

Timely Topics
By Norman Thomas

Luminous Statements of Varying Importance—
Prospects for India as the Round Table Ends
—Ham Fish Reports—Politics in Russia

THE YEAR OPENS

STATEMENTS and reports have been showered upon the youth-
ful year in the first three weeks of its life. They range all the
from the Pope's reaffirmation of Roman Catholic doctrine on
riage and birth control, to Governor Ritchie's bid for the pres-
idency in an inaugural address in which one
or two feeble ideas were drowned in a sea of
words like the occasional oyster in a church
supper stew.



Norman Thomas

THE WICKERSHAM REPORT

OF these various statements and reports, the
one which is arousing the most open dis-
cussion at the moment is the long delayed
Wickersham report. The lengthy document
gives a good objective account of the situation.
It then declares against repeal and for enforce-
ment although seven out of the eleven mem-
bers, in their personal opinions, declare either
for outright repeal or for a degree of modifi-
cation equivalent to repeal! And the best the
other four can say is that the noble experiment
of the commission manages to recon-
cile its conclusions with a statement of facts and the individual
ment of its members, is too deep a problem in logic psychology
to decide.

This very confusion of reasoning and conclusions (which has
ing to do with party lines) confirms me in the conviction, which
ve often expressed, that this whole matter must be taken out
politics by putting some agreed proposal before an advisory
on-wide referendum, with a pledge from all parties to take the
essary steps to give legal efficacy to the results of the referen-
I confess that I, myself, was much interested in Mr. Ander-
s report which I think deserves further discussion. His way
ealing with the problem seems to meet the various difficulties as
as any I have seen. I do not, however, see why he proposes to
to national and state profit making corporations, even if they
subject to stringent control and regulation of profit, the handling
he manufacture and sale of liquor. Why not take out the ele-
ent of private profit altogether by setting up public authorities
ch will use any surplus from the sale of liquor in various social
vities which will promote real temperance?

THE INDIA CONFERENCE ENDS

ON THE very day that the Wickersham Commission handed in
its rather futile report to the President, Ramsay MacDonald
closing the India Round Table with a statement which may
e to be of surpassing significance.

Certainly, the proposed new government for India goes farther
the direction of federation and real dominion status than any one
d have deemed possible a few months ago. It is miles in ad-
ce of the Simon report. It is probable that the serious reserva-
on in Indian self government in the matter of defense, foreign
airs and finances, will under favorable circumstances increasingly
to give way to real self government.

"Under favorable circumstances" there's the rub. The circum-
ances for filling in the outline of the Round Table's work and
ining the favor of the Indian people are far less favorable than
y might have been, or indeed ought to have been. The still un-
wed question of representation for different religious communi-
Hindu, Moslem, etc.—has been made immensely more difficult
use the Nationalist Party was not at the conference. Among
real Nationalists this difficulty never looms so large as among
so-called Moderates. The Nationalists have a unifying prin-

is one of life's grim humors that the party and the man,
who compelled the Round Table Conference to go as far as
were not only absent from it but in non-violent revolt against
British Government. Even while the conference was sitting,
and thousands of other patriots were in jail, and the police
military with great brutality were repressing all demonstra-
s. Now, in order that there be any hope that the Round Table
posals will prevail, the support of at least a large section of the
onal Congress must be won. The government which would not
nge matters so as to negotiate with Gandhi in London will have
gulate with him in jail. The government which a year ago
likely have had peace on terms of an amnesty such as it now
of granting, and of a constitution not much in advance of that
agreed on, must now face the resentment and the expectations
more than a year of brutality on one hand and agitation for
te independence on the other have created.

For the evil in this situation the British Labor Government is
without some excuse. To some extent the government did lessen
violence they might have used. Probably nothing short of the
s experience of Indian determination and the consequences of
an boycott could have persuaded MacDonald's political enemies
I fear, perhaps some of his own followers, to have gone as far
the British have now gone. We human beings have a way of
ing almost, if not altogether, too late in our concessions.

For the sake of India as well as for the sake of the whole world
be that the Labor government's great effort to get some solu-
s not too late, that negotiations begun in London may be sat-
isfactorily completed in India, and that an example may be set
the whole world of the settlement of a difficult question without
Such a victory would be enormously to the credit of all who
any share in it.

who watch the events of the next few months with eagerness
with hope will do well to remember these general principles:
bsolute national independence is in itself no sure solution for
problems of an interdependent world. Europe is not better off
y because there are a lot of new states in Europe since the
War. (2) Nevertheless, not even the wisest plan of govern-
can be forced on an unwilling people. (3) But by good will and
ration even a faulty plan may be improved and made to work.

FISH'S NONSENSE

THE FISH report on Communism is as dangerous to American
erty as it is foolish. The Committee wants to preserve Amer-
liberty by setting up a federal spy system over Communists.
pursue such a spy system will have to make Communists in
to justify itself. The Committee ought really to have tried
in touch with the late Tsar of Russia by ouija board or spir-
it medium, in order to get his opinion of the effectiveness of
gencies to combat revolution. The Committee wants to pre-
American democracy by excluding the Communist Party from
allot thereby proving to it and to the world that it has no re-
but revolution. The Committee wants us to hurt our very
ent trade with Russia by refusing to buy any manganese from
It, then, wants us to persuade a government we refuse to
ize to admit an investigating committee to find out about
labor in Russia. What nonsense! But it's the kind of non-
sense have to fight.

ITALICS IN RUSSIA

ALTER DURANTY in a very interesting despatch gives some
ews on the Russian situation worth comment. First he
gives a law for conscripting all workers in Russia with exper-
in railroad work. Possibly such a law may be necessary in
struggle out of poverty, but it is certainly not likely to
end Communism to American workers. Next, Mr. Duranty
probably Russian exports are not produced by convict labor
under the enlightened criminalism in Russia prisoners are
work and wages. This is true and this is good. But when
any goes on to say that political prisoners in Russia are
work and wages he says what every other authority, the letters
ers, and the laws themselves contradict. Russian political
are not given work and are by no means as well treated as
as ordinary criminals. At least the overwhelming testi-
I have seen is to this effect.

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES

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Nine Million
Idle, Survey
Said to Show

Hoover Had Metropoli-
tan Life Census
Shelved, Is Report in
Washington

By Laurence Todd
WASHINGTON — (FP) —
Are there 9,000,000 unem-
ployed workers in the United
States? And has President
Hoover been recently engaged in
a vigorous attempt to suppress the
fact?
Those questions are answered in
the affirmative by reports going
the rounds of the capitol—reports
so definite that Senator LaFollette
offered a resolution, Jan. 20, call-
ing upon Col. Arthur Woods, of
the President's Committee on Un-
employment, to furnish the facts
immediately to the Senate. His
move was temporarily blocked by
an objection from McNary, chair-
man of the G. O. P. steering com-
mittee.

What La Follette asked for was
a report made to Col. Woods some
two weeks ago, based on inquiries
made in all parts of the United
States by the staff of the Metro-
politan Life Insurance Co.'s local
agencies. They were instructed
to report on the unemployment
totals and the amount of part-
time employment in their respec-
tive towns and districts. This re-
port is said, by men who have ex-
amined it, to indicate that more
than 9,000,000 workers in this
country are now jobless, and that
part-time employment is far great-
er than has been supposed.

Allege Hoover Blocked Publicity
When the contents of this start-
ling report were first noised about
in Washington, The Federated
Press made inquiries at the office
of Col. Woods and was told that
no report was in hand. Yet it now
appears that Woods did get the
report, and after some delay he
proposed to make it public. But
upon telling the President that he
was compelled to let the public
know that 9,000,000 wage workers
were unable to secure work or
wages, Woods found that Hoover
was firmly opposed to doing any-
thing of the sort. After much dis-
cussion, Hoover gave definite or-
ders to Woods that the three
copies of the Metropolitan Life's
unemployment survey should be
locked up in a safety vault — and
that was done. So, at least, goes
the account of the affair which is
in circulation at the capitol.

Hoover's anxiety that the public,
and especially Congress, be kept
in the dark as to the appalling ex-
tent of the economic collapse, was
coincident with his attempt to
force the Senate to drop its plan
for appropriating funds for the
relief of starving farmers in Arkan-
sas and the 20 other drought-
stricken states. At first he was
eager to assure the nation that the
Red Cross had abundant funds for
all relief purposes — among the
farmers. Then he denounced the
giving of public funds to relieve
starvation in this country, claim-
ing that private charity was "the
American method." Beaten by
stubborn and tragic facts as to
the amount of hunger, and whip-
ped by the Senate on the issue of
leaving relief to private charity,
he clung to the method of secrecy
as to bad news entrusted to his
care. He would suppress the re-
port on unemployment.

Wage Cuts Revealed

Meanwhile the official journal of
the Bricklayers, Masons and Plaster-
ers' International Union has
published correspondence between
Secretary John J. Gleeson of that
organization and President Hoover
and Assistant Secretary of the
Treasury Heath, in which Gleeson
presents proof of numerous wage
cuts on work done for the govern-
ment by contractors. This com-
plaint by the Bricklayers' execu-
tive was filed after Hoover boasted
in a speech Dec. 23, that the
administration was compelling all
contractors to maintain the exist-
ing wage standard in the places
where work was to be done.

Gleeson showed that his union
had been protesting to the various
departments "against the wage re-
duction policy of numerous con-
tractors now engaged in federal
building construction in various
parts of the country, and in only
one case have the wages been re-
stored by the contractor." He
quoted a statement by Secretary of
War Hurley to Senator Capper as
to a job of barracks construction
at Ft. Riley, Kansas, that the War
Department "is without authority"
to hold to the prevailing wage
standard which Hoover had pledged
would be done. A long list of
other violations of the no-wage-
cuts rule was given by Gleeson.

Boy, Shot by Scab
In Marion Last Year,
Dies From Wounds

MARION, N. C. — (FP) —
Little David Buckner, 14, died
in Marion, N. C., Jan. 18, as a
result of a shot fired by a scab
during the strike 10 months
ago. He was wounded while
he played on a hillside in the
twilight. After 10 months of
struggle for life, he died with
shot in his teeth, tonsils and
skull.

Though there was plenty of
evidence, and many witnesses
had seen the shot fired, the Mc-
Dowell county sheriff said he
had no clue on which to work.
The governor would not inves-
tigate. David was only a work-
ing class child and so was left
to die at the hands of a scab.

He is the seventh victim of
the Marion strike. Though seven
were shot to death, no one has
been punished.

Farmer-Labor Governor
Proposes Jobless Relief

MINNEAPOLIS — (FP) — Minne-
sota's new Farmer-Labor governor,
Floyd B. Olson, has advanced a
strong program for unemployment
and farm relief to the legislature.
The legislature is not dominated by
his party, but the governor hopes
the depression will coerce the old
party men to heed his proposals.
His program calls for readjust-
ment of taxes to remove the pres-
ent intolerable burden on the farm-
ers, and a program of road and
state building construction that
will put the unemployed to work.
Primary among the governor's
plans is a law that all state wages
shall be at the highest prevailing
rate for any type of work done.
The governor would also repeal
the press gag law, provide old age
pensions, promote conservation of
natural resources, and state de-
velopment of water power.

Demands U. S. Cut Red
Tape, Hire Workers

CHICAGO — (FP) — Demands
that the federal government im-
mediately cut red tape tying up \$320-
000,000 appropriated for flood con-
trol work was voiced by President
John Fitzpatrick, Chicago Federation
of Labor, at the flood control
conference in Chicago.
The people of America are fac-
ing starvation, he said, referring
to the recent rioting at England,
Ark. "The nation which could
feed the hungry in war-torn Eu-
rope can and should fill this great
need," he added. "I fear more
dire consequences unless the doctor
gives us large doses of real wages."
James Brennan, electrical workers,
William Tracy, brickmakers, and
Patrick F. Sullivan, building trades
council, supported Fitzpatrick.

Princeton Dean Hits
"Living on Others"

CHICAGO — (FP) — The habit
of "living on other people" is the
cause of our widespread unem-
ployment, Dean Robert Russell
Wicks of Princeton University, de-
clared in an address before the
Chicago Sunday Evening Club.
"By our system," he said, "more
than 30,000,000 persons, assuming
two dependents to each jobless
worker who have helped build this
prosperous world are let to go
without a chance even to make a
living."

Broun, Thomas To Debate
Darrow and Hays Friday

Three Debaters on So-
cialist Party Take First
Flings Through the
Press

PRESAGING a spirited oratori-
cal battle for Mecca Temple
next Friday night, January 30th,
three of the participants in the
League for Industrial Democracy's
debate on the Socialist Party ex-
changed verbal brickbats through
the columns of the metropolitan
press this week.

The debate will see Heywood
Broun, Socialist and nation-famous
journalist, and Norman Thomas,
Socialist candidate for president in
1928, matched against Clarence
Darrow, eminent skeptic, and Ar-
thur Garfield Hays, foremost
among the liberals who take their
liberalism seriously.

The subject will be: "Resolved,
That the Best Political Service Can
Be Rendered by Joining the
Socialist Party." Mrs. Harriot Stan-
ton Blatch will preside, thus giving
the gavel of authority to a wo-
man in an all-man debate.
The early skirmishing began this

WEVD License Revoked
Without Warning; Radio
Board Reverses Itself

Fish Report
Is Attacked
By Socialists

Gerber, Switkes De-
nounce Proposals to
Outlaw Communist
Party in Nation

WASHINGTON — (F P) —
Outlawing of Communists,
Communist literature and ideas,
and the Communist Party in the
United States, is the main feature
of the recommendations made Jan.
17 to the House by the majority
of the Fish special committee
which has been "investigating"
Communist activities in this coun-
try. Signers of the majority re-
port and recommendations are
Fish of New York and Bachman of
West Virginia, Republicans, and
Hall of Mississippi and Eslick of
Tennessee, Democrats. Nelson of
Maine, Republican, who filed a
minority report, refused to meet
with the majority while they dis-
cussed what should be done to
make American workers safe
against Communist leanings.

In order to carry out the pro-
gram of suppression of all Com-
munist activities, the Fish major-
ity proposes that the Department
of Justice, as in the time of Mit-
chell Palmer, be provided with
funds to be used by the Bureau of
Investigation for "investigating
and keeping in constant touch
with the revolutionary propaganda
and activities of the Communists
in the United States; and to pro-
vide additional appropriations for
skilled agents to devote their en-
tire time to investigating and pre-
paring reports on the personnel of
all entities, groups, and individuals
who teach or advocate the over-
throw of the government of the
United States by force or violence."

This wholesale spying organiza-
tion, designed to give well-paid
jobs to thousands of detectives fa-
miliar with the radical labor move-
ment through acting as members
of the Pinkerton, Burns, Thiel and
other agencies, is to be supported by
a censorship staff in the Post Of-
fice Department, and by auxiliaries
in the Immigration Bureau and
other branches of the government.
Demand is made that the Soviet
government permit agents of the
Treasury to inspect Soviet lumber
camps—an enterprise which the
State Department has refused to
sanction. Meanwhile the immedi-
ate consideration by Congress of
an embargo on Soviet manganese
is proposed—despite the fact that
the steel manufacturers are hostile
to the shutting out of this raw ma-
terial used in their product.

Gerber, Switkes Hit Findings
The recommendations and find-
ings of the Fish Committee met
with pointed objection and criti-
cism from the Socialist Party.
Julius Gerber, the secretary
(Continued on Page Three)

The Seventh Annual Dinner
of the

NEW LEADER

Thursday, February 12th, 1931

Lincoln's Birthday, 6:30 o'clock

Speakers:

HEYWOOD BROUN
MORRIS HILLQUIT
REINHOLD NIEBUHR
B. C. VLADECK

Subject:

"The Political Future of Socialism"

WEBSTER HALL

119 East 11th Street, New York City

Reservations, \$2 Per Person

The New Leader

7 East 15th Street, New York City

\$1,000 Mark Is Neared in
N. Y. Socialist Drive for
\$5,000 Emergency Fund

\$843 Raised in First 5
Days of Drive for
Party Office

THE drive for \$5,000 to meet
the emergency in the Socialist
Party, New York City office, has
met with an exceptionally good
response. In the first five days
of the drive the office has received
\$843.60. Even Socialists outside
of New York City have respond-
ed. Several branches are close to
meeting their quota. One has fil-
ed its quota.

The amounts received from
branches are as follows:

MANHATTAN	
Chelsea Branch	77.00
6th A. D.	7.00
Upper West Side	206.00
8th A. D.	5.00
Morningside Heights	21.50
14-15-16th A. D.	97.00
22-23rd A. D.	59.00
Finnish Branch	100.00
German Branch	22.00
Italian Branch	12.50
Jewish Downtown	7.00
Jewish 4th A. D.	5.00
Jewish Harlem	5.00
Polish Branch 32	10.00
Russian Branch	5.00

BROOKLYN	
Williamsburg Branch	6.00
Boro Park	14.00
16th A. D.	2.00
18th Branch 2	5.00
23rd A. D.	19.50
Polish Branch 15	10.00

BRONX	
3-5th A. D.	15.00
4th A. D.	10.00
6th A. D. Branch 1	11.00
7th A. D.	5.00
8th A. D.	5.00
Amalgamated Cooperative	5.00

QUEENS	
Astoria Branch	9.00
Elmhurst-Corona	8.00
Flushing	5.00
Members at large	8.00
Y. P. S. L. Circle 6	10.00
Miscellaneous	55.10
Out of Town	2.00

Total \$843.60

While this is very encouraging for
the short period the drive is on,
the comrades must not relax, even
though the quota for their branch
has been met or exceeded. There
are many comrades who can not
contribute because of the prevail-
ing unemployment, therefore, it is
up to those who are working to do
their share.

If the city office is to be active
it must have money. If you want
activity in the party, you must
supply the party with funds. Many
comrades and branches have col-
lected money for this fund, and
(Continued on Page Two)

National Committee
Formed to Aid WEVD

Formation of a national com-
mittee to fight for renewal of the
license of the Socialist radio
station, WEVD, is announced by
the American Civil Liberties
Union.

The committee to organize na-
tional support of WEVD's ap-
plication is composed of Hey-
wood Broun, Amos Pinchot,
Susan Brandeis, Prof. Harry
Elmer Barnes, Rabbi Stephen
S. Wise, Mary E. Dreier, Eliza-
beth Gilman of Baltimore, Dor-
othy Detzer of Washington, Rev.
John Haynes Holmes, Rev.
Harry F. Ward, Roger N. Bald-
win, Dr. Henry E. Neumann,
and Forrest Bailey, secretary.

The Civil Liberties Union de-
scribes the station as "uniquely
valuable as an agency of ex-
pression for minority groups."
The charges against it are de-
scribed as "purely technical vi-
olations of rules, without suffi-
cient substance to justify ac-
tion."

Anti-Injunction Bill
Dead for This Session

WASHINGTON — (FP) — Pros-
pects of getting a rollback in the
Senate, before adjournment on
Mar. 4, on the Norris-Blaine-Walsh
anti-injunction bill which was put
on the Senate calendar last July,
are conceded by its supporters to
be slight. Chairman Norris of the
judiciary committee said Jan. 20,
that he would make every effort to
force a vote, but he was not sure
that this could be accomplished.
Senator Blaine was pessimistic,
due to the determination of the
Steiwer-Watson-Mosses adminis-
tration group to prevent a show-
down on labor's chief measure.

While the best chance of getting
this legislation from the new Con-
gress will come in a special ses-
sion, no definite effort is being
made by the American Federation
of Labor to force a special session.
Some of the liberal senators are
indifferent as to making a fight
for the bill, and the Norris group
is left to battle against the tactics
of President Hoover who wants to
avoid having the new Congress
meet before December.

WARREN, R. I. — (FP) — Another
effort to slip the 54-hour week over
on Mount Hope mill workers failed
when they struck. The 48-hour week
was won but the boss insists now
on a 5 per cent wage cut.

Socialist Station
Will Continue in
Defiance of Deci-
sion

Director Calls on Liberal
Opinion to Help Fight
For Debs Memorial

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
WASHINGTON — (FP) —
Having definitely granted a
renewal of operating license to
Station WEVD, the Socialist
broadcasting station maintained as
a memorial to Eugene Victor Debs,
on Jan. 13, the Federal Radio Com-
mission voted reconsideration of
this action on Jan. 16—a most un-
usual proceeding.

On the day it revoked its
grant of the license to the So-
cialist station, the commission
set for hearing an application
from the Paramount Broadcast-
ing Corporation, of Brooklyn,
to change its frequency and
hours of operation so as to take
the frequency and time now
used by WEVD.

G. August Gerber, managing di-
rector of WEVD, when notified of
the reversal of its own decision by
the commission, came to Washing-
ton and served notice that he
would continue to operate under
the permit renewed Jan. 13, and
would defend his operating rights
in court, if necessary. He pointed
out that since WEVD possesses
for three days the undisputed con-
sent of the commission to opera-
te, the permission could not be revo-
ked without a showing that during
those three days the station was
violating the regulations laid down
by the commission.

Gerber Rakes Commissioners
The action of the commission in
reversing its own decision is an
unprecedented action, Mr. Gerber
stated.

"The action of the commission,
in this instance, is probably the
best example of what ails radio
broadcasting in the United States
today. Placing the destiny and
welfare of this almost miraculous
means of communication," he said,
"in the hands of a body of men
who do not know their own minds
and cannot adhere to a policy or
decision from Tuesday to Friday
makes it impossible to stabilize the
era of radio broadcasting.

"The series of harassing and
embarrassing orders continuously
issued by the Federal Radio
Commission during the last 2 1/2
years, has put the radio broadcast-
ing situation in the United States
in turmoil," he continued. "Par-
ticularly oppressive have been
these orders in the instance of the
independent broadcasting units
throughout the country."

Confers With Secretary

Mr. Gerber issued his statement
after a telephone conversation
Friday afternoon with James W.
Baldwin, secretary of the Federal
Radio Commission at Washington,
D. C. Mr. Gerber said:

"The application for renewal of
license of Station WEVD was held
up and docketed for hearing be-
fore Examiner Elmer W. Pratt.
This hearing took place in Wash-
ington on October 14, 1930. After
some seven weeks' delay, the Ex-
aminer submitted his report to the
Federal Radio Commission on the
11th of December. He recommend-
ed that the license of Radio Sta-
tion WEVD 'be not renewed.' No-
tice of this recommendation was
transmitted to WEVD on the 18th
of December.

A 17-page Bill of Exceptions
was thereupon filed by Station
WEVD Jan. 2nd, holding that the
recommendation of the Examiner
was "palpably improper." At the
session of the Federal Radio Com-
mission, held in Washington on
Tuesday, January 13th, the posi-
tions advanced on behalf of Radio
Station WEVD were sustained by
the commission. The recommen-
dation of the examiner was dis-
affirmed and the application of
the station was granted.

This decision of the commission
was released and given wide pub-
licity in the press of the country
with a complete report appearing
in the United States Daily of Jan-
uary 14, 1931; and the action on
the same appears on the minutes
of the Federal Radio Commission.
On Friday, January 16th, the Fed-
(Continued on Page Two)

Child Labor Day Is to Be Held Sunday

Senior Urges Socialists Follow N. E. C. Decision to Hold Demonstrations

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
CHICAGO—The ratification of the Child Labor Amendment by the few states necessary before it will come into effect and enable Congress to set a national minimum for Child Labor is the first demand of the Socialists on Child Labor Day, Sunday January 25th. Clarence Senior, national secretary of the party, has asked all members to hold meetings or assist in meetings held by other organizations, to speak before all possible organizations, write letters to newspapers and adopt resolutions calling upon state legislatures for action along the following lines:

1. Ratification of the Child Labor amendment, when not yet done by the state.
2. Minimum wage laws for minors, which it is pointed out, are constitutional, although such laws for adults are not.
3. Strengthening of the weak spots in the laws of each state.
4. Strengthening of mothers' aid laws.
5. An increase of public school assistance to working-class families, through provision of food, clothing, free text books, scholarships, etc.

Since child labor is going to be approached as a question of poverty, the Socialists are also going to push unemployment insurance and old age pensions as the two most practical immediate demands to assist poverty stricken working-class families.

The Socialists are cooperating with the National Child Labor Committee, 215 Fourth Ave., New York City, from which facts, posters, exhibits and suggestions for programs may be secured.

The party calls upon all of its members to point out the connection that child labor has with unemployment and low wages. It quotes the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor to show that child labor increased 33-1/3% in 1929, at the time when adults were being laid off and wages were being cut.

At the last meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party the locals in all states were urged to arrange meetings in protest against child labor in industry the last days in January.

There are over a million of children working while millions of jobless men are unemployed and crowd the bread lines. Manufacturing capitalists have for years objected to the child labor amendment to the Constitution. Through-out the history of capitalism in all countries the working class has had to fight for the liberation of the children from the exploiters.

In the early days of the capitalist system in this country children were worked from "sun to sun" in the factory hells of New England. Many grew up with little education, stunted in body, and wrecked by the time they reached manhood and womanhood.

In the Southern States, now the paradise of a capitalism that has not learned anything new and never forgot anything old, many children are facing the same exploitation. Through decades of agitation state legislation has restricted some of the worst features of child slavery but much still remains to be done before this abomination is wiped out.

It is a shocking indictment of capitalism and the parties that serve it that one child of the workers is employed in industry. It is all the more shocking considering the millions of jobless workers who are today outcasts in industry.

In accord with the decision of the National Executive Committee The New Leader urges all party locals to arrange for the discussion of this crying evil at meetings on January 31 or the following day. Every branch with a program of lectures and every party forum should arrange their programs for this purpose.

In addition to this resolutions should be adopted and publicity obtained for the action taken at all meetings. See that not only your daily papers but your neighborhood papers as well carry such publications which will also raise the issue. Ask why there is delay in ratification of the Child

Chicago's "Worst Winter"

300,000 Workers at Mercy of Uncertain Charity

Rich Suffer "Mentally"

CHICAGO—(FP)—Chicago is floundering in a slough of economic depression that is engulfing workers; small shopkeepers, manufacturing industries, property owners, and professionals. Only the richer and better placed owners of preferred stocks, bonds and mortgages have escaped thus far, and their outlook is none too bright.

Suffering among the professional and business classes is largely mental—or, as Hoover put it, psychological. They have seen the paper value of their and their securities shrink from the high levels of 1928 and 1929 through the liquidation of 1930—the most far-reaching and disastrous in the economic history of the United States. They find themselves with office space; empty flats; unrented houses. In many cases tenants who occupy office and dwelling space are months behind in rent payments. There has been a big crop of business failures, confined largely to the smaller shopkeepers. Incomes of doctors, dentists and lawyers are far below the 1928-1929 levels. Still, most professional and business men and their families are not hungry. Some of them have been forced to look for jobs and a few are on the breadlines, but the great majority are feeling their poverty in the form of reduced income accounts, plus an ill-defined dread of "something wrong with the economic system."

The masses in Chicago are suffering physical hardship. They are hungry; they are being evicted

from their homes; the clothes that they bought during better times are fast wearing out, and there is no money with which to buy new.

At Least 300,000 Jobless
These poor are not floaters who swarm along the West Madison Street Slave Market, spilling over into the side streets and standing in crowds at the intersections. They are the "steady" workers in packing houses, steel mills and miscellaneous factories. Many of them held regular jobs for years until the slump came. Since then they have been vainly searching for a chance to make a living.

No one knows exactly how many destitute people there are in Chicago in this opening month of 1931. The emergency committee for Unemployment Relief estimates that the unemployed, with their dependents, number about 300,000. This is one-tenth of the city's population, and is a little less, pro rata, than the estimated dependence in Detroit.

Most of these 300,000 belong in the class of regularly employed workers. Through their labor, in past years, they have constructed Chicago's buildings; helped to increase Chicago's real estate values; contributed to the development of Sam Insull's public utility monopolies; produced the huge funds of unearned income, which, as rent, interest, dividends and profits, have provided Chicago's rich with their comforts and luxuries. These arms and legs and backs reared Chicago above the lake-front mud, and made possible

its prosperity. Now that hard times have come, they are offered—charity.

Chicago's "Worst" Winter
Along one side of the elevated station at Madison and Wabash there is a big sign which reads: "Urgent! The worst winter for Chicago's poor. Give generously to the United Charities. Urgent!"

What greater insult could the masters of Chicago offer to the city's workers? To those whose labor has made Chicago possible? During the period of prosperity the workers were paid subsistence wages and the masters pocketed the surplus. In the period of depression, the workers are sent to the charity society.

What of the surpluses that were piled up in prosperous years? They are being used to pay interest on bonds and dividends on watered stock. They are furnishing the wherewithal to maintain the luxury standards of the masters. For the unemployed workers, the charity society!

Where are the charity agencies getting their money? First, and most important, the workers of Chicago are "volunteering" one day's pay in each month; non-workers are throwing something into the collection plate that is being passed around Chicago as it is being passed around the other cities of the United States, making up a fund to buy bread and soup for workers who are ready and anxious to work, and for whom the present economic system can find no job. Handouts for unemployed men and women. Charity for the workers!

own ruling, it is not estopped from making its appeal to this same District Court. Not even the Federal Radio Commission should have the right to jeopardize the license and franchise of any radio broadcasting station without due process.

"The Federal Radio Commission served no notice upon WEVD that it was to reconsider its action; has not informed us what prompted such reconsideration; and has no additional evidence to warrant its sudden change of opinion. The record that was before it on Tuesday is the only record in the case. In this respect the Federal Radio Commission is following a wanton and reckless policy that argues ill to the stability and any progressive policy for radio broadcasting in this country."

"Are we to suppose that the enclosed and secret 'Star Chamber' proceedings of Charles I. of England, are to be introduced as a part of the quasi judicial process of the Federal Radio Commission and that the radio broadcasters are to have no voice in the protection of their properties?"

Calls for Popular Support
"Are we to believe that there may perhaps be powerful and antagonistic forces permeating, with unimpeded approach, the councils and deliberations of the Federal Radio Commission—the arbiters of radio broadcasting in the United States? What is influencing and changing the opinions and decisions of the Federal Radio Commission?"

"Are we to suppose that Station WEVD, dedicated to the liberal, progressive and socially-minded causes of the nation, has incurred the opposition of such powerful forces? Shall we have no rights and no protection at the hands of an agency and institution established under the law of these United States and maintained at the expense of its citizens?"

"Cain and Artem" and Chaplin Film at Movie Show to Aid Party

A midnight movie performance for the benefit of the Socialist Party \$5,000 Emergency Drive will be held at the Eighth Street Playhouse, 8th Street, Manhattan, at midnight, Saturday, January 31st.

The feature picture will be "Cain and Artem" a picture made from a short story by Maxim Gorky which has been praised by New York's critics as one of the greatest motion pictures produced. The picture is a perfect blend of the motion picture art with the aspirations of Socialism. There is no conscious propaganda, only a convincing telling of a simple story. Also on the program will be Charles Chaplin in "Shoulder Arms," one of Chaplin's best pieces of work; a short comedy with Marc Connelly, author of "The Green Pastures," and a news reel.

The performance is being staged by the Chelsea and Sunnyside branches of the Socialist Party. Tickets are \$1.00 each and will be had from The Rand Book Store, 7 East 15th Street, as well as from members of the Chelsea and Sunnyside branches.

Executive of Jobless Parley To Plan Work

Emergency Conference Will Push Agitation for Unemployment Insurance Bill

DEFINITE projects for the Emergency Conference on Unemployment will be presented to the executive of the organization at a meeting to be held within the next two weeks. The conference was organized at Irving Place Hall two weeks ago with representatives of more than 200,000 trade unionists present. Chief among the aims of the organization is the promotion of public support for an unemployment insurance bill. The model bill drawn up by a sub-committee of the Socialist National Executive Committee has been approved by the conference. When the executive committee holds its next meeting it is expected that specific plans for effective agitation work will be presented for action.

The members of the executive committee follow:
Paul Arnone, Jr. Bd. ACWA.
Sam Beardsley, Jewelry Workers Union; Abe Belsky, Executive Secy. YPSL; Michael Brown, Teamsters Union; UHT; Louis Budenz, Conf. Prog. Labor Action.

Julius C. Cassidy, Socialist Party; N. Chanin, Chairman, Workmen's Circle; Fannie Cohen, I.L.G.W.U.; David Dubinsky, Genl. Secy.-Treas. I.L.G.W.U.; Morris Feinstein, Secy., United Hebrew Trades.

Julius C. Gerber, Exec. Secy., Soc. Party; N. Y.; Reuben Guskin, Hebrew Actors' Union.

Isaac Hamlin, Poale Zion; Morris Hillquit, Nat'l Chairman, Soc. Party; Wm. Karlin, Socialist Party; Morris Kaufman, President, Fur Wks. Ind. Union; Leonard Kaye, N. Y. Press Assn. Union.

Ildor Laderman, Pres., Pocketbook Mfrs. Union; Harry W. Laidler, Director, LID; A. Lefkowitz, Teachers' Union.

Geo. McMullen, Carpenters' Union; Abraham Miller, Sec. Jr. Bd. ACWA; Patrick J. Murphy, Socialist Party.

I. Nagler, Manager, Jr. Bd., Cloakmakers; Hyman Nemeser, Socialist Party; Pauline Newman, Women's Section, Soc. Party; Salvatore Nimfo, Manager, Loc. 48, I.L.G.W.U.

James Oneal, Editor, New Leader. Nathan Riesel, Secy. Bonnaz Emb. Wks. Union; J. Roberts, Manager, Neckwear Makers; S. Bonnaz, Socialist Party; Alex Rose, Millinery Workers Union.

Louis Schaffer, Labor Ed. Jewish Forward; R. Schwartz, United Hebrew Trades; A. I. Shipiloff, Socialist Party; Louis Siegel, Jewish Natl. Wks. Alliance.

N. Teague, Pres., United Hebrew Trades; Norman Thomas, Director, L. I. D.

Bruno Wagner, Business Agt., Painters; Louis Waldman, State Chairman, Soc. Party; Sol Wechsler, Workmen's Circle; J. Weinberg, Socialist Party; Meyer Weinstein, Jewish Socialist Verband; Barnett Wolf, Manager, Pocketbook Mfrs. Union; H. Woskow, Freshmen's Union.

Max Zaritsky, Cloth. Hat and Millinery Wks.; Philip Zausner, Secy., Painters District Council.

Socialists of Mass. Prepare Legislation

"Request" Resolutions Will Ask Jobless Insurance, Old Age and Other Reforms

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
BOSTON—Massachusetts has

a system whereby members of the legislature introduce bills "by request." They simply present the petition of some individual or organization to have a particular bill passed. The Socialist Party has taken advantage of that situation to introduce a number of bills, most of them dealing in some way or another with unemployment.

Our unemployment insurance bill has been introduced in this state before. It is drawn up by analogy with Workmen's Compensation, and lays upon employers the duty to pay out of work allowances to men whom they lay off or discharge. It then requires the employers to insure against their liability to pay such out of work allowances. As we expect to get this bill passed in a year or two we are only asking for \$2 a day to start with. Our bill excludes farmers and employers having less than five employees.

We could not in Massachusetts constitutionally provide for a single and compulsory state fund to handle this unemployment insurance as has been done in the model unemployment insurance bill drawn up by the Socialist National executive committee. We have therefore a single mutual company authorized to handle this sort of business. If an employer insures with this single mutual fund the out-of-work allowances payable by the fund are only \$2 a day. If the employer, however, fails to insure against his liability to pay out of work allowances, then he has to pay the persons whom he lays off or discharges \$3 a day instead of \$2.

We regard as the most valuable feature of our bill a provision that the unemployment insurance board, which administers the law, is authorized to set up a separate unemployment insurance fund for each important industry so that each industry will more or less bear the cost of its own unemployment. Furthermore the board is authorized to establish a system of charges and credits on the premiums for unemployment insurance paid by individual employers, accordingly as an employer has markedly more or markedly less unemployment than the average for his industry. In this way a direct financial incentive is given to every employer to keep unemployment in his industry and in his particular shop or factory at a minimum. The attempt of employers to force wage cuts by prolonging the period of unemployment is thus made so expensive that they cannot do it.

The Old Age Aid Bill
Another bill, seeks to amend our old age assistance law so as to make it more of a genuine old age pension law. We ask for a reduction of the age limit from 70 to 50. Our bill provides for a definite minimum amount of \$7 a week (there is no definite amount in the existing Massachusetts law). We also propose to cut out the "support your parents" clause so that destitute aged persons can become honored guests in the homes of their children instead of merely a tolerated burden. The Massachusetts law is only a city and town option law, which allows cities or towns to pay or not pay old age assistance "under the law. We have remedied this by granting the applicant for old age assistance a right to appeal to the state department of Public Welfare in our proposed bill. In return we propose to have the state bear two-thirds of the cost and the city or town only one-third instead of the other way around. So far as the city or town pays the expense of old age assistance, the poor mill towns where the rate of taxable property per inhabitant is low, will have a large number of applicants for old age assistance, while the towns which are residential districts for wealthy people, and where the rate of taxable property per inhabitant is considerably higher, will only have to take care of very few applicants for old age assistance.

We will also support the bill to raise the compulsory school age to 16 which will be introduced by the Massachusetts Federation of Labor. This bill will not merely provide additional employment for building trades workers in putting up the schools and for teachers, but will open up more jobs for adults by taking children off the labor market.

Want Free University
We also have a bill to provide a free state university. The spectacle of the authorities of Harvard University defying our State Minimum Wage Law for nine years in the scrub women's case, and the fact that the board of trustees of most of our private universities are all wealthy men with the interests of their class at heart, makes such a university necessary.

L. I. P. A. Denies It Favors 'Any 3rd Party'; Says Labor Must Dominate Movement

Dewey Group Defines Position Following Discussion of Letters to Norris

THAT Professor John Dewey's recent letter to Senator Norris inviting him to bolt the Republican Party was not meant to imply that the League for Independent Political Action is ready to go along with any third party movement that may arise, is the purport of a statement of the League's Executive Committee, issued by Kirby Page, chairman of the Committee, after its monthly meeting.

"To those who have misinterpreted our gesture to Senator Norris," Mr. Page said, upon releasing the Committee's statement, "we wish to say that we do not propose to build a party that shall be a catch-all for every person who is 'agin' the government and for more reform movements that only scratch the surface of our problems. Without a political philosophy adequate to the needs of our industrial civilization we might rush into a presidential campaign, make a great deal of noise, capture some votes, but we would make no lasting contribution. American history is scattered with the wrecks of such parties."

Further disclosures of the League's program for 1931 will be made at a League dinner at the Hotel Woodstock, Friday, February 6th. Prof. Dewey will speak on "The League in American Political Life." There will be a symposium on "The New Party" by Bruce Bliven, editor of "The New Republic," Reinhold Niebuhr, editor of "The World Tomorrow" and Mauritz Halgren, Associate Editor of "The Nation."

The statement of the Executive Committee follows:

"The League for Independent Political Action desires to correct some misunderstandings which have arisen through various erroneous interpretations of Professor Dewey's recent correspondence with Senator Norris. It therefore wishes at this time to reaffirm its allegiance to the fundamental principle that a new alignment must be the expression of workers by hand and brain who seek to control government to pro-

vide security and abundant life for the many. It will not be satisfied with a realignment which has no profounder purpose than the elimination of dishonesty in public office. It believes that the government is dominated at present by the powerful industrial and commercial classes and that whether they conduct the government according to or in defiance of the accepted canons of honesty the power of the government is used for the perpetuation of the privilege of these classes.

"The League believes that the hold of these groups on the government can be destroyed only by a political movement which has a sound economic basis and which will draw its chief support from the farmers and workers. These classes even in times of plenty were refused admittance into the charmed circle of prosperity and are now bearing the brunt of the burden of depression. Millions of workers are forced to beg the bitter bread of charity because they lack the protection of unemployment insurance. This essential minimum of social legislation long since accepted in all other industrialized nations is still stubbornly opposed by the dominant classes here. Even if a measure of prosperity returns the lack of income from the old parties will continue the evil of technological unemployment. All relief measures offered to the impoverished farmer by the old parties have been proved to be bogus. At the same time the League believes that large numbers in the middle classes are ready to support such a political movement. Some will do so because they have discovered that the increasing centralization of control and wealth in the hands of the few is actually destroying their economic security as for instance the annihilation of the small merchant through chain store developments. Others will support such a party even though not immediately affected because they recognize that the general welfare of society demands that the realization of the principles of labor and other groups for counsel and common action to support and stimulate third party movements which represent the principles of the League and to initiate various forms of political action which will make American citizens aware of the political needs of our generation."

"The League is not anxious to see a new party rush into the presidential campaign without a political philosophy adequate to the needs of an industrial society. It believes that any political movement must be premature and futile which is not based upon a recognition on the part of the underprivileged groups of the necessity of militant political action and upon the realization of citizens of all groups of the necessity for the social control of economic power. The League therefore, regards its chief function to bring together farmers, labor and other groups for counsel and common action to support and stimulate third party movements which represent the principles of the League and to initiate various forms of political action which will make American citizens aware of the political needs of our generation."

Morgan Arrives in Cuba As Machado Goes Broke

HAVANA—(FP)—Latest developments in the Cuban revolutionary situation are:

1. J. P. Morgan has arrived in Havana. It is believed he is interested in the impending insolvency of the government.

2. Havana's numerous prisons being filled to capacity with "seditionists," the overflow is to be shipped to the federal penitentiary on the Isle of Pines.

3. A press gag law is being rushed through Congress. Under this statute, editors and newspapers will be subject to punishment for "inciting to rebellion," lampooning government officials and editorializing freely about public affairs. Newspapers, under the new law, must publish only "information." When the law is enacted, the Havana press, now forbidden to publish, will be permitted to reappear on the streets. American newspapers in Havana who criticize the government will be subject to deportation. This clause is aimed particularly at the editor of the insurgent Havana American.

"Shoot to Kill"
4. Police have been ordered to shoot to kill women as well as men who may demonstrate near the presidential palace.

5. Soldiers have been ordered to shoot to kill "agitators seeking to burn the sugar cane in the fields." Cane is highly inflammable. However, after the cane is harvested and taken to the sugar centrals, a certain proportion will be destroyed in accordance with the Chadbourne plan for restricting world sugar production.

6. The police have organized a squad of prostitutes to assault women who criticize the dictatorship on the streets or in public places. Several women have had their clothes torn from them in public by these prostitutes. Bands of male thugs punish men who criticize the dictatorship.

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Union Health Center To Hold Annual Meeting

The annual meeting of the Union Health Center takes place today, Jan. 23rd, at 131 East Street. The agenda for the day includes election of a board of directors and an executive committee. Reports will be made by the director of the medical department of the Union Health Center, by the director of the dental department and by the publicity education department.

In April the center will hold its completed eighteen years of existence. During these years the Union Health Center has rendered services first to members of the International Garment Workers Union and more recently to organized labor movement of the city in general. Though, like labor organizations, it has suffered from the present economic situation, it is trying to weather the storm. Moreover, it has found part which promises safety and prolonged life. For, with the opening of its doors to organized labor in general, it is offering labor which it always needed—a health institution of its own, where a measure of medicine and doctor fees are as low as to be within reach of average wage-earner. The problem of sickness to the workers was and still is a nightmare.

Near \$1,000 Mark In Emergency Drive

(Continued from Page One)
are holding it. We would not hold it to hold it to see. Let us put this drive on short order. Morris Hillquit, treasurer of the emergency committee; Harry Kritzer, chairman, and Louis Stanley, Altmann, Morris Giamet and Delson, members.

Brown, Thomas vs. H. Darrow Debate Fri

(Continued from Page One)
that the government can really do nothing about our economic situation. In other words, from the standpoint of the major parties, the question of whether men and women are to go jobless is not a governmental one. Any such question of legislative processes is fairly trivial things, because all men and women must be concerned with their material welfare. If you want a change in the world, if you think the world is not good enough, you will have to choose Socialism.

Hays and Darrow were not to come back. Darrow, saving heavier blows for the night of debate, stated laconically, "I join the Socialist Party because would be too lonely."

Mr. Hays dismissed the Socialist Party as a good "school" for political thinking, but hardly a political organization with the possibility of success. He suggested that those progressive who had positions of power "may be able to accomplish something."

Some tickets for the debate still be purchased at the Temple Book Office on 55th Street between 6th and 7th avenues, the League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th Street; the Rand Book Store, 7 East 19th Street.

When you doctor a tooth, you do it for a reason. You do it to make it better. You do it to make it stronger. You do it to make it last. You do it to make it better. You do it to make it stronger. You do it to make it last. You do it to make it better. You do it to make it stronger. You do it to make it last.

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Electricians Are Planned Production

Proposes An Advisory Body to the Nation's In- dustry

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
Washington.—Passing the theoretical stage of discussion, the Electrical Workers' Journal for January presents a practical plan for setting up of a National Electric Plan Board. The idea is based upon the experience of Germany. In both of the latter countries labor was in the foundation of these plans. The author of the plan, Lewis L. Lorwin, author of "The New Deal" and "Internationalism," known for his researches in industrial relations and economic conditions, Dr. Lorwin will conduct a series of discussions in February. After months of depression, only accentuated trends were visible before the Dr. Lorwin declares. He depressed industries of oil, and textiles, technological equipment, and the stock crash incentives for a new economy.
Lorwin describes how labor initiative in Germany in 1918 and in France in 1925 for a nationalistic approach to production, distribution and consumption. The French numbers 47 delegates, of 30 are representative of industrial, capital, and 9 consumers. German is much larger, number 326 members representative of basic industries. Much work is done by committees.
An Advisory Body
Formation of such a council of the United States would economic emergencies such as depression and unemployment they arrive. It would be a general staff with cam- plans in readiness against of national disaster. He however, against setting up representative body.
Lorwin's suggestion, ap- by the magazine, is that enact a law creating a national economic council, having advisory powers. This council would hold one plenary session a year, to present a report on the general economic condition of the country. Between these sessions, its work would be carried on through committees of permanent secretarial staff. It would be available for advice and information to Congress on economic and social measures. It should carry on researches. Its members should comprise representatives of the employers, the work- ingmen, the consumers, the "consumer's societies," some 60 to 175 persons. The council should be elected every two years, and even on the eve of the depression, many economists were still predicting indefinite prosperity. The Hoover Committee on Economic Changes had no idea of a coming depression six months before it came. Lorwin was one of the reasons for this oversight. One reason was that many of these experts in their capacities are connected with very institutions which are involved in the speculation which was one of the main features of the national economic council. He believes, would have as many as to have discovered the symptoms of the weakness, such discoveries of weak- ness would be one of the main such a council.
such a board in exist- argues "we would not soundering condition in now are, knowing number of people out of the ways in which they extend of their misery, psychological effect of this upon their minds."

Report Attacked by Socialist Party

(Continued from Page One)
The C. C. Socialist organiza- tion to the exact figure is 100. He opposed all the measures urged by the the investigating com- and defended the right of unionists to a place on the wherever they may legally

Flashes From The News Front

Bell Telephone Saves \$900,000—Would Keep Legislators Straight—Fuller Still Hopes— The Magistrates On Sick List

THE PROFITS OF DEPRESSION
AN EMPLOYEE of the Bell Telephone Laboratories, Inc., noticed that his firm was receiving favorable publicity for its contributions to aid the unemployed. He took pencil and paper and produced something like this:
Group of 5 telephone companies contributed to relieve unemployed \$385,000
Of this employees contributed \$285,000
Corporate contribution \$100,000
Company's saving by eliminating usual salary increase "because of the depression" \$1,000,000
Less corporate contribution \$ 100,000
Net saving to company through depression \$ 900,000

NEW GOVERNOR
"Alfalfa Bill" Murray, governor of Oklahoma, wants to build a state bank house to lodge all legislators during sessions. His idea is to protect them from lobbyists who "use coke, liquor and women, and even money (fancy that!) for bribery." He thinks that might make them honest. Murray has just been inaugurated.

LABOR IN BATTLE
Mass picketing by 500 striking machinists of the Wright Aeronautical Co., Paterson, N. J., has knocked an injunction into a cocked hat. . . Two hundred non-union workers struck and joined the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers at the Paterson-Mutual mill in Philadelphia. A wage cut started it. . . Workers in the Lucille Knitting Mills and in the Franklin Mill, Philadelphia, followed suit. . . The Chicago Builders' Assn. has finally signed a 5-day week agreement with the council of carpenters. 27,000 are affected by the victory. . . Miners of the Adair Coal Co., Kirksville, Mo., have won demands for retention of old pay scale and payment of back wages. . . 700 striking carpet weavers at the Hardwick-Magee, Philadelphia, have been pledged support of the loom-fixer.

PHILANTHROPISTS
Urged by the owners that they may "stimulate" industry by working a while for nothing, wool blanket factory employees who have been out of work for 13 months, have gone into the mill in Hinsdale, Mass., to give a month of free service.

"HARK! FROM THE TOMBS"
Former Governor Alvan T. Fuller, world-despised executioner of Sacco and Vanzetti, has announced his intention of running again for Governor of Massachusetts. He sent a letter to a political dinner in which he mentioned a forthcoming "march from Elba to the state house." Elba was the prison of Napoleon, another famous killer.

THE LAND OF MISSING JUSTICES
The New Yorker, a Park Avenue publication read by "bright people" who think the cartoons and cracks refer to their neighbors, offers a cartoon in answer to the new riddle of the universe, "Where Do Judges Go To?" On a background of black skies and endless desert, two members of the foreign legion are whiling away the hours of the night-watch with reminiscence. Says one: "Fancy that. So you were a judge too!" . . . Add another to the N. Y. magistrates who have taken the count. George W. Simpson has resigned because of "ill-health" just as his case was scheduled for public airing. Simpson, like other deflated magistrates, owes his position in life today to Norman Thomas, who bags magistrates as small game. . . Other magistrates are fearfully sick. "Judge" Rosenbluth, for instance, is much too sick a man to take the stand and tell about reports that his father-in-law bought him a seat on the magistrate's bench as part of what went with marrying his daughter. . . Still other Tammany justices are scattered around the gaming tables of half a dozen health-resorts. They're here today and gone tomorrow.

STILL ANOTHER MERCER
EMPLOYEES OF THE BOSTON AND MAINE, AND OF THE NEW YORK, NEW HAVEN AND HARTFORD WILL COMBINE THEIR COMPANY UNIONS, IF THE BOSSES CONSENT.

AMERICAN WOMANHOOD
From a letter sent out by the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association:
"During our Christmas seal sale we had occasion to use some 500 unattached women, in ages from 13 to 60. They represented in the main typists, stenographers, saleswomen, chorus girls and actresses. About four times as many persons applied to us as was used, although we carefully avoided giving information we were employing help. Now as to the need of these girls: Not more than 15% lived at home with their families, and in these cases the inevitable story was that parents or other adult relatives were out of employment. The other 85% either lived alone or in rooming houses, or lived with one or more other girls. A fairly typical case follows: A girl of 19, a fairly skilled typist, steadily employed at \$22 a week until last summer. Few friends, unknown to any agency, gave up a room at \$8 a week and took an unheated room in an undesirable section at \$4. Her health is poor and she is completely without resources. Of 500 girls we employed this is typical of 100."

CAN'T THEY EAT CAKE?
PELLAGRA KILLED MORE PEOPLE IN NORTH CAROLINA IN 1930 THAN ALL THE CONTAGIOUS DISEASES PUT TOGETHER, ACCORDING TO THE STATE HEALTH OFFICER. DEATHS FROM THE POOR MAN'S DISEASE, WHICH IS ACTUALLY A VIRULENT FORM OF MALNUTRITION RESULTING FROM BAD FOOD, AMOUNTED TO 945 DURING THE FIRST 11 MONTHS OF 1930.

IN THE OLD DOMINION
John Peel, organizer for the United Textile Workers in South Carolina, is forming the Palmetto organizing council, to be constituted along lines similar to the Piedmont organizing council which played a prominent role in launching the organization drive in North Carolina and Virginia a couple of years ago. . . Complaint has been filed by the Department of Justice against J. M. McLemore, well known planter of Couthatch, La., charging him with holding in peonage five Negro laborers and sharecroppers for payment of alleged indebtedness. . . A 10 per cent wage cut for all state employees and a drastic cut in appropriations for schools are urged by Gov. Gardner of North Carolina.

to petition the government for a redress of grievances.
"We believe that it is rather presumptuous on the part of your committee to attempt to dictate to Russia, a foreign power with whom we have no political relations while we seem to be perfectly satisfied with conditions existing in Fascist Italy, Hungary and Spain, whose governments we have recognized. We strongly urge your body to use the funds that are proposed to be spent by these pernicious, and un-American laws to help those citizens who are suffering hunger and privation through no fault of their own. We trust that in the future, your body will use the taxpayers' money squandered on futile "Red-Herring" investigations to more beneficial purposes. We are sure that you do not want the public to be

lieve that the Fish Investigation Committee and its recommendations are merely smoke screens to cover up the deplorable economic conditions."
The Poetry Forum
The New York Poetry Forum, founded by Anton Romatka in 1926, now conducts its meetings every Tuesday and Saturday from 8:30 to 11 p. m. at 6 East 14th Street (Studio 12, top floor), New York City. This most interesting garret studio serves as a clearing house of original poetic thought for established poets and talented beginners. All poets are invited to read. The public is always welcome. The public is cordially invited. Good fellowship, discussion, comment and criticism at all meetings. Refreshments are served.
SPRINGFIELD, Mass. — (FP) — Wage cuts of 10 to 15 per cent have been imposed on New Haven railroad shomen by withdrawal of the usual bonus. The men are members of a company union.

Socialists Ship Carload of Food To Danville, Va.

Clothing and Provisions Are Collected by Party in Richmond

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
RICHMOND.—A railroad car of food and clothing is the result of the first few days of solicitation by the Emergency Strikers' Committee organized by the Socialist Party and containing besides the party, three branches of the Workmen's Circle.
Simon Greenbaum and Mrs. S. Brown, two of the members of the committee, were arrested last Monday and were ordered to get credentials from Danville and a permit. The director of Public Safety denied them a permit "because people in Danville don't deserve help until we help the needy in Richmond." The Central Trades and Labor Council backed up the Socialists and offered to supply a lawyer to get an injunction restraining the police from interfering. If it was necessary. In the face of this the police chief backed down and solicitation is going ahead.
David George, state organizer and Clarence H. Taylor, national organizer working in the South, are going to Danville to spend some time speaking and distributing literature and organizing the workers for political action the next time an election comes around.

DANVILLE, Va. (FP) — Comparing the Danville textile strike with the American Revolutionary War, Sherwood Anderson, famous author, in a speech to the striking mill operatives here said "that war was a strike and the demands were recognition of the union."
Anderson then placed the Danville mill struggle in its historical bracket and called the contest of southern mill workers with the owners the most significant and most important war of the ages—man's war to get control of the industrial machine.
The meeting hall was packed like a can of sardines as 1,500 strikers tried to crowd into a space that could accommodate properly only half that number. Men and women stood for two hours, constantly cheering and singing as their meeting progressed.
It is the sixteenth week of the strike of the 4,000 employees of the Dan River Cotton Mills. Strikebreakers are operating the mill while union picketing is made ineffective by state militiamen sent to the cotton mill by the governor of Virginia, although no overt act of disorder was even charged against the strikers.
The local court is choked with strike cases which involve trials for "crimes" that would be laughed at in any but a strike situation.

**Mutual Aid League Dance
Next Saturday Night**
Scores of members and friends are calling upon the League for Mutual Aid for emergency loans, jobs, and other services. Meeting these urgent needs in the face of the present situation is a mighty hard task. Many League members are unable to pay their annual membership dues and the League faced with the problem of meeting a \$500 deficit in the operating fund—a tremendous amount for an organization that operates on a small budget. The League has therefore arranged the Rainbow Ball to raise funds with which to wipe off this deficit and as a joyous get-together for members and friends. The ball will be held Saturday night, Jan. 31, at New Webster Manor, 125 East 11th Street.

**Upper West Side
Branch Dance Feb. 14**
The upper West Bronx branches are having a large dance and entertainment on Valentine's Day, Saturday, February 14th, in the beautiful Paradise Manor, Mt. Eden and Jerome Avenues. The main ballroom has been hired for the occasion and the Hotel Manger orchestra will supply the dance music until the early hours in the morning. A short, but excellent program will precede the dancing. The profits from this gala event, which will be held at the Upper West Side Branch, will be used to help the League's financial difficulties.

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New York City

National Notes
The first of the series of monthly notes sent by the national office has found favor with the rank and file. Here are some comments: Roger Rush of the Los Angeles Circle, "Yes sir, those national notes made me feel a lot better than I have for a long time." Richard Briggs of Rochester, "Just received the national notes, good stuff. If you can ship that to all circles every two or three weeks it will be a big help." Sol Berman of Montreal, "Your news bulletin is a wonderful piece of work." Talbert White of Cleveland, "Just hailed in from Buffalo and found your monthly report waiting on the desk. You have made a wonderful start and personally I felt proud." The next issue will be out in about two weeks.
The national secretary has sent an appeal to the party branches to help the Yipsels in the organization of new circles. In his call Comrade Switkes says: "Help us, to help you, to help our common cause. Assist us to make our slogan a reality. 'A Yipsel Circle Wherever a Party Branch.' It is expected that a good many branches will be heard from."
On Thursday, Jan. 22, Comrade Switkes will speak at the Labor Lyceum in Bethlehem, Pa.
On Sunday, Jan. 18, the Reading Yipsels met at 9 a. m. and helped in the distribution of the monthly bulletin. The Pioneer issued by the Socialist Party. At 6 p. m. the Yipsels met again at the Labor Lyceum and had a discussion on "Current Events." Later they went to the "Orpheum" and heard Comrade Thomas deliver an address on "Unemployment." Next week, Sunday, Jan. 25, the Yipsels will participate in the national program on child labor.
CLEVELAND, O.
That the industrial feature of our activities is not neglected is evidenced again by our comrades. The Jewish bakers are on strike and the Yipsels are doing picket duty. In addition they are helping to acquaint the public with the workers' grievances by passing out leaflets. National Chairman Talbert White writes: "Believe me, the bunch here are no slackers."
Our comrades from across the border are deeply interested in our "Americans" affairs and follow our activities closely. They have educational programs, and in addition conduct a forum. On Jan. 18, Comrade Sol Berman spoke on "The American Federation of Labor." On Jan. 25, the Young Labor League will join with the "states" in having a mass meeting to protest against child labor.
N. E. C. member Paul Greenberg who has just returned from the "Sunny" South writes: "I've been

WEVD

238.6-WEVD—New York City—1290 KC
Sunday, January 25
1:00—Mr. and Mrs. Chatterbox
2:00—Rapport, Jap & Lac
2:15—The Romance of the
2:45—Gross Musical Gems
3:00—Studio Program
3:30—Equity Musical Moments
4:00—Rev. Samuel McKee Calvert—
Social Gospel
4:15—Studio Music
4:30—Jewish Hour: Jeannette Melon.
Soprano; Nathan G. Spiva Melon.
Baritone; Isidor Schoen, Baritone;
Sammy Mendel, Alto.
Tuesday, January 26
9:00—Radio & Television Review
9:45—Natural Bridge—Arch Program
1:00—Dan Burnett, Songs
1:15—Rose Burroughs, Songs
2:45—Mrs. Fashion Gossip "Tea Time Topics"
3:00—Nathan Uhl, Songs
3:15—Charles Hovey, Flute
3:45—Sally Bickoff, Songs
4:15—"Meadow" Coleman Speaking
4:30—Milton Fiske & Playboys
5:00—James Audubon, Tenor
5:15—Josh & Hank
5:30—Eunice Shaugnessy "Unemploy-
ment"
5:45—Hovey-Mason Trio
6:00—Harry Roberts' College Club
Orchestra
Wednesday, January 28
9:15—Shelias & Chesnut
9:30—Rapport & Film Highlights
9:45—Natural Bridge—Arch Program
1:00—Dan Burnett, Songs
1:15—Rose Burroughs, Songs
Edna Muller, Soprano
1:45—Women's Peace Union
2:15—Mortchey Lady
2:30—Laura Lake, Piano
2:45—Marjorie Roybal, Soprano
3:00—Teja Werbing, Drama
3:15—Theodore Whitman, Violinist
3:30—Jesse Walsh, Soprano
3:45—Hovey Duo, Musicals
4:00—Alan Brown, Baritone
4:15—Marie Morand, Soprano
4:30—Lucille Marsh, The Dance
4:45—Radio & Television Review
5:00—Suzanne
Thursday, January 29
9:15—Shelias & Chesnut
9:30—Rapport & Film Highlights
9:45—Natural Bridge—Arch Program
1:00—Elizabeth Rabaglio, Soprano
1:15—Charles Hovey, Flute
2:45—Ethel Lebow, Soprano
3:15—Lee Hauke, Tenor & Verse
4:30—Cousin Betty "Story Teller"
5:00—School Hour of Music
5:30—Edna Frey, Tenor; Loretta Yates, Soprano
5:45—William Karlin "Current Topics"
6:00—Need Meadow "Broadway Column"
6:15—Silverstone Orchestra
6:30—Jamaica Hays, Program
6:45—Tommy Murphy, Tenor
6:50—Palladium Dance Orchestra
7:00—Jamaica Roybal
Friday, January 30
9:15—Shelias & Chesnut
9:30—Rapport & Film Highlights
9:45—Natural Bridge—Arch Program
1:00—Blanche Deutsch, Songs
1:05—Murray Hertz, Ballads
1:15—Rachel Moore, Songs
1:30—Paula Andree "Road to Beauty"
1:45—Eunice Brunet, Songs
2:15—Diana Bell "Kindness to Animals"
4:00—Radio & Television Review
4:30—Laura Welch, Songs
4:45—Den Freedman, Songs
5:00—Happiness Market Programme
5:45—Suzanne
Saturday, January 31
9:15—Shelias & Chesnut
9:30—Suzanne
12:15—Bryant High School Stamp Club
12:30—Grace Glider Clark, Soprano
1:00—Duke Arthur & His Nieces
2:00—Suzanne
2:45—Radio & Television Review
3:00—Kitty Creed, Songs
3:15—Young Circle League
3:15—Louise Putnam "Character Sketch"
3:30—Ethel Wevant, Soprano
3:45—Piquette Napolitano, Ballads
4:00—Charles Hovey, Flute
4:15—Ann Buhr, Soprano
4:30—Sol Stern, Songs
4:45—Mary Marvitz, Songs
5:00—Allen Bros., "At Center of Earth"
5:15—Uncle Kris' Children Hour
5:30—Eunice School of Music
6:45—Madeline Meyer, Songs
7:00—National Titleds
7:15—James McDonough

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"CHINA DISSOLUTION OR RENASCENCE"
Professor William F. Montague, of Columbia University will lecture on
"Scientific Influence on Modern Philosophy." Monday, January 26th,
8:30 p.m.—Admission 25c.
Admission 50c. extra

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Pythian Temple, 135 W. 70th St., New York
Saturday, February 21, 7 P. M.
**SYMPOSIUM: "How Can We Best
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Which Attack on Religion is the Most Effective?"
SPEAKERS: Dr. Paul Glaser, George Bedborough, George Macdonald,
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307 E. 14th St., New York City (Phone: Tompkins Sq. 6-7675)

THE COMMUNITY FORUM

Sunday, January 25
8 P. M.—MAURICE SAMUEL,
author of "On the Rim of the Wilderness,"
"JEW AND ARAB IN PALESTINE TODAY."
11 A.M.—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES,
"Mixed Marriages: Are They Admissible?"
ADMISSION FREE ALL WELCOME

Friday Jan. 30th, 8:30 P.M.

**HEYWOOD
BROWN**
**NORMAN
THOMAS**
versus
**CLARENCE
DARROW**
**ARTHUR
GARFIELD
HAYS**
Harriot Stanton Blatch, chairman
Resolved: The Best Political
Service Can Be Rendered by
Joining the Socialist Party.

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Civic Club, 14 East 10th St. or
League for Mutual Aid, 104 5th Av.
Telephone Tompkins Sq. 6-6271
Tickets at the door \$2.00

Children's Afternoon

Sat. Jan. 24, 2:30 P. M.
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"Militancy" And Socialist Party Problems

Trade Unionism, Russian And Political Campaigning; A Reply To Louis Stanley; The Record of Other "Militants" In Socialist Party Building

By James Oneal

We hope our readers have digested Louis Stanley's article of last week. We did not expect it to be more inclusive because it is no secret that his group finds difficulty in agreeing on some matters. Comrade Stanley discusses three questions, trade unionism, Russia and the character of campaigns in New York.

On Russia he was faced with an embarrassing situation. The "Militants" had raised an issue without first ascertaining what the party's position has been. Two weeks ago I presented the party history in relation to it and showed that we had always been friendly to Soviet Russia on three counts: (1) recognition, (2) opposition to intervention, and (3) trade relations. On one matter, terror, we have been unfriendly. So are the "Militants." When this article appeared a number of comrades said to me, "Why that is just what they ('Militants') want." Of course, it is but they did not know that it is the party position.

On the Five Year Plan I also stated that one "Militant" branch had taken an attitude, declaring it to be "traitorous" not to accept it as "progress towards Socialism." This attitude is dogmatic, impressionistic, and emotional. Tomorrow the Bolsheviks may scrap the plan or so modify it that it will leave this branch in a ridiculous situation. The Bolsheviks did this very thing with two former plans, 100 per cent Communism and the N. E. P. policy.

What is the scientific perspective to which we subscribe? Arthur Feller in his remarkable book mentioned by Comrade Thomas last week presents this attitude. To the question as to whether the plan will work he answers: "It is presumptuous to answer this question at present with a yes or no. Any such answer would in truth be a preconceived opinion derived not from a capacity for impartial judgment, but from the belief which was held at the outset. Those who know the facts in all camps, Communists as well as their opponents, even in Russia itself, are agreed as to this."

Now in the face of the above facts, what does Comrade Stanley say? He does not question the party position as I outlined it in

party decisions; he does not question it as presented in the statement of the executive of the International. These documents overwhelmed him. They show that on the matter of being friendly we have been friendly on three phases of the question and unfriendly only to one and on this the "Militants" also agree! The only resource of Comrade Stanley was to ignore the dilemma in which he was caught and again say that we must be "friendly." Never has any opponent so completely collapsed in the presence of facts.

The Socialist movement has often suffered from emotional judgments; it has rarely gone astray by maintaining a scientific attitude. Feller's view is my own and within that view there is room for divergent opinion. For example, Comrade Thomas is not certain but is hopeful; I am not certain, I am less hopeful, but would be happy if the long agony of measureless sacrifice by the Russian masses were crowned with success.

Comrade Stanley turns to an indictment of recent party campaigns in New York because they have been "middle class" and "liberal." Bravo! Welcome to the working class section of the party, Comrade Stanley. Less than two years ago you and other new recruits were identified with the trend you criticize while I and other comrades of working class views were quietly discussing it as unwelcome. We did not get excited about it as it was not the first time it had appeared in the party.

In 1929, Comrade Stanley, you were director of the party's research bureau. I have a stack of its reports before me as I write. They were intended for party candidates and campaigners and they were conspicuous for their lack of a working class perspective. Large sections of these reports would have served the Parkhurst "reformers" years ago. To the extent that one member could contribute to unwelcome trends you did in these reports. Here and there one occasionally comes across a mention of the workers but the latter are buried in a mass of material relating to the offenses and actions of capitalist politicians.

The net impression left upon any candid reader is that there were "bad" men in office who should be replaced by "good" men.

Moreover, similar "liberal" material for a number of years came through our publicity department to The New Leader. As editor I had no power to censor it but I disagreed with its character. Two years ago I inquired why this publicity was given a "liberal" slant. A comrade whose ability in one field is unsurpassed was quite frank about it. He declared that the workers then would not listen and it was necessary to appeal to "liberals" and "progressives." I held then and I believe now that the party is never justified in abandoning its class appeal, but our new recruits, including Comrade Stanley himself, were unaware of the drift.

Not one Marxist was connected with this publicity, but it has been a theme of comment among us for a few years. But we are not dogmatic Marxists. I felt more depressed because of this trend than the others who assured me that it would readjust itself. And that is what is happening. The prostration of capitalism has brought a wide sense of economic grievance to the working class and it has been interesting and encouraging to observe comrades turning to working class issues.

But in the meantime, for at least two years, there has been a contrast between the editorial columns of the Leader and that publicity. At no time did I, as the editor, depart from our working class traditions and policy. At times I was so conscious of the trend that I was almost dogmatic in asserting our working class character. What is still more to the point, there was not a single statement that has appeared in The New Leader by our Marxist comrades that has departed from our historic position. I invite those who have just discovered the working class to consult the files of The New Leader to ascertain the facts.

In recent years I have received occasional letters from comrades objecting to the political policy followed in New York. I generally answered these letters personally,

assuring the writers that it was only a temporary drift. Last week one such letter from Washington, D. C., appeared in the Leader. The same week I personally answered one from Michigan. Since then two more have been received from Pennsylvania.

It was because of this trend that for more than three years I have in reports to annual meetings of The New Leader Association emphasized the working class character of the Socialist movement. I have these reports before me. In the one made September 16, 1927, in discussing editorial policy I emphasized "The necessity of basing our movement upon the claims of the working class. A Socialist movement without this emphasis on its labor character will soon cease to be a Socialist movement." In each annual report thereafter, including the one last December, I restated this position of the Socialist movement. Comrade Stanley discovered the working class more than three years too late.

Incidentally, our "Militants" make a rather funny mistake in applying the phrase "the inevitability of gradualness" in any American party controversy. It has no application whatever here. It appeared abroad in the British Labor Party and refers to a situation where the party has a precarious tenure of power. What it means is that when the party has a large measure of power it should advance with bold measures as rapidly as possible rather than tone down its program. It does not apply to a party that has years of education and organization facing it. That is our chief task now. When it obtains a large number of public officials then the issue will arise in relation to the work of such Socialist officials. No one was more disappointed with the course of the Labor Party than the writer and if he were a member of that party he would be working with those who want to get it back to its Socialist base. When it became apparent that it had muddled the Indian question it was Comrade Hillquit who urged me to cable to the Labor Party for a statement of its position with the result that The New Leader carried

the article by Comrade Thurtell of the Labor Party.

It is remarkable how often a pseudo-radicalism has correlated with a liberal political opportunism in the Socialist movement. A few examples from the past will illustrate this. The late Mother Jones was a fiery labor radical, an extremist in many ways, and critical of the Socialist Party for its alleged "conservatism," yet this fine old agitator years ago campaigned in Iowa against a Socialist candidate for Congress and for a Democrat. She did the same thing in Indiana, and to our astonishment she chose the Congressional district where Eugene V. Debs was running and also supported the Democratic candidate!

Let us consider a few examples at home. A few weeks ago one of our branches sympathetic to the "Militants" and noted for its splendid activities adopted two resolutions, one regarding the Five Year Plan and the other regarding political nominations. The first declared that a critical attitude toward the plan constitutes "conduct unbecoming to a Socialist"; the second declared, among other things, that in nominating candidates we should keep in mind the Citizens Union and the electorate in general! The Citizens Union consists of respectables of the middle class. The moment we Socialists as a working class party threaten to obtain control of the city that class will certainly react to its class interest. It does so now. As a rule, on the mere score of ability, which it claims is the basis of its approval of candidates, its selections are often absurd. This is especially true of its judgment of Socialist candidates. But its approval of a Socialist candidate may bring a few middle class or "liberal" votes. What other reason can a branch offer for such a resolution than that it is anxious to get such votes? Even the city executive committee failed to note this reference to the Citizens Union when adopting what was otherwise a good statement.

I do not think that these comrades were conscious of the implications of their action, but the two

resolutions constitute a perfect correlation between pseudo-radicalism and middle class opportunism which has occasionally flared up in our movement.

There is space for mention of only one more example. We have for years had difficulty in one upstate city which at one time had a splendid Socialist organization. The party was rooted in large sections of the working class. One Socialist elected to an important office resigned from the party, fearing that during the war he would be thrown out of office. Since then he has been the center of a variety of dubious alliances and deals to be re-elected. Around him gathered other opportunists and the Local was torn between comrades who represented a working class policy and those who did not. The movement declined over the years and the Local is today a shadow of what it had been.

Again pseudo-radicalism correlated with a barren political opportunism. One who has been conspicuous in support of the non-Socialist policy was hot for a resolution against the British Labor Party in our last state convention. He was 10 per cent Socialist in his own city and 100 per cent Socialist in Great Britain!

There is Herve, the French militant and revolutionary anti-war crusader, who declared that he and his comrades would meet a "government declaration of war" with shots from our insurrectional "communes," who established a "patriotic" organ but when that declaration came tied himself to the cannon of the militarists. Millerand, the political opportunist, had years before left the party because he no longer felt at home in a working class organization. Herve and Millerand, each traveling a different road, one pseudo-radical and the other opportunist, landed in the same place—the bourgeois heaven of capitalist politics. Over and over again these incidents have happened as a result of the two trends.

Comrade Stanley emphasizes the need of a powerful and progressive organized working class as the basis of a working class party. Right, Comrade Stanley, and as the responsible party editor the

writer has emphasized this in editorials and special articles since The New Leader was established, but you and other mistaken comrades a few years ago contributed nothing to this attitude when the drift was the other way. Here again it was not the Marxians who strayed.

Now that we are agreed on this, you have a special method of accomplishing it. You want one man in the party office to give his time to trade union work. That means that every city Local should do the same. To me this is futile. Comrade Stanley has no knowledge of how the party was actually built.

You say that you do not pay "lip-service" to trade union and Socialist work. You want "action" because you are "battlers." So do we. So I will outline what real "Militants" did in building the party and the unions.

The writer happens to be one of the "Militants" who built up the party and the trade unions years ago, one of hundreds who did this work. We did not constitute ourselves a special group in our localities, visiting branches, singling out party members for criticism, or hold caucuses with the view of acquiring group control. We were real "battlers." We went direct to the masses and built up the party.

The equipment did not cost us much. Two suit cases and a change of clothes, one for literature to distribute and sell, the other for our clothing. We obtained addresses of secretaries of the few branches in each state and of isolated Socialists and sympathizers. We wrote in advance of our coming. Then we started out. The writer spent no less than twelve years in this work. Hundreds of others did the same. Into villages, towns and cities we went, and from state to state. Gagged in Texas, slugged in Illinois, and facing a war mob of 10,000 in Boston, were some of my experiences. Others went to jail. Occasionally we were driven out of town.

But no matter. We kept on. We ate the rough bread and the rancid butter of proletarian families. We slept in miners' company shacks or bunked with two or three children in corn-shuck beds in Texas and Oklahoma. We spoke at factory gates and at night on street corners. Often we had to get our own soap box, handle our literature, and take our own collections. There were occasions when we had to fight police departments for the chance to be heard.

And our compensation? That is a story that has never been told. However, we were more richly rewarded than any recompense in terms of money. Sometimes we were ahead 50 cents at a meeting, sometimes we left a community with less change in our pockets than when we entered it. Occasionally good fortune smiled upon us when collections, literature sales, and a fee made up the losses of one or more meetings.

Did we sacrifice? On the contrary, we lived a glorious life of adventure and enjoyed every phase of it. Every summer, out in the states; in the winter—well, I do not know how others fared. I do know some of us eked out a subsistence some way and spent much of our time in the public library, studying in preparation for the next adventure.

At factory gates we inspired workers to organize and with the need of arming their class with a labor ballot. We often came across a local strike and there we plunged in to help. We were always welcome. We sent news of such to obtain a copy of the book.

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Railroads: Consolidation Or Socialization?

President Hoover Comes to Defense of Capitalism; An Important Issue for the Socialist Party

By Louis Stanley

THE active participation of President Hoover in the negotiations of the Eastern railroads in striving to consolidate their roads into four big systems places the government once more on the side of the capitalists in staving off socialization. There was a time when the Socialist Party and other radical groups would have raised a great stir about this unusual procedure of the President and drawn the moral of the collapse of private enterprises in operating the railroads of the United States. In recent years, however, other issues have come to the front. Nevertheless, it remains a fact that the railroad problem is a major one in our social and economic life, one peculiarly fitted to illustrate the Socialist position and one which is in the realm of practical politics, if we are but wide awake to take constant advantage of the situation within the immediate months and years to come.

Public Character of Railroads
Even the most hard boiled reactionary will admit today that a railroad is in a different class from other private property like factories. Railroads are conceded to be vested with a public interest and subject to governmental regulations. Disputes only arise as to the extent of this public control. Yet when the railroads began to be built in this country a century ago they were looked upon as private business affairs to be run as the owners chose. The history of governmental control points to the Socialist lessons: that the evils which arise under competitive conditions cannot be eliminated under capitalism, and that the logical solution is socialization.

The avowed policy of the railroads in the early years of their existence that the "public be damned," as Commodore Vanderbilt of the New York Central lines succinctly explained it, led the farmers of the Middle West to revolt. Through the Granger movement these farmers secured control of the state legislatures and proceeded to pass laws aiming to reduce railroad rates and prevent discrimination against persons and places. The railroads fought this legislation. They claimed that flooding was their own business and legislatures might not interfere with profits. "Rugged individualism" was then in full vogue, company lawyers challenged Granger laws in the courts. In 1876 the United States Supreme Court in *Munn v. Illinois* upheld the constitutionality of the legislation in question on the ground that the state might regulate

"properties burdened with a public interest." This was an important step forward. It was an admission by the highest court in the land that railroads might be regulated by law. The principle was then established but from that time until now counsel for the railroads have bent all their efforts to resist the application of this principle in concrete cases.

Federal Regulation Begins
The railroads set out to destroy the effectiveness of the Munn decision. They now argued that the state laws might only be applied to traffic within the state borders and that they might not possibly be valid in the case of interstate commerce. This contention the United States Supreme Court upheld in *Wabash v. Illinois* (1886). This practically swept aside the Granger legislation. Most of the commodities shipped or received by the western farmers had to pass through two or more states. The railroads were left free to do as they pleased. The farmers were distressed. They demanded Federal legislation. In 1887 Congress responded by passing the Interstate Commerce Commission Act. It marked the entrance of the United States government into the field of railroad regulation.

An account of this Federal control makes a sad story. The 1887 law established the Interstate Commerce Commission with power to investigate and supposedly to enforce its decisions through the Federal courts. Prohibitions were placed upon various malpractices: unjust and unreasonable charges, rebates, undue preferences to persons, localities and traffic, higher rates for short hauls than for long hauls "under substantially similar circumstances and conditions," and pooling of freights and earnings. Ten days' public notice had to be given before rates were increased and schedules were to be given. They even refused to testify before the I. C. C. and were supported by the United States Supreme Court (1892). A law had to be passed in 1893 to compel them to give testimony.

This struggle of the reformers to keep the railroads under control has never ceased. What could be more discouraging than the decision of the Supreme Court in the *Maximum Freight Rate Case* in 1897 that the Interstate Commerce Commission might only suggest but not fix rates? This opinion emasculated the rate regulating power of the I. C. C. After years of staunch effort by progressives

the Hepburn Act was passed in 1906 giving the I. C. C. the power to determine just and reasonable maximum rates. The effectiveness of the "long and short haul" clause of the 1887 law was destroyed by the Supreme Court in the *Alabama Midland Case* (1897). More years of agitation, and then the Mann-Elkins Act in 1910 tried to meet the court's objections by eliminating "under substantially similar circumstances and conditions."

The insistence of the railroads upon having a free hand in the conduct of their affairs did not make them any the more efficient. They were noted for mismanagement, extravagances and manipulation to multitudes of investors. Many of them did not even make money and for a time around 1914 it looked as if the companies might want to dump their properties into the hands of the government. The outbreak of the European War increased traffic and brought back profits.

The Lesson of War Control

When the United States entered the war on April 6, 1917, the crazy competitive conditions that prevailed among the railroads were seen to be intolerable. The railroads had to be mobilized for the national emergency. Goods and men had to be moved swiftly and safely. The railroads made a desperate effort to ward off government possession by demonstrating how well they could cooperate with the government on a voluntary basis. The Railroads' War Board failed miserably. Laws had to be passed to give the Interstate Commerce Commission power over car service and priority of commodities needed for the national defense. Finally, at the close of 1917, President Wilson had to take the extreme step and issue a proclamation turning the railroads over to the government as an emergency measure. By the terms of the Federal Control Act of March 21, 1918, the government guaranteed the carriers an annual income equal to the average for the three years ended June 30, 1917, and permitted them to put in claims for losses due to neglect of repair and maintenance.

The taking over of the railroads by the government for the duration of the war was an object lesson in the superiority of public ownership over private when it really mattered. A great demand arose that the government retain the railroads after the war was over. The railroad unions came for-

ward with their famous Glenn Plumb Plan for the government ownership and democratic management of railroads and it was the government's disregard of the rail workers' demands that finally led them into the La Follette campaign of 1924. So strong was the agitation at that time that even the American Federation of Labor at its Montreal convention in 1920 endorsed the Plumb Plan by a vote of 29,159 to 8,349.

A New Railroad Policy

The Armistice was signed on November 11, 1918. On December 24, 1919, President Wilson issued a proclamation ordering the return of the railroads to their owners on March 1, 1920. But the good old days of "laissez-faire" were over. The war experience had shown the stupidity of the competitive system. The Esch-Cummins Transportation Act enacted into law February 28, 1920, therefore, tried to do more than merely eliminate abuses. It set out to create a coordinated national railway system and still keep private ownership. Thus, the Interstate Commerce Commission was empowered to fix rates to yield a fair return on the investment "in order to provide the people of the United States with adequate transportation." Other provisions also pointed to the desire of Congress to help the railroads build up a national system. The important section definitely departed from the former policy of making a virtue of competition by providing for consolidation and unification:

"The commission shall as soon as practicable prepare and adopt a plan for the consolidation of the railway properties of the continental United States into a limited number of systems. In the division of such railways into such systems under such plan, competition shall be preserved. As fully as possible and wherever practicable the existing routes and channels of trade and commerce shall be maintained. Subject to the foregoing requirements, the several systems shall be so arranged that the cost of transportation as between competitive systems and as related to the values of the properties through which the service is rendered shall be the same, so far as practicable, so that these systems can employ uniform rates in the movement of competitive traffic and under efficient management earn substantially the same rate of return upon the value of their respective railway properties."

The law provides that no consolidation shall take place which is not "in harmony with and in furtherance" of the commission's plan.

In accordance with the Esch-Cummins Act the I. C. C. has proceeded to draw up consolidation plans. It did so in 1921 and again in 1929. The railroads have found them objectionable because an arrangement that might be good from the point of view of service was sure to meet with some objections by private interests on account of actual or supposed effects upon profits. The railroads have engaged in a mad race to gobble up strategic railroad lines. Sometimes the I. C. C. has objected to their acquisitions; sometimes it has been unable to do so, because the railroads have created holding companies to carry out their purposes. The situation has become so chaotic that the United States Senate has passed a resolution (May 21, 1930) directing the I. C. C. to withhold its approval of all consolidations until Congress could enact legislation "to protect and promote the public interest." This resolution is now on the calendar of the House of Representatives. On June 9 the Senate passed another resolution instructing its committee on Interstate Commerce "to make a study of and to investigate the matter of consolidation and unification of railroad properties and the effect of such consolidations and unifications upon the public interest." At the same time a house committee has undertaken an inquiry into railroad holding companies.

Forestalling Congress

The purpose of the hasty announcement by President Hoover giving his support to the proposed consolidation in the East is to forestall action by Congress. The I. C. C. has consistently backed a five-system plan for the region between Chicago and the Atlantic coast, excluding New England. The railroad executives aided by the President of the United States, who appoints the members of the I. C. C., now propose a four-system scheme. Whether the outcome is four or five trunk lines is immaterial. The new consolidation merely aims to obtain for various carriers roads which they could not secure with the sanction of the I. C. C.

Financial returns rather than benefits to workers are the main consideration. President Willard of the Baltimore & Ohio has frankly stated that 80 per cent

of the reduction of costs would have to be borne by labor. Already railroad employees have suffered greatly in the last few years from loss of jobs due to technological improvements and amalgamation. They have sought a remedy in shorter hours. They are more likely to secure that remedy and humane treatment in making improvements through a non-profit making railroad system owned by them and the other workers of the country. This is an appropriate time for them to revive their demand for nationalization or what is more accurate socialization.

Socialization Transportation
The railroads are suffering today chiefly from the competition of buses, trucks and inland waterways. Consolidation will only help the carriers a little to cut expenses. The fact remains that the transportation problem is a national one, in which the various forms of transportation are interdependent. The roads and waterways are owned by the government, state or federal. An efficient transportation system must be

(Continued on Page Five)

"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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PHILIP BARRY AT HIS BEST IN NEW PLAY

The Stage

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Famous Guitarist

Popular Orchestra Leader



Andres Segovia is scheduled to give his second and last guitar recital at Town Hall Sunday afternoon, February 8th. Mr. Segovia's concerts are very popular and generally attract large audiences.



Teddy Black, popular Radio Figure, also conducts the orchestra in "Ballyhoo," one of the funniest musicals in town, which is now at the Hammerstein Theatre.

"Elijah" to Be Given By Friends of Music Sun. Aft., Feb. 1st

The Society of the Friends of Music will present Mendelssohn's immortal oratorio, "Elijah," at its next concert in the Metropolitan Opera House, Sunday afternoon, Feb. 1. The chorus of the Society, comprising 160 voices, the orchestra of the Metropolitan Opera Company and a glittering array of soloists, all under the direction of Arthur Bodanzky, will combine to offer an outstanding performance of this masterpiece.

Maurice Schwartz's New Play, "The Man With the Portfolio," Is Due Soon

In answer to insistent popular demand, Maurice Schwartz, announces that this will be divided between "Riverside Drive," the latest play by Leon Kobrin on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday evenings and "Uncle Moses" for the week-end performances.

All of the forces of the theatre are busily at work on the next new production in the repertory season, Alexei Falko's "The Man with the Portfolio" the exact date for which has not been decided.

In Lawrence Rivers' New Play at the Biltmore



"Phillip Goes Forth" is the new play by George Kelly which Lawrence Rivers has just presented at the Biltmore Theatre. Madge Evans of screen and stage fame has one of the leading roles.

"The Man Who Came Back," Entire Stage Bill Held Over for 2d Week At the Fox Brooklyn

The professional reunion of Janet Gaynor and Charles Farrell after almost a year's screen separation, has proved its weight in gold and therefore, the management of the Fox Brooklyn Theatre harkening to the demand of the populace hereabouts, has held "The Man Who Came Back" for a second and final week.

Also continuing is Fanchon and Marco's "Wild and Woolly" idea which transplants the hilarity of the planes to the footlights. Kirk & Lawrence, Hart's Krazy Kats, Bud Carrell, Aussie & Czech, Ray Angwin and the Bud Murray girls are the featured artists.

Ron and Don, the new team of organists, remain the leaders in the community singing activities.

Sous Les Toits de Paris, Europe's Best Film of 1930, to Stay On at the Little Carnegie Playhouse

René Clair's French talking film "Sous les Toits de Paris" goes into its fifth week this Saturday at the Little Carnegie Playhouse on West 57th Street. This delightful picture of the tenement district of the French metropolis has recently been voted in a poll of thirty-nine European countries the best film shown in Europe during 1930.

Several American film critics have likewise included it in their selection of the ten best films shown here. It will be held at the Little Carnegie indefinitely and is apparently going to establish an all time record at the attractive Playhouse adjacent to Carnegie Hall. Albert Prejean, Pola Illery and Edmond Greville are the featured players in this Tobis production.

"How He Lied to Her Husband" Held Over at The George M. Cohan

George Bernard Shaw's first talking picture "How He Lied to Her Husband" is to be held over at the Geo. M. Cohan Theatre for another week in conjunction with a new feature entitled "Children of Chance" starring Elissa Landi, Mabel Poulton, John Stuart, and John Longden share the screen honors in this story of London's backstage life.

5th Ave. Playhouse

An interesting week of pictures will be shown at the intimate playhouse on Fifth Avenue and 12th Street. Beginning Saturday, Jan. 24th "Common Clay" with Constance Bennett will be the feature. On Monday and Tuesday, the attraction will be "Scotland Yard" and on Wednesday and Thursday, one of the funniest pictures of the year, "Caught Short" with Marie Dressler, will be on view.

"Illicit" Settles Down At the Winter Garden

Aided by good notices, "Illicit," which Warner Bros. are presenting at the Winter Garden Theatre, apparently has caught audience favor and has settled down to a run which is expected to keep it at the Winter Garden for at least four weeks. And Warner Bros., their judgment as to the possibilities of "Illicit" confirmed by the reviews, are going ahead with their plans to present it on the Broadway stage.

Yehudi Menuhin in Violin Recital

Yehudi Menuhin, the wizard of the violin, will be heard in a violin recital on Monday evening, Feb. 9th, at Carnegie Hall.

This is his second New York Concert this season, and as usual, Carnegie should be well filled to capacity on this occasion.

"Gretel and Liesel," New German Musical Film, at 8th Street Playhouse

"Gretel and Liesel" (Kohlhiesels Daughters) latest German musical film comedy starring Henny Porten in the dual role of the two sisters, begins an extended engagement at the Eighth Street Playhouse on Saturday, January 24th.

Ernst Lubitsch made this picture some years ago in a silent film with Henny Porten and Emil Jannings. Fritz Kampers plays the part Jannings played in the silent version.

GREEN GROW THE LILACS

GUILD THEATRE, 52nd ST. W. OF B'WAY; EVENINGS AT 8:30; MATINEES, THURSDAY AND SATURDAY AT 2:40

Elizabeth, the Queen

Martin Beck THEA., 45th ST. W. OF 8th Ave.; EVES. 8:40 MATINEES THURSDAY AND SATURDAY, 2:40

MIDNIGHT

Avon Theatre 45th St. W. of B'way. EVES. 8:50 MATINEES THURSDAY AND SATURDAY 2:40

JOE COOK

in his Newest Maddest Musical FINE AND DANDY

ERLANGER'S THEATRE 14th St. W. of B'way, Phone Pen. 7963 Evs. at 8:30; Mats. Wed. and Sat.

Chevalier

with that cute little charmer VALLEE (Madame CHEVALIER) in their FIRST ALL-FRENCH TALKING AND SINGING HIT

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"Home of International Talkies" PRESIDENT THEATRE, 217 W. 48 St. Pop. Price. 75c-1.75 Continuous NOON to MIDNIGHT

Helen Hayes

in "PETTICOAT INFLUENCE" By NEIL GRANT with HENRY STEPHENSON

EMPIRE THEATRE, 14th St. W. of B'way, & 46th St. Evs. 8:30; Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

The Dance Repertory Theatre to Give a Week Of Recitals at the Craig

In the forthcoming recitals of the Dance Repertory Theatre scheduled for the week of Feb. 1st at the Craig Theatre, almost all of the music that will be heard has been written especially for the dancers by important composers.

Louis Horst has written special music for flute, strings and voice for two new dances by Martha Graham.

Wellington Riegger has likewise written special piano music for "Artha Graham's "Bachanal."

Herbert Ellwell has written special music for piano, adapted from his own "Happy Hypocrite" which will accompany the major program of Charles Weidman.

Aaron Copland has written nearly all of the music for Tamiris "Olympus Americanus," a Ballet, which lasts for twenty-five minutes and the music for "Study of Women" by Doris Humphrey has been especially composed by D. Rudiggar.

Primo Carnera in Person At "Hipp"; "Man Who Came Back" on Screen

Primo Carnera, Italian heavyweight champion begins a one week engagement at RKO's Hippodrome to-day. Charles Withers a headline on any bill presents "Withers' Orgy" while Raynor Lehr, the funny boy from the South and Bert Walton, the comic cynic besides their regular turns add merriment to Primo Carnera's act. Others on the eight act vaudeville program are Frank and Eddie Monroe; R. T. Kuma, the uncanny Jap; Gangster's Novelty Circus, a most unusual collection of domestic and freak animals and Waxberg and Sherman in "Figuratively Speaking." Janet Gaynor and Charles Farrell are featured in "The Man Who Came Back."

SCHILDKRAUT in ANATOL

with WALTER CONNOLLY

Lyceum Theatre, 45th St. E. of B'way, Evs. at 8:40; Mats. Thurs. and Sat., 2:30.

W. C. FIELDS

in "BALLYHOO" with GUS VAN

NEW YORK'S MUSICAL COMEDY SENSATION! Superb cast of Broadway Favorites and the hottest dancing chorus in years. PRICES: \$1 to \$4.50. Mats. \$1 to \$3. No Higher

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Playhouse, Thea., W. 48 St. Evs. 8:40 Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40

Civic Repertory

14th St., 6th Ave. Evs. 8:30. 50c, \$1, \$1.50 Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2:30

"Camille"

Tues. Evs. "CAMILLE" Wed. Evs. "ALISON'S HOUSE" Thurs. Mats. "MARTINE" (1st Studio) Thurs. Evs. "CAMILLE" Fri. Evs. "ROMEO AND JULIET" Sat. Mats. "PETER PAN" Sat. Evs. "THE THREE SISTERS"

Seats 4 weeks adv. at Box Office and Town Hall, 113 W. 43 St.

Edgar Wallace's Sensational Hit! "ON THE SPOT"

Most Thrilling Play of the Season! EDGAR WALLACE'S FORREST THEATRE 49th Street, West of B'way.

Evenings 8:30 Matinee Wednesday & Saturday, 2:30

The Week On The Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

FOR THE MATURE

"TOMORROW AND TOMORROW" By Philip Barry. At Henry Miller's.

DESCRIBING plays of yesterday as those that appeal to the child in us, plays of "today" as those that appeal to the youth, and plays of "tomorrow," to the mature, there is no question that Philip Barry's play deserves its title. It is a drama richly wrought, with sensitive character finely traced, probed by a searching problem, and with dialogue that in its right adaptation to the speaker is also melodious and rhythmically toned. The playing of Zita Johann, as Eve Redman, is as vibrant as we should expect from her glistering work in "Machinal." Harvey Stephens makes her husband the well-meaning boy his college classmates will always remember; Herbert Marshall makes us recognize that a scientist may be human. As the doctor's secretary, Osgood Perkins gives us even more than we expect, lifting a minor role to major significance through his sympathetic playing—his entire being mobile with his thoughts.

The story is such as O'Neill might have evolved in "Strange Interlude"—if some demon of complexity were not still driving him to strained plot-twisting. Eve Redman needs a child her college-boy husband, for all his love of sports and outward manliness, cannot supply; on a lecturing tour. Dr. Hay comes into the household—and leaves her an incipient mother. But their love does not prey upon the household; out of the child (which Redman thinks his own) all gather

strength; and the return of the doctor, some years later, to save the dying child, serves to show how love has made them strong—strong enough to stay on, Eve and Dr. Hay together in the consciousness of their love and new strength, though many lives apart. There is a touch of Shaw's "Candida" in Eve's decision to stay with the man who needs her most, as of O'Neill in the circumstances of her conception; but the characters are Barry's own, and the well-shapen dialogue that reveals them. The second act of the play is weakest, for it gives no further insight into the characters, and adds nothing to the plot we have not just foreseen; but it continues the delicacy of treatment the play manifests in its first lines; and the first and last acts are the best serious native play-writing the season has seen, and—in such competent hands as the present company—will be worth coming back to, "tomorrow and tomorrow."

FADING AMOURS

"ANATOL" By Arthur Schnitzler. At the Lyceum. Those dimming days when the chief business of an officer (and a gentleman) was to shed the favor of his love upon myriads of successive maidens—and when it was a game to see how tearless he could make the imminent separation, are preserved for all time in Schnitzler's "Anatol." The first two episodes, especially the use of hypnotism, date the play; but the remainder deals with outward events that still might come, and the spirit is timeless—the duel of dallying man and pleasure-seeking woman, subtly and sensitively caught in revealing sketches.

The girls who figure in the successive episodes are, one and all, most admirable. Of the wilder sort, Elena Mironova as Bianca has the most infectious spirit. As the wife who does not quite dare, Patricia Collinge plays with a

Philharmonic Symphony

MOLINARI, Conductor METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE Sunday Afternoon, JAN. 25, at 2:30 Soloists: HEIFETZ BOSSINI, CASTELNUOVO-TEDESCO BOSSINI-RESPIGHI, STRAVINSKY BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC Sunday Afternoon, Feb. 1, at 3:15 Soloists: NIKOLAI ORLOFF, Pianist BOSSINI, MOZART BOSSINI-RESPIGHI, STRAVINSKY ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

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"THE MAN WHO CAME BACK"

Fanchon & Marco's "Wild and Woolly Idea" featuring RUD MURRAY COWGIRLS, AUSSIE & CZECH, HART'S KRAZY KATS, RAY ANGIN, RUD CARRELL, KIRK & LAWRENCE & RON and DON, Brooklyn's Girls

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of the Habima Theatre—with his Dance Group—in a dance and pantomime recital at the Civic Repertory Theatre, Sunday Night at 8:45

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The Dance Repertory Theatre

Martha Graham Doris Humphrey Ames de Mille Tamiris Charles Weidman Sunday, February first, to Sunday, February eighth, inclusive

CRAIG THEATRE Tickets \$1 to \$2.50 week days, \$1 to \$3 Sundays, at box office, 51th St., East of Broadway, Circle 7-6578 (Marion and Hamlin Piano)

Friends of Music

ARTHUR BODANZKY, Conductor Met. Opera House, Sun. Aft., Feb. 1, at 4:00 Sharp MENDELSSOHN'S "ELIJAH" Soloists: Rothberg, Lereh, Telva, Fleiser Altkorn, Chomsky, Scherr, Harwick Chorus, Orchestra. Tickets at Met. Box Office, Ampio Hall, 564 8th Ave., & 20 E. 43 St., Room 201. Richard Copley, Mgt. (Steinway Piano)

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MECCA, Sunday, Jan. 25 at 9 P.M.

Manhattan Symphony Henry Hadley, Conductor FRIGERIO, Met. Opera Baritone ROSA POLNAROFF, Violinist Mrs. H. H. A. Beach "Gaelic" Symphony No. 2, The Dean of American Women Composers. First Performance in N. Y. since 1887.

Seals 50c to \$2.50—Now at Box Office Feb. 8th, Manhattan Choral Club Feb. 22nd, GIGLI! GIGLI! GIGLI! Mgt. Chas. K. Davis, 119 W. 57th St. CIR. 7288

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The Dance Repertory Theatre

In Bela Blau's Production of "Anatol"



At the Lyceum Theatre these nights, one may see the beautiful production of Schnitzler's "Anatol." In a cast of many famous Patricia Collinge is especially distinguished for her exceptional work opposite Joseph Schildkraut. The Production has been re-acted by the versatile Marc Connolly and G. Bee-Hofmann.

Samuel Goldwyn Signs Michael Arlen

On his arrival in London last week, Samuel Goldwyn, pioneer film producer and new head of United Artists producing activities, signed Michael Arlen, famous English novelist, and Walter Hackett, the playwright, for an early trip to Hollywood to prepare the second of Colman's new pictures. Both Mr. Arlen and Mr. Hackett will return to the movie capital with Mr. Goldwyn, sailing from England on January 22nd.

They will collaborate on an original story for Ronald Colman, to be called "What Fun Frenchmen Have," which is to be based on the principal character in the new Michael Arlen novel, "Men Dislike Women."

ROXY

7th Ave. and 50th St. Pers. Direction of S. L. ROTHAUFEL (ROXY) LUPE VELEZ JOHN BOLES in "RESURRECTION" Leo Tolstoy's world famous story

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 24, 1931

The Fish Proposals

FORTUNATELY the recommendations of the Fish Committee for outlawing the Communist Party have not been received favorably even by the capitalist press. The recommendations hark back to the period of the Wilson terror when to even think out loud was a crime and jail yawned for those who did. The majority of the committee would exclude the Communists from the ballot, cancel the citizenship of its members, bar their publications from the mails, and prosecute Communists and "other persons" who spread false rumors regarding the financial condition of banks.

We certainly have no affection for the Communists but, as the elder Liebknecht once said, "the enemies of our enemies are never our friends." Moreover, a fundamental principle is involved. Fish and his associates pretending to speak for "democracy" fear that it will not function in the interest of himself and his class. They would destroy it. Having accomplished it in the case of the Communists they would turn to other organizations and do the same thing for them.

Is it not significant that they single out Communists and "others" for extermination in relation to bank rumors? Who are the "others"? Certainly not members of their class. They can wreck banks and plunder the savings of the working class but these thieves do not constitute the "others" who would feel the mailed fist of the Fish autocracy. On the contrary, these thieves would continue their thieving and break through the meshes of the law, as they often do.

These recommendations are not based upon a sincere conviction that the Communist movement is growing. They are a defense mechanism erected to divert attention from the economic miseries that afflict the working masses. If popular attention can be directed to a Communist "goat" as the author of our miseries or to the view that Communism threatens to pocket the republic and deliver it to Moscow the Hoover Administration will be forgotten in a hysterical "red" hunt. It is an old game of ruling classes, as old as history, but there are no indications that Fish will succeed in marketing it. He and his associates deserve the contempt that all such proposals should receive.

A Banker's Economics

STATEMENTS by bankers and owners of capital in recent months indicate a cautious approach to a program of reducing wages. In this group may be included Albert H. Wiggin, chairman of the Chase National Bank Group, who, in a report to his directorate, declared that the next move should be "forward." It isn't true, said Mr. Wiggin, that "high wages make prosperity." Instead, prosperity makes high wages. When wages are kept higher than the market situation justifies, employment and the buying power of labor fall off. . . . Many industries may reasonably ask labor to accept a moderate reduction of wages, designed to reduce costs and to increase both employment and the buying power of labor."

This view is interesting on two counts; it reverses the popular blarney of the Coolidge-Hoover period while its economics would hardly measure up to a child standard. Observe that wages are higher than the "market" warrants. This is an admission that labor power is a commodity the price of which fluctuates. Then workers who have work should receive less wages which will reduce costs and increase "buying power."

The man has not learned to think. If wages are reduced it is certain that buying power is reduced and reduction of demand will make the industrial situation worse. The reduction of costs will simply mean continuance of dividends to owners and investors who may now get less than they want.

Mr. Wiggin, in his class, is no doubt considered an economist. How otherwise would he head a big banking merger? And yet, these ominous "feelings" coming from the upper heaven of big finance may forecast a campaign of wage slashing and bitter struggles on the part of workers before the end of the year.

Pershing's Tale

THE WAR reminiscences of General Pershing reveal how near France was to a revolution in the summer of 1917. This he revealed in a confidential report to Secretary of War Baker. Dissatisfaction in the army had brought several mutinies, Socialists in the Chamber of Deputies were attacking the generals, prices of food and coal had soared, and the war spirit of the masses was low. Pershing believed that the army would hold out to the following spring "but that poverty and discontent, magnified by the Socialist press, . . . may so dishearten the people and the army that the latter will lose its morale and disaster follow."

At the same time Pershing, "without talking too much," occasionally spoke "encouragingly of the splendid stamina of the French people and of the army," endeavoring to "inspire confidence among them in their military organization and its commander." That is, he misrepresented the situation in France but did not in his report to Secretary Baker.

All this merely supplements a mountain of evidence that shows we can never know the real situation during a war. All agencies of information are in the hands of the militarists and we are fed what they choose to give. The men fight in the trenches blindly, never knowing what it is all about, unaware of the sentiment of the masses in the rear. Secret treaties are written behind their backs and they are compelled to give their lives for one purpose while the statesmen have in mind something else.

Say what they will, the imperialist classes know that war is a dirty trade in which soldiers are pawns to be sacrificed for upper class aims.

Industrial Depressions

FIGURES of American foreign trade for 1930 as reported by the department of Commerce leave the Pollyanna boys groggy. They have always been reluctant to face economic realities. Their way of facing disaster is like boys blowing up toy balloons. Peppy "optimism" and he-man heroics are their remedies for the industrial depression and unemployment.

The report shows that last December exports reached a new level for 1930 and reverted back to the depression years of 1921-1922. Imports declined 15 per cent in volume and 30 per cent in value. The exports do not see any hope for improvement till there is a balance between supply and demand. This is like saying that there will be no improvement till there is improvement. One of the fundamental causes of depressions is the failure of demand to equal supply. In other words, goods accumulate because there isn't sufficient purchasing power to drain the markets.

And that is the absurd contradiction which afflicts our system of production and distribution. It forms the basis of all its other absurdities. It can no more be eliminated by Pollyanna "optimism" than a flaw in a bar of steel can be eliminated without making it over. All that the retainers of capitalism can do is to permit the contradiction to run its course, await a revival of industry, and then plunge on to another collapse.

Meantime the masses are unaware of the source of their miseries. The "peppy" brigade have the platform in the newspapers, in politics, and over the radio. Popular supor is essential to a continuance of these alternate periods of industrial fever and collapse. Capitalist society is sick with a fatal ailment and only the Socialist specialists can make it over into a satisfactory working machine.

IN A NUTSHELL

Big capitalist corporations build up reserves to insure dividends when industry becomes sick. If each worker was only a dividend how well he and his family would be cared for!

My way of joking is to tell the truth. It's the funniest joke in the world.—Bernard Shaw.

Colonel Woods, chairman of President Hoover's Emergency Employment Committee, assured the ladies of the Women's National Republican Club that they have reached the lowest point in the industrial depression and that "the next move is upward." Thus consoled, the ladies finished a delicious luncheon that was just too perfect for anything, so there!

For still the people are no more than slaves; Each state a slave ship; and no matter which The figurehead—a President or King—The people are no more than common grass To make a few choice cattle fat and rich.—W. H. Davies, "The Song of Life."

Men my brothers, men and workers, ever reaping something new,
That which they have done but earnest of the things that they shall do.—Tennyson.

The values produced by labor pass into the hands of the capital-owning class except enough to pay for labor power and even this payment is cancelled when capitalism is stricken with an industrial crisis.

Mr. John Spargo, noted authority on potteries and potters, writes a piece to the New York Times declaring that the Senate's action on the Power Commission was a "violation of political morality." Now isn't it just dreadful! Will you please pass the smelling salts so that we can strike a blow for God and Country and the Power Gang?

Shocking news! The Union League Club is moving out of quarters it has occupied since 1881. A large electric truck is necessary to remove the old millionaire fossils who mourn the passing of the Bourbons in France.

Banker Wiggin of the Chase National Bank suggests a remedy for the industrial depression. He favors a general reduction in wages. Does Mrs. Wiggin still enjoy the opera, Wiggie?

It was Theodore Roosevelt who once said that Socialism simply means a "glorified free lunch counter." What about it, Mr. Hoover? Does this have any application to the millions in the bread line?

Stimson Lectures Liberia

By Frank R. Crosswaith

STUDENTS of Morality and contemporary American History will find it no easy task to explain the righteous indignation which Secretary of State Stimson, displayed in his recent letter to the Liberian Government. In that letter, Uncle Sam poses as the outraged Christian Crusader against slavery; against the very institution for opposing which, John Brown was hung, Elijah Lovejoy lynched, Thaddeus Stevens struck down on the floor of the U. S. Senate and the abolitionists generally hounded, tormented and depressed less than one hundred years ago.

Frederick Douglass, Wendell Phillips and the other Abolitionists then felt, even as Uncle Sam pretends now to feel, that slavery was a thing vile and outrageous, and sought to destroy it. But at every turn they found that slavery enjoyed the blessings of the church and the protection of the Constitution of the United States. What would these Abolitionists say if, from their enshrined sepulchre they could read and comment upon the letter a secretary of state of the United States sends to a far off Negro republic on the question of slavery? More than likely they would discern in his conduct the same economic forces at work which once made the New England States defend slavery and at a later period oppose it.

Here is a sample of the circle completed by the average New England business transaction in the days when slavery was respectable. Lumber and fish were sold in the West Indies in exchange for molasses; the molasses made into rum in New England; the rum exchanged with African tribes for slaves; the slaves sold to cotton-growers for cotton; the cotton made into clothes in the New England factories—and a part of the product exchanged for more molasses, to make more rum; to get more slaves; to get more cotton; to make more clothes; to get more molasses, etc. The balance of the products were used to invest in and to monopolize western land, to enlarge her own manufacturing interests, to support schools, colleges, and churches. The future might yet disclose that the Firestone interests played an important role in "discovering" slavery in Liberia.

A century ago Liberia was established as a sanctuary for Negroes escaping from bondage in the United States. It was the fond hope of the friends of Negro freedom that the freed black men transported to Liberia would contribute much toward the civilizing of Africa; today we find that the descendants of those transported freemen have been treating the native Africans in much the same manner as their ancestors were treated in the days of American slavery.

The situation is a serious one, and calls for "tall thinking" on the part of the thinking element among Negroes as well as among white workmen. In the past many well meaning individuals have advanced the claim that the "Negro Problem" is one of color—a psychological problem—which can be solved through amalgamation, or "lightening up" the Negro race. A minority of both races on the other hand have steadfastly claimed that the Negro Problem is largely an economic one. The revolting disclosures about conditions in Liberia amply substantiate the claims of the latter group. In the clash of economic interest, race, color and religion play but a very minor role. The textile barons of the South exploit members of their own race with as little compunction as they do members of the Negro race. The slave holding elements in Liberia, if given the opportunity, would as readily enslave white workers as they now enslave men and women of their own race. In this respect it is interesting to note that, when the question of investigating slavery in Africa was being debated by the League of Nations' Committee, a French-African Negro eloquently defended slavery while a white Socialist, member of the British Labor Party, vehemently denounced it.

Albeit, however, the moral lecture which Mr. Stimson delivered to Liberia would have had a greater force if the United States herself were free from slavery. It is common knowledge that slavery in a modified form (peonage) exists in many Southern States, and its victims are both black and white workmen—mostly black. Through grandfather clauses and other restrictive measures political slavery also claims a majority of the citizens of South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, Virginia, Alabama, Oklahoma, Mississippi and other hot-beds of slavery in the United States, to say nothing of the wage-slave system which so effectively nullifies the "Constitutional freedom" of the working-class North and South.



Clive Weed in "The Unemployed"

BRASS TACKS ON TAXES

By Adam Coaldigger

"No matter how devised, an increase in taxes in the end falls upon the workers and farmers, or alternately deprives industry of that much ability to give employment, and defeats the very purpose of these schemes."

WELL, ye horny-handed sons of toil, is not that what I always have told you. And now that we have it from the highest authority of this great republic, I hope you will believe me at last. For the above quotation is from no less a personage than President Hoover himself, as put down in his protest against the reckless expenditures of federal money for farm and unemployment relief.

Moreover, what Brother Hoover said in those few lines is not a new and startling discovery. It has been said by every great economist from Adam Smith to Adam Coaldigger. The only thing new about this old truth is its belated application by the spokesman of the class which has been so eminently successful in impersonating the role of taxpayers.

Sure the workers and farmers pay all taxes, not only in the end, but from the beginning to the end. The only exceptions to this rule are income and inheritance taxes, of which these two classes pay only a negligible fraction, due to the fact that they have precious little left after paying all the other taxes.

The peculiar method by which those who have the least pay the most is called indirect taxation. Another definition is plucking the goose with the least squawking. A still better term would be plucking the goose while the unplucked gander does the squawking.

Indirect taxation is the greatest swindle ever conceived of by the mind of mortal man. It's a legalized method of obtaining money under false pretenses. It's the old shell game adapted to government purposes. It's the green goods and gold-brick racket sanctified by law.

Under a scheme of indirect taxation, those who don't pay taxes get the credit for supporting the government while those who do pay taxes get the inferiority complex.

This interesting result is secured by shifting the taxes on income producing property, such as factories, railroads, banks, stores, etc., on the ultimate consumers. Taxes constitute part of the overhead along with interest, insurance, and depreciation. All these items are charged to the finished product and are included in the selling price. The tax on the shoe factory is prorated on each pair of shoes sold to the shoe store. The tax on the shoe store is added to all the other taxes and the whole is paid by the fellow who buys the shoes. And in this ingenious manner, it comes about that a widowed section-hand with seven children pays sixteen times more leather, shoe factory, shoe store and shoe tax than a bachelor billionaire with a peg leg.

The secondary point made by Brother Herbert also deserves some elucidation. After setting forth how all increases in taxes in the end fall upon the

farmers and workers, he adds, "Or alternatively deprives industry of that much ability to give employment." What he means by the latter is that taxes on industry (paid by farmers and workers) is depriving industry of capital, thereby reducing the ability of industry to give employment to farmers and workers. Gosh what a mess!

Proposition 1.—No matter how devised, an increase in taxes in the end falls upon the workers and farmers. Meaning that no matter who pays the taxes in the first place, and no matter who gets credit for paying said taxes, in the end it's the workers and farmers who foot the bill.

Proposition 2.—Increases in taxes (paid by workers and farmers) deprives industry of capital. Let's try again.

First: Taxes on industry are paid by the farmers and workers.

Second: The more the farmers and workers pay out of their own jeans, the less remains in the jeans of capital.

Third: Reduce, or better still, abolish taxes on farmers and workers and industry will be enabled to give more employment.

Fourth: But as industry does not pay taxes, there will be no funds for support of government, and without government, this enlightened republic will be in a perfect state of anarchy and prosperity.

Now try this on your piano if any.

All wealth is created by labor—look about you and if you see anything from mousetrap to mausoleum that is not created by labor, send it to me and I'll eat it for tomorrow's breakfast. However, large masses of those who created all this wealth have nothing but lusty appetites for the things they created. Never mind how all this wealth passed out of the possession of its creators. They haven't got it any more, so why complicate matters by asking foul questions.

It is therefore proposed in the council of those who got what the others begot to relieve the sufferings of the begotten out of the wealth they have created but haven't got. The simplest way of doing this would be through the partial restoration of the old—I mean alienated wealth, to its creators by charity. There are, however, not enough charitable folks possessed of that sturdy individualism necessary to relieve the collective suffering of the millions of poor but deserving millionaire-makers by individual action. It is therefore proposed to relieve this suffering of these unfortunate wealth creators by reimbursing them for their losses out of government funds. But as government funds are derived from taxation and all taxes "in the end fall upon the workers and farmers," this method of relief would only increase the taxes of these people and thereby increase their suffering.

Moreover, taxes levied on farmers and workers deprive industry of that much ability to give employment to these persons and thereby defeat the very purpose of this scheme. Or, in other words, farmers and workers cannot relieve their suffering by taxing themselves out of misery. Gosh what a mental mess, and yet there are people who claim that this country is governed by brains!

Show for Children At Rand School Today

The Women's Committee of the Rand School has arranged a children's afternoon for Saturday, Jan. 24th, at 2:30 p. m. in the auditorium of the school. So few programs are planned for children that it is hoped that all party members will take advantage of this opportunity and bring or send their children to the performance. The program will consist of Remo Bufano and his Marionettes, Robert Reinhardt, the magician, and Andrew Kuybida, young Ukrainian dancer. Tickets are only 50 cents and include refreshments. The proceeds are to be contributed to the Rand School.

Pierre Loving, well known critic and writer, will lecture on the History of Art, in the studio of the Rand School, Jan. 27th, at 8:30 p. m. The lecture is given under the auspices of the Society Anonymous. This organization extends an invitation to the public to attend its exhibition of modern paintings in the Rand School.

Thomas Will Speak In Cleveland Feb. 10

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
Cleveland—Norman Thomas will be the guest of the Cleveland Socialists and of the Cleveland chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy, on Tuesday, February 10th, at a supper at the central building of the Y. M. C. A. Prospect and E. 22nd Street. Thomas will present the Socialist program for unemployment relief. The supper will begin at 8 P. M. To reserve plates, write to the Socialist Party, 305 Prospect Fourth Bldg., or call MAIN 9229.

To pay other people to think for you does not pay.—Cecil Palmer.

New ideas rouse enmity, are never welcome, and always have to fight to find public acceptance. For this reason every form of superstition is hard to kill, and every step of progress hard to make.—New York "Truth Seeker."

Cheridondom has other ends. Then creating lust and greed. And the ugly things they breed—Millionaires and dividends.—The Vigil.

Hearings Begin on Theft Of Socialist Nomination

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
ALBANY—The Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections held its first hearing on the Murray-Miller contest in the Supervisors' Chamber of the Oneida County Court house, Utica, Friday morning, Jan. 23rd. Wm. S. Murray, Republican, who is contesting the seat to which Samuel H. Murray, Democrat, was elected through the advantage of what is alleged to be due to fraud perpetrated by Democrat repeaters in the Socialist primary, filed his petition with the Senate on the opening day of the Legislative session. Both Murray and Miller will be represented at the hearing by counsel, as will Utica Socialists. Morris Hillquit is looking after the interests of the State Organization of the Socialist Party.

The widow is gathering nettles for her children's dinner; a perfumed seigneur, delicately lounging in the OEU de Boef, has an alibi, where he will extract from her the third nettle and call it con.—The Vigil.

Big Business Schools

THE staid press has tied. The pride of culture—our great universities—has been attacked, and who speaks with authority? Ham Flexner's book, "Universities" (Oxford University Press) bursts as news. The report gleefully upon its denunciations of Columbia, and our other high-brow the loftier learning. Then torials and the book-page hurried to soften the effect man tries to prove too much. He weakens his case though they were talking by making it too strong. hurry to make light of charges—for Dr. Flexner, greater authority of the a great graduate and re-stitute, has written a Upton Sinclair's "The God

"Universities" is not w by any means merely a de book. In the sections on Germany and "The Idea of University," the author what has been, and what he done. Nor is his idea cloistered retreat; he d unpaid and repudiated states no more important than those of the late, v German obligations. "To Indian unrest, rubber, oil erican lynchings" are p-jects for university con—with one element gover disinterestedness.

American institutes of ness—miscalled univer present applied knowledge kind. Against this pra Flexner levels three heavy. In the first place, a false perical standard of cultu up. The higher degrees and Ph.D.) are awarded dissertations as "Conce Girls and What They The "Intelligence of Org dren in Texas," "Ph Studies on Boiled Toing," in Hosiers Advertising," mention that courses are with college credit, in a from "practical poultry through "book reviewing," store practice," back ag "meat cutting" and "cloth oration."

The whole system is fu based by the extension home-study departments methods. Not that any encouragement should be home-study and efforts at education. But to present such poppy-cock pretension, carefully designed methods Columbia's catalogue says) "sure to the student every a tage that lies in instruction of versity grade," when one nee have even an elementary education to enroll, it travels false lure. To emphasize sonal" instruction when a logue listing 7,519 students of the ages of 884, the previous cation of 794, and the occu of 1,361 "undetermined" is farce—with tragic implication our future.

For the final charge ag these "great"—which here n noble, but enormous—tutions is that they seek the size they protest against. cultural education, and true education, cost money and supported out of contribut endowments—extension a study courses pay! Th business, and the univer these wares. The direct Home-Study Institute of is also and at the same tior of University Extens ident of the "Brookly School, and professor of graphy. "The whole thi ness, not education; a business out of which University has made in year a profit of \$300,000

The attack on such of the public, worse than verbal gold-brick, since indeed a porridge in ex one's soul, is not limit Big business university of tropolis, but by many shown to be typical of though the country, staled institutions aping the models, the universities nated by the standards and of business, are mired in the of a profit-making or profit-gravy world, are fouling our with shallow satisfaction quick-money lures — are the level of Rotary "service, ders to prosperity, pimps for res.

In such an atmosphere, ev good work that is done in corners of the universities, inate schools that are devot scholarship and pure scien crowded and hurried, de the leisure and the pro proper growth. Dr. Fle gets, as a move toward that the university shal too heavy cloak of courses, leaving to voca professional training se fit and useful work, and self to a disinterested learning and of culture nately for his scheme expensive part of the Flexner wants the un continue, and the profit put aside. This the University will never