

Milwaukee Found to Be Best Governed

Report of Mayor Hoan Cites Interest of Nation in Socialist City

(By a New Leader Correspondent) MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Free of the crime wave that curses many cities ruled by the parties, Milwaukee, Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee, has issued his annual statement which declares that journalists and magazine writers who have studied the city government have declared it to be "the best governed city in the country."

The statement of Mayor Hoan reads: "Milwaukee's recognized leadership in the conduct of its administrative affairs attracted more national-wide publicity in 1935 than in any previous year. Magazines and newspapers of national circulation sent their best writers to Milwaukee to study the reasons why, in its administrative departments, this is the best governed city in the country."

The significance of this unsolicited publicity lies in the fact that, while other large cities are being held up as examples of the breakdown of local government, while corruption and crime are still rampant as in the old days, while enriched selfish interests manipulate their local governments through bi-partisan houses and exploit the masses of people, Milwaukee stands out as an example of decency and efficiency in city government.

"Milwaukee's municipal progress recorded several outstanding achievements in the year now coming to a close. We have won first place among American cities in the National Interchange Health Conservation Contest. Our death rate is the lowest in history."

"In the Federal Census just completed Milwaukee was credited with a population of 578,245, compared with 573,076 for Buffalo. This Buffalo's figure is material, changed, this brings Milwaukee from 13th to 12th place. In the significance of this achievement it must be remembered that in 1920 Buffalo's population exceeded Milwaukee's by 50,000. Milwaukee's record growth, represented by the 1930 census figures, cannot be scoffed at."

"Industrial and Economic Factors"—"Industrially, Milwaukee continues to lead in the production of goods. Our total productive output now places us ahead of Buffalo, Boston, Los Angeles and Pittsburgh. The census bureau gives Milwaukee a rating of 9th in industrial output, but our Association of Commerce claims 7th place on the basis of more recent reliable estimates."

"While the year recorded the increasing announcement that one hundred and twenty-five new organizations were formed to manufacture additional products, still we face the worst business depression in our history. While conditions are better here than in other large cities, it is an appalling fact that more people are out of employment and living on charitable relief, both private and public, than any other time in our history. That thousands of citizens cannot find honest employment to feed their families in the richest country on earth is a damnable indictment of the greed, selfishness and injustice of the present capitalist order. Industrial overloads must be speedily and apply a lasting remedy or the days of 'their selfish and un-Christian system' are numbered."

"Our program of public works was larger than at first contemplated, because the reduction in costs made possible many more extensive improvements than the funds available would ordinarily allow."

"Substantial and very gratifying progress was also made by our city planning department, in establishing the major thoroughfare plan and the street widening project."

"The installation of a police radio system should prove a great aid in detecting and apprehending criminals and thus strengthen Milwaukee's reputation as a city unusually free of crime."

"Milwaukee continues to have the lowest fire insurance and burglary insurance rates in the country, the latter being 200 per cent less than those of Kansas City. This represents a huge saving in actual dollars and cents to our people. Numerous savings in municipal services make it possible to render a much greater service than elsewhere at a tax rate which is about the average of other large cities."

"We have established a modern system of street naming and house numbering, which will eliminate a great deal of duplication and confusion and will undoubtedly prove very practical in its simplicity when finally completed."

DABBLING DROOLIDGE SAYS:

SOUTHAMPTON, Mass., January 10.—It is well that we should discuss the Americanization of our residents of foreign birth as the thermometer never registers the same each day. Scientists tell us that it will always be that way. Of course, there are radicals who do not understand this. It is for this reason that we must proceed with the work of Americanization.

We should instruct all new arrivals. My "Have Faith in Massachusetts" will be helpful. The temperature of this book bears out the researches of the scientists regarding the weather and foreigners must be taught that they cannot change the ways of Providence.

Some aliens become citizens, some do not, and some become Republicans. The first class should be watched, the second deported, and the third should be assimilated as they understand the relation between the changing weather and prosperity. This privilege of our country is priceless and we must preserve it for future generations.

DABBLING DROOLIDGE.

Farm-Labor Party Faces Crucial Test

Minnesota Movement Now Has Power to Carry Out Its Program

(By a New Leader Correspondent) MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The Farmer-Labor movement of Minnesota will be subjected to a crucial test of its ability to meet the present economic situation through legislative action at the forthcoming session of the legislature. An opportunity to demonstrate the sincerity and the competency of Farmer-Labor advocates and representatives has at last been secured.

The governor, the lieutenant-governor and a large number of progressive legislators have been elected, and while not in actual control of the legislature, the Farmer-Labor forces with intelligence and courage can initiate and force through meritorious measures, and compel reactionaries to go along with the program or oppose it. This test must be made.

Many earnest reformers have questioned the ability and the sincerity of Farmer-Labor leaders to do anything out of the usual beaten path. It has been charged that the movement is time-serving and opportunistic and that once the reins of government fall into the hands of Farmer-Laborers no change will be made. Hereafter, a valid argument could be offered for the inability of the movement to accomplish any striking improvements during its 12 years' existence. It possessed none of the leading official positions and was lacking in united legislative control and leadership. This argument no longer serves.

Indefinite Objectives
In 1918, when the Farmer-Labor party was formally launched, its only platform was that implied by its name. It stood for the interests of the farmers and the workers. Its precursor, the Nonpartisan League, was essentially a protest movement of the farmers, which made many legislative demands.

At the last convention of the Farmer-Labor association, a rather vague and prolix platform was adopted. There was considerable criticism from those who had from year to year endeavored to confine their platform to a few outstanding fundamental demands which would clearly point the way in which the movement was going and suggest its probable goal.

Platform Becomes Vague
Some of the most important demands of previous conventions were omitted from the last platform adopted: Unemployment insurance, state fund compensation, and publicly-owned district power plants, are not mentioned. A great array of vague generalities are enunciated out of which concrete suggestions may be extracted.

During the campaign, critics pointed out that insofar as declaration of purpose was concerned, the Farmer-Labor party had taken its place with the old parties, but this did not prevent thousands of voters from casting their ballot for the nominees of the Farmer-Labor party, which carried with it the tradition of a new order. There was a general demand for a change and it was felt that the Farmer-Labor party would lead the way. The election of Olson, Arens and numerous legislative nominees of Farmer-Labor complexions is the result.

Mrs. Blatch Chairman At Broun-Thomas vs. Darrow-Hays Debate

Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, for many years an outstanding leader of the equal suffrage fight and later in the Socialist Party, will hold the reins of the chairmanship at the debate on the Socialist Party between Norman Thomas, Heywood Broun and Clarence Darrow, Arthur Garfield Hayes. The debate will be held Friday evening, Jan. 30th, at Mecca Temple, West 55th Street. It is being sponsored by the New York Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy. The subject is "Resolved: The Best Political Service Can Be Rendered by Joining the Socialist Party." Tickets are on sale at Mecca Temple box office, at the L. I. B., 112 East 19th Street, and at the Rand Book Store, 7 East 15th Street.

Lincoln's Birthday Feb. 12, 1931

belongs to The New Leader.

Socialists of Mass. Record Vote Increase

Young People Carrying On Party's Work in Boston, Lewis Says

(By Alfred Baker Lewis, State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts) BOSTON.—The Socialist Party vote in Massachusetts went up an average of one-third compared with two years ago. There is no party column in Massachusetts, so that there is no such thing as a straight vote. Instead, all the candidates for each of the state offices are grouped together and put in alphabetical order under the designation of the office with a small party designation after each name. The first candidate on the list for governor was the candidate of the Socialist Labor Party and the consequence was that he got nearly all of the increased Socialist vote, multiplying the vote of the S. L. P. for governor by eleven times compared with two years ago. That is why we take the average vote for all candidates. The average vote shows an increase for the Socialist Party of 34 per cent and a decrease for the Communists of 25 per cent.

Our party membership has not increased so far as dues stamp sales are concerned. The American language membership, however, has increased quite considerably in greater Boston and the activity has increased even more. Our increase in young people accounts for this fact. Our old timers are inactive, whereas these young members hold open air meetings and are active in distributing leaflets.

We have had better response to our propaganda so far as the size of the crowds is concerned than at any time since the La Follette campaign. We picked up a large number of names of new sympathizers and have given them trial subscriptions to The New Leader. But I am very sorry to say that only a small proportion have returned.

Organization Work
There were certain towns without in automobile distance of Greater Boston where we held a series of meetings on the same night of the week for several weeks. In these towns we naturally got a fairly large number of names of new sympathizers, and are planning to try and organize them into party locals. We have already acquired a going local in Lowell in this way, and have called a meeting in Salem which did not, however, result in any new members.

We are planning similar organization work in Brockton and Taunton.

We have circulated all the unions and all the Protestant churches in the state offering to send them speakers. The response has been very small, but slightly better from the churches than from the unions.

We are planning to introduce a series of bills on Socialist subjects in the state legislature and expect to get good backing for several of them particularly the one on unemployment insurance.

Confused with S. L. P.
Our chief problem of organization is to get younger people to join the party outside of Boston as we have already started. Doing in Boston. We feel that we have succeeded in doing that in Lowell and have made a beginning in Greenfield as well as where we already had a functioning party local. Elsewhere we have not had much success along these lines. The chief reason for this is that no active campaigning has been carried on in Massachusetts for the straight Socialist Party for some years prior to 1928 when Mary Donovan Hagwood and Powers Hagwood toured the state for us. This year I toured the state and a large number of our younger comrades held meetings in Greater Boston and in towns within a radius of fifty miles from here.

We are satisfied with the increase in the number of anti-capitalist votes, but are sorry that the S. L. P. got most of the increase owing to the fact that the many thousands of new people whom we reached with our message this year did not know the difference between us and the S. L. P. This is largely because we campaigned on the issue of Socialism without playing up at all the names of our candidates.

We have a public opinion law which enables us to put on the ballot questions of public policy if we get sufficient signatures.

Socialists Poll 238,797 For Congress

Vote in 13 States Comes Near That Polled in '28 in Entire Country

WASHINGTON — (EP) — Socialist candidates for the national House of Representatives, on the ballot in only 13 states in the 1936 election, polled a total of 238,797 votes, according to the official tabulation issued by William Tyler Page, clerk of the House. The total vote cast for Republican candidates for the lower branch of Congress was 13,070,987; for the Democratic candidates the total was 11,018,663; for Farmer-Labor Party candidates in four states it was 277,540; for "all other" candidates it was 170,851. This last group included various dry, wet, religious and other candidates put into the field in New York and Illinois especially, and the Communist candidates whose party designation was not reported in most cases.

Socialist totals by states were: Connecticut, 2,914; Indiana 608; Kentucky 199; Maryland 780; Michigan 1,401; Missouri 462; Montana 872; New Jersey 3,949; New Mexico 299; New York 163,286; Pennsylvania 15,868; Utah 641; Wisconsin 47,520. In 1928, the Socialist Party polled a total of 267,835 for president in all states.

But in the senatorial contests the Socialists showed quite different totals. In Colorado they cast 1,745 votes; Illinois 11,192; Massachusetts 7,244; Michigan 2,419; Montana 1,006; New Jersey 4,519; New Mexico 256; Texas 808 and in Virginia 7,944. Short-term candidates of the Socialists, in Senate contests, drew—Kansas 11,659; New Jersey 4,615; Pennsylvania 26,796.

Of the Farmer-Labor vote, on Congressmen, Minnesota accounted for 271,599; Colorado 813; Montana 1,700 and Washington 3,428. On the senatorial, Minnesota gave the Farmer-Labor candidate 178,671; Colorado 1,367; Montana 1,789.

Communist candidates for the Senate were credited with votes as follows: Colorado 924; Delaware 135; Illinois 3,118; Massachusetts 3,962; Michigan 3,523; Minnesota 5,645; Montana 368; New Hampshire 282; New Jersey 1,700; Pennsylvania 6,960; Texas 296. In the third North Dakota district the Communist had 2,234 votes.

The Socialist-Labor Party candidate for Senator in Massachusetts got 4,640 votes; New Jersey 670; Rhode Island 1,195.

200,000 Workers Form Unemployed Conference

(Continued from Page One) without any adequate measures of relief having been taken by the city, state, and federal governments. While politicians and publicists denounce the "dole" it is evident that the United States is the only modern nation in the world where the "dole" in its most degrading form, that of charity, is the main method of relief.

"This Conference asserts that the present irresponsible drift and inaction on the part of legislators and executives is heartless and dangerous. It justifies this conference of labor organizations and others that will meet in many states."

"Considering all the factors involved, this conference declares that a minimum program to which it pledges its support includes the following measures:

"1. The enactment of an adequate Unemployment Insurance Bill by the State Legislature which will give to those who are unemployed through no fault of their own a compensation during their period of unemployment. This social legislation will at one stroke wipe out the degrading and humiliating 'dole' and give the working people that which is their due because of their service to society."

"2. Vigorous support of the shorter work-day in every industry, the ideal to be the five-day week, and a continuous reduction of the hours of labor in the face of unemployment is the fate of any large number of workers."

"3. Vigorous support of the Federal Child Labor Amendment and the exclusion of children from labor in industry. It is a crime against childhood that more than a million children are at work in various industries while adult workers are walking the streets vainly seeking employment."

"4. A comprehensive program of public works and improvements by the cities, the states and the national government. If the expenditures by the Federal Government for armaments were diverted to this purpose the relief of unemployment would be extensive. Foremost in a program of public construction should be the clearing of slums and construction of model homes. This would strike at once at the flagrant housing evils and provide work for many thousands of mechanics."

"Other measures may be of service in meeting the tragic situation that confronts us, but

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The Upper West Side Branch was the second Socialist branch in New York City to fill its quota and the first to send its check in.

Socialists Hit Fish Proposal For Spy Bureau

Party Also Opposes Move to Bar Communists From Elections

THOUGH differing sharply with Communism, the Socialist Party of New York City denounces proposals to revive the "anti-red" bureau of the Department of Justice. Julius Gerber, executive secretary of the party, has made public a resolution adopted by the city executive committee which demanded the Communists continue to have the right to place their political tickets on the field. The resolution had reference to the anti-Communist demonstration in Carnegie Hall on January 9th sponsored by Congressman Hamilton Fish and other opponents of Communism. The resolution follows:

"The Socialist Party of New York through its executive committee, notes that at a meeting in Carnegie Hall the evening of January 9th resolutions were adopted urging the re-establishment of a bureau in the Federal Department of Justice to (1) 'keep under constant supervision the Communist organizations in this country'... and all allied and kindred agencies'; (2) recommending the absolute exclusion of all products manufactured in the Soviet Union; (3) that Communist parties in this country be excluded from the right to organize and to function in elections."

"Considering the dangerous, reactionary and undemocratic character of these resolutions, supported by Congressman Hamilton Fish, the Rev. Edmund A. Walsh, Matthew Wolf, and others the executive committee declares:

"We repudiate the proposal to exclude Russian products from the United States as harmful to American wage workers. Russia would be justified in retaliating by calling trade with the United States, thus increasing the number of unemployed in this country."

"We denounce the shocking proposal to revive a bureau in the Department of Justice, and for the purpose stated, as a return to the despotic regime of espionage, arbitrary arrests, and deportations that disgraced this country in the post-war period, under President Wilson and Attorney General Plummer. A regime which in part was turned against striking workers in some industries and which was denounced by eminent representatives of the legal profession before the American people."

"We also condemn without reservation the proposal to exclude Communist parties from the Constitution, to use any program even though its realization may mean the complete reorganization of society and government on an entirely different basis."

"We regard the attention of these reactionary to the second paragraph of the Declaration of Independence which declares that when a people of this country believe that the government no longer serves them it is their right to alter or abolish it, and institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

"We conceive that those cited above include the main measures that are needed to fight the dreadful scourge."

"This conference therefore calls on every sympathetic organization in the city and state to enlist in the work of obtaining millions of signatures in support of an adequate unemployment insurance bill and that arrangements be made for representatives of thousands of sympathetic organizations to meet in Albany when this bill comes up for a hearing."

"In the meantime, mass meetings should be held and publicity should be obtained to focus public attention upon the problem to the end that effective action will be taken in support of the above program."

\$5,000 Emergency Drive On in City

(Continued from Page One) himself in this united effort. Money is needed now. Please do not delay. The work of the Party must go on. Never before have we had such a splendid opportunity to carry on propaganda work for Socialism as during these "hard times." Let us not be handicapped by lack of funds. Return your subscription list immediately filled out generously by yourself and friends. See that your branch over-subscribes its quota. All contributions should be sent to Morris Hillquit, treasurer, Emergency Drive Committee, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

Finnish Socialists In N. Y. Mourn Loss Of Theodor Wiitala

The Finnish Socialist Federation, New York Branch, sustained a serious loss in the sudden death of Theodor Wiitala. Comrade Wiitala met with an accident last Sunday and died of a fractured skull.

The 25 years during which he lived in America, meant for him a life of activity in the Finnish Socialist Movement in this country. Because of his splendid services he rose to the presidency of the Finnish Educational Society. He was also active in the cooperative movement, and was treasurer of one of the first experiments in cooperative housing at 1 West 127th Street.

The news of his death came as a shock to the many Socialists who knew him intimately as a devoted worker, fine idealist, and a splendid comrade whose every thought was devoted to our movement. In the auditorium of the Finnish Hall, 2056 Fifth Avenue, on Wednesday, Jan. 15. The stage was banked with numerous floral wreaths. The auditorium was crowded to capacity in spite of it being a work day, and all Finnish comrades are workers. Hundreds of men and women paid their last respects to their departed comrade. The Finnish Chorus, musical trio, and soloists played and sang music appropriate for the occasion. Addresses were delivered by Comrades Sryjala, editor of the Raja-vaaia, the Finnish Socialist Daily paper, Wilho Hedman and August Cleasens. Julius Gerber, executive secretary, and several other comrades from the English-speaking branches were present in behalf of the city organization.

WEVD Wins Renewal Of Broadcasting License

(Continued from Page One) It is needless to say that the Debs Memorial Radio Fund, operating Radio Station WEVD in the City of New York, as a mouthpiece for each and every purpose that does or should concern the public mind, extends a hearty invitation and request to the people for sustaining assistance."

Ethel Brooke Sanford

One of the pioneer women of American Socialism, Ethel Brooke Sanford, Ph.D., recently died at Oakland, California.

Her period of activity embraced the first fifteen years of the life of the party as state organizer in Washington, California and other states, and national organizer in 1917.

She was editor of one of the first of our publications in the west, in days of the old Social Democracy and in the "colonization period." She served as editorial writer on numerous publications during the earlier years of the movement, including The Oakland World, The California Free Press and the Seattle Socialist.

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School Board Bans Forum As Socialist

N. Y. Education Official Declares Personnel Must Be "Politically Representative"

THE permit of the East Flatbush (Brooklyn) Open Forum to use the auditorium of Public School No. 135 in Brooklyn has been revoked by Eugene C. Gibney, director of extension activities, on the ground that its Socialist character violates the rules of the Board of Education.

Forrest Bailey, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, has announced that the ruling will be appealed to the Board of Education.

The sections of the rules on which Mr. Gibney based his action state that the personnel of the forum must be politically representative, and that the publicity "must shun connections with any exclusive political, religious or racial organ."

Mr. Gibney told forum officials that "it appears that your forum is being conducted for the express purpose of advancing the cause of Socialism in the district surrounding the school building."

In a letter sent to Dr. George J. Ryan, president of the Board of Education, questioning the decision of Mr. Gibney, Mr. Bailey pointed out that the community served by Public School No. 135 was lacking in meeting halls, and that the neighborhood was shown to be largely Socialist at the last election. The forum, Mr. Bailey stated, was not formally connected with the Socialist Party. It does not solicit membership in the party or collect funds at the meetings.

"But," added Mr. Bailey, "assuming for the sake of argument that such strict interpretation of the regulations is justified, and that Mr. Gibney's interpretation is the correct one, we wish to point out that the regulations thus enforced are contrary to the very spirit of the greater usefulness of the schools by their communities. We see no reasons why communities should not be allowed to use the school plants for their own purposes in the discussion of all kinds of subjects of interest to the community. We feel that political subjects above all others, are proper for such discussion in the schools when the initiative comes from the community itself."

In concluding his appeal to the Board, Mr. Bailey said, "We respectfully urge the Board of Education to consider (1) whether the East Flatbush Open Forum should have been denied permission to use Public School No. 135 on the basis of existing regulations and, (2) whether, in that case, these regulations should continue to stand as determining the policy of the Board of Education."

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Ill. Socialists Hit Message of Gov. Emmerson

Party Declares Unemployment, Most Important Problem, Ignored

(By a New Leader Correspondent) CHICAGO—Governor Emmerson failed to deal with the most pressing problems of the people of Illinois in his message opening the fifty-seventh general assembly, according to a statement issued by the state committee of the Socialist Party.

The committee has issued a call for general state membership meeting of the party to launch a campaign for "adequate action" on the state government on unemployment, and for old age pension that will not simply be an extension of the poor law, but will represent a measure of justice to veterans of industry." It will held Sunday, January 18th, Workmen's Circle Hall, Ogden-Kedzie Avenues, Chicago, 10:30 a.m.

The statement follows: "Governor Emmerson has indicated either an ignorance or present condition of hundreds of thousands of citizens of this state of a timidity which causes him to quail at the possibility of offering any large contributors to his campaign funds if he presented a program that would really go a distance in curing unemployment and alleviating the frightful distress of the unemployed workers and their families."

"The Socialists present a program which consists in part of the following measures: (1) Unemployment insurance by the state with aid from the federal treasury; (2) Since an adequate expenditure for public works and for unemployment insurance would increase state taxes, and since it will take four years before the people have another opportunity of reducing the tax burden by adding a state income tax, the Socialists call upon the state assembly to memorialize Congress to provide immediately a 500,000,000 appropriation to grant aid to states for direct relief of poverty, billion dollar program of works. These federal government can pay for by an increase in income and inheritance tax which cannot be passed on to consumer and are not a burden on industry. Since the number of persons receiving an income of million dollars per year is now and there are many more hundreds of thousands a year, it is obvious that this will be a hardship on the people as a whole."

Thompson Bill Opposed
"(3) A comprehensive system of social insurance must include an old age pension law, but Socialists cannot help but scornful toward Senator Thompson's proposal of a 'pension' \$200 a year for persons over 70. Today, when industries are throwing workers on the heap at 45, what does Mr. Thompson expect the worker to do for twenty-five years between the time he is discarded like a worn piece of machinery, and at which his pension begins? Socialists insist that at the very highest age should be years, and the lowest pension should be one dollar a day."

"(4) If industry is to continue rapid mechanization, the Socialists propose for a five-day week of four hours of work must be adopted."

"Unless this program is adopted soon, we can look forward only to the rest of this winter marked by starvation, lines, an increase in suicides, crime, but also to a heightened business depression."

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Socialists in Danville; No Arrested

For Council Gives
No Credentials After
Richmond Police In-
terfere

(New Leader Correspondent)
RICHMOND, Va.—Two mem-
bers of the Socialist Party—
Women's Circle joint com-
mittee, canvassing for contribu-
tions for the Danville strikers,
were arrested on the first day of
drive. They are Simon
Schuman and Mrs. D. Brown.
Police required credentials
from the union and a permit
from the police department.
Credentials were immediately
refused from the Richmond
Socialist Party and Labor Coun-
cil. These arrested were then
released with a "warning." The
drive will go on.

(New Leader Correspondent)
RICHMOND, Va.—The Socialist
Party of Virginia, which faced a
dark outlook in the first week
of January, lacking funds enough
to buy new license for "Red
Week," the Ford which David
Schuman contributed in addition
to the time to the organization
has been materially aided
by generous support of comrades
in New York and Georgia.
During our plight, Louis
Schuman raised a contribution
of \$100.00. The "militants" of New
York had promised further help
and we can run street meetings.
Raoul Mills of Atlanta, Ga.,
another \$25.

In sum, together with what
we had within the State, guar-
anteeing the continuation of our
drive. We even hope to
organize in Danville, so
that Socialist local may follow
in that town.
The Socialists are steadily
increasing their membership drive,
strating especially on Hope-
land Industrial city of 11,000.
We have a vigorous local,
two months old, with a splen-
dorous group of members. They
have a drive for 250 members by
May, to carry the district for
State Legislative this fall, and
city in the Municipal election
of 1932. A theater on Broad-
way, in the heart of town, has
been engaged for meetings on the
second and fourth Tuesdays. Com-
rade, secretary of the local,
a painter, and for the first
time on January 13th, he
made a tremendous sign and
cover the entrance to the

literature Distribution
of H. Taylor of Baltimore
expected the next three
include John C. Davis, G.
White, Elizabeth L. Otey and
Kafka, of the Virginia
Norman Thomas, Harry W.
and possibly Judge Jacob
of New York. Distribu-
tion will begin this
We will start by distribut-
ing leaflets, besides dog-
tags, two weeks. After two
this is to be speeded up
to leaflets every two weeks,
rough the summer. Then,
September 1st until election
plan to distribute leaflets
one of the 2,000 homes in
at least twice monthly—that is—
leaflets every week.
Being divided into districts,
careful record of all distribu-
tion is kept. We are also
to organize Petersburg,
the city, and spread our lit-
erature organization through-
out surrounding counties.

Richmond, the "parent"
Virginia, is arranging lit-
erature distribution and a series
of meetings, including an un-
precedented demonstration. A
debate between a Social-
ist and a Communist and a So-
cialist being arranged. Thomas
Communist, will represent
us; David George, the So-
cialist. George has chal-
lenged the Secretary of the Cham-
ber of Commerce, either to re-
present capitalism or to secure a
neutral.

Richmond has also rallied
aid of the Danville strike-
goes went before the Work-
men's Circle branches and they
tribute to the strikers and
relief drive.

ing Danville Strikers
Four delegates from the
Workmen's Circle Branches
Socialist Local have or-
ganized the "Emergency Com-
mittee for Danville Strikers"
and set out to raise food
and money for the strike-
delegates were divided
Committees of two each
City into 12 zones. The
tees have started an in-
house-to-house and store-
cans, with autos to
food and clothing, and vol-
unteers for cash contributions.
cans will continue for at
week, closing Sunday night,
18th, with a benefit con-
the Workmen's Circle Cen-
tral and Broad Streets.
C. Center will be the de-
pository for the daily collections
and clothing.
appeared before the Cen-
dies and Labor Council,
where he was received
arms, when he told what
is doing, and offered the
of the 400 members of
men's Circle and Social-

Flashes From The News Front Dividends As Usual—Magistrates and Banks —The American Dole at Work— Morgan to Cruise

WHO SAID "HARD TIMES"?
THE walls of poverty and unemployment are false; the breadlines
are phantoms; times are good and could hardly be better. Com-
putations by the New York Journal of Commerce indicate that the
total of dividends and interest paid on January 1, 1931—which are
based on the previous calendar year—was approximately the same
as that paid on January 1, 1930. Dividends were about \$50,000,000
less and interest \$50,000,000 larger. And the Journal is of the opinion
that share and bondholders have nothing to fear about payments
during 1931, depression or no depression.

PESSIMISTS
Waiting for her handout, a 12-year-old girl toppled over in a New
York breadline this week and was found suffering from starvation.
Investigation revealed her parents and seven brothers and sisters were
also without food. Two others collapsed on New York breadlines
on the same day. 400 men and women stormed a Cleveland market
Sunday demanding food. 2,000 employees of the Susquehanna silk
mills at Sunbury, Pa., have lost their jobs since January 1st.

TWO DOWN, TWO GOING
Two New York City magistrates have joined the ranks of the
unemployed, two are looking about prepared for anything. Several
others are destroying the illusion that all fat men sleep well nights.
Ex-Magistrate McQuade and Magistrate Silberman, now on the
toboggan, owe direct thanks to Norman Thomas, Socialist leader,
for their predicament. McQuade had a way of exercising his pugilistic
abilities when his liquor went to his head. He tried it on a defence-
less, fear-stricken Negro. The colored man was too frightened of
influence to make a stab at winning justice. Via a friend the story
got to Thomas. Since the victim of the assault could not be made
to testify, Thomas decided to "get" McQuade some other way. The
charge that he was holding two jobs—one as a secretary of the
Giants and the other as a magistrate—served the purpose and now
McQuade is out. The offices of the L. I. D. entertained such sporting
notables as John McGraw and Charley Stoneham while the case was
being prepared. Silberman's expected downfall was begun on com-
plaints first brought to Thomas and turned over by him to Isidor
J. Kresel, attorney for the investigation into the New York County
magistrates' courts.

STEUER VERSUS KRESEL
Speaking of Kresel, brings Max D. Steuer to mind. Steuer is
about to embark on an investigation, as an assistant district attor-
ney, into the failure of the Bank of United States. Many people hap-
pen to think that Mr. Steuer is out to investigate Mr. Kresel rather
than the bank crash. Kresel happens to have been attorney for the
bank and one of its directors. Tammany is out to break up Kresel's
attack on the magistrates at all costs. The board of estimate is to
vote Steuer over \$100,000 of the city's money to conduct the investi-
gation. Steuer and Kresel have a personal grudge of long standing. All
of which may explain how Steuer comes to be prosecuting an investi-
gation without a fee, an investigation which could come embarrass-
ingly close to Tammany unless it were in the hands of a man who
knew just how far to go.

TAKE THE AIR
Hundreds of families of New York City unemployed will be
thrown on the street as the result of a court order of Supreme Court
Justice Salvatore Cuttolo that eviction orders must be carried out
regardless of the destitution or condition of the victims. Mayor
Walker, who had previously asked landlords to be generous, said
the decision was a good law. Landlords have cooperated by giving
the city departments rent free, he added. It developed that some 35
apartments had been given New York's 800,000 unemployed rent
free, another 35 at low rent.

THE PRESIDENT CAN DO NO WRONG
IMMEDIATE SUPPRESSION OF THE BOOK "THE GREAT
MISTAKE—CAN HERBERT HOOVER EXPLAIN THE PAST"
HAS BEEN ASKED BY PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES IN BOSTON.
IT IS LESE MAJESTE, THE PATRIOTS CLAIM.

14 MORE BANKS CLOSE
Fourteen banks in the Indiana Calumet industrial district, made
up of Gary and other steel towns, have been taken over by state and
federal officers within little more than 30 days. Although figures are
not available, many depositors in the defunct institutions are work-
ers. In many cases, workers who have been laid off in the steel
mills had their savings in the banks. Reduced payrolls, resulting
from the laying off of thousands of workers, is held responsible in
part for the closings. In this steel town alone, eight banks closed
their doors in four weeks. The last was the First Indiana Bank. Only
six banks remain.

WHY BANKS CLOSE
James Murphy, very young and therefore possessing an alibi for
being the Communist he is, is in jail in Los Angeles for selling a copy
of the Daily Worker which carried what purported to be a report of a
bank failure. He is charged with causing bank failures.

HOW THE DOLE IS GOING
Municipal charity agencies can no longer meet the demands being
made on them by New York jobless. Anthracite miners of Penn-
sylvania, District Seven of the United Mine Workers, disgusted at
the way Community Chest funds have been handled, have organized
their own welfare department. Funds formerly given to the Com-
munity Chest will be given to their own fund, mines hired and
medical care extended. With \$2,000,000 yet to be raised for the
\$5,000,000 Chicago unemployment relief fund after seven weeks of
effort, Banker Philip R. Clarke, chairman, is being compelled to
call "big business" houses slackers in the drive. The Detroit wel-
fare department reports a deficit of about \$4,000,000 due to demands
for unemployment relief.

GOV. YOUNG GRANTS A PARDON
As the last official act of his career, ex-Governor Young pardoned
five convicts—including two murderers, a man convicted of
immoral conduct and two Los Angeles policemen convicted of
bribery—and again refused to consider Tom Mooney. Young stated
that since last July there had been nothing to alter his decision on
the Mooney case but the "thoroughly unsatisfactory" testimony of
John McDonald. No application for pardon was before him, and he
went out of his way to deliver this gratuitous slap at Mooney.
Mooney plans to appeal to Governor Rolph for pardon. It is very
unlikely, however, that Rolph will be any more amenable than
Young has been, though he will doubtless couch his refusal less
brutally.

MORGAN TO THE HOLY LAND
J. Pierpont Morgan is to sail in his yacht for the Caribbean
soon for a month's cruise. He will return to hungry New York for
only an unpleasant interval before sailing to spend Easter in the
holy land.

ist Party, to help make a success
of a benefit dance which the Cen-
tral Union is running later in the
month. The Musicians Union
agreed to contribute music for the
Socialist benefit concert.
The State Executive Committee
set March 1st as the date for the
March meeting of the State Cen-
tral Committee, when we will make
a survey to see how many seats
we can contest in the legislative
campaign this fall. The State
Convention will be held on May
2nd and 3rd, following May Day
meetings which the Executive has
ordered all Locals to arrange, and
which the State Office will ar-
range in several unorganized cities.
We expect many members at

Brookwood Graduates To Honor A. J. Muste On School's 10th Year

Ten years of persistent, labor-
ous, many times heart-breaking
effort have gone into the build-
ing of Brookwood Labor College. To-
day, after these ten years of self-
less devotion to the idea of work-
ers' education, Brookwood stands
more secure than ever as a monu-
ment to the labor of one out-
standing figure, A. J. Muste.

To give expression to this feel-
ing the Brookwood graduates of
New York City are tendering a
dinner to Muste on Brookwood's
tenth anniversary.

The dinner will be held on Fri-
day evening, March 6, at the
Woodstock Hotel, 127 West 43rd
St., at 6:30 o'clock. The price per
plate is \$2.00. Order tickets from
Testimonial Dinner Committee,
Room 2004, 104 Fifth Ave., New
York, N. Y.

Seventy Attend Dinner Of Jamaica Socialists

The dinner of the Jamaica
Branch of the Women's Section of
the Socialist Party last Sunday
night at the Chet, 8931 161st
Street, Jamaica, was a very en-
joyable affair. About seventy
guests attended, proving to be the
best affair yet arranged by the
Socialist women of this section.

Mrs. Adele Zimetkin, in a short
speech, recalled the devoted effort
of women Socialists to organize
and the excellent work which they
had accomplished. Sam DeWitt
was then presented as the toast-
master who kept the audience in
good humor with his witty stories.

The speakers included Elizabeth
Stuyvesant, chairman of the Women's
Section of Greater New York,
Comrade Donmar, Barnett
Wolf, M. Schoenbaum and James
Oneal. Comrade Donmar joined
the movement in St. Louis in 1876,
came to Jamaica twenty years
later, and told an amusing story
of him having cast the only So-
cialist vote in Jamaica in 1897.
Sam DeWitt concluded the festi-
vities with an inspiring address.

Perlmutter Re-elected Manager of Local 10

Local 10, cutters, of the Inter-
national Ladies' Garment Workers
Union, has re-elected Samuel
Perlmutter as its manager. The local
makes the unique boast that it
conducted its election without the
aid of outside ballot clerks. In
fact, the union permitted the op-
position to the administration to
count the ballots. Perlmutter was
re-elected manager; Maurice W.
Jacobs, president; Phil Oretsky, as-
sistant manager; Max Gordon, Sam
Leader and Louis Stolberg, busi-
ness agents for the cloak division;
Morris Alovis and Max Stoller,
business agents for the dress divi-
sion. Over 1,200 voted on the elec-
tion; \$3,000 in dues was paid in
prior to the election, despite the
unemployment situation which has
affected much of the membership.

Free Youth is publication of the
Young People's Socialist
League. It aims to present
the cause of socialism, the rights
of progressive youth. It in-
vites contributions of news
and views.

National Notes

The national office has sent to cir-
cles the first of a series of monthly
notes, containing current news
of historical and biographical
data of interest to young Socialists,
and a report of the national activities
during the month.
The Philadelphia and Reading Cir-
cles have already acted on the recom-
mendations of the N. E. C. to hold
protest meetings, conferences and
demonstrations against child labor on
Jan. 24 and 25. Prominent speakers
will address these meetings and an
appeal will be made to young people
to not oppose child labor but to
oppose war and imperialism, poverty
and unemployment to fight
for peace and disarmament, for a
five-hour work day and a minimum
living wage.

INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE
The official bulletin of the Inter-
national Socialist Youth, begins its
annual publication for 1931 in Janu-
ary. It publishes important news
of the world within the International
of Socialist Youth, in three languages,
English, German and French. It will
also publish information referring to
the work of the International of So-
cialist Youth, so that those inter-
ested may be constantly in touch with
all events regarding the international
organization of Socialist Youth as well
as of the Socialist educational move-
ment.

The annual subscription paid in ad-
vance is only \$1. When ordering, it
should be mentioned in what lan-
guage the bulletin is desired. Orders
should be addressed to the Secretariat
of the International of Socialist Youth,
Berlin, SW61, Belle Alliance Platz 8.

At the last meeting a discussion
was held on "War, What For?" led
by Rose Krick. On Sunday, Jan. 18,
the members will meet at 6 p. m. and
have a discussion on current events,
and then adjourn and go in a body to
the Orpheum Theatre and listen to a
talk by Norman Thomas on "The
Cause and Cure for Unemployment."

Comrade Briggs writes that the
Yipsels are rapidly becoming party
members, that they act as an "educa-
tional branch" of the Socialist Party.
"Our circle is doing nicely."
SYRACUSE, N. Y.
Syracuse has put out an excellent
little mimeographed paper containing
social articles and splendid cartoons
by their staff artists.
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
The new officers of the circle are:
C. Parker, chairman; Reba Frankel,
secretary; Willie Goldberg, treasurer;
Doris Ginsberg, librarian; Roger Rus-
sell, editor of the Voice of Youth, and J.
Goldberg, business manager. The cir-

Central Trades Again Discusses Unemployment

Unemployment continues to be
the leading topic of discussion at
the sessions of the Central Trades
and Labor Council of Greater New
York and vicinity, despite the evi-
dent desire of some officials to avoid
the question. At the last meeting
of the body Vice-President John
Munholland was in the chair in-
stead of President Joseph P. Ryan.

Munholland as chairman of the
committee on Old Age Pensions
and Unemployment Insurance re-
ported that his committee had not
received many replies to the in-
quiries it had sent to the unions
asking about their attitude on un-
employment insurance. He an-
nounced that his committee would
report on unemployment insurance
at the next meeting of the Central
Trades on January 22.

Delegate O'Neill of the Litho-
graphers spoke in favor of unem-
ployment insurance on behalf of
his organization. The workers are
entitled to it and the state should
take the responsibility, Abraham
Lefkowitz of the Teachers' Union
made a plea for the drafting of a
definite plan for unemployment
and presenting it to the Legisla-
ture. Society owes everybody a
living. Governor Roosevelt in his
advocacy of unemployment insur-
ance was more pro-labor than
many who represent labor. He
found fault with the bill of the
American Association for Labor
Legislation because it gave an in-
centive to company unions.

Delegate Sinnigen of the Union
Label League expressed the fear
that the unions would legislate
themselves out of business. The
unemployed workers were being
taken care of in their unions; the
unorganized should join the unions.
What we need are shorter hours
and more pay.

Fred Gaa of the Painters' stated
that 80 per cent of the members
of his union are out of work. The
organized workers, he thought, are
not a small fraction of the army
of workers and of the unemployed.

Herman Woskow of Printing
Pressmen's Union No. 51 referred
to the fact that the employer and
stockholder are assured their in-
come from surplus funds accumu-
lated during good times. In the
same way the worker who is in-
voluntarily out of employment
should receive from industry and
the state a sufficient sum of money
to sustain himself. He ended by
declaring that unemployment will
continue so long as we live under
this abominable social and eco-
nomic system. Leonard Kaye,
president of Printing Pressmen's
Assistants Union Local 23 declared
that if Congress does not give us
an unemployment insurance
law, we shall set up a Congress
that will.

Upon motion of Patrick Kean of
the Marine Firemen, Oilers and
Water Tenders Secretary Quinn
was directed to write to Governor
Rolph of California asking for the
release of Mooney and Billings.

Address:
FREE YOUTH
7 East 15th St.
New York City

FREE YOUTH

Calendar is as follows: Jan. 7,
round table discussion on Socialism;
Jan. 14, Mortimer Downing on "In-
dustrial Mortality"; Jan. 21, literary
evening, "The Young Men of the
Muste of Brookwood Labor College,"
A Message for Socialist Youth."
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
The national secretary, Emanuel
Swickler, spoke to the Senior Yipsels
of Philadelphia on Friday, Jan. 9, and
on Saturday, Jan. 10, he addressed
the Juniors. Various youth organiza-
tions have been invited to join with
the Philadelphia Yipsels in protesting
against child labor. From now on the
Philadelphia Yipsels will be in closer
contact with the national office.

CLEVELAND, O.
The Yipsels have been given a page
in the four-page monthly issued by
the Ohio Socialists. Their schedule is
as follows: Jan. 11, "Resolved, That
the Boy Scouts are Detrimental to the
Interests of Class Youth" to be
debated by the members; Jan. 18,
"The Need for a Young Workers Or-
ganization," H. M. Raden; Jan. 25,
book review and discussion.

CANADA
Our active spirit, Sol Berman, has
organized a new circle. An applica-
tion for a charter has been sent by
the national office. A mass meeting on
child labor has been arranged for
Sunday, Jan. 25. New members are
being initiated at every meeting.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.
County Organizer Bill Quirk, Jr.,
says: "We're getting our city organi-
zation into shape and will send for
an order of emblems, dues stamps
and other material soon. The applica-
tion for a charter of the Victor Berger
group has been favorably passed upon
by the executive board."

CHICAGO, ILL.
Circle 1 entered the new year with
the election of new officers and a fine
educational program. A series of lec-
tures on Russia has been scheduled.
The speakers will consist of men and
women who have visited Russia not
later than the past year and are re-
cognized as authorities. The following
insertion in the city constitution was
unanimously adopted: "The purpose
of the Young People's Socialist League
of Chicago is to agitate, among the
youth for the overthrow of the capi-
talist order and the substitution of
the Socialist state."

New York City
OFFICERS TO BE ELECTED
At the new central committee a
call was issued to all the senior circles
of Greater New York to immediately
proceed with the nomination of can-
didates for executive secretary and
financial secretary. The executive
committee was instructed to set the
date for elections.
Free Youth Out Feb. 15
The new semi-monthly of the

ON WEVD

230.6-WEVD—New York City—1300 KC
SUNDAY, JANUARY 18
11:45—Friedhofer's Home Beautiful
12:00—Billingsgate Melodians
12:15—B. & B. Collegians
12:30—Dr. Lundenfeld, Talk
12:45—Schneider's Travellers
1:00—Mr. and Mrs. Chatterbox
1:15—Rappoport, Jap and Lac
1:30—Broadway Vacuum
1:45—Denmark's Central
2:00—Gross Musical Gems
2:15—Prof. Wm. H. Bridge,
"Waste in Education"
2:30—Parkview Orchestra
2:45—Rev. Ralph H. Head,
"Morality vs. Corruption"
3:00—Music
3:15—Jewell Four—Cantors Isadore
Schoen, baritone; A. Malek, tenor;
Milton Grossman, alto;
Novat, Recitators, Orchestra.
TUESDAY, JANUARY 20
9:15—Shelias and Chesnut
9:30—Natural Bridge Arch Program
9:45—Natural Bridge Arch Program
10:00—Charlotte Brenner, Soprano
10:15—Gertrude Ross, "Sunshine"
10:30—Mrs. Fashion Gossip, "Ten Time
Topics"
10:45—Marie Van Gelder, "Tannhauser"
11:00—Fritze Ward, Soprano
11:15—Theodore Whisman, Violinist
11:30—Olga Orcutt, Songs
11:45—A. Robinson, "Unemployment
Prevention"
12:00—Alan Brown, Baritone
12:15—Henrietta Bagger, Contralto
12:30—Lucilla March
THURSDAY, JANUARY 22
9:15—Shelias and Chesnut
9:30—Natural Bridge Arch Program
9:45—Natural Bridge Arch Program
10:00—Elizabeth Rabbaglio, Songs
10:15—Symphony Orchestra
10:30—Intelligent Women's Guide
10:45—Maya Kaye, Crooner
11:00—Myra Neumann, Piano
11:15—Melody Land
11:30—Martha Grosso, Soprano
11:45—School Hour
12:00—A. Hovey and Mason Duo
12:15—William C. Kitchin, "Current Topics"
12:30—A. Fever, Tenor; Mollie Taylor,
Soprano
12:45—Wood Meadow, "Column of the Air"
1:00—Silverstone Orchestra
1:15—Jamaica Socialists
1:30—Long Island Press Relief Fund
1:45—Jamaica Royalists
FRIDAY, JANUARY 23
9:30—Morning Melodians
9:45—Popular Bits
10:00—Do You Remember?
10:15—Shelias and Chesnut
10:30—Rappoport and Eller
10:45—Natural Bridge Arch Program
11:00—Jane Barry, "Household Hints"
11:15—Mickey Brown, Songs
11:30—Dorothy Hill, Soprano
11:45—Paula Andrew, "Beauty for Fame"
12:00—Ida Schwartz, Song and Piano
12:15—Diana Belaitse, "Kindness to
Animals"
12:30—Orsin Recital
12:45—Ben Friedman and Jack Brook,
Song and Piano
1:00—Hazel Allen, Songs
1:15—Richmond Hill Board of Trade
1:30—Happiness Market
1:45—Freedom Serenades
SATURDAY, JANUARY 24
9:30—Suzanne Style Hints
9:45—Natural Bridge Arch Program
10:00—Lunchroom Music
10:15—Grace Glider Clarke, Lyric Soprano
10:30—Evelyn Seltzer, Soprano
10:45—Uncle Arthur and His Nieces
11:00—Homesteaders
11:15—Ethel Weyant, Soprano
11:30—Alfred Olsen, Bass
11:45—Elinor Bernstein, Violinist
12:00—Young Circle League
12:15—Zalman, Female Impersonator
12:30—Hoody Duo
12:45—Frank McKenna, Songs
1:00—John Brown, "What Is the Sun
Made of?"
1:15—Uncle Kris, "Children's Hour"
1:30—The Pitt School of Music
1:45—Schneider's Snarklers
2:00—Free Foresters
2:15—National Yipsels
2:30—James McDonough, Baritone
2:45—Young's Plantation Club,
Dance Music

Bad breath is a warning—

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

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Debates—Forums—Lectures

DEBATE
MECCA TEMPLE, JAN. 30, 8.30 P. M.
HEYWOOD BROWN
NORMAN THOMAS
VERSUS
ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS
CLARENCE DARROW
"Resolved: The Best Political Service Can
Be Rendered by Joining the Socialist Party"
Tickets: \$2.50 to \$7.50. Now, at Mecca Temple Box Office:
League for Industrial Democracy, 115 East 15th Street,
Rand Book Store, 7 East 15th Street.
Auspices: N. Y. Chapter, League for Industrial Democracy

FORUM OF CURRENT EVENTS
JAMES ONEAL
Editor of The New Leader
will speak on
"THE BREAKDOWN OF CAPITALISM"
Saturday, January 17—2:30 P. M. Admission 25c.
CARL VAN DOREN, Editor-in-Chief Literary Guild speaks on "Social
Reality and Imaginative Literature"—Monday, Jan. 19, 8:30 p. m.
ADMISSION 50c
RAND SCHOOL, 7 E. 15th St. Alg. 4-3094

THE COMMUNITY FORUM Park Ave. at 34th St.
SUNDAY, JANUARY 18 Distinguished English
Journalist
8 P. M.—H. N. BRAILSFORD,
"WHAT AN ENGLISH LIBERAL SAW IN INDIA."
11 A. M.—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
"MARRIAGE AND HAPPINESS:
(5) THE THINGS THAT HURT"
Admission Free All Welcome

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE
At Cooper Union
Eighth Street and Astor Place
at 8 o'clock
Friday Evening, Jan. 16th
PROF. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
Man's Dynamic Illusions
Sunday Evening, Jan. 18th
MR. NATHANIEL PEPPER
Disillusion, a New Way to Peace
Tuesday Evening, Jan. 20th
PROF. GARDNER MURPHY
The Nature of Creative Thought
At Muhlenberg Library
Monday Evening, Jan. 19th
DR. MARK VAN DOREN
T. S. Eliot
209 W. 23rd St., at 8:30 o'clock
Wednesday Evening, Jan. 21st
PROF. NORMAN HILBERRY
Kinetic Theory: The Introduction
of Statistical Law
Thursday Evening, Jan. 22nd
DR. E. G. SPAULDING
Philosophy as Criticism: Kant
Saturday Evening, Jan. 24th
DR. RICHARD MCKEON
Hobbes and Locke: Natural Law
and Civil Law

THE GROUP
A Clearing House of Opinion, meets
at Auditorium, 150 West 80th Street,
Tuesday, Jan. 20, at 8:30 P. M.
HON. JAMES W. GERRARD
Ex-Ambassador to the German Empire
will speak on:
"The German Political Situation
Today"
Weekly notices mailed on request

INGERSOLL FORUM
Fifth Avenue—135 West 70th Street
Sundays 8:00 P. M. Admission 50c
Jan. 18th—DR. WOLF ADLER
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Athletic Tracts and Catalogue Free
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\$10, \$25 and \$50 per week. Many
branches pay additional benefit from
\$25 to \$50 per week. Consumption bene-
fit \$400 and \$800 or five months in
our own sanatorium, located in the
most beautiful region of the Catskill
Mountains—besides the regular week-
ly benefit.
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No members at large admitted. Business transacted only through
branches.
For further information apply at 227 East 84th Street

A "Militant's" Program For American Socialism

An Approach to Trade Unionism, Political Campaigning and Soviet Russia
The Need For "A Comprehensive Program of Socialist Reconstruction"

At a meeting of the Socialist Discussion Group in the Rand School a few weeks ago Louis Stanley presented a statement of the so-called "Militant's" program. The editor asked Comrade Stanley carefully to prepare an article for our readers. This article is the result of that request. We ask our readers carefully to digest it. Next week the editor will comment on this article and give some idea of the real work that was done by "Militants" in building up the Socialist Party of which he was one.—Editor, The New Leader.

By Louis Stanley

SINCE the "militants" in the Socialist Party came into existence in New York City less than a year ago, their critics have claimed that there is nothing novel in the "militant" position and that they themselves are more "militant" than the "militants." There may be nothing original in what the "militants" have to propose, they may simply be old-fashioned enough to want to talk plain socialism to ordinary working men and women; nevertheless, on specific questions there have been sharp differences of opinion and mood between the two sides.

As a matter of fact, the "militants" have something new to offer, new in the sense that they want to apply old principles to new conditions in a new way. We should be poor students of the materialistic interpretation of history if we should explain the "militant" movement, as some have attempted to do, merely by the ambition of young comrades for distinction. The "militants" cut across age lines. It is not an accident that their existence coincides with the depression of 1929-30. The economic crisis exposed the weakness of the party in handling such fundamental problems as unemployment. The "militants" simply expressed the dissatisfaction of comrades with the drift in the party's activities and policies.

The fundamental difference between the "militants" and their opponents is illustrated by the trade union question. We all admit that the Socialist Party cannot advance in this country unless the workers are at the same time organized on the economic field. We talk glibly about the "double edge of labor's sword," about the two "arms" of the labor movement, the political and economic. We agree that the workers must mobilize their economic as well as their political strength against the capitalist class. We believe that the workers in their economic struggles will arrive at a Socialist

position, that they will come to understand how the government is being used for the benefit of the employers and how it could be utilized by the workers to their own advantage. We assert, furthermore, that the best way to reach the wage-earners is through the trade unions. Nevertheless, while there are few in our ranks today who do not do at least lip-service to this basic Marxian contention, namely that the Socialist Party as the political expression of the working class must be built on an economic base, there are those who behave as if this were not true. We have heard prominent party leaders say that Socialists should devote themselves entirely to building up the party, that there is enough work to do in that field, and that the unions should be let alone. There is a fundamental fallacy in such statements. The error consists in assuming that the Socialist Party can grow without the economic organization of the workers as its foundation and that the Party can live without seeking contacts with the unions. The Socialist Party to thrive as a political organization needs the trade unions. Some of us have been arguing so long that the workers, that the trade unions, in short, need us for their salvation, that is, to lead them from capitalism to Socialism, that we have forgotten the other side of the story, that we need them. It is not a theory we are talking about. It is a mat-

ter of life and death for the Socialist Party to have trade unions through which and with which it can work.

Before the war there was little need to belabor this point. The trade union movement was on the up-grade. It was aggressive, even if it was not class conscious. Socialists controlled many unions and could muster one-third of the votes at the convention of the American Federation of Labor. The Socialist element in the trade unions could be counted on to carry on Socialist propaganda work within their organizations, while at the same time distinguishing itself for loyalty and service to the trade union movement. In brief, the Socialist Party had an economic base upon which to build. Today this is not true. Trade union membership has declined since the war. The trade unions have become conciliatory in their relationship with employers. The Socialist opposition in the trade unions has practically disappeared. Probably less than ten per cent of the workers in the United States belong to the trade unions today. If we accept the premise, that the Socialist movement must have its roots in the economic organization of the workers, we cannot expect the Socialist Party in this country to develop unless there is an effective trade union movement with which it can deal. In fact, the ninety per cent of unorganized workers are the semi-skilled and unskilled, who because of their

helplessness in the face of technological improvements and capitalist concentration in the basic industries, are the ones most ready to hear the Socialist message of the necessity for social legislation and socialization of industry. Shall we stand helplessly by and wait until the workers rise up and form unions of their own? We might have enough patience for that, if there were no alternative and if the very life of the Socialist Party as the political arm of the working class did not depend upon whether there were unions or not. If the unions are small and ineffective, it is necessary for Socialists to make them big and strong, not in the Socialists' role as trade unionists but as persons who are interested in political action for the working class.

Help Build the Unions
To give vitality to the Socialist Party through the sustenance supplied by unions, the "militants" propose that the Party take definite steps to help in building up a powerful trade union movement in this country. It is not enough to make speeches on occasions to trade unions, a good example of which is Comrade August Claassen's work in New York City, which he described in last week's "New Leader." It is urgent that we find ways and means of continuously assisting wage-earners inside and outside of unions to organize themselves. The "militants" make a practical proposal to accomplish this object. They ask

that the party appoint an organizer or organizers or establish a bureau or department whose business it shall be to widen our contacts with the workers to the end that a strong trade union movement shall be encouraged. Instead of drifting along, we should deliberately try to reach the workers. Such an organizer or organizers would be on the alert for opportunities where the Socialists could be helpful with strike duty, relief work, legal defense, publicity and organizing. Young people particularly could be encouraged to engage in organization work. Such an atmosphere should prevail in the party that the youth will find this activity enthusiastically welcomed. The organizer could arrange for conferences with Socialist trade unionists to discuss methods of being useful in the trade unions. He certainly would be close enough to the labor scene to give advice to a party and its affiliated institutions as to what meetings should be held, what literature should be published or what other kind of work should be undertaken in order to bring the party closer to the working class in its struggle for economic emancipation. Certainly nothing in this program implies that the Socialist Party intends to dominate the trade unions. It is expected, however, that Socialists will again be able to exercise a powerful influence upon trade unions by virtue of their intelligence and unstinted devotion to the economic organiza-

tions of the workers.
Great pains have been taken to explain with some fullness the "militants'" stand on trade unions, because it involves the party's entire attitude towards the working class. In recent years we have not been directing our attention chiefly to the workers because there has been no organized labor movement of consequence to which and through which we could appeal. There have even been those who have denied the existence of the basic class struggle under capitalism between those who own the means of production and those who have proposed a Socialist philosophy based on the interests of consumers, thus quickly achieving the classless society, since we are all consumers. We have come to emphasize reform measures in our propaganda, because they have met with favorable responses from liberals, progressives, in fact from middle class elements. Sometimes, we have covered up our lack of a working class base by referring to the "people" or the "great American people." Fundamental principles of Socialism have often been neglected. It is significant that we have not had a substantial critical contribution to Socialist literature in this country for more than a decade. Spectacular methods in propaganda work have become unrepentant. Years ago Socialists like Victor Berger did not fear a little sensationalism in getting

across their message. Vote getting and success in elections have been overemphasized.

It is not the desire of the "militants" to see the party committed to sterile dogmatism. Indeed, it is one of the contributions of the "militants" that they have reminded our campaigners that fundamentals must be united with concrete problems and that current issues must be tied up with basic principles. Furthermore, the "militants" have indicated how this could be done. They point out that no immediate reform should be advocated, unless (1) it gives us an opportunity to advance our criticism of the capitalist system and advocate the Socialist ideal, and (2) it is a transitional step towards Socialism. If a reform does not serve in these two ways, then it should be left to liberals or progressives who want to patch up the capitalist system. The historic function of the Socialist Party is to destroy that system and therefore, we should concentrate our efforts upon that task and nothing else.

Need for a Socialist Program
The Socialist movement exists for the purpose of freeing the workers from the capitalist system and achieving Socialism. The Communists believe this must be done by violent revolution. We believe that it should be accomplished by a process of socialization. One of the weaknesses of the Socialist Party in this country today is that it has given little

thought to this process. We advocated isolated reforms, frequently those which have made issues for us by liberals, have not related these immediate measures sufficiently to our mate goal. We have neglected certain immediate demands are at present not in the eye, such as the socialization of banks, the railroads, the telegraph and telephone systems, and coal industry. We have not faced the question as to what the inauguration of any of our forms would help prolong the of capitalism or hasten its destruction. The "militants" say what is needed is the drawing of a comprehensive program of Socialist reconstruction. This encourages analysis of modern capitalism, counteracts the tendency to overemphasize issues created by current problems, assist us in relating our demands to one another (for they are all interdependent) and the direction in which we are moving, and substitute a present drifting a process of Socialist engineering. The "militants" want to know where we are going and believe we can get faster by conscious construction of present institutions than by waiting for the "inevitable" of gradualness.

Utilize the Soviet Experiment
Because the "militants" believe that Socialism must be achieved by conscious effort not blind groping, they take a friendly attitude towards Soviet Russia. They give a blanket endorsement everything that is transpiring there. The political terrorism, for example, they particularly approve. However, they believe an important contribution to Socialist experience is being there. The Soviet system, tended for the benefit of the workers and it is based upon the nation of private profit and the planning of industry. The Socialist Party ought to utilize appropriate features of the economy for its propaganda for Socialism in this country. The Soviet experiment should be worked in this country. The practicality of establishing a society based upon planned production for use. If it succeeds, because of Socialism will be noted. To say that we are posed to Soviet Russia because what is happening there is inconsistent with Socialist theory is mere dogmatism. It is true capitalism is being skipped, that is, the stage of private ownership of the means of production and distribution all its evils, but it is not true industrialism is being passed. The necessary economic basis of a Socialist society is being laid by conscious effort. Five-Year Plan is a phase development and whether it takes in four years or more years, whether it succeeds or in part, whether it be more or not, it deserves the support every Socialist because it is the first attempt in history to a Socialist society within a span of years.

It is a tremendous feat, that is the stage of private ownership of the means of production and distribution all its evils, but it is not true industrialism is being passed. The necessary economic basis of a Socialist society is being laid by conscious effort. Five-Year Plan is a phase development and whether it takes in four years or more years, whether it succeeds or in part, whether it be more or not, it deserves the support every Socialist because it is the first attempt in history to a Socialist society within a span of years.

Those who applied the "militant" to the advocate above program instinctively that these "militants" were a unique contribution to the American Socialist movement. They are fighters. They want to a vigorous campaign to a working class of this country to Socialism and they want aggressive steps towards establishment of Socialism. They opposed to drift. They want powerful action Above all the activity. They are battling the fight for Socialism.

A Program For Unemployment Relief

Mismanagement of Industry and Failure of Government
to Act Calls for Drastic Steps to Meet Crisis

By Louis Waldman

An Address Delivered Over Station WPAE Dec. 14.

JOBLESS for months," says an inconspicuous news item of November 12th, "Joseph Drusin, 39, of Indiana Township, near Pittsburgh, stole a loaf of bread from a neighbor's house for his four children, and after a constable ordered him to appear for a hearing, he went to his cellar and hanged himself rather than bring shame on his children." Such tragedies have become commonplace and are no longer considered "big news." More "accidental" falling from windows of hotels and apartments have taken place recently than at any time in our memory since 1907. "Suicide seems to be the only outlet for those victims of unemployment who refuse to resort to begging or stealing. Dr. Christian, head of the Elmira Reformatory, plotted a curve of the rise and fall of the Elmira

population over a period of years. The curve shows a direct relation between crime and unemployment. The curve rises as industrial depression sets in, and reaches its peak when unemployment is at its highest. The number of inmates is smallest when times are good. Thus, the community pays in many ways for the failure of our industrial and political leaders to plan for the prevention of unemployment and for their failure to establish humane and scientific methods of dealing with the victims of unemployment when that calamity occurs.

In New York City, in the very shadows of Wall Street, the financial center of the world, on the Christie-Forseythe sites where the old tenements were razed by the city promising to build model houses for workers to live in, can-

vastness have been pitched to afford some shelter to the unemployed. Open fires are built where large groups of shivering men try to keep warm. An ever-moving bread-line, four abreast, covering a block square, is constantly at the tent where coffee and rolls are handed to the hungry men in line. It takes hours for those at the end of the line to reach the coveted cup of coffee and roll. At other places, where soup kitchens have been set up by the Salvation Army, welfare organizations or churches, the bread-lines are a thousand long. In some of them, children take their place with the adults to get their share of food. We have thus, not only pauperized a large part of our adult population, but have even compelled the children at an impressionable age to become little beggars. What

may we expect of the future generation with such training and experience in childhood? The responsibility for this appalling situation must fall clearly upon industrial management which looks only to its own profit and forgets the welfare of the great mass of producers who make industrial prosperity possible. Nor can the political leaders of our country escape condemnation for their "Pollyanna" attitude in belittling the extent of unemployment and the distress it brings, and for their resistance of all proposals looking to a permanent solution of the problem.

Were unemployment as unexpected and unavoidable as a natural disaster like a flood, a drought or an earthquake, the bitter suffering it produces might be borne with less complaint. Our govern-

ment might find some excuse for its unpreparedness to meet the disaster. But unemployment is no such thing. Since 1818 we have experienced thirteen major crises in our country. On the average, every eight and one-half years, with uniform regularity, we suffer an attack of acute industrial depression. Such depressions occurred in the following years: 1818, 1825, 1837, 1847, 1857, 1873, 1884, 1893, 1904, 1907, 1914, 1921 and 1930.

With an experience running over so long a period of time under a variety of political administrations, it was sheer blindness and political indolence, if not worse, not to have taken drastic steps to prevent the 1930 disaster. What justification is there for our government's failure to plan for the coming of this industrial crisis?

Industrial and financial leaders are now willing to admit that industry and business is suffering from planlessness in production and distribution. The much-boasted efficiency of private ownership, of industry, transportation and commerce, is now admittedly a failure. We have the capacity and equipment to produce fifteen million radios a year when only three million can be consumed. We can produce many times more automobiles than we can use. Our capacity for production of coal is much greater than our need. For many years our mining industry and our textile industry were working part time and were sadly in need of reorganization through a central authority. The annual production of our basic industries such as cotton, sugar, rubber, copper, crude petroleum, pig iron and similar industries has increased at an astonishingly accelerated rate. Economics bellwethers served no-

tice of impending danger time and again. There were warning signals from Socialists and progressives. All remained unheeded in a fanatical worship of a false prosperity.

Financiers and industrialists are urging the repeal of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law so that business may combine through associations or organic mergers for the purpose of controlling production and stabilizing industry. Undeniably, production must be controlled and planned. If, however, the present crisis is to be seized upon as an excuse for the establishment of unbridled and unchecked monopoly in our industries, the American people will be doubly afflicted; during the depression, by the curse of unemployment; after the depression, by the domination of the combined financiers and industrialists. The suggestion in this regard of Mr. Thomas W. Lamont in his address before the Academy of Political Science would spell disaster to our country. It's true, control is sadly needed, but it must be social control.

The elimination of competition, with its tendency to over-expansion may be a most desirable thing but no control or production in the hands of private monopolies will compensate for the abuses such monopolies are most likely to practice upon producers as well as consumers. Where monopolies were permitted by law, either the State or the Federal government was compelled to step in and regulate those monopolies for the protection of the public. I do not say that the regulations were effective, but the fact that our Government was called upon to act through regulation clearly establishes the danger of private monopoly.

Adequately to meet the problem of business and industrial depression with its resultant unemployment.

(Continued on Page Five)

The Mind of American Capitalism

By James Oneal

WITH the death of Vernon Louis Parrington in June, 1930, American historical criticism suffered an irreparable loss. He had completed the first half of the third and final volume of his Main Currents in American Thought when he died and it remained for his friend, E. H. Eby, to piece together notes and fragments to round out his final volume (The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America, 1890-1920. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. \$4). The first volume, "The Colonial Mind," considered the period of 1620-1800, and the second, "The Romantic Revolution in America," covered the period of 1800-1860. The present volume belongs to the period of the rise of American capitalism.

Parrington's work ranks with that of Charles A. Beard's in interpreting the evolution of American society. In some respects, especially in baring the underlying class antagonism, Parrington is more bold than Beard. He held no "brief for a rigid scheme of economic determinism" and recognized "that the arts are likely to receive their noblest gifts from men who should be classed biologically as cultural sports or variations from the cultural type." And yet, through all his interpretation he presents the material factors and changes, including the economic, at the basis of American society. One may disagree with certain minor interpretations and conclusions of Parrington, as the writer does, but on the whole the approach and interpretation of our cultural history is that of Marx and Engels and yet these three volumes have not caused a ripple in American Socialist circles!

It seems to me that there is a certain sardonic humor in the fact that this third volume appears at the moment when capitalism is prostrate, at a time when in our own circles there has been a tendency to discount Marx, and when in the "New Republic" Edmund Wilson, frightened at the hideous fruits of capitalism, becomes almost hysterical over the blindness of American "liberalism" and "progressivism," and raises the question as to whether Marx does speak with more force from

Parrington Traces the Cultural Development of the Nation—A Work as Great as Beard's

the grave than he ever did when vegetating in poverty in a London garret. He raises the question thirteen years after "liberalism" and "progressivism" marched to the front with the militarists and imperialists, serving the dirtiest bourgeois class that has ever ruled a modern nation.

Restricted as this final volume is, it is so rich in materials, in suggestion and interpretation, that it is difficult to give some idea of its merit. Moreover, Parrington, although having completed some sections on agrarian radicalism, left practically nothing on the sections that were to consider the wage workers and the place of Debs, Haywood, DeLeon and other leaders in the revolutionary movement. One is left to conjecture what an enormous loss this omission is.

An incomplete introduction by the author indicates his approach. The old Jacksonian democracy, once a "political equalitarianism," was largely an abstract creed. It was one thing in the North and another in the South. Later on "democratic professions have been only a thin cover under which the old class warfare has gone forward vigorously." In the modern period "Political and economic theory is in charge of paymasters and is content with the drab rim of the familiar landscape. . . . Academic political scientists and economists have largely joined the Swiss guards, and abdicated the high prerogative of speculative thought."

A revolution preceded this ascendancy of the mediocre in political and economic thought. The Civil War had destroyed the ruling planter class and the capitalist class was freed of its precarious sharing of power with an old enemy. It now ruled.

With the substitution of the capitalist of industry for the plantation master as the custodian of society, the age of aristocracy was at an end and the age of the middle class was established. A new culture, created by the machine and answering the needs of capitalism, was to displace the old culture with its lingering concern for distinction and its love of standards. . . . The spirit of the frontier was to flare up in a huge buccannery cry. Having swept across the continent to the Pacific coast like a visitation of lo-

custs, the frontier spirit turned back upon its course to conquer the East, infecting the new industrialism with a crude individualism, fouling the halls of Congress, despoiling the public domain, and indulging in a huge national barbecue.

The Abolition leaders naively thought their work was done and retired. Except Phillips who said, "Welcome, new duties," and turned to the labor movement, based his thinking on economics, welcomed the Paris Commune, the Russian Nihilists and the First International. But he was a lone figure who drifted into the new age of bourgeois supremacy. The war took a heavy toll of intellectual rectitude. Charles A. Dana, Brook Farmer who had envisioned a classless world, sold his brains to the new rich. Grotesque figures sprang from obscure origins, thrust themselves everywhere upon the scene. . . . Daniel Drew, Commodore Vanderbilt, Jim Fisk, Jay Gould, Russell Sage—backwards for the most part, railway wreckers, cheaters and swindlers, but picturesque in their rascality. . . . Boss Tweed, Fernando Wood, G. Oakley Hall, Senator Pomeroy, Senator Cameron, Roscoe Conkling, Jas. G. Blaine—backwards also for the most part, looting city treasuries, buying and selling legislative votes like railway stock, but picturesque in their rascality. There were professional keepers of the public morals—Anthony Comstock, John B. Gough, Dwight L. Moody, Henry Ward Beecher, T. DeWitt Talmage—ardent proselytizers, unintellectual, men of one idea, but fiery in zeal and eloquent in description of the particular heaven each wanted to people with his fellow Americans."

One has only to recall the aftermath of the World War for a striking analogy. Harding matches Grant whose political ideas did not rise above that of a "Wyoming cowboy," the odorous Daugherty, Doherty and Fall also looting the public domain; the grotesque Lusk, Ole Hanson, John F. Hylan and William Hale Thompson; the Futurists, Ku Kluxers, anti-evolutionists, censors of plays,

books and magazines.

The old dignified culture associated with the former aristocracy could not survive the rising tide of bourgeois slime. Politics, journalism, architecture, interior decoration, revealed a "cultural bankruptcy." The New England which had promised a ripe cultural fruit felt the impact of capitalism. It set up "a cultural dictatorship over American letters." It was not content to follow its own path to sterility, but was bent on dragging the country with it. We may add that with the alliance of a textile cardinal with Boston banks and the remnants of the Puritans whose fortunes were derived from the slave trade and piracy cultural sterility has been achieved.

Thomas Bailey Aldrich represented the genteel tradition, one who was "convinced that in following the footsteps of the dead we shall come upon a living world." Having immigrants as "human gorillas," regarding the income tax as a "deformed child of Coxey," his vote went for McKinley, the ward of Mark Hanna. Walt Whitman sang of another world, an internationalism of labor, and Mark Twain, "child of a frontier past," came to laugh at the "sacred things" of the ruling vulgarities—the antithesis of the genteel Aldrich. John Hay, abolition Democrat and secretary to Lincoln, author of "The Bread-winners," "an attack upon the rising labor movement, a grotesque satire smeared with an unctuous morality," later ascended into the exploiting class and marched with the leaders of the ruling plutocracy.

Everywhere there was disillusion for those who had looked for a Golden Age with the passing of the slaveocracy. The three Adamses, Charles Francis, Henry and Brooks, reveal intellectual tragedy. The first nearly succeeded in adjusting himself to capitalism as "lucky to State Street" with the result that "his life came nearest to shipwreck." Henry also ran afoul of capitalism, dislike of which "was in his blood," and in his quest for an explanation of the ruin brought by the bourgeois

class reverted back to the thirteenth century and found the good life in the mysticism of St. Louis and the scholasticism of Thomas Aquinas. Brooks became a rebel and made a frontal attack upon the whole capitalist order, his studies leading him to conclusions that in part agree with Marx's, except that he never passed beyond the stage of skepticism.

In turn Parrington considers the economic theories of Cary, Wayland and Walker; the political theory of Woolsey, the radical criticism of Henry George, the work of publicists like George William Curtis and Edwin L. Godkin, the political and the sociological novel, the work of William Dean Howells of John Fiske, Henry James, Hamlin Garland, and Edward Bellamy, always keeping in mind the economic and social backgrounds as they unfolded with the development of capitalism. For example, the economic distress of the farmers whose attention had been diverted to the "bloody shirt" latched by the politicians while the latter were delivering the nation into the hands of capitalists and bankers.

All the exploiting classes had their hands in his (the farmer's) pockets. His was the only considerable economic group that exerted no organized pressure to control the price he sold for or the price he paid. While capitalism had been perfecting its machinery of exploitation he had remained indifferent to the fact that he himself was the fattest goose that capitalism was to pluck. He had helped indeed to provide the rope for his own hanging. He had voted away the public domain to railways that were now fleeing him; he took pride in the county-seat towns that lived off his earnings; he sent city lawyers to represent him in legislatures and in Congress; he read middle class newspapers and listened to bankers and politicians and cast his votes for the policy of Whiggery that could have no other outcome than his own despoiling. And now in the middle eighties he began to feel the rope around his neck, and realized the predicament he was in.

Some day the history of capitalism will be written and knowledge of that history is just as important as a program for its abolition. When this work is undertaken the writer will certainly find the labors of Parrington an enormous help in accomplishing his task.

"The workers are often proud of that which they should be ashamed and ashamed of that which they should be proud."

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By JAMES ONEAL

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General Pershing on the War

As our sleep-filled eyes opened last Monday morning there flashed through our so-called electric thought: "This is the day! Der Tag!"

"After slumber" we arose, flung off our blankets and two black cats asleep at our feet ran on winged toes to the door where we found a copy of "The New York Times." With ringing hands we almost tore the paper apart at last we had it. There before our bugged eyes was a picture of our ex-Commander, Old Face himself, and beneath the picture "General Pershing's foreword to the first syndicated articles called, 'My Experience in the War.'"

How many weary weeks had we been awaiting the appearance of these memoirs of the Man of Iron Jaw? Were we not one of Pershing's boys in those glorious days of 1918, when, as he in the Third Training Corps, U. S. Engineers threw back the Huns from the sacred Virginia? Yes, sir, we were, and here in his words our Beloved Commander was at last telling us what it was all about. Do you think that we were not at tears as our eyes felt that cracked countenance looking out at us on the pages of the paper?

And been, of course, properly steamed up for this occasion by the advance stories which were appearing in the papers that were to synopsize the articles. In one of them we were thrilled by the hardships suffered by "Black Jack" the titan struggle. Does anyone think that he sat in his brass hats comfortably behind lines while the buck privates went out and risked their fathers' lands? Shame on such a man! In one of these preliminary ballyhoos that General Pershing often went up to a quite near the front and sometimes it was out and would get our Brave Leader and sound right in the rain without any umbrellas or anything, exposing himself to head and heavens know what other dire consequences. But even when he was all wet, as quite happened, he was glad to do this for his boys.

Very first thing that these fascinating memoirs are the advantage of knowing foreign news. We hope that the advertising writers Berlitz School of Languages and other institutions where you can learn anything from Czech to neo-Celtic in a week, will not overestimate. For it seems that General Pershing was to lead the A. E. F. mainly because of his ability to speak French. In fact, as he was a Major General, way down on the list of all the Major Generals we had hanging around the time of our entry into the war, it didn't look like Pershing would get the job. But one day he received a telegram from his father-in-law, who was a Senator, asking him to write right back and either or not he could speak French. "Black Jack" sent back word that he had spent several years in France in 1908 studying the language and when he could speak the frog talk "quite fluently." So, P. S., he got the job, which should you little boys and girls the lesson that if you want to be a great, big, "normous General and Sam Browne belt and all, you gotter know French.

Only you can't expect the General to shoot aside stuff in the first two or three installments. He can't tell you all that is coming but we do know that the General is writing his memoirs not for what you think, you old cynic you, but for what I conceive to be an important piece to my country. Ta, ta, ta. Stand up and your hats off, you unpatriotic dogs.

"Service" turns out to be the magnificent pointing out the mistakes we made in the war so that we won't be dumb enough to make over again in the next. "We had made small errors for defence," says Old Granite Face, "as for aggression. So when war actually came on us we had to change the very nature of our minds to meet its realities."

Now we did. Now and then there comes back the sight of forty thousand perfectly decent young men turning into young sadists on the parade at Camp Humphreys, Virginia, when the bayonet practice. They hung up dumplings of us and after showing us just what to do to an enemy's abdomen by skillful use of bayonet point, they bade us shout "hah!" as they "show our wolf teeth." Forty thousand coming from men armed with the most reason in the world, still ring in our ears, "changing the very nature of our lives" vengeance.

Low processes by which we achieved these and applied our latent power to the problem of combat in Europe, despite our will, our and our wealth, I have endeavored to de-"Black Jack" goes on, and adds significantly "therein lie the lessons of which I write."

Finally the General clears up that little matter of description which vaguely troubled some of our corrigible persons who couldn't seem to get it with democracy. First of all, he wanted clear to all and sundry that we were not a "political army" abroad. "We must avoid the impression that we are sending a political army to Europe—the day of political armies is

over. This was not a political army. It was a bunch of good boy scouts who went to play pinochle with the Germans. And, as all these boys went over on their own didn't Wilson say that this was no "draft of killing" and send us all notices beginning, "In fact Pershing assures us that he, as reporters after the draft act had been through Congress, "It is a triumph of democracy; a willing step taken by a free under wise leadership." He said, "The note for conscription will be heard around

My friend Ole is reading every word of memoirs. Ole is in my company in Virginia. Ole I. W. W. with a magnificent vocabulary which he used to good effect upon the all those who had anything to do with it, the rest of us had become resigned to. One day I asked Ole how a man feeling he did happened to get into the army. He bawled glare upon me, spat voluminously as follows, "How I got in this blank, stinky blank army? That's easy, I'm walking the street in Denver and along come the bluff. 'Ole,' says the pie-faced blankety 'you're in the army.' 'Like hell I am,' says I. 'You ain't,' says he, sticking a gun the

From Our Foreign Correspondent

Soviet "Dumping" Abroad

By Emile Vandervlede
BRUSSELS

In Belgium and in France, as in the United States, "Soviet Dumping" is the order of the day. Following the example set by the Government of Mr. Tardieu in France the Belgian Government, on Oct. 24, last, issued a decree, applicable only to merchandise coming from Soviet Russia, containing the following regulations:

1. The necessity of special authorization, to be provided by the Minister of Agriculture or the Minister of Industry, for the importation, or transit, of cereals, flour, wine, oleine, stearine and of bone glue, sinews, hides and other animal products.

2. The necessity of showing, for these various products, imported or in transit, certificates establishing their origin in other countries than the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

By issuing such a decree the Belgian Government lined up with the so-called anti-dumping offensive being developed in France, as in the United States, against a régime which yesterday was said to be on the verge of collapse and whose constructive efforts today are being represented as a formidable menace to the whole capitalist system. (See, for instance, the recent article by Professor Hoover in Harper's Magazine).

But this event shows that, although great powers, with a firm protectionist policy, may do, or try to do, such things without inflicting any direct or immediate injury to themselves, a little free trade country like Belgium, cannot attempt to do the same without exposing itself to drastic reprisals

The Belgian Govt. Follows An American Example; Russia's Industrial Efforts Reverberate

and, furthermore, to energetic protests from interests entertaining commercial relations with the Soviet Union.

The Belgian Government, under pressure from the agrarians, had acted on its own initiative without consulting other interests, especially the Chamber of Commerce of Antwerp, this citadel of Belgian commercial capitalism. It was firmly determined to refuse authorization for traffic, especially in cereals. It demanded, day after day, the showing of certificates of origin for merchandise not coming from the U. S. S. R.

Well, the immediate result of such measures was the complete disorganization of the grain market of the port of Antwerp, where a great deal of Russian wheat was arriving, and, besides, the switching to the rival port of Rotterdam of Soviet ships en route to Antwerp.

Here is what Le Journal of Paris said about it the day after the decree came out:

"Reprisals were taken immediately. The Russian department of transportation and communication ordered by radio twenty-two vessels destined for Antwerp to change their course for Rotterdam. And several Belgian importers protesting energetically to the Government in Brussels against its measures."

The Soviet Union has just bought a big warehouse in Rotterdam for 300,000 tons of its grain. It intends to quit altogether the port of Antwerp with which it had

transacted a large amount of business up till now."

It is a curious fact that in reality Belgium, which, like Holland, never has wished to recognize the Soviet Government and has no commercial agreement with it, does much more business with it, in proportion, than France, for instance.

Many times the U. S. S. R. has evidenced a desire to make Antwerp, because of its advantageous location, its main port of trade for Western Europe and, in fact, although its advances always have been repulsed, there are many big business men in Antwerp making large profits out of their Soviet trade in flax, lumber and grain.

Of course, these business men are 100 per cent conservative. They are the very persons constituting the center of the opposition to recognition of the Soviet Government, because the establishment of normal relations with Russia would cut down their frequently usurious profits on Soviet transactions.

But when, without consulting them, the Government took steps likely to make these transactions impossible, it was especially in their camp, in the official newspapers of the Antwerp Chamber of Commerce, that there arose a formidable storm of protest against the decree of Oct. 24.

On the 25th, in a telegram to Brussels, the president of the Chamber of Commerce of Antwerp pointed out that the demand for certificates of origin was creating

a disastrous disturbance in the whole grain trade. And, in chorus, the conservative press of Antwerp, led by the powerful Neptune, denounced "the governmental ineptitude" in language more than vehement.

And so, in the face of such a storm, the imperiled ministers thought it necessary to throw out some ballast. At a Cabinet council held Oct. 26 it was decided that the decree barring the entry of merchandise from Russia didn't apply to goods in transit or to cargoes on the high seas destined for Antwerp.

But of course this semi-capitalization, humiliating enough for those who had to put up with it, doesn't solve the problem.

From the point of view of the farmers, whose protection was alleged to have been intended, the anti-dumping decree becomes a dead letter the moment the régime of free entry in the matter of cereals is maintained; and if the export of Russian wheat exercises a certain amount of downward pressure upon the world market (something bound to favor the consumers of bread), it matters little to the farmers if this pressure is exercised in Rotterdam rather than in Antwerp.

Therefore it is absolutely useless, without the slightest hope of achieving tangible results, for the government to insist upon upholding a measure injuring commercial interests of some importance and, besides, contributing to make

economic relations with Russia worse.

For, as our comrade Morris Hillquit so well said: "You can't put a boycott upon the products of the labor of a nation of 180,000,000 people. That's a war measure."

It may well be, of course, that the commercial methods of the Soviet Government are open to criticism and that, in the enormous effort at industrialization it is making, it resorts to practices deserving condemnation in its striving for resources.

But, is it the first and only one to resort to dumping? And, to speak only of Belgium, didn't that country recently have to defend itself, and in the line of cereals, too, against dumping on the part of nations counted among its best friends, such as France and Poland?

But when it was a question of French and Polish export premiums the problem was settled by friendly negotiations.

On the contrary, from the point of view of world peace, what makes a serious menace out of the exceptional measures aimed at the U. S. S. R. by certain countries, is the fact that they seem much less like defensive measures than like a concerted offensive against the constructive policy of the Russian revolution.

This has been understood in England, in Germany and even in Italy.

Our International should make it understood elsewhere.

(Comrade Vandervlede is president of the Socialist International—Ed. note.)

Scanning the New Books

Edited by LAWRENCE ROGIN

Reaching International Peace Through the Individual

Militant Pacifism

By Tucker P. Smith

"The Fight for Peace," Macmillan, \$5.00.

THIS volume by Devere Allen, the editor of our leading pacifist journal, represents a life of research and labor. Probably no one in this country has more information upon the work and the history of the peace movement than Devere Allen. Few have had his active experience in the movement and no one could view it more critically than he has done in this volume. It is a serious and rather comprehensive study of the fight for peace during the past 100 years that belongs upon the table of every earnest student of this field.

The author sets himself the task of discovering why a century of peace effort has produced no more practical results. He finds the answer pretty largely in the deceptive distinction that "pacifists" have tried to make between nice wars and naughty wars. In the unrealistic effort to stamp out "aggressive wars" while retaining the national honor, the national preparedness, and the civic readiness to fight defensive wars, the peace movement has shown its very elementary understanding of the war method. Good will and peace sentiment developed in peace time have melted quickly in crises because each successive war has been a "necessary defense" of some noble ideal or of national security. Wars for worthy causes have also deceived many self-styled pacifists.

Mr. Allen is ruthless with these follies of the peace movement, is even too severe with them, this reviewer believes, in that he does not make sufficient allowance for the social forces that create and play upon movements. Personal conviction is essential to effective reform activity but personal conviction is, in the long run, always tied up with social trends.

In many lucid chapters on such themes as arbitration, human nature, international machinery, peace tactics, crises, etc., the author effectively labors his point that the refusal to fight is the common man's best answer to war, to imperialism, to propaganda. And it undoubtedly is. So long as Mr. Average Citizen is willing to fight under certain circumstances, the "intellectual" and "spiritual leaders" of the time will be able to convince him that this is one of the times that call for such "heroic methods." There is no more logical and effective answer to the high brow arguments of "our leaders of thought" within the capabilities of the common man than the simple attitude, "I won't die for you."

The present reviewer, while subscribing to this position, can't help feeling that the author's arguments for it—and every position must have its arguments, even if they are merely rationalizations—are a little weak for purposes of winning new recruits. More ought to be said on the practical utility of the war method and more should be said about war as a result of social habits rather than a product of deliberate planning, in ex-

plaining why men should refuse to use such a futile and self-defeating technique.

The author is not so guilty of thinking of pacifism as an individual proposition as many holders of that position are, and he does not make the fatal error of discussing war-resistance merely in terms of conduct when war is imminent. However, a volume on "The Fight for Peace" should have a little more to say about political and economic developments and their effect upon opinion—past and future. Mr. Allen is too socially intelligent to let the pacifist formula or war-resistance rest upon the individual quite as much as he does in this book. The refusal to fight should be related more closely to economic, social and psychological settings, and to the infinite details of current events, which are the next war in the making. There is a good discussion of labor and socialist action in the line of war resistance and good chapters on selling the war method to the public. The paucity of social intelligence in our peace movement of the past does excuse a history of that work from devoting much space to social thinking.

This reviewer would prefer that this volume be a little more unified in parts. Some sections of it appear to be isolated chapters, each one an excellent essay upon a specific subject, but not part of a smooth-flowing history or argument. We should hope that Mr. Allen's argument, and this book is, quite properly, more argument from history than mere history, might be boiled down into a much shorter document and developed in chapters that follow each other more closely. But it is an excellent work and you should read it for the wealth of reference material in it.

This Is New York

NEW YORK is a callous city. What happens to you, or you, or you, matters little to the man next door—save as it satisfies his curiosity, or promotes his complacent feeling that he is doing good. Events hurry or pass leisurely by, and that's an end of them. Buildings rise, stocks fall, world-champions are born, racketeers die and the rest of us read the tabloids. A few have dreams of better things; these drift toward disillusion, or life buffets them with a failure or an infidelity. And by roundabout courses love—and the light-o'-love, with her diaphanous dress—come to those who least expect their stigmata.

Mayer Fortner, in his novel "Not to the Swift" (Newland Press, \$2) makes excellent capture of this surface of things which is New York. Successive episodes, introduced at times with "stage directions," deal with the community apartments being built near Van Cortlandt Park in the Bronx; several planes of interest overlap. Among the dwellers in the buildings are garment-workers, whose strike we view; and dancers whose work and affairs; and writers

whose ambitions and (feeble) achievements. Then the workers on the buildings; these include such as we've already mentioned, of course; but also the Jew who had helped put over the idea of building a cooperative apartment, the Italian contractor and the good old American racketeer who finally buys the place at auction. And these men have also been building theatres, backing shows and speaking and prize fighters, trying to keep mistresses, contracting venereal diseases, raising daughters and other troubles, and preying upon such as dwell in the cooperative apartments, the workers who read about it all in the tabloids.

The style of Mayer Fortner's novel has a surface casualness that makes all this seem not only natural, but inevitable. The letters of Michael, and his imitation of Walter Winchell, are so stilted we know he'd never make a great writer; but the body of the book is more effective. The conversations are frequent, and catch their types, from prize fighter to coffee house man actor; so that a cross-section of city life is effectively revealed. If "Not to the Swift" gets the attention it deserves, the author—who dedicates it to "the most lenient landlord in Greenwich Village"—will for a while be able to pay his rent.

JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY.

A Program for the Unemployment Crisis

(Continued from Page Four)

ment and distress, Socialists propose social control of the basic industries. Planned production for the needs of our people and for such exports as can reasonably be expected, should be a function of Government through proper agencies set up for industrial control.

As part of such control, there should be a reduction of the hours of labor to conform to the increased productivity of our industries. The recent demands of organized labor for the five-day week ought to be seriously considered and acted upon. But if those demands are pressed only upon industries where organized labor functions, the vast number of industrial and commercial establishments where labor is not organized will receive the greatest impetus for remaining unorganized.

The reduction of the number of hours per day, and the establishment of the five-day week, must apply uniformly to all industry, commerce and transportation. That can only be accomplished by legislation.

When the worst features of the present crisis are over, there will still be an unemployment problem due to technological improvement—a process which has by no means been arrested but, on the contrary, will, as indeed it should, go on with increasing efficiency in the permanent march of triumphant science.

Herndon's Lincoln

NO American biography provoked such a controversy as Herndon's "Lincoln" which appeared in the summer of 1889. The book has been out of print for years and as it has acquired a scarcity value many who have been unable to obtain a copy will be grateful for the reprint brought out by Albert and Charles Boni (\$2.50). This edition also has an introduction and notes by Paul M. Angle which are especially valuable for those who are unacquainted with the main controversies aroused by Herndon's book.

William H. Herndon was the law partner and political associate of Lincoln and the realism with which he depicted Lincoln's character provoked dissent. It may be difficult for moderns to understand why the book caused such a row but when it is remembered that Lincoln was then in process of being raised to sainthood one can understand how Herndon's book shocked those who enjoy myths. And yet when allowance is made for the time and the mood it seems to us Lincoln emerges from Herndon's writings as a great human figure, certainly an admirable one and one of which any people would be proud.

It was Lincoln's religious skepticism and his lapses into melancholy, his not wholly happy life with his wife, his penchant for telling stories bordering on smut, his awkward appearance and uncouth manners, that offended those who wanted a saint rather than a human being. Herndon paid for his candor by being denounced as a drug addict, a lunatic and a drunkard. The Chicago Journal observed that "The obscenity of the work is surprising and shocking. Anthony Comstock should give it to his attention. It is not fit for family reading." Such venom was spewed upon an author who loved the man whose character he painted!

Mr. Angle's footnotes correct some errors in the Herndon biography and in the introduction he introduces the reader to the man who wrote it. He declares that Herndon relied on the "intuitive method" in his interpretation of some phases of Lincoln's character and this occasionally led him astray. When allowance is made for some of these minor limitations Herndon's "Lincoln" still remains the great source of our knowledge of one of the greatest men in American history. This edition brings this rare book within the reach of many who have not had access to it before and we are thankful to the publishers for bringing it out.

JAMES ONEAL.

isolation. Socialists, liberals and progressives will be called upon to mobilize all their strength for the enactment of those bills into law. These industrial states should assume leadership in unemployment insurance legislation.

No insurance plan will work well without an adequate system of employment exchanges maintained and operated in connection with such plan. Employment exchanges must cross state lines. The Federal Government can and should without delay establish in cooperation with the states a system of employment exchanges to be job clearing houses so that employers can get their workers and workers can be brought to the available jobs without delay or expense.

A well organized system of employment exchanges is also necessary to meet the problems of pretended unemployment by a worker who may prefer the unemployment benefit to a job.

As a means of overcoming the serious consequences of technological improvement, vocational training facilities must be established in connection with unemployment and with a system of employment exchanges. If, for example, the musician of mature years is replaced by the talkie and the radio, the retraining of such a musician to fit him for another job ought to be made possible without unnecessary delay or expense.

In a word, the whole problem of industrial and business depression, with the consequent toll of suffering, with its destruction of financial and human values, must be met by fundamental and thoroughgoing social legislation. The labor market must be organized; industry must be controlled socially; hours of labor must be reduced, and the bread-line must be forever abolished from American life.

Unemployment Insurance bills will be introduced in many states this winter. New York, Connecticut and Pennsylvania will be the Eastern battleground for this leg-

The Chatter Box

Atlantic Ocean Anthology Nathan Straus, Sr.

This is no time to say a wretched word in dissonance to all the grief Men voice before your bier.

After all there is a nicety For moments such as this. Evil were better left unsaid When it concerns the dead.

And even if there were dread things Imperative to voice, Death cancels all these debts And dissolves all charged accounts With his cold touch of cash.

Alas! I am irreverent As any Ghetto street; And too uncultured for the task Of hoisting tribute to a man Whose life was spent In playing God.

You were not wrathful, nor a jealous one. You patterned stern Jehovah differently. You made benevolence a special trade; Gave milk a purity for pauper babes; Gave monies in a studied generous way. Wherever you decided God should do A necessary and important good.

For this you have been given much in praise, And I dare say, in love as well.

I think Jehovah, jealous nonetheless, Of those presuming to usurp his place, Is prodding me, with his mysterious way To say the bitter word against All reverence.

There is a curious game, of "put and take," Philanthropists and such delight to play. Squeeze men and women dry of hope and life Within their mills and market places, And then go sprinkling drops of life and hope On obvious squalor, or in distant lands.

How women manage living on a wage Of ten to fifteen dollars paid per week, Is more miraculous to me, Than all the sums of money Owners of department stores Give in charity.

The newspapers, who fawn before your grave, And fill vast columns space to tint your deeds With honor and high praise, Are giving you for final compliment A small gratuity for all the space You bought and paid for through these years. They would not be so base As print a poem like this.

Yet I, who partook of your charities, Drank of your milk, and once at Christmas time Worked like a fevered phantom in your store, Am low enough to fling these words Against the heavy glamor of your name.

As long as stores like yours, Hire souls and bodies for the pittance pay That owners reckon in their godlike minds Is all sufficient for the costs of life, There will not be a one among you all Higher than a maggot to my mind.

Build all the temples and endow them well, Banner your doings with wide stripes of gold, Pour milk here and drip some hope there, Earn the loud plaudits of the thoughtless poor, Strut like Almighty through the ashens alums, But if you are forgetful of the source From which your affluence and power comes, What matter then if you remember in a while To give a little from the pilferage.

I am not boor enough to place the blame Entirely on your now remembered head. Men who become obsessed with playing God, Can only reach the pasture and the power At the expense of man.

The way was set for you, and it was right And decent to the world in which you lived To walk the way you did. And what you did Had all the glow of ancient miracle . . .

But still for me your sales girls Keeping decent on a wage Of ten to fifteen dollars paid per week Are more miraculous . . .

S. A. deWitt.

Soldier Boy

I KNEW a simple soldier boy Who grinned at life in empty joy, Slept soundly through the lonesome dark, And whistled early with the lark.

In winter trenches, cowed and glum, With crums and lice and lack of rum, He put a bullet through his brain, And no one spoke of him again . . .

You smug-faced crowds with kindling eye, Who cheer when soldier lads march by, Sneak home and pray you'll never know The hell where youth and laughter go.

SIEGFRIED SASSOON.

A Socialist movement that does not approach every problem and every task from the point of view of the working class loses its soul and until it is recovered the movement will wander in any direction but its goal.

(Continued from First Column)

size of two cannons in my stummick. And so, like hell I am."

But of course, at that time, Ole had not learned from the writings of his beloved Commander in Chief that he was one of the end-products of "a Triumph of Democratic Government."

May I suggest as supplementary reading to these Pershing puerilities, C. Hartley Grattan's book, "Why We Fought?" In its pages you will find the fully documented and non-fictional reasons why that eminent French scholar, John J. Pershing, went forth to battle at the head of four million American youngsters, left fifty or more thousand of them dead in France and is now licking his tight lips over the prospect of doing it all over again.

"Generals Die in Bed." That's the title of a recent book from the pen of a private in the late war. If only they would die with a decent reticence, keeping their blood-stained hands off the bodies of our youth in whom they can see nothing but the human foot for the next war's cannon.

McAlister

The Criminal Code—Powerful Movie at The Hipp

The Stage

The Movies

Music

Plays On at the Little Carnegie Playhouse



"Sous les Toits de Paris" (Under the Roofs of Paris) goes into its sixth week at the intimate playhouse on 57th Street. Albert Frejman and Pola Illery have the leading roles in this interesting foreign film, which, by the way, has been voted the best film shown in Europe in 1930.

The Week On The Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

THE TERRIBLE TABLOIDS

"FIVE STAR FINAL." By Louis Weitzenkorn. At the Court.

The title has no connection with the play, but it suffices to summon the atmosphere. And of atmosphere, swift, tension-shot atmosphere, "Five Star Final" has enough to supply tips to the tabloids. It is, of course, an open secret that Louis Weitzenkorn wrote the play after he was requested to leave his post as managing editor of the Graphic; and if a prominent member of that paper's staff says entr'acte that he recognizes almost everyone on the stage, who are we to say no? The tabloids summarize an aspect of our civilization that is its greatest shame. They should be handled only as tragedy—or as farce; other moods fail to capture them. The murders of "Beggars on Horseback," for example, fantastic and impossible as they are, we take more willingly than the suicides here. Seeking sensation (to win circulation), the Evening Gazette decides to publish the "first true account" of a twenty-year-old murderer: a girl, made pregnant by her boss, had killed him, and been acquitted. The paper's religious editor finds the woman, happily married, with a daughter about to wed: the first installment of the story breaks the match; the mother takes poison and her husband—loyal to the last—follows her. We are probably not expected to take these deaths seriously; they come without analysis of the character to justify them; and they indicate the extreme (the logical though absurd extreme) to which tabloid notoriety may drive its victims. But the play gives no hint, here, that all is not grim realism—as such, it would be grossly over-

done; hence the audience strains to interpret the suicides as symbolic, as not so much actual as indicative of tabloid evil.

"You would not do this to Rockefeller's daughter!" cries the husbandless orphan the tabloid publicity has made (of course, her young man turns up to marry her anyhow). It is the poor, who cannot fight back, without friends to shut off scandal, whose lives are made public by the gossip and scandal sheets. Walter Winchell makes exception to this; and Earl Carroll case shows what may happen when "prominent people" have enemies in the press. But, in general, your so-called private life is not your own, once a paper spies a spicy tale.

Shocked by the suicides the paper has caused, the editor resigns. But the paper goes on; its owner has millions invested; he must have advertising, therefore circulation; hence he must give the public smoldering sex. Hence, the tabloids.

"Five Star Final" is ingeniously put together, with effective use of the stage for swift pictures of a newspaper office, including the switchboard, and deft suggestion of newspaper types, such as Ziggy the contest editor and general fixer, and the pious hypocrite who gives the tabloid spiritual tone. Out of what might have given rise to an excellent satiric farce, Louis Weitzenkorn has wrought a good workaday melodrama.

CHORUSLESS COMEDY

"MEET MY SISTER." By Bert Verneuil and Blum. At the Shubert.

From France to Germany to us this bright musical comedy has traveled. Being without elaborate trappings of chorus, wide settings, and dragged-in extra features, "Meet My Sister" has to depend less on its music than on its plot-movement and its wit. Harry Wagstaff Gribble, the adapter, has given it full measure of varied humor (with occasional neat and appropriate allusion, by the way, to other Shubert shows—a good example of effective cooperation); and Verneuil (if my guess among the three is right) rounded out a good, though not startling, story. And the music is quietly charming.

"Meet My Sister" tells the tale of a young professor, called to catalogue the Countess's library. She falls in love with the young scholar, but he—bold as he is among his equals of the other sex

"The Criminal Code" Now at the Hippodrome: Fine Stage Program Makes an Excellent Bill

RKO's Hippodrome in showing "The Criminal Code" for the week starting today is presenting Walter Huston in one of his greatest character roles. This gripping romance, so widely acclaimed by screen critics is the adaptation of one of the best stage plays of last season. The entire cast, which includes besides Huston, Phillips Holmes, Constance Cummings and Mary Doran gives a most thrilling performance under Howard Hawks able direction.

The diversified eight-act RKO vaudeville boasts of the Lander Brothers, Harry and Willie, two very funny boys who caper through Palm Beach Nights, a tropical revue with a company of Florida beauties; while the Lucky Strike Marimba Orchestra of radio fame makes a personal appearance accompanied by Rico with Selya and Martinez, Serge Flash, greatest of rubber ball manipulators; Lou Krugel and Charles Robles, Broadway jesters; Ed Pressler and Blanche Klais, decidedly funny comies, Beebe and Rubytte, six modern gladiators and Hope Vernon, the musical comedy prima donna make up the balance of the all-comedy program.

—is fluttered and afraid with her. How she drops her rank to win him is what the divorce court hears. Bettina Hall makes a sweet countess (after all, this is a musical comedy!); and Walter Slezak, a young man we can quite understand her falling in love with. George Grossmith supplies a good deal of the comedy, but more slapstick stuff comes from Harry Welsh as a shoe-store proprietor; and Olive Olsen as the saleslady-stage star is archly apt, with deft ways and swift songs. Slezak's singing of "My Sweet Ideal"—in English, German and French—but one high spot in a delightful show. May the more of its sort the Shuberts promise, be as good.

THE GIRLS GROW OLDER

"MARTINE." By Jean Jacques Bernard. The Civic Repertory Studio.

In a slow-moving translation, Bernard's study of the town mouse and the country mouse stirs quietly to its somber ending, in the hands of the First Studio of Eva Le Gallienne's repertory group. Julien (spelled with an "a" on the program; though the meticulously French pronunciation of the names . . . Maarrtine . . . chafes upon the English diction) Julien flirts for a while with the country lass until the city girl arrives, with her culture and quick comprehension to win his heart. But 'twas to all eternity with poor Martine.

The play has been shown here before, so that one has more opportunity to observe the way in which these student girls imitate the little tricks Josephine Hutchinson has learned from Eva Le Gallienne—especially that moment's breathless pause. Robert F. Ross, of the regular company, has directed the players, of whom Howard Silva—already in small parts in other plays—seems the most finished performer. Studio groups of repertory theatres in this country have been often tried, and often abandoned; this one is worth continuance.

"As cheerful a frolic as the present season has offered."—Sun.

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WOLF-FERRI-MAYN-DYNDY-TRAUSS

MOLINARI, Conductor

Carnegie Hall, Thurs. Eve., Jan. 22, at 8:15

Fri. Aft., Jan. 23, at 3:30

Sat. Eve., Jan. 24, at 8:45

COBELL, DYORAK

ROSSINI-RESPIGI, STRAVINSKY

METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE

Sunday Afternoon, JAN. 25, at 3:00

Soleist: HEFFTE, BOSSINI, CASTEL-NUOVO-TEDESCO STRAVINSKY, ROSSINI-RESPIGI

ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Steinway)

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A Great Comedian in a Fine Musical Comedy



"Ballyhoo" is back at the Hammerstein Theatre, with its fine cast intact, its fine music to hear, its fun to enjoy, and W. C. Fields and all his old familiar nonsense and tom-foolery. Like many other big shows in town, the admission prices have been reduced, which makes this musical all the more worth while seeing.

"The Trial of Mary Dugan," in German, Is Now at the President

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's all-German talking version of "The Trial of Mary Dugan," is now at the President Theatre on Forty-Eighth Street, west of Broadway. This presentation of the German stage play follows Greta Garbo's German production of "Anna Christie," which was shown at the President Theatre last week.

The German production of "The Trial of Mary Dugan" was directed by Arthur Robison. The principal players are Nora Gregor, Lucy Dornale, Egon von Jordan, Arnold Korff and Julia Serda.

Maurice Schwartz Adds New Play to Yiddish Art Theatre Repertory

Maurice Schwartz announces that "The Man with the Portfolio" is now in rehearsal. This spectacle of Russia today by Alexei Faiko has received widespread acclaim on the continent this season.

The repertory for next week will include a theatre party for the American Women's Art of "Tehya, the Dairyman" on Monday; a benefit performance for the Jewish Community House of Bensonhurst on Tuesday with "Uncle Moses," "Riverside Drive," the latest play in the repertory on Wednesday and Thursday, and "Uncle Moses" for the week-end performances.

Heywood Brown says: "To my eyes and ears 'Ballyhoo' is the most amusing musical comedy of the year."

W. C. FIELDS

in

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PLAY-of-the-MONTH

Yiddish Art Theatre

at Second St. OBC. 2441

Maurice Schwartz

And the

Yiddish Art Players

Now Playing

Uncle Moses

אונקל מוסעס

By SHOLOM ASCH

Every Friday Evening, Saturday and Sunday, Matinees and Evening

SEATS—75c to \$2.00

Repertory—Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday Evenings

G. B. Shaw's "How He Lied to Her Husband" Opens at G. M. Cohan

At last, the superman of modern thought, George Bernard Shaw, who has fought and refused Motion Picture Producing Companies throughout the world with the use and rights of his material for adaptation to the screen, has finally succumbed to Elstree Productions, who have produced "How He Lied to Her Husband," one of Mr. Shaw's wittiest plays, under the able direction of Cecil Lewis.

Bernard Shaw's "How He Lied to Her Husband" promises to have a novel effect as to cast—there being only three people in the entire cast, namely, He, She, And Her Husband, played by Robert Harris, Vera Lennox, and Edmund Gwenn.

Edmund Gwenn, who enacts the leading male role in this production, has for many years appeared in numerous Shaw and Galsworthy plays. Due to this, he is called a "Shavian" among the theatrical profession.

BOOTH Theatre, 45th W. of B'way

Eves. 8:30; Mat. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

Matinees Wednesday and Saturday

Audacious Comedy Hit!

THE MAN IN

POSSESSION

By H. M. HARWOOD

with LESLIE

JEANS BANKS

GILBERT MILLER

Presents

Tomorrow

AND

Tomorrow

with

Zita Johann and Marshall

HERBERT MILLER'S Theatre, 124

W. 48 St.

Eves. 8:30; Mats. Wed. & Sat.

THE THEATRE GUILD PRESENTS

MIDNIGHT

GUILD Theatre, 52nd St. W. of B'way; EVENINGS AT

8:30; MATINEES, THURSDAY AND SATURDAY AT 2:40

Elizabeth, the Queen

Martin Beck

THEATRE, 45th St. W. of 8th Ave.; EVES. 8:40

MATINEES THURSDAY AND SATURDAY, 2:40

"A smash hit . . . one of the happiest theatre evenings I ever experienced."

—Walter Winchell, Daily Mirror.

Morris Green & Lewis Gensler

present

JOE COOK

In his

Newest Maddest Musical

FINE and DANDY

ERLANGER'S THEATRE

44th St. W. of B'way, Phone Pen. 7968

Eves. at 8:30; Mats. Wed. & Sat.

ALL GERMAN TALKING FILM

Der Mordprozess

der Mary Dugan

THE UNFORGETTABLE CRIMINAL

FILM OF ALL TIME!

WITH AN ALL-STAR CAST

BEGINS NET TUESDAY, JAN. 20

All-Evening Talking Film

MAURICE CHEVALIER

in

Le Petit Cafe

("THE LITTLE CAFE")

PRESIDENT

Theatre, W. 48th

St. PE-6-1797

Continuous Noon to Midnight

EDGAR WALLACE'S

Sensational Hit!

"ON THE SPOT"

Most Thrilling Play of the Season!

EDGAR WALLACE'S

FORREST THEATRE

40TH STREET, WEST OF B'WAY.

Evenings 8:30

Matinees Wednesday & Saturday, 2:30

Gaynor and Farrell in "The Man Who Came Back" at Fox B'klyn; Also Novel Stage Bill

Following two weeks of record-breaking attendance at the Roxy "The Man Who Came Back" arrived this week for its first Brooklyn showing at the Fox Theatre, Flatbush and Nevins, bringing along the screen's most popular sweetheart team, Janet Gaynor and Charles Farrell in the starring roles and under the able direction of Raoul Walsh.

With stronger parts dramatically than their previous pieces, Miss Gaynor and Farrell are at the full flower of their histrionic talent in this great romantic drama of regeneration.

Fast as a rip-roaring rodeo, Fanchon & Marco's "Wild and Woolly" idea takes possession of the stage. The featured artists are Kirk & Lawrence displaying a young couple's idea of "western whoopee"; Hart's Krazy Kats, "fun on the prairies"; Bud Carrell, rope monologist; Aussie & Czech, whip-cracking oddities; Ray Angwin, cowboy tenor; and the Bud Murray dancing girls.

Leon Kohrin, Author of "Riverside Drive," to Celebrate Anniversary

Leon Kohrin, the author, is celebrating his fiftieth anniversary this week. The Yiddish Art Theatre have chosen his latest play as their third production in his honor. This oldest and most prolific Jewish playwright has had thirty plays produced; many of which have been translated into Russian, French and German. He has also translated the works of Tolstoi, Dostoevsky, Chekhov, Maupassant and Hugo into Yiddish. In 1910, he published a unique edition of one thousand pages of folk tales; "A Lithuanian Village," "The Call of Life" and "Free Love" are among his best known plays.

"Riverside Drive" is a story of the old melting pot, that assays the gold from the dross. It is said to be replete with pathos, humor and realities.

Little Symphony Is Popular on Air

The Jewish Little Symphony, conducted by Mark Silver, began in its second year of broadcasting Thursday evening (Jan. 15) at 8 o'clock from station WGBS. The orchestra has been enlarged to eighteen musicians, and will be augmented further as subsequent programs may require.

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ROXY

7th Ave. and 50th St.

Per. Direction of S. L. ROTHAFEL (ROXY)

"ONCE A SINNER"

with

DOROTHY MACKAIL

and a star cast

A Fox Movie-tone

"ON THE STAGE—

"WAGNERIANA"

Roxy Symphony Orchestra of 125

"Ballet Venetian," "Havana Round,"

brilliant spectacle danced and sung by

a host of clever entertainers

CHORUS—BALLET—ROXYETTES

CAPITOL

Broadway and 51st Street

Major Edward Bowes, Mgr. Dir.

MARIE

DRESSLER

POLLY

MORAN

In the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer

Laugh Epidemic

"REDUCING"

JOE REVE, Hyde & Burrell, Yvette

Reich, Joyce Chase, Chester Hale Steg-

Recital

New History Society to Give Concert and Dance Sun. Evening, Jan. 25

A concert and dance recital will be given on Sunday evening, January 25, at the Park Lane Hotel by the Caravan, a section of the New History Society. Among the artists who will appear are Arthur Pletner, pianist, who will direct the program; Maurice Bourg, violinist; John Leoncavallo, oboe, former member of the New York Philharmonic and the Philadelphia and Cleveland Symphony Orchestras; Walter Thal, clarinet; Lorenzo Sansone, French horn, now a member of the faculty of the Institute of Musical Art and the Juilliard Foundation in New York; and Octave Sage, bassoon, at one time with the Lamoureux Orchestra in Paris and the St. Louis Symphony.

Testimonial to Bertha Kalish

Diana Gordon, American disease and character impersonator, has joined other eminent artists who have volunteered to appear at the benefit for Mrs. Bertha Kalish. Miss Gordon will present a special series of character sketches at the Majestic Theatre, Sunday evening, January 18, as part of the program which includes Ruth Draper, Ivor Novello, Blanche Yurka, George Jessel and others prominent in the theatrical world.

In Aarons and Freedley's Smash Hit Musical



Above is a scene from the "Gates of the Caucasus," part of an all Russian Program at the 5th Avenue Playhouse.

"The Living Corpse" Holds Over at the 8th St. Playhouse

Tolstol's drama, "The Living Corpse" (Redemption) will stay on for another week at the Eighth Street Playhouse beginning Saturday, January 10. The film is silent and was directed by Fedor Ozep with Pudovkin in the leading part, the role which was portrayed on the stage by John Barrymore and recently in the films by John Gilbert.

Pudovkin is well known here as the director of the "End of St. Petersburg" and "Storm Over Asia." The film was made by the Russian Film Company, Mesch-rapom-Film, and the Prometheus-Film, Berlin.

Manhattan Symphony Concert Sunday, Jan. 25

The Manhattan Symphony Orchestra will give its fifth subscription concert at Mecca Auditorium on Sunday evening, January 25 at 9 p. m. There will be two soloists at this concert, Rosa Polnariol, violinist, who will play the Paganini Concerto in D Minor, and Claudio Frigerio, baritone, of the Metropolitan Opera Company, who will sing the aria from the Masked Ball by Verdi.

Chief interest in the orchestral numbers will be found in the presentation of Mrs. H. A. Beach's Gaelic symphony No. 2. This symphony was last played in New York by the Boston Orchestra under Pauer in 1897. Die Fledermaus Overture by Strauss will also be played at this concert.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

Higgins Contest

One of the highest contests in the history of the Socialist Party in this country was held this week by the Chicago branch. The contest was between the local branch and the national committee. The contest was held in the city of Chicago, and the result was a victory for the local branch.

A Chicago Yip and a member, leads the list, points ahead of his near by. The contest was held in the city of Chicago, and the result was a victory for the local branch.

Branch Allen town has been meeting every Friday evening in the Allen town Labor Temple, has decided to place a full city and county ticket in the field. Except for three offices, all have been filled. Preparations for a "War Fund" have been made, and it is expected to win at least one seat in the city council.

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UNION DIRECTORY

BONNAR EMBROIDERS UNION
Local 64, L. O. W. U. 7 E. 10th St.
Algonquin 3617-8. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union. 2. L. Freedman, President; Louis Lattab, Manager; Nathan Reisel, Secretary-Treasurer.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION
LOCAL No. 9. Office and headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby Ave. Phone 5431. Office open daily except Saturday from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening. Charles Pfaff, Fin. Sec'y; Frank P. Lutz, Treasurer; Andrew Strick, Bus. Agent; William Weinger, President; Charles Weinger, Vice-President; Samuel Potter, Sec. Sec'y.

THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION
8 West 18th Street New York City
Telephone Chelsea 2148. Benjamin Schlesinger, President; David Dubinsky, Secretary-Treasurer.

BUTCHERS' UNION
Local 174, A. C. W. & B. W. of N. A. Office and Headquarters: Labor Temple, 241 E. 14th St., Room 12. Regular meetings every first and third Sunday at 10 A. M. Employment Bureau open every day at 6 P. M.

BUTCHERS' UNION
Local 234 A.M.O. & B.W. of N.A.
175 E. 9th St.
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday
S.A.M. ROSENMAN J. BELSKY
ISIDORE LITF
Business Agents

CARPENTERS
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, Local 133
Second Ave.; Phone Orchard 9860-1-2. The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday. S. Herskowitz, Sec'y-Treas. Officers: Local 1. Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

CLOTHING CUTTERS' UNION
A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four"
Office, 44 East 12th Street; Buysseant 4256. Regular meetings every Friday at 8 P. M. 210 East Fifth Street. Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. in the office. Philip Orlosky Manager; I. Machlin, Secretary-Treasurer.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
New York Joint Board, 31 West 18th Street, New York, N. Y. Telephone Sidney 8091. Hyman Blumberg, Sidney Reisman, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
Amalgamated Bank Bldg., 11-15 Union Square, 3rd floor. Telephone Algonquin 6600-1-3-4-5. Sydney Hillman, Gen. Sec'y; Harry Schlossberg, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION
OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. Amalgamated with the American Federation of Labor. 9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunt-ers 0098. Morris Kaufman, General President; Harry Begon, General Secretary-Treasurer.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION
Local 3, International Fur Workers' Union, 201 E. 14th St., Room 12. Regular meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. Officers: Harry Begon, President; Sam Kroll, Business Agent; H. Kalnikoff, Secretary; Samuel Mindel, Treasurer; H. Esh.

HEBREW TRADES
175 East Broadway; Telephone Dry-ck 8610. Meets 1st and 3rd Monday, 8:30 P. M. M. Tsigel, Chairman; M. Brown, Vice-Chairman; M. Feldman, Secretary-Treasurer.

NEW LEADER

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

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 17, 1931

Negro Servitude

It is the irony of history that Liberia, founded as a refuge for fugitive and emancipated slaves, should become notorious for enforced labor and slavery. Even the name of the country is a symbol for that liberty which was to come to those who had endured bondage.

On the other hand it should not be forgotten that slavery and the slave trade with Africa was fostered by the Christian Powers with the early rise of capitalism. The natives had been accustomed to slavery and native chiefs had engaged in the slave traffic but it was not till the rise of commercial and mercantile capital that it assumed the horrors depicted by the historians.

Incidentally, for the Negro in the United States and elsewhere this scandal enforces certain truths which he cannot afford to ignore. Racial and national solidarity in politics leads to illusion and thwarted hopes. In Liberia Negroes there are enslaved Negroes. The conflict of interests within the race is evident. If white soldiers were exclusive masters then racial solidarity would be intelligent and necessary and all Negroes would be in the exploited class.

But it is otherwise when Negroes are in both the exploiting and the exploited classes as in Liberia, where slavery exists, and in the United States, where capitalism rules. In the latter case the Negro worker's welfare is bound up with that of the white worker. His interest is no more bound up with the interest of the Negro owner of capital than the white worker's interest is bound up with the interest of the white owner of capital.

It is often difficult for Negro workers to understand this because of their long subjection to servitude and the continuance in this country of color prejudice. More of them are coming to see it and as class consciousness emerges they will find their way into the Socialist Party.

Mr. Trigg Advises

MEET Ernest T. Trigg, president of the Business Progress Association of Philadelphia. He addresses a four column appeal to business associations, civic societies, and "patriotic Americans" in general on the industrial depression. He thinks that the depression has continued long enough and that it is time we brought it to an end.

Mr. Trigg declares that "Our whole business structure suffers from inertia produced by a predominantly negative psychology and our resulting state of mind today is as illogical as it was at the beginning of the period of depression, when we fed ourselves on Pollyannaish delusions."

Now what are we going to do about it? Simple enough. All the organizations he appeals to are to become "definitely active." How? Fight that pessimistic attitude. Shake it off. Put over big campaigns of newspaper advertising. Start an "appeal to reason that will sweep across the country." Any person who "goes around peddling pessimism and refusing to give weight to the bright side of the picture is as definitely unpatriotic as he would have been if he talked against the cause of the Allies during the World War." Such a man is "a traitor to his country."

And that's all. Perhaps an espionage act that will snuff among the millions of the unemployed, arresting those who decline to starve without making a noise about it, would complete this program. The trouble, according to this program, is in the mind, not in economics. Peddle optimism instead of pessimism and everything will be all right.

It simply confirms the fact that if the working class is to get action that will bring relief the workers themselves must act. Our ruling class are bankrupt and retreat into a fog of obscurantism.

Farmer Radicalism

ONE need not be surprised if there is a revival of Populism within the next few years. The National Producers' Alliance is making considerable headway in the West and Southwest and reports indicate that farmers are flocking to it as the "political arm" of the farm cooperatives. Former Non-partisan League men are organizing political clubs and presenting a program which includes (1) price fixing of farm products; (2) issuance of non-interest bearing bonds to finance public works; (3) legislation against corporation farms; (4) conscription of wealth and war profits in time of war; (5) a referendum vote on any proposed declaration of war.

The references to war indicate that the farmers have learned much about modern wars and their purposes but the proposal to fight corporation farms by legislation shows the basic thought of the movement. It is a revival of the "trust-busting" idea of the nineties. There are some trends towards the corporation and factorized farm and this is certainly a menace to the individual farmer, but the corporation in industry has also been a menace to the individual industrial proprietor. Although the lesser industrial capitalists were victorious as a result of the Civil War within three decades after its end the greater capitalists ascended to first rank in industry. No sensible person now thinks of trying to go back to the era of smaller capital.

Despite this history this new farmer movement seeks to do for the small farmer what the small capitalist failed to do for his class. He is fighting the whole trend of economic development, wasting his time, and drifting to futility. Only a drive for collective mastery of the whole capitalist system will meet the situation for wage workers and working farmers.

Regulating Capitalism

A PROPOSAL by a writer in the current number of the *Outlook* to stabilize American capitalism has received considerable publicity. He proposes an economic general staff "to serve as a central regulating organism for the main lines of all the economic activity in the country." William Trufant Foster and Waddill Catchings make a similar suggestion in the January issue of the *American Federationist*. President Green of the A. F. of L. names ten men for a planning board, including six powerful corporation magnates.

The suggestion appears impressive. Although the great empires and mergers of capital have checked some of the anarchy of the old capitalism based upon smaller competitive enterprises there still survives an unregulated competition between the giants. A planning board might contribute something to more order in production and distribution but it would not prevent another collapse of capitalism.

For example, such a board would not and could not plan production for the gratification of human needs. A regulated capitalism would still be a capitalism where commodities are produced for the market. Market needs do not correspond with human needs. The market is a matter of purchase and sale regardless of what human wants may be. Millions of workers may need things but the sole thing that counts is whether they can buy. That problem of making purchasing power balance productive power and thus avoiding industrial paralysis and unemployment cannot be solved under capitalism by any planning board that is devised to regulate it.

Collective ownership and control through Socialism cannot be sidetracked by such means.

IN A NUTSHELL

Al Smith's first article in the New York World is said to have stirred Washington. We cannot understand this as it is the same old article that has been handled by Tammany Hall for years.

The industrial depression is evident in the small price which New York magistrates command in the market these days. In the seventies Thurlow Weed paid as much as \$40,000 each for four judges. The market should be stabilized to insure continuous prosperity.

In his address at the Rand School last Saturday Edward C. Rybicki estimated the number of jobless in New York City at 800,000. That is almost equal to the total population of Arizona and Idaho! Of these jobless men, Tenement House Commissioner Deegan declares that 60,000 are war veterans. Isn't it time to reopen the debate, "Who Won the War?"

Without justice society is sick, and will continue sick till it dies.—Froude.

The Socialist movement is primarily a movement of the working class as it is the only class that has no stake invested in capitalism. The awakening of the workers class consciousness to this fact means the end of capitalism itself.

The king says, "I rule for all"; the judge says, "I judge for all"; the soldier says, "I fight for all"; the merchant says, "I trade for all"; the priest says, "I pray for all"; the working man says, "I pay for all."—John Ruskin.

Of course, the class struggle has been abolished in the United States by the speeches of Hoover, Coolidge, and their kind except in strikes, injunctions, wage reductions, breadlines and a few other trifles.

If the hand of corporate capital could reach Old Sol, there would be a meter on every sunbeam.—Eugene V. Debs.

The capitalist system of production, when you come to think of it, isn't a system of production at all. A system implies conscious control while capitalism hurls workers into the streets and makes fools of those who pretend to control it.

You cannot be wise without some basis of knowledge, but you may easily acquire knowledge and remain bare of wisdom.—A. N. Whitehead.

Broun to Lecture In Yorkville Friday On Employment Crisis

Heywood Broun has volunteered his services as the first guest speaker for the Yorkville Forum to be held Friday, Jan. 23, 1931, at the New Yorkville Temple, 157 East 86th Street. His topic will be: "Unemployment." These lectures are to be held consecutively each fourth Friday in January, February and March, being under the auspices of the Yorkville Branch of the Socialist Party located at 241 East 84th Street. The speaker for February will be Morris Hillquit.

5,000 Hebrew Butchers Strike in New York

The Hebrew Butcher Workers Union of New York has issued a strike call effective Saturday, which affects 5,000 Kosher butchers throughout the city. Joseph Belsky, secretary of the Butchers Union, says the purpose of the strike is to force renewal of the present agreement, calling for \$40 as a minimum wage and a 53 hour week.

The shop owners are being dealt with individually. Failure to resign the agreement by the proprietor will mean that pickets will be placed in front of his shop, announcing that a strike has been declared. More than half of the shops have already signed it. A substantial Strike Fund has been established to care for members requiring aid during the strike.

L. I. D. Luncheon Will Discuss Charity Role

The New York Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy announces a luncheon discussion at the Hotel Woodstock, 127 West 43rd Street, Saturday, January 24, 1931, at 12:45. The subject: "Is There a Way Out for Society? By Charity?" By Social Legislation? By Reorganizing the World? The speakers: George A. Hastings, assistant secretary, State Charities Aid Association; instructor in public opinion, Columbia University; Abraham Epstein, executive director, American Association for Old Age Security; Harry F. Ward, professor at Union Theological Seminary; Chairman Dr. Harry W. Laidler.

The Bronx Free Fellowship
At the Azure Masonic Temple, Boston road and 172nd street, Sunday evening, Jan. 18, Jacob Bernstein will lecture on "Socialism in the United States." The lecture will be an attempt to analyze some social forces in American history which retarded the development of growth of Socialism in the United States, together with an analysis of other forces which, in the near future, are likely to make for Socialism. Questions and discussions from the floor follow the lecture.

Sunday, Jan. 18, 8:30 p.m.—August Claessens, "Our Social Environment," 96 Avenue C. Socialist Party, 6th A. D. Br.
Thursday, Jan. 22, 9:00 p.m.—Edw. Levinson, "Socialism Problem," 600 W. 181st St. Socialist Party, 22-23rd A. D. Br.
Friday, Jan. 23, 8:30 p.m.—Heywood Broun, "A Social Answer to Unemployment," Yorkville Temple, 157 E. 86th St. Socialist Party, 14-15-16th A. D. Br.

BRONX
Monday, Jan. 19, 9:00 p.m. August Claessens, "The Essentials of Socialism," Tearoom, Amalgamated Cooperative House, Mosholu Pkwy. Socialist Party Branch.
Thursday, Jan. 22, 8:30 p.m. A. I. Shipplacoff, "What I Saw in Palestine," Hollywood Gardens, 896 Prospect Ave. Socialist Party, 3-5th A. D. Br.

Friday, Jan. 23, 8:30 p.m. Norman Thomas, Samuel Orr, Max Zaritsky, and others, "Unemployment and Unemployment Insurance," P. S. 80, Mosholu Pkwy. East. Socialist Party, Amalg. Coop. Br.

BROOKLYN
Friday, Jan. 16, 8:30 p.m. August Claessens, "The Distribution of Wealth," 218 Van Sicken Ave. 22nd A. D. Br. 3. Socialist Party.

Friday, Jan. 16, 8:30 p.m. James O'Neal, "Lincoln and Social Progress," 3820 Church Ave. Socialist Party, 18th A. D. Br. 2.

Friday, Jan. 16, 8:30 p.m. Norman Thomas, McAlister Coleman, Louis Sadoff, and others, "The Bank of the U. S. Failure," 13-15th A. D. Br. 1.

Sunday, Jan. 18, 11:00 A.M. August Claessens, "Current Events," Amalgamated Temple, 218 Van Sicken Pl. Vladeskoff, 13-15th A. D. Br. 1.

Sunday, Jan. 18, 8:30 p.m. Dr. Anna Ingemann, "Russia Today," 7212-20th Ave. 16th A. D. Br. Socialist Party.

Monday, Jan. 19, 9:00 p.m. Frank Klein, "Current Events," 55 Snyder Ave. corner Bedford Ave. Socialist Party, 21st A. D. Br.

Monday, Jan. 19, 9:00 p.m. Bela Low, "New Problems of Socialists," 167 Tompkins Ave. Socialist Party, Williamsburg Br.

Tuesday, Jan. 20, 8:30 p.m. Wm. M. Feigenbaum, "Unemployment and Unemployment Insurance," 1637 E. 17th Street, near Kingshighway. Midwood Branch, Socialist Party.

Friday, Jan. 23, 8:30 p.m. Harry W. Laidler, "Cooperative World in the Making," 3820 Church Ave. 18th A. D. Br. 2. Socialist Party.

Friday, Jan. 23, 8:30 p.m. William Kautin, "Labor and the Law," 218 Van Sicken Ave. Socialist Party, 22 A. D. Br. 3.

Friday, Jan. 23, 9:00 p.m. Dr. Anna Ingemann, "Russia Today," Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 218 Sackman St. Socialist Party, 23rd A. D. Br.

Friday, Jan. 23, 9:00 p.m. Ethelred Brown, "Determinism," 3068 E. 3rd Street, Brighton Beach Branch.

Friday, Jan. 23, 9:00 p.m. August Claessens, "The Essentials of Socialism," Boro Park Labor Lyceum, 42nd St. and 14th Ave. Socialist Party, Boro Park Branch.

Monday, Jan. 19, 8:30 p.m. James O'Neal, "The Breakdown of Capitalism," Theodor Shapiro, "Unemployment," Saengerbund Hall, 168-15 91st Ave. Jamaica. Socialist Party, Jamaica Br.

The New Leader Army Grows

THE tribe of Jimmie Higgins is a very big family but we want to enlarge it so that there will be no less than ten or more in each state working for The New Leader. The members already working on the job of getting subscriptions never lose an opportunity to introduce their paper to a prospective reader.

It isn't possible to mention all who respond to the roll call each week. Of all those who most frequently answer the roll call may be listed Alfred Baker Lewis of Boston. He never tires. This week he arrives with one yearly and one for six months and these are supplemented with six trial subs for three months.

Across the continent from California comes C. F. Jamison with his own renewal accompanied by a new yearly. He gets a copy of "The Workers in American History" which is offered for each yearly new subscriber. Nobody else want to get a copy of this history? We do not know how long our supply will last. Once it is exhausted it can no longer be offered as a premium.

Ruth L. Miller of the National Office of the party in Chicago sends two more yearlies, Mrs. B. Nathan of New York City renews for a year and supplements it with an extra dollar and best wishes for The New Leader. Mrs. Marian Daych of Pennsylvania places a relative living in Elmira, N. Y., on the list for six months, and from Montreal, Canada, comes a six months sub from S. Madras.

THE NEW LEADER MAIL-BAG

TO COMRADE PORTER

Editor, The New Leader:

I should like to ask Paul Porter to be specific. He says that some Socialists "permit legitimate objections to Russian Communism to lead them into an alignment with those who would overthrow the Soviet (Government)" and the context would indicate that he means an alignment with reactionary elements. If this is what he means, he is making a very grave charge. No Socialist has a right to accuse other Socialists of aligning themselves with reactionaries unless he is ready to name names and bring proofs.

ALGERNON LEE.

New York City.

THE YIPSELS

Editor, The New Leader:

I want to take issue with Comrade Haas' letter that appeared in the Jan. 3 issue. I don't think he is quite fair.

In the first place I wonder if Comrade Haas goes to sleep with a copy of Das Kapital under his pillow, or expects other young people to do so!

Here are the facts: the group of the Young People's Socialist League of whom he complains and our circles have worth while educational programs at almost every meeting. They have a goodly number of members taking courses in the Rand School.

In the last campaign the Yipsels of that section practically composed the Socialist Party campaign committee and carried on a real, lively campaign. They are members of important committees of the party. In addition those Yipsels helped the store salesmen, the laundry workers and the bakery and confectionery workers unions either in picketing, by organizing or helping them in the distribution of literature. They collected and shipped clothes to the mine workers and Danville textile strikers. They went out on a tag day and collected money for the New Bedford textile workers. Such work I believe connotes serious mindedness.

It may not be amiss here to quote representative opinions of the Y. P. S. L. by party organizers in the various sections of the country. Franz Daniel of Philadelphia says, "I don't know what I would do without the Yipsels." Alfred Baker Lewis of England, "The Yipsels are practically the Socialist Party—they have a research bureau, publish a fine little paper and do the common work of the organization." William Busch of California, "The Yipsels were of great help in getting our increased party vote."

To my mind, it is not quite proper for anyone with "a chip on his shoulder" to rush into print at the first opportunity.

EMANUEL SWITKES.

Reading, Pa.

THE L. I. P. U.

Editor, The New Leader:

It is difficult to see the reasoning behind the action of many prominent Socialists in affiliating themselves with the League for Independent Political Action. As we know, the object of this organization is to support other third party candidates with progressive ideas, such as nominees of the Socialist Party, Progressives, or the National Union.

This policy carries with it implications of vast importance to the Socialist Party. It means that the L. I. P. U. will support any third party candidate, no matter how reactionary, on the basis of political or social expediency and the relative chance of winning the election. True, they will support Socialists, and actually rendered aid in several Congressional Districts in New York City. On the other hand, they supported ex-communicated Republicans, Progressives and Farmer-Labor candidates, in several western states where a large or small Socialist element had an organization and candidate in the field.

The implication is that men such as Norman Thomas lent their influence and energies to defeat and extinguish the struggling germs of Socialism in many western states! When are ideals, where are principles, when is a party leader is willing to abort and kill the weak elements of the Socialist movement in exchange for support in a field where the Socialist Party is relatively strong? It is not difficult to imagine the tender fraternal feelings of many western Socialists toward Mr. Thomas when they see him lending a hand to destroy their movement.

Compromise and opportunism have stage where they are desperate to the ends for which they were designed, as in this case, it is time to call a halt. I cannot imagine that the L. I. P. U. is a party of men who leaders have degenerated to such an extent as to permit such compromise of principles for the sake of an election. I honestly believe that membership in the L. I. P. U. is incompatible with Socialist ideals, and suggest that Socialists either resign from the L. I. P. U. or the Socialist Party.

Washington, D. C.

B. SHOETEK.

Comrade Thomas in a letter to Howard W. Williams declared that he may have to resign from the L. I. P. U. that we must be careful not to tie a third party to one man's fortunes, and that he fears that Norris' non-party action views and his health will keep him from "leading that sort of movement we want."—Editor, The New Leader.

COMRADE HILLQUIT'S LECTURE

Editor, The New Leader:

Comrade Hillquit's lecture on Socialists in office disclosed how barren and lacking in constructive plan have the Socialists in office been. This might well make American Socialists stop and ponder. The record merely strengthens the suspicion that a good many of us already had in regard to the International Socialist movement.

The movement cast aside its fundamental teaching when the war broke out and has not yet interpreted its philosophic base. As judged by the achievements, it seems, that Socialism has decided to assume the historic function performed by liberalism in the 19th century.

Must Socialists really believe that the maintenance of the "status quo" by the German Social Democrats is a step towards the building of a new society? Comrade Hillquit justified this stand of the German Socialists because he has built up a myth where he believes that the fact of production exists today is fundamentally different from the Marxian conception. According to this myth the state, at present, no longer represents the class that dominates the means of production. Consequently the maintenance of the "status quo" is no longer reactionary.

Another achievement of the Socialists in Germany was the fact of the liberalizing of unemployment insurance. That too is a liberal, and not a Socialist measure. Is it too much to expect of Socialists that they point out that unemployment is an inevitable concomitant of capitalism and that it can only be cured by a thorough reorganization of all industry? Comrade Hillquit will probably rejoin that he does not have to emphasize this fact when he speaks to a Socialist audience. Nevertheless, Comrade Hillquit does not hesitate to point to the benefits under the new law as a relief measure the German unemployment scheme is ineffective insofar as the benefits under it proceed only for a limited period. This fact has been pointed out by Comrade Laidler in his articles on unemployment insurance.

There is no need to discuss any of the other so-called achievements. These examples are sufficient to show that Socialism has forgotten its revolutionary principles and has become a reformist and liberal. If we do not wish to act the proverbial ostrich we shall have to admit that Socialism is very much at home in the garb of liberalism. We need only point to the status of Socialism everywhere in Germany, Hitlerism and Communism are winning the one-time Socialist vote. In England Fascism is showing its head in the ranks of the Labor Party. Even in Austria where the Socialists have a better record of achievements, the party received a proportionally smaller vote in the last election.

New York City.

HARD TIMES

Editor, The New Leader:

For two weeks now I waited for an answer to the long article of A. B. Lewis on "The Cause of Hard Times." While only William Edwards writes that the cause of hard times is the lack of demand for goods, I am asked to ask the editor for help. The cause of hard times is certainly the most important question of today, of next year, too, and of all the years that capitalism has to live and it must be answered correctly. A. B. Lewis in his clear and laborious article comes to the conclusion that the three months waiting period of the capitalists for their profit is the cause of hard times. Whether this is the right cause or not I can't just say; but his theory, when stated in the summer of 1929 came down to the present "low" and future lower "lows" would cause prosperity. The headline of A. B. Lewis would have to be changed.

How does A. B. Lewis reach his conclusion? He says the early Socialists did not know that "a man

that saves and invests his money spends it." I admit I don't know it yet. The man that saves and invests keeps his money with a chance to get more, while the man who spends his money has lost his for service or commodities.

Further, A. B. Lewis says: "If there were a marked increase in savings used to increase capital equipment in one year compared with another, the net effect probably would be to cause some slackening of activity in certain industries, producing consumers' goods accompanied by a relative expansion of activity in the industries producing capital equipment." This is true only for a limited time, the second year may show a depression. Now if there were a marked increase in savings used to increase capital equipment from the years of 1922 to 1929 so as to enable capital equipment to supply consumption in six months for a whole year could not this be the cause, or at least a cause for depression? This is what the early Socialists always believed.

WILLIAM MEIER.

MARXISM

Editor, The New Leader:

I follow with great interest the column conducted by S. A. De Witt in your valuable paper. The read and analyze the work of a scholar has a happy faculty of stating facts in an uncompromising way.

We must get back to Marx. In the 30 years that I have been a member of the Socialist Party the three great thoughts that we ordinarily associate with the name of Karl Marx — 1. the materialistic conception of history, 2. the law of surplus value, 3. the class struggle — the third being a necessary consequence of the first two. In a word when we stood for something we were something.

Comrade De Witt, more power to him, brings all this out in his articles much better than I can ever hope to.

In 30 years I have painstakingly gained about 100 volumes of Socialist literature. I recall to memory, Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Labriola, the Debs, Arthur and Austin; La Monte, Lewis, Boudin, Burrows, Dietgen, Ward, etc. They speak a language that the proletarian can easily understand.

There is no shade of compromise, no hint of political trading in what they write; they hold up before the eyes of the working class, the class struggle and its terrible and sordid implications. Let us go back to Marx and not strain so hard after a mythical respectability.

Let me quote Boudin: "The Marxian theoretical system is one solid structure and cannot be properly understood if it is viewed as a whole from foundation stone to roof coping. To criticize any of its parts as if it were a complete structure in itself is, therefore, a mistake which must necessarily lead to all sorts of fallacious conclusions; and to accept anyone of its parts and reject the others, as many of the latter-day critics do, simply betrays ignorance of the parts which are accepted and rejected alike. The Marxian theoretical system must be examined as a whole, and accepted or rejected in its entirety, at least as far as its structural parts are concerned."

I will quote another old timer and finish. "On the grounds of the class struggle we are inevitable; when we leave it we are lost for we cease to be Socialists."—Liebknecht.

Congratulations to Comrade De Witt and our good paper, The New Leader.

J. F. HIGGINS.

Star City, W. Va.

Timely Topics

(Continued from Page One)

power trust, perhaps in order to embarrass the President, sign soft and low when the power trust is in their own state. Thus Senators Walsh and Wheeler of Montana led no crusade—to put the case mildly—when the old power commission practically gave away the Flathead River sites in Montana for a song. These sites are capable of generating more primary power than Muscle Shoals and the key site has gone to the Montana Power Company, almost identical with the Anaconda Copper Company which is said to own Montana.

So long as such rich prizes as these water sites are to be had every possible difficulty will be put in the way of effective regulation of them. It is at once easier and better for the people to form their own corporate agencies to do business for themselves than to try to form commissions to keep tabs on corporations working for their own pockets.

There is one lesson to be drawn from the present unsavory mess from many another mess in this same field. It is this: Neither the present commission nor the better commission which the President should have appointed ought to be leasing water power sites. Instead Congress should be working out a comprehensive program for public development and distribution of electric power. That is the way to beat the power trust.

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