tell us which was right.

In this crazy world of 1928 we raised our voices against the war of subsidized bunk and deliberately propagandized racial prejudice to warn the workers, and to urge our standing program for alleviating unemployment while we press steadily forward to the Socialism which is its only cure. Not many heard.

Then came the inevitable crash. The workers could not buy back what they produced. Capitalism suffocated in the mass of debt it had piled up; the political and economic aftermath of a world war, born of capitalistic imperialistic rivalries of capitalistic nations, added to the burned of depression. We came to a crisis which if not the final crisis, shows how near is capitalism to

its end. What must we do to meet this opportunity and give hope again to a despairing world?

First we must hold up the vision of a classless society from which war, poverty, insecurity and exploitation will be banished. Such a vision is not Utopian. In a world blessed with abundant natural resources and marvelous machinery, poverty is as absurd as it is cruel. It is due only to a chaotic, profit mad capitalism in which our resources and great industries are operated for the gain of absentee owners and not for the use of the great mass of morkers with hand and brain on the farms and in the offices, factories and schools of America. Above all things we need a new and revolutionarily different philosophy and loyalty to remake our world into a federation of cooperative commonwealths instead of a chaos of quarreling nations, suspicious races and contending classes. The more complete is the acceptance of this revolutionary philosophy the sooner the class struggle will end in the victorious establishment of a classless society. Kings and economic potentates do not fight their own battles; they fool, coerce or cajole the workers to fight against their own comrades and their own interests.

Second, we must offer a program in line with our philosophy for meeting the desperate needs of our time, for relieving the misery of the unemployed and averting war. We can justly point with pride to the justification that time has given our opposition to war, and our demands since the peace that was no peace. This year we must present a well thought out Socialist opportunities program in our platform, which backed by a strong party and strong unions can achieve "Socialism in our time."

Third, we must build our party and do it now. It is on this side of our triangle where we have been weakest. Our four year program above all must be a program to build an intelligent, aggressive party always on the job. We must show the workers, yes and those of the middle class who can transcend shortsighted class interest for the sake of plenty, peace, and freedom, that there is no neutrality in the struggle before us, that drift is drift to disaster, that the heirs of the noblest American traditions of democracy and freedom betray their heritage if they stay in the two old parties with no difference between them but claim for office. We can get plenty of hearers. We must make them also believers. The hope of the world is Socialism.



CAPITALISM'S PRAYER." Oh God, curb my appetite if you must but don't take it all away from me."

## Socialist Milwaukee Points the Way

By DANIEL W. HOAN Mayor of Milwaukee

ILWAUKEE owes its present leadership in municipal administration and so-cial welfare activities to the existence of a militant Socialist party with a definite program of municipal progress that commands the confidence and support of labor organizations and public-spirited civic associations.

Without the untiring devotion of the Socialist party to the cause of good government Milwaukee could not have lifted itself above the class of corrupt and mismanaged cities and attained the commanding position it now occupies. The Socialists have given Milwaukee a civic heart and a civic consciousness.

The Socialist party of Milwaukee came into being in 1897. Victor L. Berger planted the seed that slowly took root in the hearts of idealists, who, had the vision and courage to enlist in the movement for a new social order.

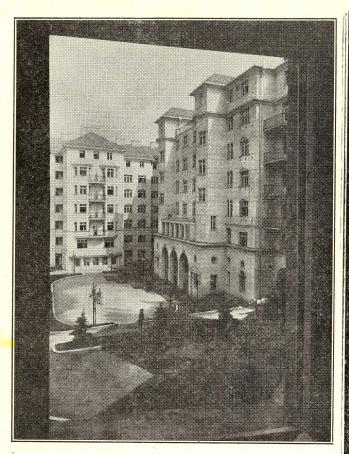
It took many years of self-sacrificing effort to carry on the educational work necessary for the enlightenment of the masses of workers and for the

development of the party to a position where it could emerge as a political factor.

Milwaukee's city and county governments were reeking with corruption. Many old party politicians were indicted for crimes ranging all the way from bribery, extortion, financial interest in contracts, paying and absorpding ing and absconding money, down to stealing a horse! Most of them were found guilty. Like crooked politicians in other cities, they were all Democrats, Republicans or so-called non-partisans. There was not a Socialist among the lot. The fact is no Socialist has ever been indicted anywhere for graft or corruption in public office. We hand all such honors to men of other political faiths.

In 1910 the time was ripe for a radical change. The Socialists had developed enough strength and leadership, and had shown sufficient capacity for constructive service to furnish real competition to the two old parties. The people rallied around the Socialist banner and with a mighty protest vote elected the entire city ticket and a majority of the aldermen.

The new regime promptly took the \$ sign out of politics and substituted the word SERVICE. An earnest effort was made to undo the mistakes and bad practices of the past. Corruption was dealt a death blow. Since 1910 Milwaukee has won a national and inter-



TOWARD THE CITY BEAUTIFUL. Housing for its workers built in Socialist Vienna.

national reputation for clean government, the absence of crime, the wiping out of viciousness, leadership in departmental service and for its sound financial position. Why?

The answer to this question is of prime importance. When local government is corrupt people lose confidence not only in govern-ment but in banks. In other large cities where city governments are either corrupt or bank-rupt, they have had from 12 to 70 bank failures. There have been 6,000 bank failures in the past ten years. In Milwaukee only one small bank had to be closed and we are assured that in this case the depositors will eventually receive back all their money.

Capitalistic news-papers in other cities generally give the credit for clean-up of politics in Milwaukee to the Socialist officials. In Milwaukee capitalist newspapers claim it is due to the partisan "balance" existing in our local government. That is to say, they admit that because we have had some Social-

ists in office who could constantly keep on eye on the other fellows we could stop them from stealing and becoming corrupt. By this statement they admit that the Socialist party can nominate officials who not only stay straght and honorable in the performance of their public duties but that they can be trusted to keep a close watch on alleged non-partisan officials to prevent the return of the corruption of the old days.

Why is it that the Socialist party can guarantee that the officials it endorses will go straight in government?

First of all, it consists of working people and all others who want the city kept clean and who demand good government. The party keeps a constant check on its officials and insists that they go straight or step out. Any other city can clean up its Augean Stables by supporting the Socialist party.

In the second place, one of the foremost planks of

the Socialist party is the public ownership of public utilities. Any man or woman who subscribes to this plank is anxious to demonstrate that government is a fair and honest employers and is fully capable of owning and managing all of the public utilities in the interest of the common citizenry.

In the third place, the Socialist party looks for-

(Continued on page 50)

### Socialists and Trade Unionists

By JAMES ONEAL Editor, The New Leader

THE modern working class is the creation of the capitalist system of production. Its first reaction to capitalism is the organization of societies to take care of the sick and to bury the dead. As capitalist production develops and the shop stage is left behind these societies become organizations of combat. They may carry over some of the benevolent features of the early societies but the struggle against exploitation, to increase wages and shorten hours, transforms the society into a class organization of wage workers.

The trade union, precisely because of its class composition, is a potential revolutionary organization that is ranged against the capitalist system. It cannot realize even its immediate aims without coming into conflict with the capitalist employers. If it is drawn into a conference with a group of employers to consider wages and working hours the conflict of interests emerges in the negotiations which often reveal a bitterness on both sides. If an agreement is reached it is a truce, not a permanent peace, a truce that may later give way to a bitter struggle between the organized workers and the employing capitalist class. Thus a unon exhibits all the

phases of a class struggle.

Long experience in fighting for better conditions also reveals that the governing powers favor the owners of capital. Out of this experience comes the conviction that the organized workers cannot afford to be neutral in politics. As they fight for themselves in industry so they must extend the struggle to the political field, win governing powers for their class as a protection for them in the industrial struggle. Thus a two-armed movement of the working class emerges out of the capitalist system

of production.

This has been the history of the organization of the workers in all the nations of the world except in the United States. The American trade unions as a whole lack consciousness of their mission. From this point of view they are still in that stage of immaturity through which trade unions in other countries passed in the seventies and eighties.

In the meantime industry is stricken with partial paralysis and the trade unions face the gravest crisis in their history. Most of them organized upon the basis of trade skill find mass production invading the great industry like a vast flood, washing away the very foundations for skill and organizations of the skilled. Trade organization is ever more difficult to fit into mass production. The trade union tends to crumble when facing the heavy artillery of the great industry that reduces all skills to a mass of undifferentiated labor.

This is not theory. It is a factual interpretation of what has been happening for many years. It is in the great industries where the trade union has disappeared or is disappearing and it is in these industries that the company unions are most numerous and most powerful. The quarrel between some twenty odd unions over members as the workers responded to the call for the great steel strike in 1919 shows that the old type of union organization, adapted to an earlier form of industry, is not adapted to the needs of workers in the great industries of mass production.



Drawn by Jerger Capitalism's Angel of Death

Wages are being slashed and most unions are being compelled to make concessions to the employing class. Taking advantage of the terrible unemployment situation, the employers are proclaiming the "open shop." Union members are assessing themselves to provide for unemployed members. There is no general unemployment insurance legislation to assist the jobless and the whole weight of unemployment relief is in part met by the workers themselves, supplemented by the degrading doles of the rich.

degrading doles of the rich.

Capitalism is going through severe convulsions and the labor unions face new problems that require a recasting of old views and venturing upon new and more fruitful policies. The fact that the organized workers support no party of their own in these days of frightful distress is humiliating. Their enemies occupy the seats of power in Congress, the legislatures and in the city governments, with workers and their families actually starving while the Federal Government neglects them and feeds large sums of money in the form of loans to great corporations.

The organized workers should lead the masses, inspire them with the spirit of labor solidarity, formulate programs adequate to the needs of the jobless and the hungry, and awaken the fighting spirit against gigantic wrongs. Capitalism is shutting us up in a wage system that fails to function. It is a hideous mockery, a miserable failure, and members of the trade unions

(Continued on page 50)

## The Cooperative Movement Today

By J. P. WARBASSE

President, The Cooperative League of the United States

SINCE its beginning in 1844, the consumers' cooperative movement has continued without recession to grow and develop. In good times and hard times, in peace and in war, its expansion throughout the world has proceded uninterruptedly.

In forty-two countries the national federations of their cooperative organizations, numbering 230,000 societies with 70,000,000 members, are united in the International Cooperative Alliance. This international union has been in operation without interruption for thirty-eight years. It is the only international organization that was not destroyed by the war. Its congresses represent a true league of nations.

The consumers' cooperative movement goes on developing skill in performing the useful functions, such as are carried on by profit business, and training millions of people in the technique of running their own business for serving themselves. In many lands the enterprises for distribution, production and service which the consumers own and carry on for themselves are the largest and most efficient of their kind in the country. These include distributive stores, factories, mills, mines, farm lands, banks, insurance societies, and public utilities of every form.

The British movement, which began with twentyeight members, now has over 6,000,000, representing more than one-third of the families of that country. Its businesses and services in many fields have surpassed in capital, turnover and efficiency many of the largest competing profit businesses.

The movement in Denmark, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and several other countries has excelled the British movement in proportion of members to population. Every country in the world has its growing cooperative movement. South Africa, New Zealand and Australia show an increase of cooperation similar to the European countries. One of the most remote, Iceland, has a cooperative movement which is steadily

supplanting capitalist commerce; more than one half of the business of that country is carried on by the cooperative societies.

In Switzerland the cheapest and most efficient electric power for the consumers is that supplied by the cooperative consumers' societies. In Sweden the largest and most efficient flour mills are owned by the federation of consumers' societies whose members use the flour.

In many countries these societies in their conflicts with the big trusts are winning signal victories which are demonstrating production, distribution and service by the consumers as being more efficient than profit business.

The movement in the United States is making substantial progress. During the past decade, this has been chiefly in quality rather than quantity. The movement is developing on a sound basis. Education and training are emphasized. Understanding of cooperative technique, history, aims and philosophy are widespread among all classes. A more secure and substantial movement exists than at any time.

In this country are 2,500 distributive societies. A recent development is the formation of over 500 societies among the farmers for supplying gasoline and other motor requirements. These organizations are already federating and going into production.

Cooperative housing in this country is particularly successful. In New York City are more than a score of such cooperatives in which working people are their own landlords who have made themselves the owners of more than \$20,000,000 worth of property.

Cooperative banking is also making steady progress. The insurance societies are demonstrating noteworthy success. While capitalistic wholesales are failing, the cooperative wholesales are at least continuing to supply their member societies.

Since 1916 the societies in the United States have been moving toward solidarity. The Cooperative League is the national union which is affiliated to the International Alliance. Its member societies are the most substantial in the country. Failures among them are rare. Even outside of The League, the failures of cooperative societies are comparatively fewer than in profit business.

Cooperative societies and their members naturally suffer from the general economic depression. This is particularly so where the members are employed in profit business as is most generally the case. Where

members are employed by cooperative societies and where those societies are providing their members with the essential things of life, the working conditions are best and employment is most secure.

As cooperation develops and encroaches more and more upon the profit method of business, the economic life is stabilized and made more secure. This is a fact which all countries are learning. Cooperation in action in these distressing times is holding up to the world an example of the practicability of the service motive in industry and the superiority of the cooperative method whereby the people train themselves to supply their own needs.



The Dole Line

### The Darkest Crime

By WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM

NEM-PLOYENT isthe darkest crime of Capitalism.

The men and women who have built up the most glittering civilization in all history have to suffer from uncertainty of their future and even of their lives. Capitalism normally con sists of cycles of dreadful overwork for those who do its work, and of no work at all when they have done their work too well.

The most ludicrous feature of Capi-

fact that men and women starve in the midst of plenty, that at the very time the breadlines are lengthening vast quantities of food and other necessities of life are being destroyed in order to keep prices up. Prosperity for some depends upon distress for others. Progress and improvement in the machinery of production, necessarily spell disaster to millions.

There is little the matter with our machinery of production. There is something terribly the matter with our machinery of distribution. It can be summed up in two words: the PROFIT SYSTEM.

One of the most amazing features of Capitalism has been the multiplication of labor-saving devices. From the loom and the spinning-machines through the railroad and the steamboat to the typesetting machine, the teletype, the sound-film, and the innumerable applications of electricity, Capitalism has benefitted by the saving of human labor.

Modern efficiency has been an inexhaustible gold

mine to those who are divinely placed by virtue of the ownership of pieces of paper to reap the benefits of

the modern machinery.

Modern efficiency has become an unmitigated curse to the men and women who do the work of the

Under capitalism.... under the profit-system, unemployment is inevitable. For the employer who thinks in terms of human beings rather than in terms of profits is shoved to the wall.

Only under Socialism can there be a permanent solution of the problem of unemployment, because ONLY UNDER SOCIALISM WILL THERE BE JUST ENOUGH WORK TO PRODUCE ENOUGH FOR THE NEEDS OF HUMANITY, after which those who have created the world's wealth will be in position to enjoy what they have created.

Those who are unemployed, those who are hungry, those for whom the future is black cannot, however, wait for Socialism.

There is something to be done NOW.

We do not want to depend upon the aid of our neighbors, who may be as badly off as we are. We do



After banking hours.

Drawn by Irving D. Hoffman

not want to be satisfied with a miserable existence on starvation wages, or a spot to peddle apples.

Socialists demand that a new principle be establish-and at once, the principle of SOCIAL RESPON-

Those who are suffering, those for whom the future is black are not responsible for their plight. Once upon a time the late Theodore Roosevelt sneered that there are many people who are "unemployable." Not even the most bitter enemy of humanity dares fling that sneer at the unfortunates any more.

Society is responsible; WE DEMAND that Society

face the issue.

There are the exploiters who have waxed fat on the unbelievable productivity of the social system. LET THEM SUFFER NOW, if need be.

WE DEMAND....

That the states and the nation recognize the fact that society is responsible for the welfare of every man and woman in the country.

That there be a comprehensive system of unemployment insurance, not as a dole or as a charity but as a right earned by those who created the wealth of the world and who should now be permitted to be enjoying leisure they themselves have won.

That in all government expenditures human welfare come first and that it be preferred at all times and under all circumstances to profits, to interest and

dividends, and especially to war preparations.

That the unemployed be officially recognized as a part of the nation with a special interest of their own, to be preferred to all other classes during the

present distress.

Already the unemployed are organizing. Already in many cities the Socialists have organized many of the unemployed in councils, so that their demands may be heard and so that they will be treated as human beings and not as objects of bitter charity The unemployed situation is a vivid picture of Capitalism in all its hideousness. Against Capitalism as breeder of unemployment, Socialists wage unrelenting

#### The "Red Cross" of the Labor Movement

By MARY FULLER

S a result of the numerous pitiful stories of conditions in the West Virginia coal field, a committee was organized in 1924 by the League for Industrial Democracy in conjunction with the American Civil Liberties Union to investigate the situation and find out practical ways of help. This was the nucleus of the Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief and was the start of sending clothing and money to workers in coal regions, textile centers and other places where industrial conflicts arose. The Civil Liberties Union presently withdrew, leaving the Emergency Com-

mittee under the sponsorship of the L.I.D.

The committee has since functioned as "Labor Red Cross," collecting money and sending relief to the workers who were making these courageous strug-The list of sympathizers who have made this possible has reached to-date fifteen thousand. tributions have ranged from a postage stamp to \$500. They have come from people to whom ten cents is a serious sacrifice. Men living on old age pensions have sent a mite; a mountain hermit, living on beans and corn meal, contributed too. In response to the vigorous appeals sent as occasions arose by Norman Thomas, Chairman of the Committee from its inception, money has come from every state in the Union, from Canada,

Mexico, Honolulu, and England.
In 1926, relief was still greatly needed in the coal fields, while in Passaic, 10,000 men and women were involved in a strike which became famous for the unusual brutality of the police. Thomas was among those taken to jail. \$37,000 was raised for Passiac, a large part being used to furnish milk to strikers' children. Speakers were sent week after week to encour-

age and support the workers.

The next year a strike of the Paper Box Makers took place in New York; a short and bitter struggle. Relief was solicited and given to these men and women.

Coal strikes were fairly universal in 1928. Colorado, Ohio, Indiana, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania were the chief centers of conflict. As much as \$60,000 was contributed for the relief of these many miners and, in certain districts of Pennsylvania, the services of a physician were obtained to give much needed medical care.

Intolerable conditions forced the textile workers in New England and the South to make their protest. Assistance of \$2,500 was given to New Bedford mill strikers in 1928. The following year found the mill people in Elizabethtown, Tennessee, revolting. The Gastonia tragedy took place. The "Marion Massacre" followed immediately after. The Committee sent in the Scouth also \$20,000 with purpose. vestigators to the South; also \$20,000 with numerous bundles of clothing. The strike in Marion was called by the Union only after the United Textile Workers' representative had telephoned to New York and asked the Emparage Compittee if which would be sent in-

the Emergency Committee if relief would be available.
1930 brought matters to a climax in Danville, Virginia; simultaneously a critical situation arose in the mines of West Virginia. The Emergency Committee came to the rescue in both places with funds and cloth-Danville received about \$7,000. When last summer's evictions made a tent colony necessary in West Virginia, the Committee bought tents and helped these people set up their meager housekeeping in them. Steady relief has been sent to them, \$20,000 having

been transmitted to date.

The Pittsburgh miners and Allentown strikers received help during 1931 which was collected and distributed by a Socialist Party committee, to which the Emergency Committee contributed \$500.

In the winter of 1932, when New York saw perhaps a million people out of work, the International Ladies Garment Workers had the courage to call a strike involving 20,000 workers. Representatives of the Union called on Norman Thomas for assurance

that the machinery of the Committee could be counted on to see them through. \$1,500 was raised. The strike was settled speedily, the Union achieving its principal

Without a committee to investigate the conditions in these industrial conflicts and to make urgent requests for relief, the plight of strikers would have been even more desperate than it was. The American Red Cross has refused to give assistance even when starvation and freezing were the alternatives—since industrial exploitation, unlike the World War, is not an "act of Cod" "act of God.

#### Education for the New Social Order

By HARRY W. LAIDER Co-director, League for Industrial Democracy

THE LEAGUE for Industrial Democracy was organized in 1921 with the aim of "education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit.' It is the successor of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society formed in 1905 by Jack London, Upton Sinclair, George Strobell and others. A brief outline of its current activities will show well it is fulfilling its purposes.

During 1931, the League's lecturers, including Norman Thomas, Paul Blanshard, Paul Porter, Harry W. Laidler, Karl Borders, Mary W. Hillyer and Jack Herling, spoke at over 230 college meetings and addressed over 400 mills reactive to the college meetings. dressed over 400 public meetings in most of the states in the Union, reaching nearly 200,000 people. This is in addition to campaign meetings and radio programs.

The League conducted, in cooperation with local groups, significant lecture series on vital social prob-lems in 28 cities of the United States. It continued its college work of organization and at the end of the year had student representatives in about 175 colleges and study groups in about 130 institutions of higher learning.

It continued to expand its popular and scientific pamphlet literature and to sell tens of thousands of copies of its pamphlets. Its present pamphlets include works by Thomas, Laidler, Stuart Chase, Abraham Epstein and Prof. John Ise.

The work in its city chapters, during the year continued to expand. Its New York Chapter of over 1000 members conducted bi-weekly radio programs on Saturdays over a number of N. B. C. broadcasting stations. Other city chapters exist in Philadelphia, Detroit and Chicago. Chapters are being formed at St. Louis, Buffalo, Schenectady, Syracuse, Paterson, N. J., and Los Angeles.

The League held several student conferences in New York and Chicago and its regular June Con-ference at Camp Tamiment, Forest Park, Penn. and

Waukesan, Ill.

It conducted considerable research work, Harry Laidler's "Concentration of Control in American Industry," being the product of the Research Department of the League.

During the summer of 1931, the League organized two groups of students and instructors for a six weeks' workers educational experiment among the mining camps of West Virginia and at Hopewell, Virginia.

In cooperation with the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, it helped to raise over \$26,000 for distribution among the strikers of West Virginia, Paterson, Allertown and Lawrence. Its special numbers of Unemployed and Disarm, pictorial magazines on unemployment and peace, edited by Edward Levinson and Mary Fox, sold over 400,000 copies.

The League has a non-college membership of 2400

The League has a non-college membership of 2400 and a college membership of several thousand. From June 23rd to June 26th, 1932, it is holding a conference at Camp Tamiment on "A Socialist Plan for America." The Chicago office is holding its conference from June

16th to June 19th.

## The Strength of the Workmen's Circle

By JOSEPH BASKIN

General Secretary, The Workmen's Circle

7HEREIN lies the strength of the Workmen's Circle? What hidden force holds together the tens of thousands of workingmen and workingwomen who belong to it? Why is their loyalty to the order

To begin with, the Workmen's Circle has from its very inception never indulged in phrases, never sought for surface effects. It devoted itself first of all to the direct material needs of the masses. The Workmen's Circle was created in opposition to the then existing Jewish and other fraternal orders. The members consisted of workers, of people who passed the whole day in sweatshops, where the bosses always sought to squeeze the very marrow out of their bones. And when they thought of founding an order of their own, it was their wish to create a place for themselves that would be free from alien influences, a place where they would be able to speak their minds freely and without hind-They knew that when other elements were present, they could not enjoy the same freedom as when they were by themselves. And if in their material life and the bitter economic struggle they were forced to make compromises and concessions, they felt that there was no room for compromises in their spiritual life. In their own organization they could be alone and display their full selves. They did not fear at all that the name Workman's Civale wight not be peopler and the name Workmen's Circle might not be popular and might alienate people.

The Workmen's Circle is not a mummified dogmatic organization that lives only on dry and hackneyed formu-

las, nor do we want the Socialist Party to be a dogma-bound organization. The success of our Order consists in this, that it has always marched abreast of life and has ever adapt-ed itself to the needs and exigencies of the times. The Workmen's

Circle has made experiments. It began with a certain form of payments to this or that fund; it created institutions to meet the need of the movement; and the time came for changes to be made in these forms, and for fresh institutions to be established, the changes were carried out and the institutions set up. And when in the course of time certain elements made their appearance in the Workmen's Circle that were bent on destroying every-thing that the American labor movement had created, the Workmen's Circle did not hesitate for a moment, but took a deliberate and

definite stand. The Friend, official organ of the Workmen's Circle, declared at the time, that when proud flesh begins to grow on a body, one must not hesitate for a moment to apply the scalpel in order to remove the proud flesh. Accordingly, the proud flesh was excised; and no matter how many attacks were made upon the Workmen's Circle in the course of the years, they were always repulsed with heavy losses to the attackers.

And the Workmen's Circle resumed its course. Again it created, again it built, seeking to extend its activity to all kinds of fields. It enlisted the womenfolk, setting up a separate and virtually independent organization for them, which organization has become

one of the chief assets of our Order.

The Workmen's Circle has also begun to attract the younger elements to its ranks. It has organized youth clubs, now united into a Young Circle League, and has given them the means for developing their potential strength, for bringing to the surface the pentup energies of the young who are beginning to think and to feel, whose leisure is devoted not only to athletics, but also to culture, to enlightenment, to preparation for their future role in the political and social life of the country.

And because the Workmen's Circle has managed to combine all these things, to create useful institu-tions, to give its members the maximum benefits they need, and at the same time to retain and preserve its idealism pure and unalloyed,—because of all this has suc-

ceeded in cementing its myriads of members into one powerful organization, into a well-knit body. Every member of the Workmen's Circle is therefore conscious of his duty to work for his organization and, if necessary, to fight for it. The strength of the Workmen's Circle lies in the collective love and devotion of the rank and file to their organization. Each member feels that he bears the responsibility; and whether he happens at the moment to be one of the higher officers of the army, or a mere private in the ranks, he performs his tasks and duties with the same conscientio u s n e s s and devotion.

Happy indeed is organization which has been able to create such an army around itself. And we shall all feel proud of the Socialist Convention if it will create such unity, harmony, loyal-ty, and discipline in the Socialist ranks.



Drawn by Gan Kolski "Give us this day our daily bread."

## The School of Socialism

WILLIAM E. BOHN

Educational Director, Rand School of Social Science.

Socialist permits. If a man is sold on Socialism, that is just the beginning. If he deepens his understanding every day of his life by activity and thought he will constantly increase his usefulness and his satisfaction.

We are not out just to win votes. We are winning people for a new conception of life and the creation of a new world. We have more to offer them than any other movement in the world. Perhaps the failure with which we have most reason to charge ourselves, is failure to give our best to our new members and to wage workers whom we have a chance to reach. We are too likely to be content with superficial appeals, slogans, and catch-words.

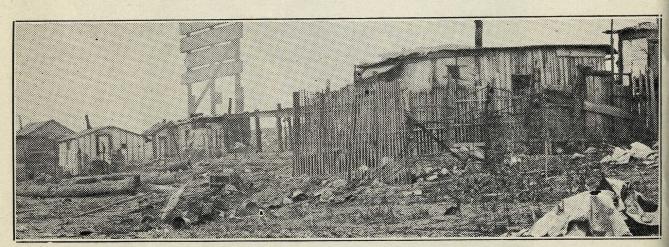
A genuine understanding can be arrived at in many different ways. Our fundamental appeal is to wage-earners, and for wage-earners the normal approach is through the understanding of the wage-system, the profit system. We tell workers that they are being robbed. If they will inquire when, where, how, by whom, by what process they are robbed, they will be led from their personal interests to an understanding of our industrial mechanism. And if from this they go on to discover why they are especially exposed to want and danger at the present time, they will arrive at an understanding of history, of social evolution. With such an understanding their allegiance to Socialism

will be strengthened and their usefulness to our movement greatly increased. They will achieve some sense of the grandeur of the cyclic process in which they are privileged to participate, and their work to win others for the movement will have the depth and power which goes with their understanding.

Such an understanding of life demands study. The deepest study involves participation, observation, the tracing of relations, causes, effects. Books are merely an aid. But there is great advantage in study which is directed, consecutive, purposeful.

Such study the Socialist Party has always included in its plans and according to its means it has made practical provision for it. One of the surest signs of growing vitality during the past few years is the increasing number of classes formed by our local organizations all over the country. Nearly every day we receive, at the Rand School, requests for help in starting study groups. Such requests have come from Florida and from British Columbia and from many places in between.

Such educational work does not require elaborate machinery or learned leadership. It does require careful planning, wise choice of the field of study, and determination to devote time and energy to a project extending over months or years. Wherever our comrades have such wisdom and determination they can have a successful class in the study of Socialism. The Rand School is a national institution in the sense that it receives support from loyal comrades scattered from Boston to San Francisco. Its activities are necessarily limited by inadequate resources, but it is performing nothing more than its duty in offering to assist in every possible way any Socialist group which plans to organize classes for the study of Socialism.



HOOVERVILLE in St. Louis. Every large city has its "Hooverville" where the hardest hit victims of capitalism cling to life in shacks or hovels they have made for themselves.

### The Finnish Socialists in America

By W. N. REIVO

Secretary, Finnish Federation of the Socialist Party

THE four years since the last National Convention of the Socialist Party, have not been in any way exeptional in the annals of the Finnish Language Federation. As is to be expected, the language federations are diminishing in influence and importance as the Party grows and gathers members from the native Americans.

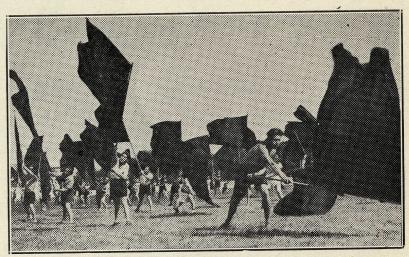
While the Finnish federation has not materially lost members during the period in question, neither has it gained much. The younger element, those born here of the Finnish parents, seldom join the federation branches. They do, however, join the Socialist Party direct in the communities where there is a party branch. Thus the gains that would otherwise be lost, are gathered in by the American membership. Undoubtedly this is the case with all foreign speaking people here. Their youth do not follow in the footsteps of their parents directly, though they largely uphold th

directly, though they largely uphold the same ideals as their parents.

In spite of the fact that it is rather difficult to get new members at the present time, owing primarily to the prevailing unemployment, the prestige of the Finnish Federation is now much greater than it has been since the split in 1920. We gain adherents in the proportion that the Communists lose them. We are reaching out again to the Middle and Western states with our paper, which gained a considerable number of new readers and subscribers last year, particularly among disillusioned Communists and others who have either been opposed to us or have been indifferent.

Our active part in the Socialist Party affairs is negligible. We feel that the American element should direct and control the American labor movement in all its branches. No foreign element can be of great help to the Socialist party directly, but only by the propaganda it carries on among its own nationality. The time when the Socialist party was largely dominated by the foreign element is particularly the unhappiest time of the Party. However, it is for the American element to increase its membership so that it will stay in control.

We have often been asked by the active American comrades, what will be the attitude of those thrown out of the Communist party toward the Socialist party? Will they come back and again take an active part in the labor movement in the ranks of the Socialist party? The answer is in the negative. They are not coming back. They are bitter toward the old labor movement.



THE RED FLAG exercises by Socialist youth during the Labor Olympic games in Vienna in 1931.

Their mind has been poisoned by the lies and perverse propaganda which they were fed while in the Communist movement. There are exceptions, to be sure; we have many erstwhile Communists now active in our ranks, but there has been no general return and will not be. And I think that only comparatively few of those who went to the Communist movement, are capable of understanding the failure of that movement and why only the Socialist party program is feasible.

We do not look forward to a much larger membership than we have now. And perhaps it would be a mistake if the youth joined us directly and stood aloof of the body of the Socialist Party just as the older element does now.

The future of the Socialist party in America is in the native born stock. The days of the language federations are past. They will continue to live and function, but they should not be expected to become an active, virile element again. Let them have their own way among the immigrant population, which is dwindling year after year thru old age and assimilation. Let them keep up their social activities, but let us not ask of them more than is reasonable, as is very often done.

May this national Socialist convention succeed in forming plans whereby the membership of the Socialist party will continue to grow even more that it has grown in the past, though even that has been gratifying to those of us who have seen the movement thru its various phases during the trying times of the last fifteen years.

## British Socialism Regains its Strength

By George Lansbury, M. P.

Recent Leader in Parliament of the British Labor Party

MY COLLEAGUES in the British Parliament join me in sending cordial fraternal gretings to our Socialist comrades in America. We hope your Milwaukee conference will be a great success. We are conscious of the difficult and trying economic conditions which beset the workers in your country, and earnestly hope that the masses of America and the world will learn from the industrial chaos and ruin to which modern capitalism has brought them, that Socialism is the only scheme of life which can bring peace, prosperity and plenty to mankind.

Here in Britain we are slowly but very surely getting through the difficulties which the desertion of some of our leaders brought upon us eight months ago. Our nearly seven million voters remain solidly with us, and every day adds recruits to our cause. Our Party is intact and is solidly with us. There is no depression, no despair in our ranks, but a calm, certain confidence that time and the economic and moral forces which silently and surely move the world, are pushing mankind along the road to Socialism, without regard to the action or inaction of leaders who fail to stay the course and who, on the day of battle go over to the enemy.

We fifty Labor men who carry the flag of Socialism in the House of Commons, are faced by a huge party of five hundred and sixty-five led by our late leader. This combination has no common bond of

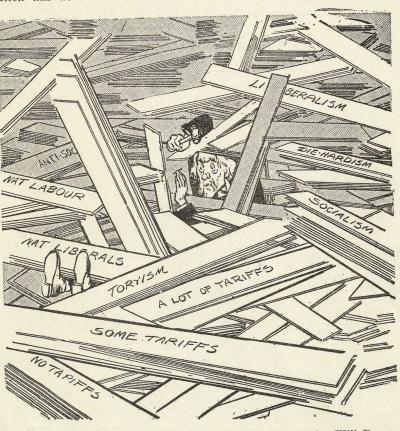
unity except its hatred of Socialism. We may at this moment say with truth that reaction is in control of Britain and that the men who govern us gained their position by a campaign of distortion and misrepresentation such as our electoral fights have seldom, if ever, witnessed before.

Their victory is sure to be shortlived. Such methods in any walk of life bring only Dead Sea fruit-and this is the case with the present government. Their policy has already failed. All the money - market scheming and gambling has availed our people just nothing at all. On or off the Gold Standard has been all the same to them. Wages and salaries all have been reduced. All our social services and unemployment payments have been severely curtailed. Our budget balances. In spite of all this, poverty stalks abroad in what were formerly our great industrial centres. With an almost unlimited power of production, with an abundance of raw material, the only policy the present ramshackle Government can adopt is one of tariff restrictions and reduced consumption. In the midst of a world crammed full of goods and enormous unused natural resources, and multitudes of unemployed workers, this Government, called to office to save the nation, simply falls back on a discredited policy of economic nationalism which leaves our people worse off than before.

Consequently our minds are more than ever fixed on Socialism. We will continue the work of social service—such as work or maintenance for the unemployed, pensions for widows, orphans, the aged and infirm, better education, housing and health services, etc.; but our major effort is to make Socialists. The past forty years have been spent in creating our organization and our great Party machinery. We shall use this in an ever-increasing effort to secure a majority at the next election for pure and simple Socialism. There is no other road for us to tread.

We know that Socialism cannot be imposed on our people either from above or from below. We understand

that our task may be a long and difficult one to accomplish. We pin our faith to political debelieving mocracy, that circumstances, conditions and our propaganda will enable people to see the truth. We are also certain that however difficult our task may be, there is no other road along which the workers can travel out of the competitive abyss into which what is described as human progress has plunged them. All the same, we have faith and confidence in ourselves and our fellow men and women. We are fighting against man-made conditions. What man has made, man can and will undo. Because of this faith we greet today and with a tomorrow cheer, quite certain that we shall see our victory if we toil and faint not.



Drawn by Will Dyson McDONALD (building his platform). "Thank God that job's done."

## German Workers and the United States

by OTTO WELS

Chairman, Social-Democratic Party of Germany

EVER have we European Socialists missed the existence of a strong and influen-tal Socialist move-ment in the United States so much as at the present time. For we all feel that there can be no hope from those parties which at the present time are contending for power in the United States for the solution of world problems, political and economic.

The economic crisis has severely affected our continent, and particularly our country, which lies in the heart of Europe. As the committee of experts at Basle has made perfectly clear, full one third of German economic life is practically extinguished. These facts and others, express themselves in

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the formidable fig-ures of about 7,000,000 unemployed this winter. The despair which has gripped the needy masses is being taken advantage of by the parties of the extreme right and left in their unscrupulous attacks, particularly against the Social-Democratic Party and against the Socialst trade unions. Under no circumstances would German Fascism under the leadership of the charlatan Adolf Hitler have grown so strong and dangerous were it not for the cruel pressure and the continuance of the economic crisis. It really is amazing that the Republic has been able to weather the winter without civil war and chaos. For this thanks in the first place is due to the political schooling, discipline, cool-headedness and devotion of those millions of workers who remained true to the Social Democracy. At the moment of greatest danger when everyone thought that it was impossible to curb the advance of Fascism in Germany, the Republican Schutzbund, the Reichsbanner, together with the workers' sports alliances, formed an "Iron Front" and accepted the challenge against the imminant dame. nent danger of reactionary dictatorship and by supporting the Hindenburg candidacy in the recent elections brought about the first substantial defeat of Hitler.

However we are not deceiving ourselves. We know that the Fastist peril will not be really overcome until a decided improvement in economic conditions begins. The longer the economic recovery takes, just so much more difficult will it be for us to successfully defend the republican constitution and the rights of the working class. Precisely on these grounds do we impatiently await the political decision which must form the basis for such a recovery. By this I mean, above all, the necessity for cancellation of all reparations and debts, without which the world cannot emerge from its present crippling condition of insecurity and of interna-



"No More War"

tional tension. The Hoover

moratorium proclaimed instantly because German life was on the brink of general collapse. It saved Europe from immediate chaos, but brought no improvement worth talking about, above all not in Germany. Hoover declaration certainly was a meritorious step, but was no solution. A real solution is the pressing need of the moment. The longer it takes, the more certain is it that it will work out imperfectknown phenomenon and it must con-stantly be reitera-ted, that in all diseases of the human body, such as cancer, a timely operation which nips the which nips the growth in the bud could save the pa-tient, but the longer one waits for surgical intervention,

the more doubtful are the chances of success.

Our opponents in Germany have been attributing all of the ills of the world to "Marxism." To this we can reply with a twofold example.—Italy and the United States. Both in Italy, where Marxism has been rooted out, and in the United States, where the Socialist movement has as yet had little influence on political and economic thought, the economic crisis is hardly less overwhelming than in Germany. To be sure there is this difference, that we in Germany, thanks to our Parliamentary and trade union strength, have created social legislation which saved the proletarian victims from the worst effects of the capitalistic economic crisis.

But we do not like to make use of the argument of the slight influence of Socialism in the United States. It would please us much more if we could point to the fact that in the new world the Socialist movement had also become a vital force. And yet it seems to me that it isn't so far fetched to say that the opportunity of a powerful upward swing for Socialism in America seems more favorable because of the economic crisis.

The illusion of capitalist prosperity through which in previous years even American workers had permitted themselves to be deceived and used as tools for the Capitalist parties has been fearfully shattered. These bitter lessons must bring about the awakening of the working classes of the United States. Therein lies the great and portentious task of the Socialist Party in

If the world crisis can serve to enlighten the masses and at the same time help American Socialism to the important position which, in the interests of the world labor movement it ought to have, it will at least have had that propitious and useful effect.

## A Message from the International

By EMIL VANDERVELDE President of the Labor and Socialist International

N the midst of the many preoccupations which at this time press upon the Socialists of Europe, I send our American comrades gathered at Milwaukee, the

greeting of the Socialist and Labor International.

The time is past when the many groups of workers in the United States can believe in the possibility of maintaining the advantages which their exceptional situation assured them unless they build a great labor party independent of the machines of the two old parties.

You have always, comrades, and with admirable perseverance, made strong efforts to build in the United States a solid Socialist party intimately bound up with the other sections of the International.

It is in the name of the International that I send you heartiest wishes for success in the new struggle

that you are entering upon.

From a superficial observation one might believe that in Europe our cause is in a slump. Save for the smaller countries of the west and the north and indeed in Spain, Socialism recently—in Great Britain and Germany has met with serious setbacks. There is not one of the great powers that has not at its head a conservative or fascist government. In proportion as the economic decomposition of capitalism grows more grave, the frightened bourgeois turn to every means, of force or of corruption, to battle the masses and beat down their efforts toward deliverance.

But nonetheless, signs of recovery are to be seen. In Germany, the presidential elections have taken from the Hitlerites any hope of succeeding with force; and furthermore, close upon their recent electoral success, their own parliamentary action can only have the effect of rapidly discrediting them.

In Great Britain a recent by-election, which returned our friend Greenwood to the House, is a clear proof that the English workers are recovering. In France, the elections of the 1st and the 8th of May

Showed a genuine victory for our Socialist comrades.

But more than ever, it is important that on both sides of the Atlantic a balance of Socialist forces spring

from your progress and your victories.

It is with the hope that very soon the workers of the United States will achieve the success merited by their spirit of struggle and sacrifice, that I send you, comrades, our sincere best wishes.

## From Parties in Other Lands

#### GREAT BRITAIN

By JAMES MAXTON, M. P.

Chairman, British Independent Labor Party

ERMIT me on behalf of the Independent Labor Party in the British House of Commons to convey my good wishes to the convention of the Socialist party of America.

The capitalist countries of the world are facing great difficulties for which no capitalist solution has been found. Ten of millions of workers are unemployed and hundreds of millions are in dire poverty.

The difficulties of capitalism provide the opportunity for Socialism and I hope that just as the capitalists of America have led the world in recent years in the important developments of their system, the Socialists of America will assume a place at the head of the workers' struggle.

#### By A. FENNER BROCKWAY Independent Labor Party

AM glad to extend greetings to the Socialist Party of the United States meeting in national conven-

All over the world we are now witnessing the collapse of capitalism. No country is suffering more from its failure than the United States. The terrible scourge of unemployment, unrelieved in the United States, by any form of social insurance, the reductions in wages and the intolerable contrast of privation in the midst of plenty should awaken the workers and all men and women with a social conscience to a determination to plan and establish a new system of society—Socialism. The tragic fact about the present situation is that

the old system of capitalism is failing more rapidly than the will to create a new system of Socialism is

arising.

This is a challenge to Socialists everywhere and I hope that the devotion and ability of American Socialists will be equal to the task despite the heavy obstacles which face them. Socialists everywhere are looking to a vast increase in the Socialist vote in America as an indication that its workers are learning the lessons of their terrible experiences of the last year.



The Face of Fascism

#### DANZIG

By JOHANNES MAN Social Democratic Party of the Free City of Danzig

THE Socialist working class of the Free City of Danzig, which at this time is engaged in the keenest defensive campaign against its reactionary regime, sends your convention heartiest greetings. Our wish is that you may succeed in strengthening your movement, and that on one of the most difficult fronts of the Socialist International, you may continue to labor for the ascendency of true democracy and for the victory of the working class.

#### CANADA

By W. E. SMALL

Secretary, Independent Labor Party of Manitoba

T the meeting of the General Executive of the Independent Labor Party of Manitoba held March 15, I was instructed to extend greetings to your organization from our Party here when you meet in Convention in May. We wish you every success in your fight this year in the Presidential Campaign knowing the struggle you have ahead of you.

We are just launching our campaign in Manitoba for the Provincial elections, having nominated six candidates to contest the ten seats in Winnipeg. There are ten to be elected from Winnipeg as a whole and we have the proportional representation system in force here. At present we have three labor representatives and hope to double the number for the next House.

#### CHINA

By T'ANG LEANG-LI

Author of "The Inner History of the Chinese Revolution"

THE Chinese Revolution is as yet unfinished, but it should be realized that it did not start in earnest until after the reorganization of the Kuomintang in 1924. Revolutionary propaganda among the peasants, workers and soldiers has been made possible only by the spread of popular education which, in spite of nearly two decades of political chaos and practically no Government assistance, increased the literacy rate from 1 per cent in 1910 to 15 per cent in 1928, rising to 50 per cent in some provinces.

Moral casualties occur in every revolutionary movement, but the meaning of the National Revolution is gradually being realized by the masses, and the betrayal of the Three Principles by the mandarins and the militarists will therefore have only a passing effect.

Moreover, in China the acknowledged leaders of the people are the intellectuals, the depositaries of revolutionary tradition. The progressive industrialization of the country is everywhere breaking down the spirit of provincialism and parochialism, and if feudal militarism and foreign privilege still reign supreme in China, the new social and political consciousness among the masses has sounded their deathknell.

#### **COLOMBIA**

By ANTONY FONSECA Secretary, Labor Party of Colombia, S. A.

OGETHER with all the members of the Labor Party of Colombia, I hail and greet everyone who has worked for the unification and solidarity of this great party of ours. The victory of our great cause throughout the United States of America, will mean not only for the whole world, but in particular for all the Latin American countries, a new era of prosperity

and power.

The complete victory of the Socialist Party throughout the world will forever bring happiness and contentment to all those who have performed their duties to the best of their ability. Opportunity now knocks at our door. Let us join forces to give a mighty blow to despotism and slavery which, in past years, have been imposed upon the masses of humanity.

#### **POLAND**

By M. GERSON

For the Independent Socialist Party of Poland

N sending heartiest greetings to the convention of the Socialists of America, I am expressing the earnest hope of many thousands of workers in Poland that your fight during the coming presidential election may begin a new era in the American Socialist move-

Since the end of the War the American Dollar has been the almighty, all-pervading Supreme Being of the international capitalist class, and Ford and Rockefeller the prophets of the new Faith. The eyes of all capitalists were eagerly turned to your Continent, where a new religion came into being, where the arch-angels of PROSPERITY were to banish forever the evil spirits

of Socialism, poverty and unemployment.

The miracle hoped for by the bourgeoisie of all nations, that their fortunes should be built by satisfied workers, by workers who asked for no unemployment insurance, no old-age pensions, no protection of any kind from the State-that dream seemed to have been realised by the genius of American capitalists.

But the romantic attachment of the lion and the lamb could not withstand the cold blast of capitalist reality. When the crisis came, the new Fordism threw off its mask and the old, ramiliar grin of brutal exploitation appeared to the world. The shooting of workers at the Ford plant was very much like the shooting of workers in Czarist Russia, and the liberty of labor organizations under Fordism and under Fascism seemed strangely related to each other.

We are now witnessing the collapse of supercapitalism in the most super-capitalistic country of the world. When the teeming millions of American workers, instead of remaining silent and suffering witnesses of the process, change into active accusers and fighters, the triumph of international Socialism will be near.

#### ROUMANIA

By LOTAR RADECEANU

For the Social-Democratic Party of Roumania

E ARE following your campaign with the greatest interest and are with you in spirit at your convention deliberations. The world-wide political importance of American Socialism has grown to such proportions that the political ascent of the American working class would have far reaching consequences for the proletariat of Europe, and especially for those countries which are still groaning under the oppressive burden of reaction.

From all we hear of your struggles, you are at the point of clearing the way for the ascendency of Socialism now also in America. The hope of the future and the proletarian solidarity of the Roumanian workers accompanies you in this campaign, which you are pursuing not alone for the proletariat of America but for the international world proletariat as well.

## Greetings from Across the Seas

#### DENMARK

By THORVALD STAUNING Prime Minister of Denmark

SEND the convention of the Socialist Party of America the most hearty greetings of the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark.

Our party has always been strongly interested in the international cooperation both of nations and of the labor and Socialist movements of the nations of the world. Cooperation and solidarity is what mankind wants at this time, where capitalist chaos is threatening to ruin both the "new" and the "old" world.

First and foremost the working class both in the towns and in the rural districts must understand the immense importance of solidarity, nationally and internationally.

I am glad to be able to tell our comrades in the United States that the Danish workers have fully understood the truth of these words. During the war as well as after the war they have preserved the unity of their trade-unions and of their political movement. All endeavours to split up the movement have been repelled, and owing to this the Social-Democratic party has become the strongest political party in Denmark, rallying about its candidates 600,000 votes in the general election of 1929—or not less than 42 percent of all votes cast.

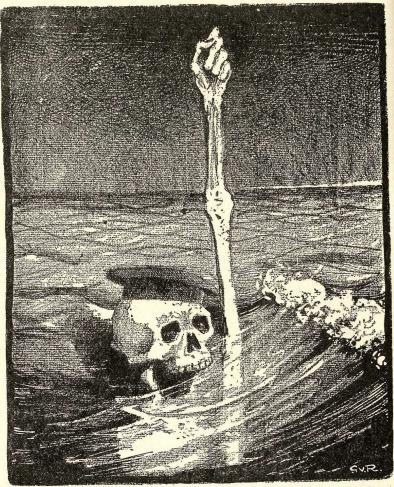
The result of this election was a coalition government, consisting of 9 Socialists and 3 members of the Radical Democratic party. The basis of this government was a joint program comprising disarmament and a number of important, social, economic and cultural reforms.

The two conservative parties, who still have a small majority in the Senate (Landsting) opposed this program and so it has not until now been possible to realise it. But the electorate of the two government parties will not give up their democratic and social policy, but continue to fight until the conquest of the Senate by the democratic parties has been fulfilled.

The vast international crisis has hit Denmark very heavily. Unemployment has increased terribly. The farmers also are suffering greatly from the consequences of the capitalist system. The government has succeeded in passing important measures to ease the pressure of the crisis on farmers and unemployed. The workers understand that the present government is of great importance to them also in this situation, and still wider circles outside the working class are learning that capitalism and not Socialism is the real danger of society.

So I feel convinced that the democratic and Socialist movement will increase and at last triumph in

In this spirit we greet our comrades of the United States, promising ever to give our contribution to the international progress of democracy and Socialism.



The Sailors Vote for Disarmament. (Amsterdam)

#### By Alsing Andersen

General Secretary, Social-Democratic Party
of Denmark

A S secretary of the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark I send the American Socialist comrades the most cordial wishes for a good result of the next important campaign.

We know your energetic fight to rally workers of the United States of America for Socialism. We understand the difficulty of your task, but there is no doubt that the development of capitalism and its catastrophic consequences will open the eyes not only of the working class but of hundreds of thousands of other citizens of the United States.

The Danish people understand the vast importance of Socialist influence. The present government is composed of 9 Socialists and 3 Radical Democrats with the leader of our party, Th. Stauning, at its head.

Copenhagen, the metropolis of Denmark, and a number of other municipalities, are administered by Socialist majorities; and in this country (with only 31/2 millions of inhabitants) the Socialist party counts 174,000 members in Socialist organizations spread over the whole country—in every town and in almost all rural municipal districts.

We promise to continue our fight, firmly convinced that the people of the United States will respond to the appeal of the Socialist Party of America.

#### **AUSTRIA**

By ROBERT DANNEBERG (President of the Vienna Diet)

For the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Austria

WE in Austria are following the activities of the Socialist Party in the United States with great interest. The development of capitalism in America has shown that the hopes placed upon that country also were false and that the period of swollen "prosperity" is being followed by the fearful crisis everywhere. We are convinced that, as in the whole capitalist world, the working class of the United States also will learn something from this crisis. Although the crisis brings economic hardships and dreadful misery, it certainly ought to produce a mental shake-up and fill the working class with the determination to triumph over the capitalist economic system.

We hope and wish that your convention will lend fresh impetus to the Socialist movement in the United States and that you will succeed in utilizing the coming presidential campaign for energetic propaganda for

the ideas of Socialism.

#### FINLAND

By K. H. WIIK

General Secretary, Social Democratic Party of Finland

VOU may rest assured that we, on this side of the Ocean, are closely and with the greatest interest observing the development of the events in America. This is certainly the case with us, Finns, for we are a small nation and numerous of our compatriots have emigrated to the United States, mostly workers and

Socialists. We quite understand that the victory of Socialism is difficult as long as the greater part of the population of the big country in the West remains outside of the Socialist Movement. We have seen many explanations about the fact that America, a pioneer country in so many respects, lags so far behind with Very many of its workers are regard to Socialism. following bourgeois ideas and are unable to see the wood for the trees. But the terrible crisis of the last few years must have tended to open their eyes. It is, indeed, a crisis of the whole of Capitalism. The whole of rich America is suffering—you may rest assured that we are closely watching what happens to you over there. And when the workers of U. S. A. finally grasp the meaning of the soul of capitalism, as well as the aims and ways of Socialism, then Socialism will become an irrecivible review that will removed the become an irresistible power that will remould the world and make all its working people happy

We are, with deepest sympathy, watching the efforts of those who are trying to make Socialists of the American workers. May your efforts be crowned with success, and may the economic crisis that has caused such a lot of suffering still have the good effect to

open the eyes and hearts for Socialism.

#### HOLLAND

By J. W. ALBARDA

Social Democratic Party of Holland

T is with hopes and expectations that the Socialists of Holland are looking to the large continent on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. The great work which Socialism has to perform in the world cannot be fulfilled in Europe solely. The collaboration of the mighty industrial United States is indispensable for the perfect triumph of Socialism and for the maintaining of world peace by the proletariat.

The European Socialists understand why Socialism in North America has up to now remained behind the Socialist labor movement in Europe. They are convinced however, that capitalism in North America too will not fail to produce a strong Socialist movement. This is everywhere the fruit of capitalist development, everywhere heralding the end of capitalism. The Dutch Social Democrats hope the Socialist Party of the U. S. A. may succeed in leading the American labor class to social democracy. We hope your convention may contribute to this end.

Holland is a small country with eight million inhabitants. Needless to say this country cannot exert a great influence upon the policies of Europe. It did not take part in the great war and its population, to the large majority, dislikes participation in a war.

The Social Democratic Party of Holland (S.D.A.P.) was founded in 1894. At the beginning it was faced with great difficulties because a relatively large part of the laborers were then under the influence of anarchism. The S.D.A.P. succeeded in ridding the laborers of this influence. At its foundation the party had about 600 members, whereas on the 1st of January, 1932, its membership amounted to nearly 80,000.

In the same proportion the political strength of At the 1929 election for the Party increased. the Party increased. At the 1929 election for parliament we received somewhat over 800,000 votes and 24 seats. The total vote was ove 3,300,000 and the total number of seats in the parliament 100. The S.D.A.P. is the second greatest party in parliament. Only the Catholic party is stronger. This party received in 1929 over million of votes and 30 seats. The time is coming when the S.D.A.P. will be the strongest party of Holland

party of Holland.

The Dutch labor movement is pressing hard for disarmament. After the war the S.D.A.P. demanded not only international disarmament, but also the immediate disarmament of Holland. The Social Demondrate disarmament of Holland. cratic fraction in the Second Chamber of Parliament presented, in 1925 a bill for national disarmament. This was rejected in 1927 with 51 votes against 32. Since that time the movement for disarmament has

continued and become stronger.

#### FROM THE OTHER SIDE OF THE WORLD

By W. NASH

Secretary, New Zealand Labor Party N behalf of the National Executive of the New Zealand Labor Party, I send fraternal greetings and good wishes to the members who assemble at

your Convention. The economic difficulties facing the World to-day call for real constructive methods, and I am satisfied

that the next step in World progress must be reconstruction on Socialist lines.

The Movement in New Zealand will look to your Convention with hope that the political Movement in the United States will start a campaign in connection with the coming Presidential Election that will so influence public opinion in the States that within a comparatively short time we shall see the first Socialist President of your Republic.

## For a Socialist Youth Movement

By JULIUS UMANSKY

National Chairman, Young People's Socialist

League of America

So MANY sentences have been uttered and written about the stirring of American Youth that it is superfluous to add another rhapsody on the imagined awakening of the stultified younger generation. It is because young men and women are not beyond redemption, especially so if their surroundings may be influenced by Socialist propaganda, and that conditions are extensively propitious for the dissemination of the fundamental logic of Socialism, that the writer desires to be heard.

Alluring as it is to the revolution-around-the-corner mentality, one should experience great difficulty in subscribing entirely to the generalization that "American Youth is Awakening," or a Youth Movement has arisen, merely because some scattered student, church-youth, of YMCA groups have sprinkled points of light amid the darkening industrial shadows hovering over the contemporary American scene. Even though lists be compiled of innumerable instances of social intelligence displayed by such organizations, these would dwindle into measureless insignificance with the compilation of other lists proving conclusively not only that the social consciousness of the Young American is absolutely nil, but—and this is far worse—, that he is incontestably reactionary.

If one bears in mind the well-nigh unmitigable filth and squalor, the ineffable helplessness and utter hopelessness which have been bestowed by a viciously inhuman Capitalist Industrial State upon great sections of the unorganized working-class, as its inexorable fate, in relation to the puerile, undigested quips of the Capitalist-bred Campus-radical or church rebel, it becomes clear that the utterances have simply been conscience-sating prayers.

The writer has been motivated neither by the intention of holding in contempt nor of exposing to ridicule what may have been an epileptic instance of misdirected sincerity. He is registering a protest against the stupid and meaningless bantering that must be clarified through supervised, disciplined education and experience, which the Socialist Party and the Young People's Socialist League of America may afford, and he is furthermore urging the young rebel to support his professed radicalism with sane and maintained action.

Having lived with and talked to inhabitants of mill-towns, mining-towns, large industrial centers, as well as farming regions, in many parts of the United States, the writer is convinced that among the workers—who know exactly how prosperous they are—there exists a restive discontent and disgruntlement that is not only wide-spread but startlingly profound.

No thorough-going radical must fall into the error of sneering at the apparent gullibility (notwithstanding what has been said), of the American people; for that very gullibility arises from an ignorance whose

dissipation through effective Socialist organization and education carries with it the eradication of the credulousness which is so deplorable.

To make the worker conscious of his role, to indicate clearly what his action shall be, is a task of such magnitude against the formidable opposition of the ruling class, that able young men and women have become unprecedently essential as organizers in the cause of Socialism.

The Young People's Socialist League of America desires to attract and to provide a training ground for young people of any shade, creed, or sex, who can be made to realize the necessity for a commonwealth founded upon the principle of service for the many rather than profit for the few, to be created through the Organization, Education, and Solidarity of the working-class.

How real this is to be for the ensuing years of unrest depends largely on the encouragement and support which the Socialist Party must give toward the development of the Young People's Socialist League into a true Socialist Youth Movement.

## The Spanish Revolution By Remigio Cabello, President, and Manuel Rebor, Secretary, Socialist Party of Spain

OW, when Spanish life is being subjected to a farreaching social revolution, in which the organized workers of our party and of the General Labor Union have played such an active part, we feel inspired to know that our efforts to build for the future are being watched with so much attention and sympathy by our foreign comrades.

We wish first to thank the Socialist Party of America for the good wishes it has extended to our workers' revolution begun a year ago. The voices of American Socialists, and of our comrades in other countries of the world, assure us of an international working-class solidarity which impels us to strive mightily to finish the work we have begun to strengthen the Spanish republic, and to give it, at the same time, a social content which can serve as an example to other European republics.

We feel intimate ties to the workers of all countries, and we feel sure that the comradeship of all Socialists, inspired by a single ideal, will never fail on any occasion.

any occasion.

In a special manner, we have a vital interest in the affairs of your country, which has engaged in so many scientific and social experiments which we must take into account in making our own plans.

We hope that the workers of America can hold high the colors of Socialism, and build their party in the immediate future, not only in numbers, but in vital social significance.

We are glad to offer this testimonial of our gratitude and affection, which we extend with all the emotion aroused by the historic hour in which we live.

## Give them Hope!

By VICTOR L. BERGER

(An Editorial Published July, 1907)

THE most formidable obstacle in the way of further progress—and especially in the propaganda of Socialism—is not that men are insufficiently versed in political economy or lacking in intelligence. It is that people are without hope.

Popular effort has so often been thwarted by selfish cunning—great moral enthusiasm has so often been dissipated by the suspicious organization of the ruling classes that men

have lost heart.

Despair is the chief opponent of progress.

Our greatest need is hope.

The majority of our fellow workers know of public measures that would be beneficent—if an upward step were possible. But they claim it is impossible under the present system. Some of them wait for some great "revolution" that is to come "some day." Others do not wait for anything. They do not expect anything. They have lost hope. Why?

Both the so-called "revolutionists" and the "letit-go-as-it-is-men" are overwhelmed by a multitude of incidental obstacles which are in themselves of small

account.

Petty disappointments cloud the small horizons of these people. Thus they are shut off from the sight of the great universal and historic forces that are working for progress—for Socialism—and even for progress beyond Socialism.

Only these forces work slowly. Slowly and surely.

\* \* \* \*

Revolutions—and special evolutions—are brought about in human affairs not so much by the dissemination of a multitude of ideas, as by the concentration of a multitude of minds upon a single idea.

And this idea must be near enough and comprehensive enough and of sufficient importance to stir the very soul of the masses.

Mere theoretical or dogmatic phrases—no matter how "clearcut"—are not capable of producing the universal enthusiasm required to institute any fundamental innovations.

Besides, doctrinarism and dogmatism lead to splits and to the formation of political sects. But when people are constantly absorbed in doing things, and in preparing for still greater things, the petty jealousies and small causes for strife and dissension disappear.

Furthermore, I say, we ought to have "uniformity" in general principles and general tactics only. We ought to leave minor details to the different state organizations. Especially where the movement is old and well rooted, where there are plenty of tried leaders and where the membership is experienced, they are fully capable of the righteous settlement of all incidental questions without interference from the outside.

Instead of more uniformity we ought to have more unity.

And we can gain this only when we leave details to the various subdivisions—and concentrate the efforts of our propaganda on the simple realities, self-evident and capable of being understood by all.

The first such central truth, to be proclaimed tirelessly by every Social Democrat, is that the earth is



Victor L. Berger

large enough and wide enough to supply all the good things of life to every human being born on it.

Add to this that the triumphs of modern science make it possible for men to satisfy every natural craving, every healthy desire, every reasonable hope and dream, without any man being compelled to sacrifice another being for his purpose.

This means that this world, now made a hell by human greed, abetted by ignorance and prejudice, might as well be a heaven.

It means that the misery caused by capitalism on one hand and poverty on the other, can be displaced by happiness and plenty for all

Following this, one can demonstrate from history that this capitalist system did not always exist, but succeeded the feudal system, which had followed a system of slavery—each of these succeeding systems being better and

more human than its predecessor.

And we can then easily show that the trusts are the natural outcome of capitalism and competition and cannot be legislated out of existence as long as capitalism exists.

The immediate effect of the practical acceptance of these self-evident truths is always wonderful.

Convince men that our country is large enough and rich enough to give them all an opportunity to work and earn enough to support their families in comfort, to educate their children properly and to be absolutely secure in sickness and old age.

Convince men that their present poverty is unnecessary. Proclaim that capitalism is simply a phase of civilization as feudalism was and Socialism will be—that nothing that is, lasts forever.

Convince them of this and you have them "for good."

Only take care not to have them tie their hopes for the future to any catastrophe that is to bring the millenium "at one stroke." Take care not to have them hope for any Messiah.

It invariably leads to fatalism of one kind or the other and destroys the incentive for continuous and hard work at the present time.

Fatalism is always fatal to real progress.

\* \* \* \*

Therefore, Social-Democratic propagandists, do not weary your hearers with statistics or the definitions of "surplus value." Do not confuse them by trying to explain all the intricacies of the capitalist system and by describing the beauties of the co-operative commonwealth.

Teach them that in order to get a better world we shall have to work for it and fight for it.

Work and fight are the "Messiahs" of proletarians.

Teach the proletariat that the highest patriotism consists in working and fighting for the new world.

And that to work and to fight for it is the sublime mission of this generation and possibly also of the

Nothing else in this world can compare with this work in importance.

#### Milwaukee's Socialist Daily

By JOHN M. WORK

Associate Editor, Milwaukee Leader

THE Milwaukee Leader came into existence December 7th, 1911. Since that time it has been an institution in Milwaukee and Wisconsin.

Battling for the rights of labor from its initial number the Leader has had a stormy career. At first it had a financial deficit. Because of the number, purchasing power and loyalty of its readers it overcame that difficulty and was on a self-supporting basis when the war came in 1917. Realizing that it was a commercial war, the paper took a frank anti-war and pro-peace attitude.

In October, 1917, the Leader's second-class mailing right was withdrawn. This was a terrific blow. It cut off nearly the whole of the mail subscription list—about 14,000 at one clip. War fans also bulldozed some of the advertisers into withdrawing their patronage. For a time it looked as if suspension would be inevitable. But the Leader's family of readers in Milwaukee city and county—the readers who received the paper by carrier and were therefore not cut off by the withdrawal of the outgoing mail right—showed their mettle and rushed to the rescue. The paper successfully passed through the crisis, and continued to tell the truth as it saw it.

In August, 1918—the withdrawal of the outgoing mail right not having knocked the Leader out—its enemies thought to finish it by cutting off its incoming mail. All mail addressed to it was sent back, stamped "Undeliverable under the Espionage Act." This was another severe blow. Neither subscribers nor advertisers could write to the paper and have their letter delivered. Any ordinary newspaper would have been crushed. But the Leader's family of readers is not ordinary. They came gloriously to the front again, and again its enemies were baffled.

The office of the paper was raided twice by the Department of "Justice." The files of the paper and parts of the records were taken and kept for months. The editor-in-chief was indicted, tried, and sentenced to serve twenty years in the federal penitentiary, besides being plastered with other indictments and twice ousted from Congress to which he had been elected. The publishing company itself was indicted, and the associate editors were threatened with indictment.

All these persecutions failed to kill the paper or to dampen the spirit of its publishers and editors. In June, 1921—two and a half years after the armistice—the outgoing and incoming mail rights were restored. The editor-in-chief's conviction was reversed and the other indictiments dismissed.

In addition to being a newspaper with the usual features of a daily paper, the Leader contains features which are not found in the ordinary dailies. These concern both America and foreign countries. The editorial page endeavors to give truthful and punchful interpretations of current events. The editorials are widely reprinted. The remainder of the editorial page is devoted to articles designed to give the readers a liberal education in economics, politics and kindred subjects, together with some lighter features.

During the entire period of its existence the paper has been in the vanguard of social progress, working for better conditions, a higher civilization and the brotherhood of man.

## L. I. D. PAMPHLETS

#### AN ARSENAL OF FACTS FOR THE COMING CAMPAIGN

The publications of the L.I.D. to-day play a more aggressive part in the attack on capitalism than ever before. Socialist Party members use L.I.D. literature at street corner meetings, at forums, in classes of workers' education.

#### A few titles:

Unemployment and Its Remedies
by Harry W. Laidler, 1932, 104 pps25c
Waste and the Machine Age
by Stuart Chase, 1932, 64 pps15c
Looking Forward — Radical ask-me-
another question book, 1932, 72 pps15c
How America Lives
by Harry W. Laidler, 1932, 64 pps15c
Social Management of America Forests
by Robert Marshall, 35 pps10c
New Capitalism and the Socialist
by Harry W. Laidler, 1931, 47 pps 10c
Why I Am A Socialist
by Norman Thomas, 1932 5c

#### Important books for Socialists:

By Norman	Thon	nas			
America's	Way	Out:	A	Program	for
Democracy					
As I See I	t. Ma	cmillan	Co	. 1932	\$2.00

The Road Ahead, with illustrations by Mabel Pugh. A primer of socialism and capitalism. Thomas Y. Crowell ......\$1.00
By Charles Cross

A Picture of America. A photo story of our country as it is and as it might be. Simon and Schuster, Inc. Special L.I.D. price \$1.00

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### The Socialist March of the States

#### **CALIFORNIA**

THE Socialist Party of California is much better prepared today than it was in 1928. Membership at the end of 1928 was 252. Today it is over 800. In 1928 there were ten locals and branches in the state, today, there are forty-three. At the present time, with no political campaign immediately before us we are distributing more than 75,000 pieces of literature a month and holding an average of well over one hundred and twenty five meetings.

Today we have a rapidly growing Socialist press. All of the leading Socialist weeklies carry California near the top of their circulation lists. The circulation of the New Era has reached eight thousand and is

growing rapidly.

Today the younger Socialist element is represented with eight circles of the Young People's Socialist League, where in 1928 there were none. They are active League for Industrial Democracy chapters at the University of California, Scripps College and Pomona University, and social problems groups at Stanford and the University of California. Socialist speakers have addressed nearly every college in the state within the past three months. In Berkeley the L.I.D. group has branched off a regular local of the Party, which is one of the most aggressive and active branches in the state. Our organizers, in Berkeley, Los Angeles and in the field, our State Secretary and many others in responsible positions are young people. These comrades, guided by the counsel of those who have been with the movement for years, have built what is practically a new Socialist Party in California in less than three years.

The last state convention, held in Los Angeles in February, was the largest, and most enthusiastic in many years. Delegates from sections where a year ago there had been no Socialist activity reported big meetings and growing membership. The convention made plans for two new organizations under party control, the Socialist Christian League and the Socialist Union Labor League. The Socialist Christian League has already attracted new people into the movement and created much favorable comment. The Socialist Labor League is developing a Socialist Labor Press Service for the papers of organized labor. More than a dozen labor papers that are the official organs of central labor bodies are carrying Socialist news and editorials. Five editors of these papers are members of the Socialist party. Central Labor Councils in San Diego and San Bernardino endorsed the Socialist Unemployment Insurance Petition and many others are expected to in the near future.

Work among the unemployed has been very fruitful. A year ago an unemployed conference of more than three thousand was organized in Los Angeles, and as a result of their agitation a five million dollar bond issue was forced through the city council to provide work for the jobless. Conditions in the soup kitchens and employment agencies were cleaned up. A similiar organization of nearly eight hundred was organized in Pasadena. Through our work with the unemployed many new and valuable members came into the party.

The Socialist party has now open a state-wide drive for signatures for our Unemployment Insurance Initiative Petition. More than 110,000 signatures must be secured to place the measure on the ballot at the general election and from present indications we are confident that we will aquire the required signatures with little difficulty. This work has revived interest in the Party and has brought back into activity several quiet locals.

Socialist groups and organizations are becoming established and stabilized. Branches are securing their own buildings for headquarters. The Los Angeles members are operating a Labor College on the entire second floor of a large building, a small co-operative store has been started and is functioning successfully on a small capital. The New Era is being issued without interruption and is gaining circulation. The state office has pushed the sale of literature and has sold to date more than three thousand pamphlets, to be resold by locals at five cents each and up, and has ordered five thousand more copies of the A.B.C. of Socialism, selling 3,000 copies.

The Socialist Party of California feels confident that the vote for Socialist candidates this fall will be

an inspiring increase.

ROGER RUSH State Secretary, Los Angeles, California

#### CONNECTICUT

N assuming the duties of State secretary-treasurer in 1929, I found the movement at low ebb in membership and finances. General apathy was in the saddle. By persistent efforts we were able to revive the movement. Continuous work eventually got results. We were able to revive such places as Hartford, New Haven and Stamford and new locals were added at Norwalk, New Britain and Easton.

We prevailed upon locals to enter into the local

We prevailed upon locals to enter into the local elections. In a number of municipal elections in 1931 the Socialist vote was far beyond our expectation, particularly in cases such as Bridgeport and Meriden. Good showings vere also made in Wallingford, Hart-

ford, Hamden, New Haven and Norwalk.

Financially, the state office now has a cash balance on hand and is proud to say that we are one of the states that is paying one dollar per member per year to the national office. In 1930 we invited the National Executive Committee to meet in Connecticut and the publicity we received and meetings held with members of the Committee had a good effect. From time to time we have had paid special organizers in the field for organizing purposes. Thousands upon thousands of leaflets have been furnished to the locals by the state office without any charge. The results have been wonderful, as the municipal elections have proven.

Very enthusiastic reports are coming into the state office from all locals in the state. Already plans are being made for the national campaign. Our state convention is to be held June 26th in the Maenner Chor Park, West Haven. This will be one of the largest

conventions in the history of Connecticut.

Connecticut extends greetings to the Milwaukee Convention, and may its deliberations be the means of building a powerful working class political organization in the United States.

MINIE CEDERHOLM, State Secretary, 214 Pacific Street, Bridgeport, Conn.

#### **IDAHO**

A FTER the 1928 elections, Idaho Socialist activity dropped to the point of nil. This continued to be the condition until 1930 when a few comrades called a few county conventions and nominated a few local candidates, but the votes were so small in number that no tabulations were made.

During the summer of 1931 an Acting State Secretary of the Party was appointed by the National Executive Committee. A local was finally organized at Twin Falls. This local has been making some progress toward a state-wide revivel. We are trying hard at this time to have 200 Socialists and sympathizers gather at Boise for a State Nomination Convention on May 24th. Our efforts will be centered on getting four presidential electors on the ballot as well as all State candidates.

At the 17th annual State Federation of Labor Convention held at Idaho Falls last December, the Acting State Secretary of the Socialist Party was a delegate. Comrade James D. Graham, of Montana was a fraternal delegate. The two Socialists present stirred the convention to such an extent that there have been compliments received from different parts of the county

on its progressiveness.

In the immediate vicinity of Twin Falls, George F. Hibner, formerly Kansas State Secretary, has conducted a number of rural Socialist rallies. We are trying to have speakers of national note make this territory in the near future. All members are urgently requested to get in touch with the State Secretary to the end of building up the State organization.

H. H. FREEDHEIM, Acting State Secretady, Twin Falls, Idaho.

#### ILLINOIS

THE Illinois Socialist Party tho weak, polled over 19,000 votes for Norman Thomas in 1928. The vote surprised many, including most of the Party members, and gave new life to the movement. In the last four years the Illinois movement has grown rapidly and is on a firmer basis than for some time past. New blood is constantly coming in and new branches are being formed all over the state. A vital, enervating spirit pervades the whole movement and we are striding forward to our first goal: to make Illinois again the BACKBONE OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

IN THE UNITED STATES!

The revival at first centered only in Chicago. It soon extended to all parts of the state. Lack of funds kept the Party from growing far more rapidly. Activity, however, breeds activity. The Chicago movement took to holding streets corner meetings. New blood came in. The younger element came out in force. Outdoor meetings were held oftener and were bigger and better all the time. The Yipsels, co-operating wholeheartedly, trained several of their members as speakers and utilized them all over in conjunction with Party speakers. Other comrades caught the spirit and came out to help. More literature was distributed; one branch even published their own paper for several months, about 20,000 copies each month, in the distribution of which most of the members of the branch participated.

The new blood coming in forced a faster pace. For the first time in years, meetings were held in the State. College groups began to be organized thru the influence of the L.I.D. Existing branches began to take on a livelier attitude. In the State six branches are using City Halls and Schoolhouses for their meetings, while others have places of their own. In Cook County, the Local has rented a large headquarters, where both the State and County offices are located; the 6th C. D. Branch meets there regularly and the Yipsels use the hall (seating about 150) almost three times a week for forums, lectures, study classes, etc.

The make-up of the party itself has changed considerably. Where previously we had a majority of small businessmen and white collar people, we now have a mixture of almost everything known, excepting capitalists. The Party is truly a workingclass party now. Large numbers of miners, laborers, carpenters and mechanics built again the real workingclass psy-

chology so necessary to our movement. The student type and intellectual also came in, giving our movement that mixture of brawn and brain that spells success.

A recent law passed by the State Legislature designed to keep all minority parties off the ballot seemed for a while to have succeeded. The law required at least 25,000 signatures to our petitions, about 23,000 more than were required four years ago. However, with the movement growing as it is and evidencing further growth we are determined to go ahead and have nominated a full state ticket, with Roy Burt as Governor and Ethel Watson Senior as Lieut. Governor. The petitions are out and signatures are being obtained. A lot of hard Jimmie Higgins work is now being done to obtain these and at the same time to build the movement bigger and stronger. It is a task that calls for tremendous efforts and many sacrifices but the Illinois Socialists are going ahead with enthusiasm in their efforts to put over this campaign and build for SOCIALISM IN OUR LIFE.

BEN LARKS
State Secretary
3036 Roosevelt, Rd.
Chicago, Illinois.

#### LOUISIANA

WHILE other states are telling their record of progress for Socialism, it becomes my duty to explain Louisiana's lack of progress.

Louisiana made some progress prior to the World War, which has nearly all been lost. About the year 1900, a few pioneer Socialists were imbued with the idea of forming a state organization, which was accomplished in 1903. We then had twelve locals and a membership of 400. 1908 found about 36 locals in the state, and 2,538 Socialist votes were cast. In 1912 the Socialist vote had increased to 5,249. By 1916 the party had increased to nearly 100 locals and more than a thousand members, but under new election laws, the Socialist ticket was not placed on the ballot and the vote declined, or was not counted. During the World War, the State Office was raided, the records taken and lost or destroyed; the State Secretary, J. R. Jones, advised to quit if he wanted to retain his liberty. The state organization ceased to function.

Nothing was done to revive the state organization until the 1928 campaign, at which time there were no locals and only four Members at Large in the state. The National Office appointed the writer, who had been State Secretary from 1909 to 1914 to again take up the duties of State Secretary and revive the state organi-We have carried on since but the obstacles zation. to be overcome have as yet been insurmountable. The old spirit seems to have been crushed completely. The Election Laws have made it practically impossible for a new party to function. In order to have a voice in local and state elections, the Louisiana voter registers Democrat. Voters registering party affiliation are not eligible to sign nomination papers for a new party or an independent candidate. Nomination Papers, to place a candidate's name on the ballot for state, and national offices, must have 1,000 signatures of qualified voters who have not registered as Democrat or Republican. A new registration is required every four years on January 1st following the Presidential elections, which will not help us out for the 1932 election.

Louisiana will require a concerted and intensive campaign of education and organization to overcome the handicaps created by the Democrat Party, for any opposition party. Until funds are to be had, when speakers and organizers can be sent out, we must depend on volunteer workers. This field is ripe for such workers. War time prosperity and prosperity psychology are gone. There is more of a spirit of revolt against conditions, than there is an intelligent under-

standing of what is wrong and the remedy.

We need workers, and the State Office is ready and willing to co-operate in every effort to advance Socialism and the party organization.

WALTER F. DIETZ, State Secretary, 1100 Common St. Lake Charles, La.

#### MAINE

STATE convention was recently held in Lewiston, Maine with some fifty delegates from all parts of the state. The convention laid plans for the state campaign committee, nominated a full slate of candidates for state wide offices, for Congress and for presidential electors, and adopted a state platform. our loyal Finnish comrades and a few members at large never dropped their interest in the party, this is the first time since the war that the comrades in Maine have nominated a state ticket and started their own campaign. It has been due partly to the increase in the number of members at large throughout the state and partly to the formation of new and fairly active locals in Portland and Lewiston.

J. H. MAXFIELD State Secretary, Portland, Me.

#### MARYLAND

THE Socialist Party in Maryland, as all over the country, took its slump after the war and with the breaking out of internal trouble. We lost all but one language federation branch. The Western part of the state is largely made up of railroad and mine workers and in building the party the greatest number of our members were also members of unions and became leaders in both organizations. Then came the famous Western Maryland rail strike which after a short time was lost. The leaders, mostly Socialists, were black-listed and soon driven out of the state. Then came the miners strike, its betrayal by the Lewis machine, and after a bitter struggle, in which Comrade Elizabeth Gilman raised a great deal of money and the party helped as much as possible, the strike was With the disappearance of the labor unions there disappeared also the Socialist locals and all activity excepting during state and National elections when some work was directed from Baltimore, where a handful of us did all we could to keep together some form of organization. The Socialist vote fell all over the state and held only in proportion to the Socialist activ-

ity, so Baltimore's loss of voting power was less.

In the last two years there has taken a marked change. We started publication of the Maryland Leader, and little by little our activity has been increasing. Some of the old members began to come back, branches were organized. With the aid of Comrade Polin, a new man in Baltimore, there sprang into being a branch of the Verband which promises to be a live one and is partly responsible for the formation of another Verband branch of old comrades in a different part of Baltimore. In another part of the city in the last few months the Hampden English-speaking Branch has been organized. Two other branches have been organized in other parts

of the city.

Outside of Baltimore the job of rebuilding is harder, yet there is beginning to be progress. We expect the National Campaign in Maryland to be the best one in a great number of years. We expect to reach more people with the message of Socialism in 1932 than ever before for at no time have the people been as eager to hear our side of the story, and a great deal of the time and money will be spent in the part of the

state where we had at one time a strong Socialist Party and a large vote. I think the party in Maryland is on the up-grade in activity and must later show an increase in membership and vote.

S. M. NEISTADT, State Secretary, 1029 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.

#### **MASSACHUSETTS**

membership, Massachusetts, has its own, but it has been gaining steadily in propaganda activity and votes for the past couple of years. The loss of members has been among those who did comparatively little Socialist work while the gain in membership has been mostly among younger people and among those willing to do over again the work that once made the party a power in this state. In 1931 we distributed three times as many leaflets

and held twice as many open air meetings as in 1928. 1932 has begun with a considerable increase in the leaflets distributed, and a very marked increase in the

number of indoor meetings held.

We have trained a number of younger speakers who are carrying on where the older members left off.

We have circularized all the trade unions and all

the Protestant churches in the state offering to send them speakers and have done the same with the Workmen's Circles and Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Societies. More than forty churches have taken our speakers, and a number of younger clergymen including twenty students at Boston University School of Theology have joined the party. Thirty trade unions, most of the Workmen's Circles and a few of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit branches have also taken Socialist speakers.

We have introduced bills in the state legislature to lower the age limit for old age pensions, to raise the compulsory school age, to provide part pay for the unemployed through a system of unemployment insurance, to get rid of injunctions in labor disputes, to protect peaceful picketing, and to tax more heavily unearned incomes, inheritances, and the proceeds from gambling on the stock exchange. These bills have gained for us some publicity and have served to put the Democratic and Republican legislators on the spot for our campaign fire when they failed to vote for them. We are now getting signatures to put unemployment insurance on the ballot in a number of representative districts. expect to have more local candidates than we have ever had before.

Except for the metropolitan papers in Boston, we generally get fairly good newspaper publicity. In addition, some of our members are using to good effect the correspondence columns of those papers that have

We have taken an active part in every important strike where our help was welcomed, going on the picket line, raising relief funds with the generous aid of the Workmen's Circles, and addressing strike meetings. In the New Bedford and Lawrence textile strikes, the Boston and Chelsea shoe strikes and the very recent strike of garment workers, we gave great

We have helped out the Communists in their when arrested. This strikes by providing bail for them when arrested. This has been very helpful in blunting the attacks of the Communists upon us. Every time they attack us, we point out that it was we who bailed out their leaders in the Sacco and Vanzetti case and in one of the Lawrence strikes, and this makes the crowd laugh at the Communist attacks on us and so infuriates the Communists that they indulge in still wilder and still more obviously untrue lies against us, and thus lose still more sympathizers among their hearers. The consequence is that the Communists have lost votes steadily

Neither Old Party Reaction Nor Liberal Confusion

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since 1924 while we have gained votes so that we had a much larger vote than they in 1930 although they

had a much larger vote than we in 1924.

The present situation has caused a tremendous increase in interest in the party. Members are joining by mail, something we never had before since the war. More people than ever before have been writing in for information, and the more attentive and sympathetic crowds which our speakers get have encouraged increased propaganda activity.

> ALFRED BAKER LEWIS, State Secretary, 3 Joy Street, Boston, Mass.

#### **NEBRASKA**

THE split and the war wiped out the Socialist party as an organization in Nebraska. In 1916 we had as an organization in Nebusala. In 1970 we have a ticket in the field and polled about 9,000 votes; since then, the party locals have disappeared. The Communists claimed that the party lacked a revolutionary spirit; the opportunists joined the Democratic and Republican parties earnest. The few socialists left were full of pessimism. They answered any attempt to organize again with, "It's no use; we are getting too old, weary, and tired; our hope is in our new generation." At the same time they failed to train their children to their ideas.

1928! Comrade B. C. Vladeck, then National Campaign Committeeman, wrote me a personal letter and asked me to do all I could for the 1928 campaign; also offered me the management of the Norman Thomas campaign of 1928. I failed to find any records of the Socialist party in our state but I found a few aged comrades and lighted the torch in their hearts We started in the dark to hunt for Socialist sympathizers or for plain people with human hearts. We appealed to them and found a very small group of aged comrades and a few sympathizers, and thanks to our lost Comrade, Dr. Gifford-who will be honorably mentioned in our history, as a Socialist, and as a famous oculist, and who helped us so much with his personality and with financial aid-we succeeded in getting on the ballot, in overcoming all the hardships. We polled over 5000 votes in 1928. The Socialist Verband of about 15 members and the Workmen's Circle of about 150 were the only organizations to help us financially.

1932!—What a difference! Comrade Clarence Senior, our National Secretary, came to Omaha in February and made a start—a good start. a convention of over 400 people. Comrade Hoan spoke and aroused the audience. People came in truck loads and in private cars from many miles away. joined the party, and behold! the young people, full of energy and revolutionary spirit, formed a Local in Omaha and a good one in North Platte and another in Lincoln. Including attempts to organize a Bohemian local, there are prospects for forming three or four more in the near future. Thanks to Hy Fish of the Y.P.S.L., a local of that organization has been formed in Omaha.

The interest shown by scattered Socialists and sympathizers all over the state is very encouraging. And even if the law makers of our state have hung up many locks on the election doors, we will break the locks and will be on the ballot of Nebraska with nearly a full ticket, and many thousands of citizens of Nebraska will express their confidence in our Party and their belief in our principles. I can see no other result! We can't live any longer under the present conditions. The capitalist society has outgrown its usefulness. Socialism must and will take the place of capitalism.

Comrades! Now is the time to organize a strong

revolutionary Socialist movement, and to fight desperately for the cause of Socialism. We will win-we must win!

S. LERNER, State Secretary 2512 Caldwell Street Omaha, Nebraska.

#### **NEW JERSEY**

THE New Jersey Socialist Party organization is moving forward with steady strides. There has been an increase in the Socialist vote at every recent election. We rose from 1,885 in 1928 to 5,614 in 1931. In the 1932 election the party will have candidates in all of the 14 congressional districts for the first time in many years and more than half of the 21 counties will have Socialist local and Assembly candidates. Since January 1, 8 new branches have been organized with a total of approximately 100 new members.

The state committee, composed of two delegates from every organized county, meets twice a month. The state executive committee, composed of comrades H. David of Union County, Matilda T. Alexander of Essex County, George Bauer of Hudson County, Henry Cox of Bergen County, and Morris Stempa of Camden County, together with state secretary Andrew P. Wittel, transact the party's business between the meetings of the state committee and direct the organization work of the state office.

An Old Age Pension bill was enacted in New Jersey last year, chiefly through the untiring efforts of Helen L. Alfred, a member of the Socialist Party in Local Essex County.

The party membership in N. J. is largely composed of foreign language fedaration members. There are 7 branches of the Jewish Socialist Verband, 3 of the Finnish Federation, 4 of the Polish Federation and two of the Italian Federation. We have 21 English speaking branches. There is a live Building Trades Branch affiliated with Essex County local which is carrying on propaganda activities among the various local unions and winning increasing numbers of union men to the Socialist Party.

The most encouraging recent event is the organization of the new English speaking branch in Trenton, the state capital, with 21 charter members. The leading local of the state is Local Essex County. It has the largest membership and is most active in all propaganda activities. Essex County showed the largest increase in votes in the 1931 election. The successful open forum during the winter months and the continuous open air meetings all summer keep this busy local humming with Socialist activity the year around. A close second is Local Camden County where the party is growing rapidly and extending its influence to neighboring unorganized counties.

A live new branch in the city of Bridgeton, recently organized, is due mainly to the efforts of the Camden comrades. Camden is the headquarters of the NEW VIEW, a monthly paper owned and published by the state organization. The Camden comrades deserve high credit for handling the difficult job of getting out this state paper in a thoroughly efficient manner. New View is published monthly and at present has a subscription list of about 1,500. The subscription price is 25 cents per year. Local Union County has a vigorous organization going forward by leaps and bounds. The very efficient campaign for Mayor of Linden, netted the Socialist candidate over 800 votes, a record achievement.

Of the remaining organized counties Local Bergen County shows the greatest activity. Two promising new branches have recently been added to this county

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#### GREETINGS FROM THE YPSELS

Young People's Labor League Montreal, Quebec

Circle One Detroit, Michigan

Circle 2, Seniors, Queens Woodhaven, New York

Eugene V. Debs Circle Chicago, Illinois

Circle One, Senior Reading, Pennsylvania

Circle One St. Louis, Missouri

Circle One Buffalo, New York Circle One

Allentown, Pennsylvania

Circle 5, Senior Cleveland, Ohio

Circle One, Senior Cleveland, Ohio

City Executive Committee Cleveland, Ohio

Circle One New Bedford, Massachusetts

Circle One Camden, New Jersey

Karl Marx Circle Chicago, Illinois



## Young People's Socialist League

NATIONAL OFFICE

549 Randolph Street Chicago, Illinois



organization and two more are in prospect. Local Passaic County is waking up to its opportunity for Socialist propaganda in the great industrial centers of Paterson and Passaic City. New branches in both of these cities have recently been organized.

Local Hudson County is also stirring with a revival of party activity. A full county ticket and congressional candidates have been nominated. Much sacrifice and much devoted service on the part of the Hudson County comrades has for many years gone into the purchase and upkeep of the building of the Socialist Educational Club at 256 Central Ave., Jersey City, N. J. This building is well known as the headquarters of the state organization during past years.

The Socialist Party of New Jersey enters the Presidential campaign fully conscious of its great opportunity and determined to make the most of it.

ANDREW P. WITTEL, State Secretary, 105 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J.

#### **NEW YORK STATE**

NE-THIRD of the sixty-two counties of New York State have local organizations of the Socialist Party, two-thirds have locals and members-at-large. In 1928 one-fifth of the dues-paying member-ship of the Socialist Party was in the Empire State; in 1931 the proportion had increased to one-fourth. In 1931 our dues-paying membership was 80% larger than it was in the presidential year of 1928, and we expect that it will be twice as great before Election Day rolls around. Towns which have shown no signs of activity since the World War are reorganizing. Although five-sixths of our membership is concentrated in the city of New York, the largest proportion of duespaying members to population happen to be found in the upstate counties of Rockland, Schenectady and Tompkins.

One-tenth of the Socialist vote of the United States was polled in New York State in 1916. In 1920 the proportion had risen to one-fifth, and in the last presidential election it was more than one-third. While Louis Waldman, our candidate for Governor in the presidential year of 1928, got 101,859 votes, he received 120,444 votes in 1930 on a much smaller total registration. In the city of New York our votes in recent years have been particularly notable. The 176,697 vote polled by Norman Thomas as candidate for Mayor in 1929 was a record-breaker, but while Thomas received 37,316 votes for Mayor in the Borough of Manhattan in 1929, he got 48,464 votes when he ran for the office of Borough President last year. This Borough only gave him 15,016 votes for President in 1928. Bronx County, which gave Thomas only 8,904 votes in 1928, gave him 39,181 votes the following year.

The last four years have witnessed a vast change in the attitude of the young people toward the Socialist movement. In many branches of the party, particularly in New York City, the younger element predominates. This is due to a large extent to the work carried on by the Young People's Socialist League. Seven hundred young workers and students are organized in about thirty-five circles of this League in the metropolitan area of Greater New York. Weekly educational programs develop its members' knowledge and understanding of Socialism, labor history and problems, politics and sociology. District or borough, and city committees arrange mass meetings on anniversaries, during the election campaign, on International Socialist Youth Day, etc. Thousands of leaflets have been printed or mimeographed by the Yipsels and distributed at schools, stores and factories. Dozens of street-corner meetings are held weekly. Funds are collected by tag-days, coupon books, stamps and other devices for the relief and defense of Kentucky, West Virginia and Pennsyl-

vania miners, and for textile workers in Paterson and Allentown. Many Yipsels have spoken, done clerical, commissary and other work for the Butchers, Garment Workers and other unions. On the social side these young people have organized dramatic groups, baseball and basket ball teams, hiking expeditions and other activities which attract the youth of both sexes. They cooperate actively with the regular Socialist Party Organization in all its election campaigns and demonstrations, particularly in doing the "Jimmy Higgins" work which is so necessary if we are to function and add to our adherents. There are vigorous and active circles of the Y.P.S.L. in Buffalo, Syracuse and Utica, and contacts have been made in other upstate cities which are expected to result in the organization of more circles in the near future.

With pioneers of our American Socialist movement and the rising generation working hand in hand the future of the Socialist Party of New York State is

assured.

HERBERT M. MERRILL, State Secretary, 7 East 15th St., New York City.

#### OHIO

THE Socialist organization of Ohio, more than in any other state, felt the brunt of the split in 1919. It was in that year that the Ohio State convention of the Party, instructed its delegates to press for the adoption of the 21 points imported from the Third International.

There is no imperative need to tell of the consequences of the Communist tactics. The Ohio organization, with a membership of about eight thousand, was claimed by the Communists. Here and there some weakened locals remained loyal to the Socialist Party. A call for a State Convention was felt to be the immediate step necessary to concentrate our forces. At that convention, only four locals responded to the call. Their representatives were charged with carrying on the work of the party under circumstances far from encouraging.

Credit must be given to the loyal and patient

captains who guided our ship through the menacing

storms and brought us safely to the shore.

About three years ago an awakening of the workers was noticed in many parts of the state. A new situation had arisen. A million workers lost their

The Socialists of Ohio are charged today with capitalizing this grave situation. This charge is honorably accepted by every member of the Party as well as by the Executive Committee of the Ohio organization. The activities of the State Office and of the locals and branches have increased to an extent so as to assure the expected results. The distribution of a quarter of a million leaflets within 15 months is an outstanding record for any state organization. The sympathy and the confidence of the people, and the workers in particular, have been considerably regained. This confidence was clearly expressed in the last municipal election when we were able to put a ticket

The agents of capitalism were not slumbering. A new election law was adopted in 1929. The requirements to be recognized now as a legal party are burdening the comrades with great responsibilities and compels every loyal member to be more active. The Socialist Party of Ohio is attempting to overcome the obstacles created by the new law.

A new event of great importance commands the sincere consideration of the Socialists in Ohio. A conference of Ohio ministers, representing every domination of the Protestant churches in the state, unanimously adopted a resolution condemning the present system

6

by STEPHEN RAUSHENBUSH

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of capitalism; holding responsible the "profit motive" for all evils. They call upon the government to take over the basic industries, means of transportation and public utilities; and to operate in the interests of all the people. This resolution, which was severely criticized by the capitalist press, leads to a profound understanding between the advocates of Socialism and the ministers in our state. The Party in Ohio has accepted this opportunity. A new policy of cultivating the friendship of all shades of liberals and, in the meantime, retaining our identity as a revolutionary party is being adopted.

At the last State Convention we adopted a resolution for unemployment insurance and instructed the State Executive Committee to prepare a definite plan for indemnity to be paid by the state to the unemployed. Our bill, which was presented to the Ohio Commission for Unemployment Insurance, differs from the general bill of the Socialist party. Our bill frees industry and labor from taxation and puts the burden of taxes upon incomes, inheritances and gifts. We realize that taxing industry in our state would minimize the chances of withstanding the competition of industries in other states where Unemployment Insurance is not a part of the state responsibility. In addition to this we found that there is a great margin between the payroll of industry where organized labor is employed and industry where non-organized labor is employed. To apply a scheme for taxing industry upon the basis of the payroll would add an additional charge upon these parts of industry where organized labor is employed.

Our bill is supported by many organizations. There is an indication of the full support of organized labor. At present, the officers of the Trade Union Unemployment Insurance League have expressed their full agreement with our plan, and promise to get the support of their organization.

SIDNEY YELLEN,

State Secretary, Cleveland, Ohio.

#### UTAH

TAH can report some activity, especially in the smaller towns. The locals in Ogden and Salt Lake City have been marking time waiting for the opening cruzy of the 1022 appropries.

ing guns of the 1932 campaign.

But in Duchesne County John O. Watters, assisted by the members of the local, plans to nominate a county ticket. At Leota, in Uintah County, Thomas Hiett has addressed a well attended meeting in the local church. A ticket is planned in Uintah County.

D. C. Grundvig at Green River; A. B. Cowley at

D. C. Grundvig at Green River; A. B. Cowley at Cleveland; Bert Westover at Huntington; J. Ernest Child at Orangeville; all in Emery County are each working for a county organization and ticket. A. S. Johnson at Moab in Grand County is undertaking organization work locally and in San Juan County. At Mt. Carmel Birt Gardner recently mailed out 200 packages of Socialist literature to residents of that part of the state.

of the state.

P. M. Peterson of Gunnison in Sanpete County, assisted by N. P. Christensen of Centerfield, promoted a large meeting which was addressed by W. R. Snow of Everett, Washington. At Cedar City Snow lectured to 200 people at a meeting presided over by Wm. J. McConnell. While in the state Snow spoke three times in Ogden and once in Salt Lake City, putting new

ife into the movement.

The recent referendum for state officers of the party resulted as follows: For State Committee, E. G. Locke and Isabel Adamson of Salt Lake City; W. C. Sumer, N. Steimle and G. Gigliotti of Ogden; for State Secretary O. A. Kennedy of Ogden.

O. A. KENNEDY, State Secretary, 2910 Washington Ave., Ogden, Utah.

#### VIRGINIA

VIRGINIA never had a strong Socialist movement before the war. The largest Presidential vote ever polled was 1,062 for Benson in 1916. Perhaps we are fortunate, in that this early weakness spared us the "Class of '17"—that group of Comrades who can never seem to become inspired again, their fires having burned out in that trying period. The old organization went to smash in 1918, and the last Local disappeared about 1921.

After many years without a shadow of an organization, a small group, including the writer, met in the darkest hour of "Prosperity," resolved to build anew a Socialist party in Virginia. An organization Convention met in August, 1928, formed a State Organization with 15 charter members and launched a came zation with 15 charter members and launched a campaign for Thomas for President. The election brought little comfort, Thomas polling a bare 250 votes in a

total of 305,000.
"Prosperity" ended in October, 1929, and in November we celebrated an increase in membership and a vote of 460 for Governor, in a total of 270,000. 1930 brought the first great advance, with our vote for Senator stacking up to 7,944 in a total of 146,000, while

our membership grew to nearly 100.
Since September, 1930, the writer has been engaged full time as Secretary and organizer.

1931 was the first full year of activity. We increased our vote tremendously and tripled our membership. In 26 counties and 6 cities where we ran candidates, our vote averaged 16% of the total.

didates, our vote averaged 16% of the total.

Space does not permit a description of the excellent work of our "Unemployed Legion," our Peace activity, literature distribution, organization methods, etc. We have toured many speakers in the last 15 months, including Norman Thomas, Morris Hillquit, Jacob Panken and James H. Maurer. We have also employed local talent extensively, our main speakers being Herman R. Ansell, John J. Kafka, W. F. Billings, John C. Davis, G. Gary White and the writer.

At this writing we have five locals in the state, with about 400 red card Members. We are just launching a vigorous drive to build new Locals in a dozen cities and counties before July 1st. Our goal in this

cities and counties before July 1st. Our goal in this campaign is 1,000 members, at least 20 Locals, and 30,000 votes or roughly 10% of the total. We really

believe we'll get there!

This spring we are making vigorous Municipal campaigns in Hopewell, Richmond and Norfolk. Elections fall on June 14. We will place a full Congressional ticket in the field this fall, together with our Presidential ticket, and will open our campaign July 1st, the first 10 weeks being devoted to intensive organization work. We will make a special drive among the Negroes for membership and votes. This has already met with favorable response. We expect to form Yipsel circles soon.

Within another year we expect to constitute a real threat to capitalist control in Virginia, and we consider ourselves the spearhead for an invasion of the South.

DAVID G. GEORGE State Secretary, Post Office Box 893, Richmond, Virginia.

#### WASHINGTON, D. C.

OCAL Washington, D. C. has nearly doubled its membership since 1932. A new branch and a study club are among recent accomplishments. Out of this study group of young people came the signers for a new local and they inaugurated street meetings, the first Carlot that the transfer meeting hold in Washington the first Socialist street meeting held in Washington since Wilson proposed to make "the world safe for the Democrats."

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## Program

#### NATIONAL CONVENTION - SOCIALIST PARTY

#### **Municipal Auditorium** Milwaukee, Wisconsin

(Changes will be announced in the Daily Convention Bulletin.)

THURSDAY, May 19, 1932

N. E. C. meets at the New Randolph Hotel, 4th and Wisconsin

#### FRIDAY

N. E. C. at New Randolph Organization Conference

Organizers and secretaries are especially invited Committee Room, Municipal Auditorium, 5th and Kilbourne

Problems of Organization in Large Cities Julius Gerber, New York Čity, Chairman William W. Busick, Los Angeles — Leo Krzycki, Milwaukee

Small Town and Rural Problems 2 p. m. State-wide Organization

JASPER McLEVY, Bridgeport, Chairman

DAVID GEORGE, Hopewell, Va.—AMICUS MOST, Charleston, W.Va.

Reception to N. E. C., delegates and visitors by Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, City Hall.

#### SATURDAY

#### MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM

8:30 a. m. Registration of Delegates starts. Auditorium Lobby

10 a. m. Convention opened by National Secretary, Clarence Senior

Roll call of delegates

Address of welcome, Daniel W. Hoan, Mayor of Milwaukee

Response, Temporary Chairman Adoption of rules of Convention

Election of Chairman

Election of Committees

#### SUNDAY

Business session

Nominating session

Mass Meeting, Main Hall, Auditorium

#### MONDAY

10 a. m. Business session — Juneau Hall, Auditorium

2 p. m. Business session — Juneau Hall

6 p. m. Convention supper, Pfister Hotel

#### TUESDAY

Business sessions as required

#### Delegates and Alternates Elected to the Seventeenth National Convention

of the

#### SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA

ARKANSAS DELEGATE Manford Ettinger ALTERNATE Sam Sandberg

CALIFORNIA CALIFORNIA
DELEGATES
Mrs. Marion Alderton
William Busick
Mrs. Wm. Busick
Kate Crane Gartz
H. A. Hedden
George Kirkpatrick
Mrs. Irena Kotowa
A. Levin
Ulius Levitt Mrs. Irena Kotowa
A. Levin
Julius Levitt
David Lyon
Mervin Levy
John Packard
Mrs. John Packard
Joseph Pietruszewski
E. E. Porter
Chaim Shapiro
Sam Weisenberg
Joe Zameres
Elenora Zamorska

COLORADO DELEGATES
Morton Alexander
B. L. Coleman
J. A. Kimber
Carle Whitehead

CONNECTICUT DELEGATES Minnie Cederholm Fred Cederholm Walter E. Davis Arnold E. Freese Jasper McLevy

DIST. OF COL. DELEGATE Marx Lewis

DELAWARE Sam Silver

FLORIDA DELEGATE J. J. Patton

**GEORGIA** DELEGATE Chas. Weintraub

ILLINOIS DELEGATES Ivar A. Anderson Morris Blumin Morris Blumin
Roy Burt
George Chant
John Collins
Jess Cripe
Adolph Dreifuss
Morris Franklin
Anton Garden
Owen Geer
Dr. R. B. Green
Meyer Halushka
Ben Larks
F. Matteoni
Paula Milgrom
Hyman Schneid
Fannie Schneid
Morris Seskind Fannie Schneid
Morris Schneid
Morris Seskind
Carl Sweet
Fred Wellman
Frank Zaitz
ALTERNATES
Oscar Elet
Harold Kelso
Donald Lotrich
Jane McDowell
Jacob Siegel
Ed. Verburg

INDIANA
DELEGATES
Eugene Cooney
Powers Hapgood
Edward Henry
Phil Reinbold Wilbur Sheron Wilbur Sheron
ALTERNATES
H. W. Daacke
R. Johnson
H. L. Murch
W. R. Richards
Roy Wilson

KANSAS
DELEGATES
Joseph Cornell
Mrs. M. Haldeman-Julius
Fred Hurd
Roy Ingraham
Ross Magill
M. L. Phillips
Anton Shular
ALTERNATES
Ida A. Beloof
Ralph Gilman
A. J. Graham
Enoch Greer
John Stone

KENTUCKY DELEGATE J. L. Stark

MAINE DELEGATES
Donald M. Smith
Gordon Watt

MARYLAND DELEGATES Charles Bernstein Elizabeth Gilman S. M. Neistadt

MASSACHUSETTS DELEGATES DELEGATES
Leo Arkin
Joseph Bearak
Albert Sprague Coolidge
Charles Hill
Alfred Baker Lewis
Eileen O'Connor
George E. Roewer
Lester Shulman
Glen Trimble

MICHIGAN

DELEGATES Hallen Bell Francis King Francis King
Axel Londal
Walter Morris
Arthur Rubenstein
ALTERNATES
R. Benedict
Walter Bergman
Harry Riseman
Jean Seidell
Neil Staebler

MINNESOTA DELEGATES P. R. Anderson Leo Gisslen Leo Gisslen
J. A. Gonstead
Morris Kaplan
August Prohofsky
Sigmond Slonim
Lynn Thompson
O. P. Victorian
ALTERNATES
Mrs. George Daggett
Mrs. J. A. Gonstead
E. H. H. Holman

MISSOURI DELEGATES B. Cohen

Joseph G. Hodges G. A. Hoehn H. Ommerman ALTERNATES Mrs. Ray Moss H. J. Sutton

MONTANA DELEGATE James D. Graham

**NEBRASKA** 

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Samuel Lerner
John M. Paul
Wilbur E. Sanford
Harry Uerling ALTERNATES William Bishoff Glenn Griffith

NEW HAMPSHIRE DELEGATE Emil Hangas

NEW MEXICO DELEGATE John Williams

NEW JERSEY

DELEGATES George Goebel Henry Jager Harry Nelson Herman F. Niessner Morris Stempa Andrew P. Wittel

**NEW YORK** 

DELEGATES Samuel E. Beardsley A. Belsky Simon Berlin Morris Berman Paul Blanshard Heywood Broun N. Chanin N. Chanin
Samuel De Witt
Wm. M. Feigenbaum
Esther Friedman
Henry Fruchter
G. August Gerber
Julius Gerber
Julius Gerber
Wilho Hedman
Louis Hendin Louis Hendin
Morris Hillquit
William H. Hilsdorf
Robert A. Hoffman
Prof. Vladimir Karapetoff
Wm. Karlin
Harry W. Laidler
Algernon Lee Algernon Lee
Olga Long
Bela Low
Herbert M. Merrill
Ray Newkirk
James Oneal
Samuel Orr
Jacob Panken
Bernard J. Riley
Louis Schaffer
Charles Solomon
Carl P. Svenssen
Monroe M. Sweetland, Jr.
Norman Thomas Norman Thomas
Jules Umansky
B. C. Vladeck
Sarah Volovick
Louis Waldman
Mrs. Theresa B. Wiley ALTERNATES Jack Altman Jacob Axelrad

Rev. Aug. G. H. Batten Joseph Beckerman Richard M. Briggs Emil Bromberg Emil Bromberg
Ethelred Brown
Sofus W. Christensen
August Claessens
Winston Dancis
Nathan Fine
Samuel H. Friedman W. L. Herman Arthur Jacobsen Joseph Laventhal Edward Levinson Louis Lison
J. B. Matthews
I. Minkoff I. Minkoff Paul Porter Carl Parsons Sol Perrin S. Romualdi Elizabeth C. Roth Elizabeth C. Roth J. G. Roth Henry Rosner Theodore Shapiro Joseph Tuvin Girolamo Valenti Joseph Viola A. N. Weinberg William Young

**OKLAHOMA** 

DELEGATES Dr. Allen C. Adams Oscar Ameringer Newman Jeffery Dr. M. Shadid A. B. Zigler ALTERNATE Mrs. Newman Jeffery

DELEGATES J. Duddle J. Duddle Joseph Martinek Alex Ranen Joseph W. Sharts Meyer Weintraub John Willert Max Wohl Sidney Yellen ALTERNATES Chas. Pintner Frank Tancek OREGON DELEGATES Geo. R. Buickerood

Chas. Kolb V. P. Martin Albert Streiff

PENNSYLVANIA DELEGATES Franz Daniel Fred Gendral Jesse George Jacob Halderman, Jr. Jacob Halderman, Jr.
Darlington Hoopes
Anna Krasna
Sarah Limbach
James H. Maurer
Leo Pryzblinski
Geo. Rhodes
Joseph Schwartz
Joshua J. Sherman
Geo. W. Snyder
J. Henry Stump
William J. Van Essen
James S. Van Horn
Birch Wilson
Lilith Wilson
Chas. W. Young
Anton Zornik Anton Zornik

RHODE ISLAND DELEGATE Jacob Pavlow

TENNESSEE DELEGATE Frank Perlman

TEXAS DELEGATES
George Clifton Edwards
G. W. M. Taylor

UTAH DELEGATES
Mrs. Earl M. Webber
Earl M. Webber

VIRGINIA

DELEGATES Herman Ansell
David George
ALTERNATES
Winston F. Dawson
Richard L. Johnson

WASHINGTON

DELEGATES Will Everett
John M. Glenn
John F. McKay
Walter A. Werth
ALTERNATES Helen Coates
H. O. Fuhrberg
Stella K. Garrison
Leo Welsh

WEST VIRGINIA DELEGATES Amicus Most J. H. Snider ALTERNATE Mrs. Nora Frank

WISCONSIN DELEGATES

DELEGATES
Dr. M. V. Baxter
John Banachowicz
Joseph Becker
Al Benson
John Buresh
L. P. Christiansen
Wm. Coleman
Carl P. Dietz
Paul Gauer
Otto R. Hauser
Daniel W. Hoan
John F. Huehnl
Leo Krzycki
Dr. J. W. Mudroch
Alfred Nabor
Walter Polakowski
Wm. Quick
Max Raskin
Emil Seidel Emil Seidel

WYOMING

DELEGATES Joseph Lunn W. W. Wolfe

> FRATERNAL DELEGATES

CZECHOSLOVAK Charles Glaser FINNISH George Makela ITALIAN S. Pollo JEWISH Samuel Levitas JUGOSLAV Chas. Pogorelec Pius Grigaigis POLISH J. Trzaska

Murray Baron

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The Only English
Daily Socialist
Newspaper in
the Nation.



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540 W. JUNEAU AVENUE

We held a banquet on March 20th, with Morris Hillquit and Charles Edward Russell as speakers. Street meetings are to be our principal activities during the warm weather, and we earnestly invite any comrade who intends to visit our fair Capitol City, and especially, "Soap Boxers," to give us notice in advance.

> J. MAHLON BARNES. Secretary, 637 Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.

#### **WEST VIRGINIA**

ECEMBER the fifteenth 1931 was a momentous day for the Socialist movement in the "Mountaineer

On that date two able young Comrades left New York City to organize the State of West Virginia. Murray Baron and Amicus Most arrived in Charleston a few days later and commenced a whirl-wind campaign to put the state back on the Socialist map. These brilliant, untiring Comrades with fury zeal and unflagging energy began to tell the people of our state ertain facts about Socialism, and how they told it! Into drab tent-colonies, where starvation, misery and moral despair stalked; on the wind swept mountain sides, where desperate, striking coal miners and their starving progeny miserably existed. These miners had been forcibly evicted from their humble homes by the minions of Capitalist law. Our organizers at the people and the once began to stir up these people, and the people heard them gladly.

New Locals, and good ones, began to form. Every where these gallant young representatives of militant socialism appeared and spoke a strong Local was

From the historic Great Kanawha Valley in the south to the rugged mountains of the eastern panhandle our fiery young disciples preached the truth of Socialism. The Court House auditorium resounded with their stirring appeals. To city, town, hamlet, and cross-roads villages their went in their mission.

The Fairmont Times, in a front page article, stated that last night our Court House was jammed with a crowd estimated to 1,800, at the greatest political meeting held in Marion, hundreds were turned away.

Our Comrades in their work in West Virginia have received an enormous amount of very favorable publicity in the press. They have addressed Central Labor Unions and made favorable impressions. Their effort has caused the Socialist party to rise Phoenix-like from the ashes of the past, has caused the hearts of our old time Socialists to sing with joy, has inspired our new Comrades with an invincible spirit to carry forward our standard; and to work for Socialism.

Dr. M. S. Holt, a young Comrade of ninety years, when they came to Weston regardless of inclement weather, was one of the "Jimmy Higgins" who went out to pass hand-bills and tack up posters advertising the meeting. This gallant Comrade was in his element, and thoroughly enjoyed the experince.

We must now add a word of praise our esteemed National Executive Secretary Clarence Senior, who induced Comrades Most and Baron to come into West Virginia, and who has so earnestly cooperated with them and who has so wonderfully helped our State Office and the various Locals which have been estab-

On December 15th there was no organization in our State. We now have 14 Locals, and a Membership-at-Large of 67. Some Local meetings are attended by 28 and 200 and 2 to 15th of pioness. tendedby as many as 300 people. A lot of pioneer work has been done by our excellent Organizers that will result in the formation of a host of Locals in the near future. There are now approximately 600 en-

rolled Socialists, where three months ago we had not one in West Virginia.

Baron and Most, in their labors, have added a new significance to our State Motto, which translated from the latin is "Mountaineers, Always Freemen."

It now becomes the bounden duty of every Socialist in our capitalist controlled state to carry forward the torch of Liberty which was re-lighted by our worthy Comrades Baron, Most and Senior. Forward! to Victory.

> J. F. HIGGINS, State Secretary, Box 218 Star City, West Virginia.

#### **PENNSYLVANIA**

THAT the Socialist Party in the Keystone State is gaining ground is apparent to anyone familiar with recent developments. For years confined only to large industrial centers such as Reading, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, the party is now steadily knitting its way across the state. New branches are springing up in even the smallest communities. Our old membership is energetically resuming Party work.

The organization now consists of over ninety branches, four county organizations, twelve Young Peoples Socialist League Circles, a total membership of

2,000 are fully paid up-to-date.

Our outstanding stronghold is Reading. Here, last November, the Socialist administration was defeated by a merger of the old parties. But in the six months since the election, the party has gained over 600 new members in Reading and the comrades report work unprecedented in the history of this old Pennsyl-

vania Dutch community.

What tireless effort lies behind their success! Think of a Party organization that regularly distributes on a Sunday morning, into 55,000 working class homes a small propaganda paper, called the "Pioneer." During the last campaign, 427 street and hall meetings were held throughout Berks County. Over a period of two years, a large and beautiful recreational park has been purchased and developed at Sinking Springs, where the workers of Reading may disport themselves, attend open air lectures and concerts, engage in athletics and sports. To be sure, there is a Socialist baseball team, one of the best in the entire territory, with plenty of Socialist fans. At the Labor Lyceum in the city, a large circulating library has been careful. city, a large circulating library has been created, specializing in literature devoted to Socialist, history, economics, etc. The weekly "Labor Advocate" has been steadily growing in circulation.

Throughout the state, four successful unemployment conferences were held to back the unemployment insurance bills introduced at Harrisburg by our two Socialist legislators, Darlington Hoopes and Lilith Wilson. The Philadelphia conference was composed of a large number of trade unions; the Pittsburgh conference was also very successful with over fifty six organizations represented. The hearings held in Harrisburg brought delegations from all parts of the state. The so-called liberal governor, Pinchot, and his supporters after having stumped the state, promising a program of jobless failed to back our social legislation. The Socialist proposals were the only concrete measures offered during the entire session, showing up the hollowness of their liberal pretensions.

Notable among the year's activities was the participation of the party in great strikes. In the textile strikes which took place following wage cuts in Allentown, Philadelphia and Reading, the party responded by raising much needed relief and by active participation. In the desperation walk-out of the soft coal miners in western Pennsylvania, throughout five counties and through some forty relief stations, the Socialist Miners' Relief carried on not only during the

(Continued on page 41)

#### **NORMAN THOMAS'**

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#### As I See It

"Norman Thomas is one of America's most useful men. He doesn't make automobiles or radios; he tries to make people think. He doesn't make bridges or battleships, he distributes ideas .... His integrity and his courage, combined with unwavering allegiance to a well defined social theory, have commanded for him the respect of those who don't dare vote for him."

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At last the man who wrote the revolutionary "Oil," "The Jungle," and "The Wet Parade" tells his own story. It is as fearless as his novels, the forthright statement of a life spent battling for important causes. "Told with gusto and disregard of restraint."—N. Y. Herald-Tribune. \$2.50.

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"The Jewish Socialist Verband Branch of Los Angeles greets all the Delegates, Officers and Members of the Socialist Party. We wish you success in all your deliberations and nominations, and hope that the year 1932 will be a banner year for the Socialist Party of America and that at the next election, the Socialist Party will be placed among the leading parties in the country.

J. LEVITT,

Secretary"

# MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION

LOCAL 24

Cloth Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers' International Union

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COMRADELY GREETINGS

#### Young Circle League

OF CHICAGO

M. V. Halushka, Director

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Middle West District: Herman Strauwald, 19 Roscoe St., Chicago, Ill.

There are Workers' Sport Clubs in the larger cities of the United States. Men, Women, and Children are welcome. Comrades! Help us build up a mighty Workers' Sport Movement. Visit our training or exercise halls. Workers' Sport is Mass Sport. Mass Sport is Education for Socialism. Come and see our work at Cleveland, Ohio, September, 3, 4, & 5.

Greetings from

THE

# ITALIAN LABOR PUBLISHING CO.

1011 BLUE ISLAND AVE. CHICAGO, ILL.

This institution, owned and controlled by THE

### ITALIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATION of S. P.

has done practically all the printing needed by the National Office S. P., Illinois State Office S. P., Cook County S. P. and Young People's Socialist League, National Office and City Circles, for the past ten years.

The entire crew is listed among the membership of the Socialist Party.

They also belong to the Chicago Typographical Union, No. 16, and the Pressmen's Union.

Millions of leaflets, Papers, and other propaganda and office matter are turned out by this organization. Perhaps more Socialist literature is printed here than by any other printing concern in the United States.

We sincerely invite all the organizations to give us a trial, feeling assured that they will be satisfied with our service.

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# Socialist Party Bronx County

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MURRAY GROSS, Organizer

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3rd A. D.

5th A. D.

7th A. D.

2nd A. D.

4th A. D.

6th A. D.

8th A. D.

JEWISH BRANCH, One
JEWISH BRANCH, Two

JEWISH BRANCH, Three GERMAN BRANCH

ITALIAN BRANCH

Greetings

THE

**SOCIALIST PARTY** 

of

**PENNSYLVANIA** 

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

of

United Jewish Socialist Labor Party Poale Zion Zeire Zion of America

and its Youth Organization
YOUNG POALE ZION ALLIANCE

Send Greetings to the National Convention of the Socialist Party

May the Convention stimulate American Socialists to greater activities and determination to win our American Labor masses to the cause of Socialism, its political and economic aims.

POALE ZION — ZEIRE ZION 1133 Broadway New York, N. Y.

#### Czechoslovak Federation

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA

3551 W. 26th Street Chicago, Ill.

# WHAT HAS LABOR TO GAIN FROM MILITARISM?

NOTHING!

# THEN WHY NOT SUPPORT DISARMAMENT?

#### **ENDORSE**

# AN AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES PROHIBITING WAR AND ALL PREPARATION FOR WAR

(S. J. RES. No. 3.)

Sentimentalists favor "reduction of armaments." Reduction is bunk! It means scrapping a few worthless battleships in order to have plenty of money for effective modern weapons such as poison gas and bombs which wipe out whole cities.

Capitalism and Militarism are twin brothers. While we fight Capitalism, Militarism stands ready to strike us down. All over the world, foreign armies and navies are conquering and oppressing the native workers.—At home, armed police are on the job.

Comrades, let us stand for Disarmament by Example.

It is endorsed by the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, the Labor Party of Norway, the Social-Democratic Party of Holland and of Denmark.

Our 1930 Congressional platform called for the U. S. "setting an example of voluntary disarmament regardless of the military or naval policy of other nations."

Comrades, give your support to the Total Disarmament Amendment S. R. No. 3 now before the Senate Judiciary Committee. Follow Eugene Debs who gave it his "unconditional endorsement."

For further information apply to:

The Pennsylvania Committee for Total Disarmament

ROOM 302, 1924 CHESTNUT STREET PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

#### (Continued from page 35)

strike, but for months thereafter a continuous program of relief. From all over the country Socialists responded generously with money, food stuffs and clothing.

This effort was not in vain. So different from the Communists who, after spreading the area of the strike zone, quickly withdrew when they saw the strike dwindle from defeat into a state of hopelessness, the committee carried on for five months after the Communists left the field. At the close of this period, many of the community kitchens were transformed into Socialist educational and recreational centers. A corps of Party workers regularly visit these centers, providing lectures, motion pictures and other forms of entertainment. Branches and an active membership has sprung up in many of these communities.

One of the functions of the state office has been

One of the functions of the state office has been to assign to our foreign federations, of which the Jugo-Slav is the largest, a share of the regular political and organization work. Many candidates for public office are drawn from the membership of these branches. The state office not only regards these branches as integral parts of the Socialist party of Pennsylvania, but makes these organizations the bases for the organization of English speaking groups. This policy has proven beneficial to both the state organization

and to our foreign branch members.

With the spring primary activities just closed, the entire state organization has been set in motion. A complete state ticket is in the field. Thirty one of thirty four districts will have Socialist candidates for congress. Three of our locals have agreed to subscribe to one half of Pennsylvania's quota toward the National Fund. With confidence the Party faces the future, keenly realizing the importance of tasks which are ahead.

SARAH LIMBACH, State Secretary, 613 Lyceum Bldg., Penn Ave. Pittsburgh, Pa.

#### The Polish Socialist Alliance

THE Polish Socialist movement in America, which began in 1896 and from the beginning of its existence has worked hand in hand with the American Socialist movement, is active among the Polish workers, enlightening them and organising them for the struggle to liberate the working class, and for the realization of Socialism. In all the political and industrial struggles of labor the Polish Socialist alliance has taken an active part.

Because of the economic depression and the inability of the ruling classes to remedy the situation, the Socialist movement of America faces its greatest opportunity. It should be our task to increase the ranks of the Socialist Party, so that our work and our ideals may penetrate the trade union movement of America.

Let us increase our efforts to the end that our Socialist ideals may reach and find a response in the mines, mills, factories and offices, and may our message find its way to the millions of unemployed workers who will realise the need of voting for the interests of their own class, which today is best represented by Socialist Party of America.

May the year 1932 begin the triumph of American Socialism!

THE POLISH SOCIALIST ALLIANCE.

J. Trzaska, Secretary General, 19-23 St. Marks Place, New York, N. Y. You will be Pleased with the Courteous Service and Treatment received at the

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from

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Branch No. 16

Milwaukee, Wis.

COMPLIMENTS OF

THE

# FEDERATED TRADES COUNCIL

The Milwaukee Federated Trades Council was organized February 20, 1887, and received its charter from the American Federation of Labor August 14, 1887. Its aim and object is to educate the workers to organize and unite on the industrial and political field if they want to maintain their inalienable rights to life, to liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

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GREETINGS TO THE CONVENTION

Jewish Branch

PITTSBURGH, PA.

GREETINGS! BUILD A WORKERS' WORLD

Soc. Party of Pottstown, Pa.

24 SO. CHARLOTTE ST.

GREETINGS FROM

Hazelette Hoopes

Darlington Hoopes

THE

Reading Labor Advocate

A SOCIALIST WEEKLY NEWSPAPER Published in Reading, Penna. \$1.00 per year

COMRADELY GREETINGS

Northwest Branch

Comrades All: Greetings and Welcome

Milwaukee Sewerage Plant Employees Union No. 17992

#### Office Workers Union

No. 16456

Jacob Hahn, Pres.

Pearl Barndt, Sec'y.

516 Metropolitan Block MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Comrades: We Welcome You to Milwaukee

The Austro-Hungarian Branch S. P.

OF MILWAUKEE

SUCCESS!

25th Ward Branch S. P.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

THE MILWAUKEE

Italian Branch

OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

Enthusiastically Greets the Delegates

Greetings from the

West Side Women's Branch

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

THREE CHEERS FOR INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM!!

9th Ward Branch

MILWAUKEE

#### SOCIALIST PARTY

#### New York State Committee

7 EAST 15th STREET Herbert M. Merrill, Secretary

#### New York City Office

7 EAST 15th STREET

JULIUS GERBER, Executive Secretary AUGUST CLAESSENS, Organizer

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8 A. D. New York County
2 A. D. Kings County
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Midwood Branch Kings County
Branch 2 18th A. D. Kings County
Branch 3 22nd A. D. Kings County

And the Workmen's Circle Branches:

Branch Two
Branch Three
Branch 42
Branch 54
Branch 224, Witebsker
Branch 275, Mohliver
Branch 277, Zronitz-Podoler, Prog.

Pol 10 GREETINGS FROM

#### Finnish Branch

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Wilho Hedman
John Erickson
William Pekkarinen
M. W. Bruun
Kusti Viitala
Victor Ratta
Oscar Honkanen
John Wiralaina
Kirsti Jappinen
Ida Thulin
Alex Norena
Mikko Lyytikainen
Hilda Kunsela
Olga Long

#### Subdivisions of Finnish Br.:

Singing Society,
Dramatic Club,
Sewing Society,
English to Foreigners School,
Naturalization Aid Committee,
Y. P. S. L. Circle.

#### Deutsche Sprachgruppe der Sozialistischen Partei

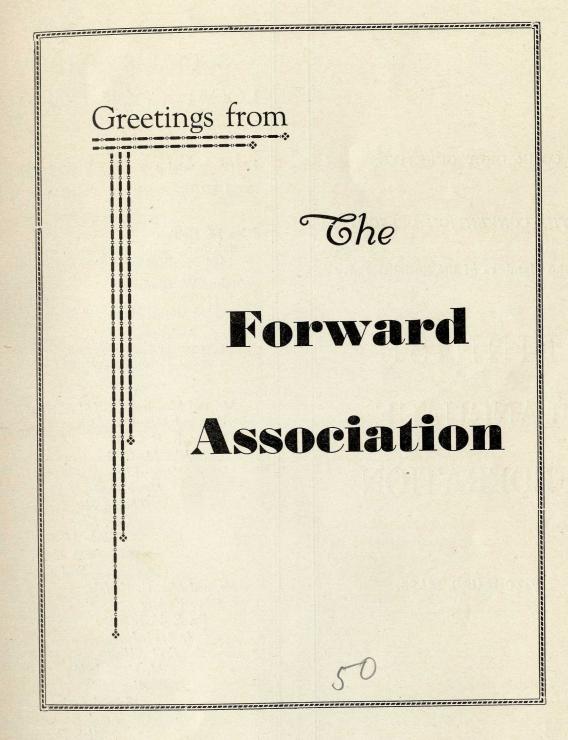
#### Versammlungen der Branches:

Yorkville: Jeden 1. u. 3. Donnerstag im Labor Temple, 243 Ost 84 Str. Bronx: Jeden 3. Dienstag im Monat in 398 Ost 152 Str., Apt. A-44. Brooklyn: Jeden 4. Freitag im Queens County Labor Lyceum, 785 Forest Ave., Ridgewood.

Hudson County: Jeden dritten Mittwoch in der Fraternity Hall, 256 Central Ave., Jersey City, N. J.

Newark: Jeden 1. Freitag im Newark Labor Lyceum.

Frauen-Versammlung: Jeden 1. Freitag im Monat im Soz. Hauptquartier, 241 Ost 84 Str., New York City.



COMRADELY GREETINGS

TO THE CONVENTION DELEGATES

and the Members of the Socialist Party

# FINNISH LANGUAGE FEDERATION

FITCHBURG, MASS.

# Seventh Congressional District Branch SOCIALIST PARTY LOCAL COOK COUNTY

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Every Second and Fourth Wednesday at 2733 HIRSCH BLVD., CHICAGO, ILL.

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GREETINGS FROM

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GREETINGS!

The

# CHICAGO CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE

of the

#### WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

endorses all the candidates nominated at your convention and urges our membership to vote for the Socialist Party candidates.

Comrades! We will be with you and wish you great success in the November elections.

Isadore Schuckman,
Financial Secretary

# THE NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

of the

# AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS of AMERICA

sends its fraternal greetings to the National Convention of the Socialist Party of America.

Clothing workers, along with the other workers in this country are in the midst of a stupendous depression. An orgy of wage cuts, reductions of working forces, and general attacks on the conditions that organized workers have so laboriously won, are the order of the day.

There is only one way out of the wilderness: the organization of powerful labor unions along industrial lines, committed to a policy of independent political action.

May your deliberations blaze the way for a real class conscious labor movement in the United States.

New York Joint Board

Amalgamated Clothing Workers

of America

ABRAHAM MILLER, Sec'y-Treas.

THE CHICAGO
JOINT BOARD

of the

# AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS of AMERICA

extends fraternal greetings to the Convention of the Socialist Party. Independent political action by labor is becoming more urgent all the time. Labor must assume leadership and save civilization from disaster. We hope that you will bring to the American working class a message of cheer, hope and ultimate victory.

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#### Socialists and Trade Unionists

(Continued from page 7)

have nothing to lose and much to gain by ranging their organizations against the whole system.

Socialist Party members have a grave responsibility in awakening members of the unions to the needs of the hour. They should carry on a continuous educational crusade against archaic ideas and policies that have left the unions almost helpless in this grave emergency. Inter-union cooperation, consolidation of unions wherever possible, workers education, fostering of the ideal of labor solidarity, breaking ties with the parties of capitalism, are all necessary work of the Socialist and the progressive unionist.

Socialist and the progressive unionist.

There is no conflict between the Socialist movement and the organized workers but there is misunderstanding. In all countries but the United States the two movements cooperate and move forward as two sections of the labor army for the same aims and the same ideals. Both movements are weak because of divisions; both will be strong when there is understanding and cooperation.

Old prejudices must be argued away. Sectarianism must give way to the ideal of the whole working class of the United States, skilled and unskilled, black and white, of all races and nationalities, men and women alike, welcomed with open arms to the unions, the cooperatives, to workers educational classes, and to our own political organization of labor.

The trade union fighter should be a Socialist fighter as well. The lines of battle are being drawn by industrial changes. There is no middle ground. It is for the worker to chose whether he will be with the exploiters for Capitalism or with his class for Socialism and the end of the economic hell into which millions are plunged.

#### Socialist Milwaukee Points the Way

(Continued from page 6)

ward to the time when through the failure of private ownership, and because millions of men and women are unable to secure employment, it will be necessary for government to take over and operate democratically all the means of production and distribution so that hours of toil may be limited and the producers given the full product of their toil. Believing in this proposition, which is Socialism, as the only and final substitute for the breakdown of Capitalism, every Socialist is militantly working to keep the government clean and efficient so that the people will have the required faith to make Socialism a practical success.

In the recent municipal election the people of Milmanuscales and content the Socialists of Milmanuscales.

In the recent municipal election the people of Milwaukee have given the Socialists a greater grant of power than at any other time since the first Socialist administration in 1910. The prospects never were brighter for the gradual carrying out of our municipal program to the end that still greater progress may

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Three Cheers for the Delegates

### Bessie and Albert Halpern

18th A. D. Kings County

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We are few here but earnest and gaining by slow degrees and more and more, despite our handicap. If we do not all travel to Milwaukee it is only because of the big distance and the big cost.

Greetings and Good Luck!

Palo Alto Local, Calif.

M. S. ALDERTON, Secretary

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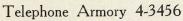
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#### The Workmen's Furniture Fire **Insurance Society**

By N. MARQUER, **Executive Secretary** 

The Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society reached its 60th anniversary this year -1932. It has grown from a small beginning to a formidable organization, with inherent strength for still greater growth in the future. The Society was not begun as an enterprise for gathering in profits, but as an organization having for its aim the mutual help and protection of its membership by providing them with household insurance at actual cost.

The Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society began to function in 1872. At the beginning progress was slow and somewhat discouraging and were it not for the fact that overhead expenses were negligible, it is doubtful whether it could have survived the first year. The faith of its founders continued and they soon had the satisfaction of seeing their Society on a solid foundation and with a constantly growing membership.

The main purpose of the Society was to afford security against fire losses for workers' household goods, provide prompt and equitable indemnity for such losses, and render this service at a cost less than the commercial fire insurance companies. To accomplish this it requires not only a small overhead expense, but what is more important, sufficient capital to pay the fire indemnities. The capital is supplied by its members, as every member upon joining must pay, upon taking out insurance on his furniture and household goods, one dollar on each hundred dollars of his insurance, which goes towards the "Guarantee Fund," which is the capital of the society. As no interest is paid on these deposits, all the income from this capital, which is invested in state and national bonds, mortgages, etc., is used for the expenses of the society and also for a reserve fund.

All the overhead being more than covered by this income, the members do not have to pay any large premiums. Thus it is possible for a worker for the sum of \$1.50 to \$2.00 a year to insure a value of from \$1,500 to \$2,000. Other fire insurance companies charge from \$3 to \$22 a thousand.

The Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance

Society has one rate for all its members, no matter where they live. Thus it lives up to its ideals of cooperation and solidarity. Control of the society is vested in its membership who annually elect all the officers and members of the Board of Directors. The salaries of the chief executives are only nominal.

The Society has made steady progress. It has branches all over the country, especially in the principal industrial centers. New branches are chartered in any town or city where there is a water supply and a fire department as soon as at least 30 applications are available. The membership at the close of 1931 has risen to 60,000 with an insurance value of \$75,000,-000.00; its available assets amount to \$1,000.-000.00. This shows conclusively that the society is on a solid foundation with every indication of becoming in the near future one of the greatest fire insurance societies in the country, always continuing the cheapest fire insurance available.

Plans are now being completed to convert the Society into a Mutual Company at the same time retaining all its present cooperative features. This conversion will widen the scope of the Society as it will enable it to insure the dwelling as well as the household of its members. It is hoped that sometime during the year 1933 the Society may be in a position to embark on this new field of house insurance.

Organized self-help and self-administration should be the guiding principles of all workingmen's economic organizations. They are the gainers by following this principlex The story and the great success of the Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society is a striking proof of this principle. Every one capable of thinking for himself should perceive that in organizations such as the Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society can be seen in a small way how ultimately cooperative enterprises on a gigantic scale will supplant private enterprises.

Any one interested can obtain further information by communicating with the Main Office of the Society, 227 East 84th street,

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Socialist Greetings from

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### Greetings >

To the National Convention of the Socialist Party by Local Cook County. With confidence we look forward to the deliberations and decisions of the delegates.

ON WITH THE CAMPAIGN! FORWARD TO VICTORY!

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A. DREIFUSS, Executive Secretary 3036 Roosevelt Road, Chicago, Ill.

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LOCAL TRUMBEL COUNTY—Central Committee, Albert Beatty, Sec'y, Box 58

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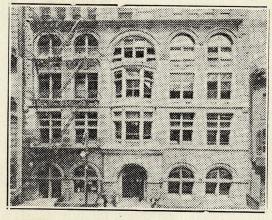
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We wish you success in your deliberations and hope that all your aspirations will become realizations.

L. PERCHONOK, Sec'y.

BEST WISHES

from the

SHUMAN BROTHERS

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Jack Gossman, Sec'y 333 So. Ashland, Chicago, Illinois

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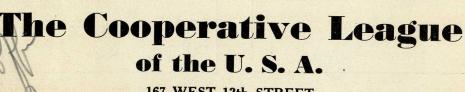
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Eastern States Cooperative League 167 West 12th St., New York, N. Y. District: New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania

United Cooperative Society
Fitchburg, Mass.
Stores, bakery, dairy;
600 members; 1931 sales \$330,000

United Cooperative Society Maynard, Mass. Stores, bakery, dairy; 1931 sales \$250,000

Consumers Cooperative Services, Inc. 433 West 21st Street, New York, N. Y. Cafeterias, credit union, apartment house; 4000 members; 1931 sales \$531,000

Cooperative Trading Association 4301—8th Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. Stores, bakery, restaurant; 2600 members; 1931 sales \$344,000 Central States Cooperative League 1410 No. Main St., Bloomington, Ill. District: Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and lower Michigan

Northern States Cooperative League 2100 Washington Ave. No., Minneapolis, Minn. District: Minnesota, Wisconsin, upper Michigan and North Dakota

Franklin Cooperative Creamery Association Minneapolis, Minn.
Retail milk and dairy products 4200 members; 1931 sales \$2,639,854

Cooperative Trading Company
Waukegan, Ill.
2000 members; 1931 sales \$766,000

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