

## Timely Topics By Norman Thomas

The Workers Get What They Asked For—Hoover  
Stands Up for Wealth—The Wrong Kind of Un-  
employment Insurance—Socialism in Several  
Eastern Cities—Milwaukee's Needy

CINCINNATI, OHIO.

ACCORDING to reports, unless we hustle, Congress will adjourn March 4th without having assured an extra session and without making any direct provision for relief to an army of the unemployed probably numbering a quarter, at least, of the whole



Norman Thomas

force of salary and wage workers. A compromise measure will do something for the help of drought victims; veterans of the World War will probably be able to borrow up to 50% of the face value of their insurance. But the veterans and the victims of the war with poverty will get nothing!

### HOOVER PROTECTS THE BIG INCOMES

ALL this talk of Hoover by certain newspaper editors and others about how the Federal Government must not break down the self reliance of state and local governments in the matter of relief is conscious or subconscious camouflage for their desire to protect the big doles of income receivers from taxation for relief. The Federal government can tax incomes and tax them uniformly, city government cannot tax incomes at all, many states can't or won't tax incomes, and they won't tax uniformly. Hence the Federal government, facing the national disaster of unemployment, should pay for relief and public works by income and inheritance taxation. And that is the plain fact Hoover wants to dodge. The moral: Demand at once direct appropriation for relief and a liberty loan for public works.

### A BAD UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE BILL

FORTUNATELY I find a lot of unemployment insurance sentiment around the country. But unfortunately the bills being discussed are usually based on the wholly unsatisfactory A.A.L.L. (American Association for Labor Legislation) bill. That bill is bad for the following reasons:

1. It provides only \$10, or at most \$15, a week benefits for only 13 weeks and not even that if the fund to be raised from 1 1/2% premium on employers' payrolls gives out.
  2. It encourages the false hope that individual employers can do a lot to end unemployment—which is inherent in the whole system—by stabilization which they will put into effect in order to lower the burden on themselves.
  3. While so-called stabilization is good, all stabilization schemes contemplate fewer employees and insurance plans based on them or intended to promote them will and do leave workers now out of employment perpetually out in the cold.
  4. Insurance by industries means that weaker industries may go bankrupt on funds.
  5. Employment offices to be maintained by industries out of a fund are unscientific, tend to break down proper proper changes, invite bureaucracy and waste and encourage black-bagging by the bosses who will dominate such offices in weekly or trades.
- Insurance by industries means either inadequate benefits or dumping on to consumers of too great a cost in the shape of higher prices. The real beneficiaries of unemployment are dividend receivers who should pay half the costs of adequate insurance.
- What labor man wants to deny this? Let friends of unemployment insurance examine their state bills with this in view and compare them with the model Socialist bill.

### THE GROWTH IN SOCIALIST INTEREST

THIS is no travel diary I'm writing but I do want to speak of the growth of Socialist interest everywhere. I had a grand meeting in Milwaukee Sunday, and previous to that good meetings in Cleveland, Ohio and Richmond, Indiana under Socialist auspices. The Richmond comrades, only recently organized, pulled off a parade with decorated cars, a supper and a High School meeting. This despite some local opposition. A couple of carloads of Indianapolis comrades came down and Ed Henry presided in great style at our meeting. Besides, in meetings not under Socialist auspices the interest is keen. I miss being in New York to help with plans for the big Unemployment demonstration, etc., but it's worth while to get out into this country. Oh yes, I mustn't forget to tell you how that enthusiastic Socialist of Lima, Ohio and Bluffton College, John Keller, drove 170 miles between 10 p.m. and 3:30 a.m. to bring me to speak at his college.

### MILWAUKEE'S SOCIAL-MINDEDNESS

IN Milwaukee County they tell me one out of every five of the people is having to receive some public or private relief. And Milwaukee isn't worse off than elsewhere; they take better care of their folks. This is prosperous America!

## Gala Crowd to Attend Forward Ball Tonight

SOCIALISTS and their friends, progressive trade unionists, members of the Workmen's Circle, and Socialist sympathizers are expected to fill the 71st Regiment Armory, 34th Street and Park Avenue, Saturday evening, when the big Forward ball will be held.

This is an annual affair which has become a feature in the labor movement for many years. A huge crowd always attends. It is a social affair where men and women and their families meet to have a good time and to renew acquaintances.

The net proceeds of the ball will go to the Socialist Party which provides an additional incentive to make it an affair memorable in the history of the party. Tickets have been in the hands of party branches for weeks and branches of the Workmen's Circle and friendly trade unions.

The program measures up to every expectation. The attractions include Vincent Lopez and his famous orchestra. Among the stars who have promised to be present are: Ludwig Satz, Molly Picon, Maurice Schwartz, George Jessel, Joseph Schildkraut, Paul Muni, and many others. Hundreds of interesting costumes and tableaux will be presented in the contest for the prizes that are offered.

It is urged that those expecting to come purchase their tickets in advance. Tickets are on sale at the following places: Socialist Workmen's Circle head-

### Raid Workers' Dance In Deportation Drive

Raid on all working class organizations are threatened in the drive of the department of immigration to find aliens who can be deported.

A dance at the Finnish Workers Educational Assn., a Socialist building, was raided by federal officers and city police, Saturday, Feb. 14, and the 1,000 dancers lined up and searched for proofs of lawful residence. After two hours of grilling, sixteen were taken to Ellis Island for further investigation. Ellis Island now has over 500 rounded up in New York alone for deportation.

Immigration officers estimate that there are 400,000 aliens who can be deported on various grounds. Many of these have jobs, says the department, and these jobs can be filled by citizens. Raids so far have included the municipal lodging house, the Seamen's Institute and a Salvation Army hall where 400 unemployed sailors are housed.

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## THE HOOVER POLICY: DOLES FOR THE WEALTHY STARVATION FOR THE POOR

### President Denies Labor U. S. Assistance He Gave Lavishly to Industry

TWO EVENTS last week reveal the hopelessness of the two-party system of capitalistic politics. President Hoover chose Lincoln's birthday as the occasion for broadcasting meaningless words to jobless wage workers and starving farmers.

Two days later Congress passed the compromise bill for the "relief" of farmers who do not have the food resources of the cave men of antiquity. The speech of the President and the action of Congress were kicks administered to millions of unfortunate workers.

The two performances were revolting. Hoover's address revealed a man even more dull than Harding or Coolidge. The man does not have an idea in economics more modern than Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" which was published at the birth of the American republic. With an ox-cart mind and a smug self-satisfied outlook on life, the President again turned to "individualism" as a balm for the worst industrial calamity that has afflicted us since 1893-94.

Coupled with this archaic droning of "individual initiative" and fostering of individual "character" was a revival of the old idea of "state rights." Every ruling group in our history has at one time or another turned to these two ideas. Both did yeoman service for the slave oligarchy in the twilight days of its dominion.

Now the upper groups of capitalists and financiers who rule the republic, the class that utterly destroyed state rights in the revolution of 1865-1876 which made it supreme, through Hoover, pay homage to this ancient dogma. The class that transformed the Southern States into Roman provinces to be ruled by military generals until capitalism was supreme throughout the republic, now makes a theoretical retreat behind state lines to avoid responsibility in caring for the victims of its dominion.

### HOOVER NURSES BIG BUSINESS

The theory is that the hungry and the jobless should not look to the Federal Government for assistance. Such aid would sap the individual virility and character of those who are helped. That is not a function of government. Such relief belongs to the states and volunteer agencies. Government aid would be a "dole" but private charity would not be a dole! So says Hoover. The man hasn't learned how to think.

Moreover, this smug avoidance of responsibility comes from the man who, as Secretary of Commerce, employed the facilities of the department to carefully nurse capitalist enterprise. At large government expense he contributed much to helping masters of industry to reduce expenses. Experiments were carried on and the results were made known to representatives of industries who were called into special conferences.

Through eight years of this work Secretary Hoover helped to discharge hundreds of thousands of workers in industry. He helped to intensify labor exploitation. He helped the masters of industry to sweat more dividends from the labor of men, women, and children. He made his department a special bureau for assisting the owners of industry in piling up greater fortunes.

All this was inevitable in the long run but Hoover served as a government nurse in this work.

### AID TO GAMBLERS AND ADVENTURERS

Other important service to these classes was rendered, service that cannot be reconciled with his drivel regarding "individualism." The consular service was reorganized all over the world. Its agents intensified the hunt for markets and trade, for loans and investments, for our ruling classes. In every way his department took tender care of every upper class group that desired the service of his department.

As President the work of this department has continued. As President he signed a tariff bill which has passed the greatest "dole" in history to the masters of American industry. The government became a fat sow for those gentlemen with each of them enjoying a tariff teat. The millions who now suffer have fed the sow.

In doing all this the administration has followed a policy which became marked after the Civil War. The Republican oligarchy at Washington voted empires of land to railroad gamblers. It voted large funds to fertilize the enterprises of these gentlemen. Through timber, stone, and mineral acts it voted fortunes into the hands of

### Mr. Hoover: May I Offer You An Apple, My Good Man?



Edmund Duffy in The Unemployed

other gamblers. It turned the nation's money over into the hands of the banking class through the National Bank Act. It jacked up tariffs for capitalists who drove hard bargains with Lincoln during the Civil War.

With this history of government "doles" to upper groups of gamblers, speculators, adventurers and swindlers an open book; with Hoover's own record of government nursing of capitalist enterprise, his present sanctimonious objections to direct aid to the starving farmers and the jobless wage workers is revolting.

Did the aid given to the railroad, timber, stone, mineral, manufacturing and banking gentlemen destroy their "initiative," Mr. Hoover? And was this policy one of following your absurd theory of "individualism"?

On the contrary, you act for the classes that own your party but you give theory to hungry men, women, and children. Your theory butters no bread. It will not clothe a shivering child. It will not help the hundreds of thousands which the Department of Commerce helped turn into the streets.

Just as shocking is your insistence that the Red Cross should take care of the hungry farmers. The fund desired is \$10,000,000. All accounts agree that in the two states of Arkansas and Kentucky alone there are at least a million farmers in need of food.

If this entire Red Cross fund is distributed in these two states alone it will mean that each victim will receive ten dollars! How far will ten dollars go in keeping human beings alive who have no resources at all? Possibly a week or two. That's all.

### A SHOCKING COMPROMISE BILL

And what of the other starvelings in other states? Will they live on your sweet words? And is not this Red Cross and other private charity a "dole"? If not, what do you mean by a "dole," anyway? You have never defined it. The moment you attempt to define it your whole argument falls like a child's house of cards that topples over because of its weight.

The fact is that because of lack of social legislation to meet the tragic situation that now afflicts millions of human beings these millions are dependent upon "doles." All your smug talk of "individualism" cannot conceal this humiliating fact.

President Hoover shares with Congress the responsibility for the compromise passed last Saturday. It provides a fund of \$20,000,000 from which advances are to be made to drought-stricken farmers providing they can give adequate security for payment of loans. Advances to farmers "shall be secured by liens on crops or by other security."

This bill was passed in the Senate by a vote of 36 Republicans and 31 Democrats. The house adopted it by a viva voce vote. President Hoover signed it. This is the utmost that can be obtained from the statesmen at Washington.

The alleged relief extended by this bill reveals the souls of usurers preying upon misfortune. Not only is the fund inadequate for the emergency. It is accompanied with terms which require that the farmer shall mortgage what few resources he has as security for the beggar's pittance allowed.

More shocking is the fact that the sufferers without material resources have no assurance of aid even through this usurious arrangement! Farmers who have nothing to mortgage are left to the tender mercy of private charity. Those who are most destitute get the least consideration!

If the wretched men, women, and children in the stricken region were by some magic transformed into a fat capitalist enterprise their treatment would be otherwise. They would receive the tender care of a father by the administration. But they are human beings, workers, who feed, house and clothe the statesmen. A bone is tossed to them and the statesmen turn to their dinners with satisfaction.

The vote on this bill is significant. Almost an equal number of Republicans and Democrats voted for it in the Senate. It passed the House without opposition. Some who voted for it were not satisfied with the provisions but they offered nothing that would be a worth while substitute.

### CONGRESS A HOPELESS BODY

All of which indicates that little hope of relief for the hungry millions can be expected from the Executive and from Congress. A President who offers such abstractions as "self help" and building of "character" to the jobless and the hungry is utterly lacking in that social vision which is essential to grappling with this national disaster.

A Congress of Republicans and Democrats that enacts this cynical compromise is equally hopeless.

In the background of this action one observes stricken farmers in line waiting for their "dole" of Red Cross soup. Here are children, hundreds of them, whose daily "dole" keeps them alive. Another line is made up of young men, middle-aged men, grizzled fathers and grandfathers receiving cheap clothing or shoes.

These unfortunates are plunged into an economic hell for which capitalism is responsible. In the richest nation in the world they are thrust back into poverty and destitution. Our vast productive powers are capable of insuring ease, comfort and security to all but they provide ease and comfort only to a handful who own them.

The two parties and their representatives at Washington are hopelessly the servants of the masters of our industries, railroads, banks, and other powers of production, distribution and exchange. No more powerful argument could be made for a party pledged to the interests of workmen and women than the action taken in Congress last week on this "relief" bill.

### CAPITALISM IN THE DOCK

All the more essential is it for the Socialist Party to reach the laboring masses with its program of immediate measures which lead to the reconstruction of the capitalist system of production on a basis of social equity. The parties of capitalism are archaic, cynical, and bankrupt. When they fail in an emergency like this they lack even the human touch that prompted the owner of slaves to see that his bondmen were assured against stark privation.

History is a cemetery in which other systems lie buried because they were no longer serving human progress. The Roman Empire resting upon captive slaves decayed and passed into the tomb. The feudal order rooted in the serfdom of millions suffered the same fate.

Capitalism is also in the dock today. It is on trial. It has miserably failed. It cannot keep the industrial machine going. Out of its enormous abundance it cannot assure a bare living to those who produce the wealth of the nation.

The Socialist movement is organized to bury the system with the others that became archaic and a barrier to further progress.

The working people have no interests bound up with the preservation of the system. They have every reason for abolishing it.

Let us turn to the task of Socialist education and organization, making the utmost of the shocking incompetence displayed at Washington last week by the agents of parties that represent a decaying and outgrown social system.

## Hillquit Urges Unemployment Insurance Bill Be Adopted at Once in New York

### Socialist Leader Says Problem Not an Academic One—Opposes Commission

By Edward Levinson

LEANY.—The burden of attack in favor of early enactment of a comprehensive program of unemployment insurance fell on the Socialist party in the state capitol this week. Morris Hillquit, National Chairman of the party, made the chief plea for unemployment insurance. In opposition there appeared Noel Sargent of the National Association of Manufacturers and Mark Daly, lobbyist for the Associated Industries of New York State. John F. O'Hanlon, for the State Federation of Labor, urged action be delayed until a commission could study the proposition.

The hearing Tuesday before the

assembly committee on labor was held at the instigation of State Senator John A. Hastings who has introduced a bill modeled in underlying principle on the John R. Commons proposals whereby individual employers would be responsible for insuring their own employees. While fully endorsing the principle of unemployment insurance, Mr. Hillquit made a number of salient criticisms of the Hastings measure. Its limitations would act to bar most workers in the state from enjoying the benefits of unemployment insurance, he declared.

Mr. O'Hanlon, the first speaker, declared that lack of foresight on the part of the owners of industry has caused unemployment. Introduction of improved machinery should have been accompanied by reduction of working hours, he said. As for unemployment insurance, Mr. O'Hanlon said the State

Federation of Labor was in favor of creation of a commission to study the proposal.

### Opposes Commission Idea

The time for fact-finding and investigation was passed, Mr. Hillquit declared. There is nothing in the way of facts on the subject that is not available. There is thus no need for a new commission. It is well known that unemployment has reached the point of being a national calamity, he said. In the meantime, unemployment insurance schemes have been in operation in several countries and their experiences are now available. To leave unemployment relief to charity is to admit governmental bankruptcy, the Socialist leader said.

The Hastings bill presents a system which is not an improvement over other systems, Mr. Hillquit continued. The bill proposed might serve only as a beginning. The

### Manufacturers Plead for Delay—State Federation Urges Further Study

bill would set up an insurance system to which employers would be the sole contributors. Mr. Hillquit felt that contributions should be paid by both employers and the state. It was a mistake to copy the principles of the workmen's compensation bill, as the Hastings bill did, he said. Unemployment was a general industrial and social problem for which industry as a whole ought to be held responsible, rather than individual employers. A second fundamental criticism of the bill made by Mr. Hillquit was leveled at the amount to be paid out in unemployment benefits.—two-fifths of the work-

(Continued on Page Two)



# Phila. Police Seize Daniel For 'Sedition'

## Cops and Communists Join to Break Up Unemployed Demonstration

By A. J. Biemiller  
(Special New Leader Correspondent)  
PHILADELPHIA.—In spite of interference from the police and Communists, the local Socialist succeeded last week in focusing the attention of the entire city on the Socialist unemployment insurance bill. Five arrests within three days has not daunted the valor of the Phila. Socialists and the good work will continue throughout the spring.

Local Organizer Franz E. Daniel and Jack Williams were charged with sedition for distributing leaflets at Lodge for Homeless, temporary flop house run by the local Unemployment Relief Committee. The magistrate dropped the charges the next morning but held them guilty of disorderly conduct. The case has been appealed to the Court of Common Pleas by local Socialist lawyers, M. H. Goldstein and David Felix. A similar charge against two Yipsels, Rebecca Berg and Sarah Lockstein, was dismissed by another magistrate.

Following a series of successful noon meetings in the Kensington district a mass meeting was held on City Hall Plaza on Saturday. In spite of bitter cold weather a crowd of 1,000 listened to Jesse Holmes, Arthur McDowell, Jack Williams, Maynard Krueger, Joseph Schwartz, Frank O'Hare, Edmund Ryan, and Franz Daniel expose several wealthy Philadelphians who have not contributed to the unemployment relief fund and urge support of the Socialist unemployment insurance bill. Among the wealthy Philadelphians are Stotesbury, Alba Johnson, Eli Kirk Price, Morton Stenbrenner, Cadwallader, Atwater Kent, and the Wanamaker estate.

Communists Interfere  
While the meeting was in progress the Communists were distributing literature in the crowd and several times tried to capture the Socialist speaking stands, being repulsed in every case. Finally they obtained a soap box and started a rump meeting on the outskirts of the crowd. Although the Socialist Party had a permit for exclusive use of the Plaza on the 14th the police did not stop the Communist meeting.

Daniel finally started for the Communists soap box to request the speaker to have enough decency to stop. He was immediately slugged and kicked by several Communists. Detectives in the crowd at once arrested Daniel and ordered a squad of six foot policemen who had been held in reserve to clear the Plaza. Communists were not arrested. Daniel was held by the plain clothes men for two hours and then released.

A vigorous protest has been filed by the Party with Superintendent of Police Mills for the failure of the police to give proper protection to the meeting and on the arrest of Daniel who had not precipitated the disturbance. The Civil Liberties Committee is likewise taking the matter up with city officials.

# 25 Phila. Unions Back Socialist Insurance Bill

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
PHILADELPHIA.—The Socialist unemployment insurance bill was endorsed by over 25 labor organizations at a conference called by Philadelphia Socialists last Saturday. These same groups also formed a Permanent Committee for Unemployment Insurance to push propaganda for the bill in all possible ways.

After listening to speeches by Darlington Hoopes, Socialist Assemblyman from Reading, Arthur McDowell, State Organizer, and Maynard C. Krueger of the University of Pennsylvania, which explained the Socialist bill and its superiority over the American Association for Labor Legislation bill the delegates voted unanimously to endorse the bill.

The organizations represented were American Federation of Teachers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Brotherhood of Carpenters, United Hebrew Trades, Dye Stainers Union, Patternmakers Union, Paperhangers, Stone Cutters, Textile District Council, Philadelphia Metal Trades Association, Pocket Book Workers, Bookbinders, Stenographers, Typists, and Assistants Union, five Workers Circle Branches, Young Peoples Socialist League, and eight branches of the Socialist Party.

Inasmuch as the State Federation of Labor has endorsed the A. A. L. L. bill this action will probably have far reaching effects in the labor movement of Philadelphia.

# Waldman Assails Stand Of U. S. On Soviet Russia In Debate With Rep. Fish

## Socialist Declares State Dept. Has No Right to Dictate Russ Internal Policies

IMMEDIATE United States recognition of the Russian Soviet government on the ground that all the objections which had been raised by our State Department have now proven to be groundless and new facts require a reversal of policy, was urged by Louis Waldman, in the course of a debate with Congressman Hamilton Fish, chairman of the Congressional Committee investigating Communist propaganda in this country. The debate took place at the Hunts Point Palace, the Bronx, Sunday afternoon.

Fish said he would favor recognizing the Soviet Government if the latter would eliminate "the Third International," with its policy of world communism. Until the Soviets drop their stand for world communism, Mr. Fish said, he would oppose recognition. Mr. Fish argued that recognizing Russia would open the doors in this country to Communist propaganda. He said he was opposed to having another government interfere in our domestic affairs.

"American diplomacy on Russia has led us into an international impasse," Waldman said. He declared "the policies of our State Department towards Russia are inconsistent even with a kindergarten knowledge of international law."

Soviet System Not Inevolved  
"In giving full recognition, our country is not called upon to pass upon the merits or demerits of Communism," Mr. Waldman said. "Our country's entire diplomatic history challenges the doctrine originally laid down on August 10, 1920, by President Wilson's third Secretary of State, Mr. Bailew Colby, and since followed with some variations by Secretaries Hughes, Kellogg, and Stimson. Plausibly disclaiming any desire to interfere in the internal affairs of the Russian people, or to suggest what kind of a government they should have," Mr. Colby, nevertheless, laid down the doctrine that he will not recognize the Soviet Government, because of fear that the diplomatic service of the Bolshevik government would become a channel for intrigues and propaganda of revolt against the institutions and laws of the countries with which it was at peace."

Clearly, Mr. Colby wrote from a fear of what might take place, not facts based on experience.

Over 21 nations have extended diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Government, Mr. Waldman pointed out. Among them: Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Poland, France, China and Austria. The experience of all of these countries should now be a complete answer to the so-called "propaganda doctrine" laid down by our State Department in 1920 during the post-war hysteria, the Socialist leader said.

"Mr. Fish cannot assert that fear of Communist propaganda ought to restrain the United States from diplomatic relations with Russia. Congressman Fish's investigating committee disavows any such fear. He declares the surest and most effective way of combatting Communism in the United States is to give the fullest possible publicity to the fundamental principles and aims of the Communists, as they are not likely to prove acceptable to any considerable number of American citizens."

Attacks "Pumping" Charge  
"Surely then, the doctrine based on fear of Communist propaganda cannot be asserted as a justification for the continuance of our policy of no recognition. In the meantime, and while diplomatic recognition is withheld, Russian-American trade is growing. The American exports to Russia last year, according to the Department of Commerce, amounted to \$111,362,000, the largest since the revolution. It was a substantial increase over the 1929 exports, which amounted to \$81,548,000. The average annual United States exports to Russia for the four-year period between 1922 and 1926 was \$38,563,000. This should be a sufficient answer to those who are nervous over the alleged dumping of Russian goods into the United States. The figures made public on February 5, of this year, by the Department of Commerce are most convincing. The imports from Russia for the year 1930 amounted to only \$21,903,000, and for 1929, to \$21,520,000. The balance in trade in our favor in 1930 was \$39,459,000; for 1929 the balance was \$60,026,000. The balance of trade in our favor for the year 1930, when the calamity howlers made the greatest noise, shows an

# Pinchot Hit For Stand on Jobless Aid

## Socialist Legislators Deny Workers Can Count on Employers' Altruism

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
HARRISBURG, Pa.—Darlington Hoopes, Socialist representative from Reading, has read into the Record of the House, clippings from the "Harrisburg Patriot" which told of the suicide of a father of five children due to worry over unemployment and family need and the report of the Associated Aid Societies of Harrisburg that with an annual budget of \$12,000 they were faced with proven cases of need that would necessitate a budget of \$100,000 if present conditions continue. This was an answer clearly denying the contention of Governor Pinchot that existing measures were dealing efficiently with the problems of unemployment. Attacking the Governor's recommendation to await development of private volunteer efforts at unemployment insurance, the Socialist representative declared that state-wide compulsory unemployment insurance alone was calculated to meet the unemployment problem of today. Representative Hoopes is the author of House Bill No. 30 and 34, introduced by the Socialist members at the beginning of the session, to date the only Unemployment insurance bills submitted after four weeks of sessions and the introduction of over 600 bills.

Commenting on Governor Pinchot's Feb. 10th message on unemployment, the Socialist members of the House, Lilith Wilson and Hoopes, bitterly attacked the Governor's policy of waiting possible action looking toward jobless insurance by action of individual employers. Pointing out that the Governor's own committee takes pains to submit concrete and extended proposals for unemployment insurance, the Socialists declared that "the Governor's reliance upon action of private employers and his statement that the problem was being satisfactorily handled by the present local committees show a callous indifference to the increasing misery of hundreds of thousands of Pennsylvania workers."

Cite Rockefeller Report  
The members quoted a last December report of the Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., as an admission by informed and expert opinion of the complete failure of private unemployment insurance efforts. The Counselors, a Rockefeller organization with Owen D. Young of General Electric, Arthur Woods, Chairman of the Hoover Unemployment committee, Cyrus McCormick, Jr., and John D. Rockefeller III on its board of trustees, has made an exhaustive study of private efforts at jobless insurance since 1831 and the possibility of their success in meeting the present crisis.

The opinion of Paul H. Douglas, Secretary of Governor Pinchot's Unemployment committee and its expert advisor, is cited as the final blow of discredit to the stand taken by the Governor in waiting to see if private firms will not take steps to meet the demand for unemployed aid. At the Governor's Conference held at Albany last month, Prof. Douglas favored state action to bring about the creation of unemployment reserves from which industry could compensate the unemployed.

Mrs. Wilson Talks  
"If the entire fourteen million dollars for special state construction of which the Governor makes so much to be applied entirely to wages, the 500,000 conserved in Pennsylvania, which are a result of the present crisis, could receive only \$28 per worker or less than two weeks work at even the cut rate of wages notoriously obtaining on public work. The possibility of even temporary absorption of workers thrown onto the streets by private industry, by public works, has been grossly exaggerated and made the basis for almost unlimited economic and political quackery," emphatically declared Lilith Wilson.

Referring to Gov. Pinchot's declaration that there was no pressing need that localities and private committees were not prepared to meet, Hoopes stated:

"I challenge the Governor to give a single example of a sizeable industrial community where these voluntary 'Employment' committees have raised the funds set as the necessary goal without the aid of virtually enforced donations from workers whose resources were already depleted by wage cuts and part time work. Even with such 'gifts' most of the drives failed to reach their goal. There is only one way to relieve this critical situation resulting from the increased use of machinery," declared the sponsor of the only unemployment insurance act pending in Pennsylvania General Assembly, "and that is to make industry car-

# N. E. C. Meets In Wash., D.C. Next Week

## Thomas and Senior Confer on Success of 'Socialism Forward Drive'

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
WASHINGTON, D. C.—The next meeting of the Socialist National Executive Committee will be held in this city on February 28th-March 1st, according to an announcement by the local Socialists and Marx Lewis, who is making arrangements for a banquet at the National Press Club at which the members will speak to the diners and over the radio.

The chief business of the meeting will be the pushing of the "Socialism Forward Drive" and the arranging of the National Conference which will be held in Milwaukee, June 19th, 20th and 21st.

Forward Drive Success Vital Need, Says Thomas  
(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
CHICAGO.—"The traveling I have done already this year, and the voluminous correspondence that comes to my desk, make me more than anxious that the SOCIALISM FORWARD DRIVE succeed," said Norman Thomas on arriving in this city, after going over the records of the Socialism Forward Drive with Clarence Senior, Drive director.

"The old drive is visibly shaken," he continued. "Everywhere I go people are ready and waiting for the organization with a plan, and with the courage and resourcefulness to get into the fight for social justice. I want to hear enthusiastic testimony to the needs and opportunities of the party in these days. I urge everybody to contribute or pledge as generous a sum as he can."

Senior explained to Thomas that there were almost fifty thousand names yet to be circulated for the Drive, but that they were being sent out at the rate of several thousand a day. The Drive is being run conservatively, he said, so that the administrative costs would not be large.

All attempts possible are being made to get new lists of names that have not been approached for party finances and to gain new members for the party and get across unemployment insurance ideas at the same time. Everybody, who knows about the Drive, however, is urged to contribute, without waiting to receive a letter. Those who have got one already will get another as soon as everyone has been mailed the first one.

Senior called attention to the fact that it would save expense if comrades and sympathizers would answer the first letter they get.

ry the burdens which belong to it and make unemployment insurance just and practical by contributions from the state raised by income taxes on the higher incomes that consist largely of the record breaking corporate dividends of 1930 and are in turn the direct result of the introduction of labor displacing machinery."

Oppose Election "Reforms"  
Mrs. Wilson and Hoopes are girding themselves for a finish fight should the new election code come before the legislature in the form submitted by the "reform" Governor. Among the new provisions are some directly aimed at eliminating minority political groups. The admission to regular place on the ballot, under old law needed only 2 per cent in the state and 5 per cent in a county of the highest vote cast. The new law would require this requirement to 10 and 15 per cent. This change cannot but strike directly at the Socialist Party among other political groups of a minority character. The new Governor with a further eye to increase of executive power would take management of elections out of hands of county commissioners locally elected and centralize all control in Governor's hands through appointed commissions. The new millionaire governor of Pennsylvania is a noted advocate of election reform but has tended lately to confuse clean elections with those in which he was the winner. Against this attempt to rule out minority groups from easy access to the ballot every nerve will be strained to defeat, and every known and devisable tactic will be employed, the Pennsylvania Socialist legislators declare. It is not too early now to call attention of Socialists everywhere to this move which in many states has already succeeded.

# New Leader Supporters Celebrate Its Birthday At New York Dinner

## Hillquit and Neibuhr See Triumph of Socialist Movement Here

WITH not less than 350 friends of The New Leader present at the annual dinner on Lincoln's birthday, a marked spirit of optimism prevailed from the hour when the guests began to arrive. Despite the industrial depression, the contributions to the sustaining fund exceeded the amount which Toastmaster B. Charney Viadeck declared was the minimum that was desired. \$2,616.50 was collected.

One of the surprises of the dinner was a telegram from Charlie Chaplin, the movie comedian, who was in New York. Efforts had been made to have him attend the dinner. This was sub rosa among a few comrades but Chaplin found it impossible to attend. He sent a telegram stating that he had to go to Sing Sing that night to show his new picture. He expressed regret at being unable to attend and sent a warm message expressing his best wishes for the success of The New Leader.

Unfortunately, Heywood Brown was unable to attend owing to the illness of his son in the West. Toastmaster Viadeck introduced Editor James O'Neal who reviewed briefly some of the dark days through which The New Leader had passed. During the industrial depression, he declared, many pathetic letters had been received from jobless workers who were unable to renew their subscriptions. In many instances they were kept on the mailing list and they generally renewed their subscriptions when they could.

Neibuhr First Speaker  
Reinhold Neibuhr was the next speaker. He declared that Socialists obtained little satisfaction from the depression but were satisfied that the course of events vindicated the Socialist position. Minority opinions had had a hard time but Herbert Hoover is now sweating to preserve the system which we criticize.

"Socialism is being proved by the facts of contemporary civilization," he declared. "Power centralized, competition is being destroyed, society must eventually control property, and the political future of Socialism is bright because the logic of history is on our side." Unlike Communists, we do not look to catastrophe, although it might come through war. Too often realists turn into romanticists and, as an example, he cited a Communist in Moscow who argued that revolution would come in the United States in five or fifteen years, but Neibuhr's opinion was not asked.

Fascism, he declared, is a product of the middle class which lacks political intelligence. Russia had no middle class and it appeared to him that the revolution there came closer to Marx than in the modern nations. He placed his hope in parliamentary Socialism and did not share the criticism of the German Socialist Democracy. He was confident that German Socialism would eventually be secure.

Hillquit Traces Progress  
Morris Hillquit declared that to get a proper perspective of the Socialist movement is like looking at a painting in a museum. If too close to it, it appears blurred, but by stepping back we get a proper perspective. If we consider the movement day by day the impression we get is accurate.

The speaker then reviewed the movement since its origin, showing that it made sharp advances while at times it appeared that it was destroyed. There was the period of the anti-Socialist law in Germany when the movement was outlawed, the period when Marx and Engels and their associates wrecked the First International to prevent its capture by the anarchists, and the present exile of the movement in Italy.

At any given moment the impression is illusory. Since the World War the movement had made such advances that it passed from the period of exclusive propaganda to one of responsibility in administering public power. Today the movement abroad has the power to make and unmake governments. If we date the origin of the Socialist movement from the year 1848 we will note that its progress has been steady and irresistible although the course of development has never been smooth but irregular.

Moreover the movement had produced world famous men such

# Sinclair Quits International Labor Defense

## Socialist Novelist Resigns After Communists Libel Him in Press

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
PASADENA, Calif.—Upton Sinclair, recent Socialist candidate for Governor of California, has had an experience with Communist duplicity which has compelled him to resign from the International Defense Committee. In January he had been asked by cable from Berlin to permit his name to be signed to a manifesto "Sympathetic to Russia, but can't sign without reading."

Although Sinclair called his reply within two hours after having received the Berlin message he was surprised that his name was attached with others to the manifesto. The Communist organ in New York, The Daily Worker, then published a misleading statement regarding the incident and Sinclair sent the following letter to the Communist publication:

"Editor, Daily Worker,  
In your Jan. 31st issue you publish an incorrect dispatch from Berlin, which is inaccurate both in its content and in the headline you put over it. The dispatch states: 'Upton Sinclair protests that Munzenberg put his (Sinclair's) name under an appeal, etc.' In order to be accurate this sentence should have read 'Sinclair protests that Munzenberg put his (Sinclair's) name under an appeal without Sinclair's permission, and after Sinclair had warned him against making unauthorized use of Sinclair's name.'"

"Your headline over the dispatch reads 'Sinclair Becomes Tool of Anti-Soviet War Campaign.' This headline should have read 'Sinclair Refuses to be Tool of Anybody.'"

"The dispatch goes on to refer to surprise in Berlin at Sinclair's action of using the Vorwärts as his mouthpiece. In reply permit me to state that my letter repudiating Munzenberg's action was sent to every newspaper in Germany whose name was known to me. I enclose a copy of the letter for your information. You may publish it if you care to do so."

# Hillquit, Coleman Talk At Unemployment Rally Tuesday Night at P.S. 43

An unemployment rally sponsored by the Morningside Heights Branch, N. Y. C., of the Socialist Party, will be held Tuesday evening, Feb. 24, in the assembly hall of Public School No. 43, Amsterdam at 129th Street, at 43rd Avenue.

Morris Hillquit, National Chairman of the Socialist Party, will speak on the Socialist unemployment insurance bill. Mr. Coleman will talk on the capitalist system, and Edward Cassidy will discuss unemployment conditions generally. The meeting is open to the general public.

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\$2,000.00 IN PRIZES

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THE ENTIRE PROFIT GOES TO THE SOCIALIST PARTY



## Mooney Says Labor Heads Betrayed Him

### Frame-up Victim Issues Pamphlet Attacking California Unionists

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

SAN FRANCISCO.—In an appeal to the rank and file of the American workers to join in a mass movement demanding his unconditional pardon, Tom Mooney, sentenced to life imprisonment in San Quentin penitentiary for a crime which he did not commit, has issued a 52-page pamphlet in which he asserts that certain so-called "labor misleaders" not only aided in his original frame-up but ever since have secretly sabotaged all efforts to have him released.

"Labor Leaders Betray Tom Mooney," is its title.

P. H. McCarthy, former building trades "czar"; John O'Connell, secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council; A. W. Brouillet, president of the Labor Council when Mooney was "framed"; Michael Casey, vice-president of the International Teamsters' Union; James W. Mullen, editor of "The San Francisco Labor Clarion," now state labor commissioner under Gov. Rolph; and Paul Scharrenberg, secretary of the State Federation of Labor, until recently state harbor commissioner under Governor Young, are some of the Californians whom Mooney brands "labor misleaders."

Mooney also charges that William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, and Matthew Woll, vice-president, have prevented the A. F. of L. from militantly urging his pardon.

Gives "Inside Story"

Mooney's booklet purports to give the "inside story" of a hook-up between politico-labor leaders and corporation heads when "Framer Fickert first ran against Francis J. Heney as district attorney in San Francisco. Fickert, candidate of the United Railroads, dismissed the Heney graft indictments against officials of the United Railroads and later indicted Mooney on concocted evidence.

The pamphlet also shows how P. H. McCarthy accepted \$10,000 from the Pacific Gas and Electric Company and gives the names of labor leaders on the San Francisco board of supervisors who, Mooney says, appropriated funds to aid Fickert in his frame-up of Mooney and Billings.

The booklet cites a long list of labor leaders who accepted lucrative jobs of governors, and a pamphlet is sponsored by the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, P. O. Box 1475, San Francisco. Mooney says that for ten years he has hesitated to tell the story of the position taken by responsible labor leaders in his case, but that he "cannot remain silent any longer."

"The rank and file of the trade unions have always believed in my innocence," he said in his letter, "but their desire and wishes have been subverted and sabotaged by the labor leaders. The leaders of the A. F. of L. have always told the politicians in public office to ignore any protest coming from the unions in my behalf. There has never been a single major leader in California who honestly and sincerely urged any Governor in this State to pardon me. If the leaders of the A. F. of L. in California were 'right' I could not now be in prison. I would never have been arrested. I could not have been framed."

Fremont Older Quoted

The pamphlet quotes Fremont Older's "My Own Story":

"The little faith in human nature that I had left after the (San Francisco) graft prosecution was considerably lessened by my experience in trying to bring about the pardon of these two men (Mooney and Billings). It was lessened still more when I discovered that ten of the twelve prominent local labor leaders were either actively conniving at keeping these men in prison or doing nothing to help them. This threw me into a despondent mood. I had learned to expect that kind of attitude from the rich and powerful and those who fawned upon them, but to find the foremost local leaders of labor acting or thinking with them was more than I could calmly bear."

Mooney concludes with the declaration that there is no hope in the present leadership of the A. F. of L. and that "Our (Billings and Mooney) struggle for freedom is inextricably bound up with the whole question of the future of the American workers."

"Mooney and Billings," he writes, are living symbols of the desperate struggle between labor and capital. Their fate, their freedom, their hopes, their very lives are a vital and inseparable part of that struggle. If they are ever to gain their freedom it will only be through a real industrial and political solidarity of the working class demanding their unconditional pardon and insisting that these demands be met immediately."

The pamphlet has caused confusion in the ranks of those who have been working for the release of Mooney and Billings and Billings has parted company with Mooney in defense work. Many others have received the pamphlet with mixed feelings of doubt and disappointment.

## The New Leader "Fan" Mail

THIS week we are facing a difficult problem of selecting from letters of the Higgins family working for subscriptions to The New Leader. Then Vic, who mails out that book, "The Workers in American History," has been kept busy mailing and wrapping. The editor has been interrupted so often to write his John Hancock in the books that are mailed that he has finger cramps.

Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, Washington and Connecticut are all bringing reports from the Higgins tribe. From Minneapolis comes a yearly from J. A. Gonstead and Pennsylvania registers twice, one from Hillsville and two from Sheridan. We notice that one sub in that state is a renewal from a town bearing the name of "Kleinfeifersville." This is probably Pennsylvania Dutch for "Higgins." We'll have to get Jim Maurer's opinion regarding it.

Walter S. Hutchins of Greenfield, Mass., arrives with two renewals. He is a veteran of the movement in that state, having been the party's standard bearer for Governor. From Seattle, Washington, three renewals sent by Comrade Fuhrberg. Meriden, Conn., represents the Higgins family in the person of L. E. Hellin who sends a yearly.

Ruth Fox of New York City renews and sends a yearly for a reader in Paris, France. Then there arrives a letter for the whimsical Mac Coleman from Sol Perrin who says that he nearly cried over the way Mac handled General Pershing. Perrin hopes that the book will "end all wars," otherwise "civilization will not be worth

preserving another day." He adds that life is still worth while "because The New Leader comes out next Friday."

Well, that letter should spur thousands of Jim and Jane Higgins to do their utmost the next few weeks. Remember, that book is going fast and use the coupon below.

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## Pittsburgh Socialists Win Court Fight for Right to Sell "Unemployed" in Streets

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—"The Unemployed," published by the League for Industrial Democracy, will again be sold upon Pittsburgh streets by the unemployed after over a month's suppression. The Socialist Party which is handling the magazine in Pittsburgh, has won the court battle started when Blanchard Wright, an unemployed worker, selling the magazine on the streets, was arrested Jan. 9th.

Called upon to pay a \$50 fine for violation of an ordinance requiring vending license for peddlers the case was appealed to County court by the Party through its attorney, Maurice Schneirov. In his brief, submitted to the Court some weeks ago, Schneirov declared that while as a matter of fact the ordinance quoted did not apply and was not used against vendors of newspapers and magazines, any attempt to so apply it would be a direct attack on the constitutional guarantee, state and national, of freedom of the press.

Judge Jones took the brief under advisement and in the face of what was acknowledgedly one of the most brilliant and conclusive arguments ever presented to the County court, bowed to its logic and remitted fines and costs after consultation with the full bench of judges. The magazine will now be freely sold in Pittsburgh where as long as it is issued it will be used as part of the Pennsylvania agitation for action on the Unemployment Insurance bills proposed by Socialist members of the Pennsylvania Assembly.

## WEVD Seeks Petition to Aid In Fight for Radio Freedom

### Labor Conference for Station Will Be Held On Sunday, March 1

PRELIMINARY to the hearing on the case of WEVD before the Federal Radio Commission on March 3rd, labor forces in New York City will hold a WEVD conference. The conference, which will take up steps to fight for the continued operation of the Socialist and free speech station, will be held Sunday, March 1st, at the Broadway Central Hotel.

The hearing before the radio commission will be held in Washington on March 3rd. The Commission revoked the station's license, then renewed it, only to revoke it for a second time without giving the station any notice. G. August Gerber, director of the station, has enlisted the support of outstanding leaders in the progressive world to help in the fight to maintain the station.

The station is circulating a petition which it will present to the radio commission. Mr. Gerber this week urged readers of The New Leader to help assemble this petition. New Leader readers should cut out this petition heading, attach a sheet of white paper to it and collect signatures. When the petition is signed, it should be sent without delay to Station WEVD, 45 West 45th Street. Here is the petition form:

The reverse side of the unemployed service flag contains cartoons by Fitzpatrick and by Flambo, British labor artist, illustrating these legends: "The unemployed baker pawns his clothes for bread. The unemployed shoe worker has no shoes. The unemployed textile worker needs warm clothes." The poster continues: "When the machines don't work, their owners take care of them. Their owners can collect dividends out of the surplus piled up in good years. But—the workers can't collect dividends out of the surplus their labor has piled up. The workers go cold and hungry, they lose their homes. Industry and state must pay wages to the workers when the machines stop. Demand unemployment insurance."

Displayed in Many Cities

Trade unions, labor societies, and individuals in many cities have taken up circulation of the "service flag" among their members and acquaintances who are out of work. Large distributions have taken place in Pittsburgh, Erie, Pa., Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Indianapolis, Cincinnati. The League for Industrial Democracy office in this city, 112 East 19th street, is filling daily mail requests from many other cities.

"Discontent with the unemployment situation is being dramatized in the middle west," declared Mary Fox, executive secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy, just back from a tour of a dozen mid-western states.

"Jobless men and women, as well as sympathizers with unemployment insurance, are placing the service stars in their windows, thus graphically representing themselves as drafted into the army of the unemployed. The idea spreads from house to house, from neighbor to neighbor. The service star poster as well as the demand for unemployment insurance has revived the spirit of men and women out of jobs for months. It has been of tremendous appeal to the jobless in small towns as well as large cities."

W. C. Debs Branch Will Celebrate Its Tenth Anniversary

The Debs English speaking branch of the Workmen's Circle will celebrate its tenth anniversary with a banquet and dance on Sunday evening, February 22nd, at Ambash Mansion, 76 Second Ave., Manhattan.

All members, their families and friends will have a good social evening together at the anniversary celebration. Members that are proposed during the celebration will get one quarterly bill free. The branch meets the second and fourth Fridays of each month at 3 West 16th Street, Manhattan.

THOMAS IN CHICAGO TODAY

CHICAGO.—The Chicago Chapter of the League For Industrial Democracy will give a party in honor of Norman Thomas, who will speak on "The Next War," in the Men's City Club, 315 Plymouth Place, Saturday, Feb. 21st, at 8 p. m. Members and their friends are requested to make reservations through the League's office, 20 W. Jackson Blvd.

## Young Circle League To Hold Three-Day Eastern Conference

The Eastern States Conference of the Young Circle League will be held in the Executive Room of the Workmen's Circle, 175 East Broadway, New York City, starting Feb. 1. The Youth Committee of the Workmen's Circle is sponsoring the Conference.

The first session at 2 p. m., will discuss "What Part Do the Young Circle Clubs Play in the Workmen's Circle and What Part Shall They Play in the Future?" In the evening all the delegates will be guests of the New York Clubs at the Forward Hall. Sunday's session, beginning at 1 p. m., will discuss "Club and Inter-Club Activities and the Relation of the Young Circle Branches to the Rest of the Young Circle League."

There will be two sessions Monday, the 23rd, at 10:30 a. m. and at 2 p. m. The morning session will bring a discussion of "Problems of Young Circle Clubs" and the afternoon will be taken up with the report of the Resolutions Committee and a discussion of recommendations. The convention will be adjourned at 6 p. m.

The first issue of the Young Circle "Bulletin" was published Feb. 14th. It contains news of the clubs throughout the U. S. and a variety of articles of current interest.

## L. I. D. Luncheon Will Discuss Job Insurance At Woodstock Today

The New York Chapter of the League will hold a discussion this Saturday, Feb. 21st, at the Hotel Woodstock, 127 West 43rd Street, where Noel Sargent, of the National Association of Manufacturers, Maynard Krueger, of the Wharton School of Finance, University of Pennsylvania; and Dr. Leo Wolman, for the American Association for Labor Legislation, will discuss "Insurance for the Unemployed." Mr. Sargent will oppose compulsory insurance, Dr. Wolman will urge insurance to be paid for by industry and administered by industry, while Professor Krueger will speak for compulsory unemployment insurance to be paid for by state and employer and administered by the state. The program will be broadcast over the National network of the National Broadcasting Company at 1:45 P. M. Eastern Standard Time.

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## 15 Are Jailed as 2,000 Strike in Philadelphia

### Hosiery Workers Tie Up Dozen Plants in Walkout—Mayor Is Panicky

PHILADELPHIA, (FP).—How ever calm the remainder of America, may have been, Philadelphia has been giving signs of unrest.

Police breaking up a Socialist unemployed demonstration and holding an organizer for hours incommunicado while they insist he has been released; Mayor Mackey warning of the immediate need for militia to protect property unless millionaires give to soup kitchens; thousands of non-union hosiery workers striking with ten jailed; a striker shot by a scab with the approval of a police captain, voiced in court; a prominent attorney advising trustees of an estate to give \$100,000 to jobless relief to avoid revolution—are a few of the happenings over the week end.

The general strike of non-union hosiery workers called by the union affected thirty of the forty mills in the district, brought out 2,000 the first day and caused John W. Edelman, editor, Hosiery Worker, to predict 4,000 to 5,000 would be out by the end of the week. There are 6,000 non-union workers in the industry here, 9,000 union. Some dozen mills were closed. A tremendous, spontaneous demonstration centered about the huge Apex mills, employing 2,000, where workers had been put on full time for the first time in months. Leaders predict it will close within a week.

Two small mills were settled on a basis of union recognition. Two suburban mills unexpectedly were closed by the walk-out. Leaders were delighted with the response.

Strikers Picked Up

Clifford Holgate, 22, hosiery striker, was shot and slightly wounded by Harry Ingelhearn, during a small demonstration outside the Ingelhearn home. Defense pleas have been made that Ingelhearn was defending his sister. Both Holgate and Ingelhearn are under bail. During the hearing, Police Capt. Michael J. Hallahan openly approved firing into the crowd by Ingelhearn. He was not arrested.

Arrests on the first day of the strike amounted to about fifteen, a surprisingly small group, considering the excitement which prevailed. Police pick up strikers whenever they think they can break up a picket line or whenever they think they can pin an offense on the pickets. Actual brutality has been considerably reduced since the outbreak at the Schletter and Zander shop a month ago which caused such a bad reaction against the cops.

There are 250,000, including 50,000 children, without the barest necessities in Philadelphia, according to Mayor Mackey's radio speech, and if job relief funds break down, "it would be absolutely impossible for the police force to contend with the condition which would be created. It will be necessary to call upon the militia to preserve order."

"Up to the present time a great proportion of the relief funds has been contributed by the working class. Not one-tenth of our citizens have responded and it is a lamentable fact that many of our wealthy men and women have failed to respond while many others have sent insignificant sums."

"Some of them give \$100, then go to Florida for the winter and the poor man stays here. I say to you it is the poor man who has saved the situation. In other words the poor man is protecting the interests of the rich!"

Crosswath's Tour to Include Ten Weeks Organization Work

CHICAGO.—Frank R. Crosswath, Negro Socialist, orator and organizer, has secured ten weeks' work for organization campaigns among labor and Socialist groups for a tour being planned by national headquarters. He is just completing a week's tour in Pennsylvania, and will return for four weeks' work in that state in May. In addition, he will spend a week each in Cleveland, Milwaukee, and Chicago, and two weeks in Los Angeles.

Comrade Crosswath founded the Trade Union Committee for Organizing Negro Workers in 1925, and he has been active in organization work for most of the unions which have Negro workers. He has been a candidate several times in New York for various positions on the Socialist ticket, and was candidate for governor of New York on the American Labor ticket in 1924. He is known as one of the foremost orators in the party.

Party locals or other groups in western states desiring to secure the service of Comrade Crosswath for a single lecture or for a longer organizing campaign, should address National Headquarters, Socialist Party, 2633 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

## N. Y. Labor Temple to Celebrate Anniversary; Festivities on May 2, 3

The New York Labor Temple will celebrate its Twenty-fifth Anniversary with a two day celebration. These events will take place on Saturday evening, May 2nd, and Sunday afternoon and evening, May 3rd, at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th Street.

In connection with the festivities, a journal containing a history of the Labor Temple as well as greetings of friends and organizations will be published.

Programs and details of the various phases of the celebration are being worked out by the arrangements committee and will be announced in the near future. Meanwhile the comrades and organizations are requested to bear the date in mind.

## Apathy Rules Special Poll In Brooklyn

### Small Total Vote Is Cast in Election for Congressmen

AS was anticipated, only a small number of voters participated in the special elections in the 7th and 9th Congressional districts on Tuesday to fill vacancies due to the death of two representatives.

The Socialist Party had little time in which to make any effective campaign for its two candidates, David M. Cory in the 7th District and James Oneal in the 9th. During the two weeks prior to the election several meetings were held in both districts. In each case a thousand or more letters with a special leaflet were mailed inviting registered voters to meetings but interest was lacking.

A total of 15,000 copies of the special campaign address went to the voters in the two districts. Although the Socialist meetings brought out small audiences, the other candidates were unable to hold any meetings at all. At the Richmond Hill High School Socialist meeting Monday night about a hundred voters attended with comrades Waldman, Shapiro and Oneal as speakers. Five applications for membership were received and at a previous meeting two other applications were signed.

The Republican and Democratic candidates had arranged for meetings in the Richmond Hill High School but they had to be abandoned as no voters attended. Nevertheless, these candidates polled about the same proportion of their party vote as the Socialist candidates did. The vote of all candidates, compared with the vote cast last November, is indicated in the table below.

7th District 1930  
D. Quale, 30,897; R. Gehris, 13,211; S. Oneal, 1,895; Total 49,936.  
Including blanks.  
7th District 1931  
D. O'Malley, 9,969; R. Greenstone, 4014; S. Cory, 442; Total 14,247.  
9th District 1930  
D. O'Connell, 60,097; R. Wagner, 53,552; S. Robinson, 3,936; Total 123,567.  
Including blanks.  
9th District 1931  
D. Rudd, 15,277; R. Koch, 5,640; S. Oneal, 515; Total 21,432.

## Extreme Distress Found In N. Carolina District

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.—Clarence H. Taylor, organizer for the Socialist Party with headquarters in this city, has had an interesting experience in this region. This section is afflicted with widespread destitution with a working population discontented with the misfortunes that have overwhelmed them.

Taylor has been holding many meetings and has had responsive audiences but the people are so bankrupt that literature sales are poor and collections are very small. A committee is sending a circular to Socialists and sympathizers throughout the state in the hope of getting enough contributions to keep Taylor in the field. He is a member of the Carpenters Union and is getting better unions with the Socialist message.

If the Socialist Party can cultivate this field it is likely that within the next year or two it will obtain a permanent foothold in the South. As an example of what farmers face in this section the experience of Clarence Oakley, a tobacco farmer on a rural route of Hillsboro is typical. He received a total of \$176 for his entire tobacco crop. After paying for labor, fertilizer and other items he had a net balance of \$24.40 for the season's work!

If there was ever need for an organized Socialist movement in this section it is now. Socialists and sympathizers who can help should send their contributions to Clarence H. Taylor, General Delivery, Winston-Salem, N. C. At the present writing he is unable to purchase the gasoline to get to his next meeting.

## Out of Sorts?

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Sunday, February 22  
8 P. M.—Mrs. Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale  
"The Future of Marriage"

11 A. M.—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES  
"The Sensible Man's View of Religion." All Welcome  
Admission Free (Subscription to all 50c)

## THE GROUP, meets at AUDITORIUM, 150 W. 85th St.

Tuesday evening, Feb. 24th, at 8:30 P. M.

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IRMA KRAFT on: "THE TRUTH ABOUT WOMAN"

DR. HEINRICH WOLF, on: "THE TRUTH ABOUT MAN"

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## 10th Anniversary Dinner and Dance

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Mazzini and the Democratic

Dogma

Tuesday evening, Feb. 24th

PROF. KARL N. LLEWELLYN

What Is Society?

At

Muhlenberg Library

209 W. 23rd Street

at 8:30 o'clock

Monday evening, Feb. 23rd

DR. E. BOYD BARRETT

Inge, Foslidge, Knox

Wednesday evening, Feb. 25th

MR. CLIFTON P. FADIMAN

On and Off Main Street: Lewis, Cabell

Thursday evening, Feb. 26th

PROF. E. G. SPAULDING

What is "nothing"? Can "something" come out of nothing?

Saturday evening, Feb. 28th

DR. V. J. MCGILL

G. E. Moore

LABOR TEMPLE

11th St. and Second Ave.

SUNDAY, FEB. 22nd

5 P. M. G. F. BECK

"The Author of Lysistrata"

Wednesday, Feb. 25th, 8:45 P. M.

"Japanese Art and Music"

The Bronx Free Fellowship

At the Masonic Temple

1501 Broadway, New York City

SUNDAY EVENING, FEB. 22, 1931

8 P. M.—REV. LEON ROSSETT LAND

"The Religion of Clarence Darrow"

9 P. M.—GEORGE GOEBEL on

"If Washington were Hoover"

MUSIC ADMISSION FREE

INGERSOLL FORUM

Pyth



# Can Bolshevism Bring About Socialism?

By Bela Low

(Continued from last week)

## Can the Bolsheviks Bring About Socialism?

EVERY dictatorship is bound to be inefficient. It breeds corruption, it stifles initiative. The shooting of technicians and administrators when things do not go as they should, or their imprisonment when they disagree with the dictator, is not the best method to secure intelligent co-operation. A dictatorship must also arouse opposition in the workers. The excessive driving in Russia has already been mentioned, piece work being universally employed. The Russian rulers use the simplest methods of crude capitalism to increase production: firstly, a lengthening of hours, overtime now being the rule and not the exception; secondly, a reduction of wages, by supposedly voluntary but actually forced deductions for state loans. Finally, they reverted to serfdom, tying the worker to the job allotted to him.

It is no mere coincidence that wherever industry grew, the classes

## Soviet System, Seen as Based on Force and Ignoring Economic Backwardness, Held Doomed to Fail of Socialist Aim

engaged in it, bourgeois and workers alike, fought autocracy and struggled for freedom. A despotic government is incompatible with the free development of productive forces; wherever these reached a certain point, despotism had to go. Even from the point of view of capital, the free worker is more desirable than the slave, because he is more efficient. But for the workers, freedom is of paramount importance. Without it, they cannot organize to protect their interests. Without these organizations, they cannot familiarize themselves with the problems of industry, the affairs of the nation and the world. The ascendancy of the working class under capitalism, which finally fits it to take the destinies of the country into its hands, can take place only where at least a minimum of democracy exists. For these reasons the workers have everywhere in the world been the vanguard in the struggle for democracy.

We have seen that in Russia all

the elements are absent which make for such an ascendancy of the proletariat. Some are corrupted by jobs in the bureaucracy and the masses are cowed into submission. A few clubs and classes, primarily for Communists, cannot supplant the freedom which the workers need to develop their latent powers and faculties. Socialism cannot be made for the workers by a group; it can come only as the result of the free action of the working class itself.

An important factor has so far been omitted. One cannot discuss Russia without speaking about the peasants, four-fifths of the population. A regime which cannot satisfy these masses has no basis for existence and is doomed to failure.

The Russian revolution was largely a revolution of the peasants. The freeing from serfdom had not given them the amount of land they needed; a large part of it was still in the hands of the big landowners, on whom the Czarist government rested. In the

cities the bourgeois wanted and the workers needed freedom. Land to the peasants and freedom to the people, was the watchword of the revolution. The peasants tolerated the Bolsheviks, because the revolution had at least given them land. They could not be satisfied with the Bolshevik regime, because the state existed primarily through the exploitation of the peasants, who had to sell their produce at fixed low prices and pay very high prices for industrial products. The Russian agrarian problem is closely tied with the development of industry, because even after the division of the estate, the peasant owns an insufficient acreage under the existing extensive method of farming, where the yield per acre is low. Only through development of industry and scientific farming with modern machinery can the Russian farming problem be solved. The Bolsheviks could not bring about this solution; as a matter of fact the yield per acre is now

lower than before the war. The recent collectivization, which some hail as a great Socialist accomplishment, cannot solve this problem either. This policy was inaugurated solely as a better method for collecting the grain. In industry, a large establishment works almost invariably more economically than a small one. In agriculture, the smaller farm is more productive than the larger, if the two are operated in the same primitive fashion. Only through introduction of improved technology can the large farm be more productive than the small one. The forcible collectivization of vast numbers of farms cannot raise Russian agriculture to a higher level in view of the backwardness of Russian industry and the consequent scarcity of tools and machines. Besides, it has caused violent resentment among the peasants, who now have to be kept in submission by severe coercive measures. Bolshevism has thus to a large

extent destroyed the accomplishments of the revolution. It is taking the land from the peasants, it has abolished every vestige of liberty, it is relentlessly exploiting the masses of workers and peasants, it has created a gigantic state apparatus which rests despotically on the population. Only those who make a fetish out of the absence of private capital and the operation of a bureaucratic plan, can overlook the anti-social results of Bolshevik rule in Russia. It is sometimes said that Socialism and Bolshevism differ only in methods, but agree in their goal. That also is not true. Assume, for the sake of argument, that by a miracle the Russian rulers will succeed in raising the productivity to such a level that the material conditions of the Russian people would greatly improve. Would that be Socialism, which means social and industrial democracy? The essence of Bolshevism is rule by force and denial of freedom. Socialism does not merely want to

provide material well-being, but full opportunities for enjoyment of life and of happiness, and that is unthinkable without freedom. Socialism and Bolshevism are two utterly different conceptions. **Bolshevik and Socialist Policy for Russia** What is now heralded as a great plan to bring about full Socialism in Russia, is just the most recent of a number of different policies, each at its time hailed as the only correct one. First, complete socialization down to the distribution of soap the workers were told to seize the factories. The result was an almost complete destruction of all productive forces. Second, the inauguration of the N. E. P., the key industries were retained by the state, managers were all-powerful in the factories, some private trade and small industry was permitted, the land belonged to the peasants. Production gradually revived, some peasants became prosperous and some "nepmen," petty traders, developed. A "left" opposition demanded a return to Communism, Trotsky, its leader, was exiled. Third, Stalin adopted more or less Trotsky's economic program. The five-year plan was framed, the country divided into two "sectors," the Socialist one, industry and trade, and the private one, farming, the latter to support the former. Fourth, when insufficient gains came in, the collectivization of farms was started. A "right" opposition developed, warning against the tempo of socialization. This opposition is now crushed.

With all these changes in policy, there has been one thing constant: the denial of democracy, the persecution of all opponents and violent hatred of the international Socialist movement. With conflicting opinions even among the Communists, the rulers have always arrogated to themselves a monopoly of all wisdom. Untold hardships and sacrifices were imposed on the people, but never were they asked whether they agreed or not. Never has the dictatorship in the slightest way lessened.

Against this Bolshevik policy stands that of Socialism: let the people of Russia decide their own fate, down with the dictatorship, freedom for the Russian people! As to economic measures, all Socialists agree that such industries which can be advantageously operated by the state, or the municipality, should remain public property. The land, except where the peasants will be willing to work it cooperatively, will be returned to the peasants. Naturally, under such conditions Russia will not be a Socialist state. The peasants, the bulk of the population, will largely be private owners. Trade will in all probability be desocialized. Private enterprises will spring up side by side with publicly owned industries. However, as there are no big capitalists left in Russia, the workers will exercise a powerful influence in a democratic state.

Much will depend on the attitude of the peasants who outnumber the rest of the people. The Russian revolution was a result of an alliance of peasants and workers. If this can be kept up, then Russia will be a progressive democracy. It must be admitted that there is a danger that the peasants, who feel that they are exploited by the cities, will antagonize the workers, and that they will become government, which now exploits them, sails under the flag of Socialism. The longer Bolshevism lasts, the greater the danger that the peasants will be driven into such a position; the sooner the dic-

tatorship disappears, and it is bound to fall some time, the better the chance that Russia will be a progressive democracy. It will not be a Socialist country, but a strong and free Socialist movement will develop, marching in unison with the great Socialist armies of the world toward final victory. **Socialist Attitude Towards Bolshevism** If Socialists, demanding freedom for Russia, are consistently opposed to the Bolshevik regime, their position is entirely different from that of reactionaries. Those reactionaries who oppose the Russian government, and some are very friendly with it, for instance, Mussolini, do so because they think it is a Socialist government; we are against it, because we know that it is not. It is very much in the interest of reactionaries, and they fully realize the opportunity to point to Russia as an illustration of Socialist policies. It is our duty to tear the mask of Socialism from the face of Bolshevism and to expose it to the working class for what it really is. If we identify ourselves with Bolshevism, then its failure is bound to hurt our own movement. The Socialist movement of the world is very directly injured by the Bolshevik government in another way. The Communist Parties, united in the Third International, are financed, controlled and directed by the Moscow rulers. The split in the labor movement, which was deliberately brought about by the Bolshevik government, everywhere weakens Socialism and strengthens reaction. No reactionary persecution has ever harmed the Socialist movement as Communism has. The entire activity of Communists is directed not against capitalism, but against Socialism, which, they frankly declare, is their most dangerous enemy. Those Socialists who realize the pernicious influence of the communist parties, which are nothing but the puppets of the Russian government, and at the same time have a friendly feeling toward that same government, show more of a Christian attitude than necessary and certainly a great deal of inconsistency. Social-Democracy and Bolshevism are different in theory, in method and in goal; the labor movement is accordingly divided into two camps. Socialism is inseparably connected with democracy; Communism is inseparably connected with minority rule, by force. He who accepts the consequences, the suppression of all position, the denial of rights, terror. The communist activists here which we all disapprove of, their lies and calumnies, their disruptive work in trade unions, the hatred of socialism, are only the logical outcome of the idea of the right of a minority to use force, be it against society or against labor organizations. For the sake of our own movement, it is necessary to destroy the utopian illusion that Socialism can be brought about regardless of conditions, and to do away with the communist conception that socialism can rest on force. Russia is the striking example of how a disregard of sound socialist principles can lead astray. The idea of the use of force provides no short-cut to usher in socialism. Enthusiasm, impatience, a burning desire for socialism are very useful; but they are no sign of radicalism unless coupled with a clear understanding of the forces that tend to bring about socialism and of the methods that can be successfully employed. Using the words of Plekhanov: "Not those crusaders reached their goal who shouted 'Jerusalem, Jerusalem' the loudest, but those who knew their geography."

## The Socialist Sheriff of Milwaukee County

### Al Benson Carries His Double Responsibility, Socialist and Sheriff, With Great Success

By George I. Steinhardt

AL BENSON is the Socialist Sheriff of Milwaukee County. He is a fine, sturdy, unassuming man, not in the least flustered because of the fact that he is the highest officer in the county. Holding office, for his own sake, means nothing to him. Two years hence he may be in the ranks of the unemployed. But holding office for the sake of rendering service to the party, that means everything in the life of Al Benson. He is a Socialist through and through. Benson started as a metal polisher. Later he became a truckman. In this capacity he acquired the knack of shouldering heavy loads. When the party in Milwaukee needed a secretary capable of carrying its many burdens they chose Al Benson, and he proved himself more than equal to the task. For three years he built and built, and when he stepped into the sheriff's office, he left to his successor, Bill Coleman, an organization with a solid foundation. Al talks, thinks and dreams of the party all the time. Though his duties as sheriff are multifarious, wherever there is a party activity of any importance, you'll find him present. I attended a semi-public dinner given to A. J. Muste. Al Benson was there. The following night Muste addressed a gathering of workers so did Benson. When I visited the editorial room of the Milwaukee Leader, and there while chatting with Comrades Seidel, Castello, Work and Wolfsohn, I found Benson busily walking from desk to desk. Even in the party office I couldn't escape him. Bill Coleman and I were quietly talking things over. In steps the sheriff to take up organization matters with the new secretary. No committee meeting is complete without him. You drive with him in his car and he slips you a copy of the Socialist Campaigner. This is a splendid Socialist propaganda paper, published by the Milwaukee comrades. In the last campaign Benson organized battle brigades and they distributed 125,000 copies of this publication each week. Did Benson carry bundles? Yes, he did!

In the sheriff's office Benson sits, tired. He has set for himself a fast pace. On his desk among other papers, are copies of The New Leader, the Milwaukee Leader and the Socialist Campaigner. Wearily he talks about various matters but once he reaches the topic of party organization, he becomes animated again. The subject acts on him like a tonic and you find before you a refreshed mountain of energy. The Safety Building of Milwaukee is an enormous and modern structure. It houses, among other public departments, the sheriff's office and the county jail. Benson is the "boss" of these institutions. We start on a tour of "inspection." Downstairs we pass three dining rooms. Two of these are reserved for juries. In one of the two, a jury, working overtime, is dining. Here we sit down and partake of some food. The meal is appetizing and wholesome. The table cover is spotless. The napkins, plates and silver are neatly arranged; and the girls, civilians, serve you with efficiency. On the way to the prison, we pass the kitchen. It is a spacious place, kept rigidly clean. The vats, ranges and other appurtenances are arranged in an orderly way. Here, too, women are employed. They wear white uniforms and give the place a spick and span atmosphere. Three large refrigerators form part of the equipment of this model kitchen. The meats are stored in one, the vegetables in the other and the third holds the canned goods. Nothing lays about the floor. Everything is neatly placed on ledgers or hung on hooks.

We arrive at the jail. A barred gate swings open and we enter. The jailer and his assistants greet us. The jail itself is housed on four separate floors. Each floor contains two tiers. The arrange-

ment of the tiers is such that the prisoners in one tier cannot communicate, or even see, the prisoners in the adjoining tier. Between tiers, on each floor, is a visitors' room. Here, guards are stationed. Visitors can conveniently talk to the prisoners, but steel shutters prevent the possibility of passing anything to them. Right off the visitors' rooms, there is also, on each floor, a smaller room, arranged with table and chairs, where lawyers can privately converse with their clients. An iron door opens the way into each tier. Inside, a wall of bars from end to end and floor to ceiling separates you from the prisoners. Behind those bars is an open space, ample for exercise. At one end is a large table with a bench on each side and, backed against the stone wall, are the cells, equipped with modern plumbing. In some tiers, the cells contain four bunks; in others, only one. There is no crowding; the ventilation is good and the bedding is clean. All in all, as jails go, I was favorably impressed with this one. It seemed to me far superior to the prisons on Blackwell's Island (now called Welfare Island) where I was domiciled in 1917 by a judge who, though he agreed with all of Wilson's 14 points, failed to agree with the one and only point I raised regarding the purpose of the World War. Another reason, of course, why this Milwaukee jail looked so good to me was because I was looking in, and not out, through the bars. As we visit each tier, the men greet the sheriff. Some call him Al; others, Mr. Benson and the rest, sheriff. They like Al. They know he is decent and humane. Under his arm he carries a carton of cigarettes he intends to distribute among the prisoners. The first tier we visit we find the men seated around a table playing cards. When they see us, they rise and approach the bars. "Hello, boys," Benson calls out, "how are you?"

Free Youth is publication of the Young People's Socialist League. It aims to present, in a simple and direct manner, the ideas of progressive youth. It invites contributions of news and views.

**Free Youth Out!** "Out with a bang" is hardly the way to describe the way FREE YOUTH was born last week. Its first appearance at the New Leader dinner made an excellent impression among many prominent comrades and the way they received it was surely encouraging. The first great task—that of mailing out over ten thousand sample copies—was met with much less difficulty than was expected. All week the office witnessed such "hustle bustle" only campaign time ordinarily brings. Last Saturday, seemed like the day before election, when all work seems to have piled up for the last moment and the comrades put forth their last bit of energy. The office was filled with Yipsels, each with a designated task on his mind, which he was fulfilling to the best of his ability. That one day, over four thousand copies were enclosed, sealed in envelopes, assorted, and mailed. In addition to the sample copies, bundle orders were sent to Cleveland, Montreal, Reading, Philadelphia, and New York. One circle in New York, Circle 8, Man, ordered over three hundred copies. In each of these cities the copies will be distributed at meetings, shop gates, at schools, and in schools. In New York City, Free Youth newsboys' squad has already distributed many copies at shops and schools. Comrades who want to help in the work of getting Free Youth across are asked to report at the office in the Rand School, 7 East 15th street.

**National Notes** The National Socialist has been in touch with Fred General, David George, Lester Shulman and other state secretaries about the organization of Yipsel groups, and these comrades have pledged themselves to help in the organization of circles in their respective territories, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Colorado. Comrade Switkes visited Pottstown on Feb. 18, and appealed to the party comrades to send their youngsters and others to the party headquarters so that a Yipsel group may be formed. On Feb. 18, he was in Lancaster and prepared the ground for a circle. Other possibilities are Luzerne, Richmond, Denver, Lawrence-Kansas, and Kansas City, Mo.

"Alright, Al." "Pretty good, Mr. Benson." "O. K., sheriff," respond a chorus of voices. "Have you fellows enough smokes?" he asks. Mechanically, the men start fumbling in their pockets and the inevitable answer is "No." "What's the matter," asks the sheriff, "are you boys broke?" "Broke?" comes the response from one fellow, with an expression of surprise on his face. "We are millionaires, Al," he says and, after a short pause, he adds, "we have an assumed air of pride, 'we have a dollar and a quarter between us.'" Everybody laughs and Al slips them a couple of packages of cigarettes with the request that they divide them up. And so we go from tier to tier, each group receiving a proportionate share of cigarettes, free. One man, a federal prisoner, asks for a clean towel. Benson turns to the jailer who accompanies us and says, "See that he gets one." Another man, with a heavy growth of beard approaches the bars. "Why don't you get shaved?" Benson asks. "I'm broke," comes the plaintive reply. "How long are you here?" "Ten days." "When were you shaved last?" "Four days before I was locked up." "Alright," Benson assures him, "you'll be taken care of." Other requests are made. They appear reasonable. Benson takes cognizance of them. The men are left satisfied. Benson's first task when he assumed office on the fifth of January, this year, was to see to it that the prisoners received good food and good treatment. The improvement is gradual, but noticeable, and the men appreciatively recognize the change. He is in direct and frequent touch with his charges and, as time goes on, he hopes to further develop his humane policy toward them. This isn't all. The sheriff's office, for the past six years, under the old regime, had fallen into ill repute. It became a by-word among the citizens of Milwaukee county. Only a few weeks have elapsed since Benson was sworn in and already it has gained tremendous prestige. Impartial individuals, conversant with the situation, frankly admit this fact. Due to the laxness, inefficiency and indifference of the former sheriff, Benson found himself with a demoralized staff on his hands. Reorganization was imperative and this was promptly and effectively accomplished. In carrying out this duty, he not only proved that he was a man of determination but he also showed his mettle as an organizer and executive. The men were informed that they were expected to attend strictly to their duties, that no one would be favored, that merit alone would count. The effect on the men, of this policy, has been to make them all content.

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

**READING PLANS DANCE** At the last meeting it was decided to have the first annual dance on Friday, March 20, in order to celebrate their recent progress—and of course—to fill their coffers. **CLEVELAND CHARTER PARTY** The newly organized Circle 2 will celebrate its admission into the ranks of Yipseldom with a Charter Party, which will be held on Friday, Feb. 27. National Chairman, Talbot Whiting, will present the charter and install the circle. **NEWARK ACTIVE** Circle 1, Newark, is the latest addition to our bulletin. Their semi-monthly mimeographed publication is called the Young Voice, and is edited by Harry Walker. Comrade Walker writes the national office "Your Notes" are read with appreciation by the comrades. The last edition, with material on peace, was timely for us, as we were just responsible for the organization of the Young People's League for Peace, to which several other youth organizations are affiliated. The next meeting of the peace group will be held on Monday, March 2, in Room 1625, Lafayette Bldg., Newark. **CHICAGO** The Chicago Yipsel are lending their efforts to the Aldermanic campaign. Squads of comrades are out every Sunday morning distributing literature and doing their share in the spreading of propaganda. At the last meeting of Circle 1, the Money-Billings frame-up was presented vividly in a talk by Jack Rosen. At the next meeting of Circle 4, a debate will be held on "The Value of an Economic Interpretation of War as a Means of Gaining Adherents to Socialism." The participants will be Morris Neburger and George Perkins. A debate on Unemployment Insurance was held at the last meeting of Circle 5. **MILWAUKEE** The Mask Ball of the North Side Yipsels proved to be a huge success. The first prize was captured by a group of fair maidens from the South Side Circle, who were dressed in red overalls. At a well attended meeting of Y. P. S. L. and Party representatives a welfare commission was organized. The purpose of this body is to plan for more effective education and propaganda, athletic and social work

among the five circles in Milwaukee. They will also try to raise enough funds to send at least a dozen Yipsels via the "Red Special" to the coming jamboree. **MONTREAL** Our comrades up north are giving a fine account of themselves. They are centering their attention on the problem of making the students of the University of Montreal, who are the educational director is the editor of the University Magazine and their members are carrying on propaganda among the rank and file of the college. At the Annual "Mock Parliament" of the University, the Yipsels were the Labor Party faction. **LOS ANGELES** A new circle on the east side of Los Angeles has been organized, and during the two weeks of its existence thirty-five members have enrolled. **New York City** Belsky Re-elected Abe Belsky emerged the victor over Julius Umankey in one of the most lively contests that the New York City organization has yet witnessed for the office of Executive Secretary. Though the election was close and, along the last few circles to vote brought the winner over the finish line with a fair margin. Harry C. Davis of Circle 1, S. D. Brooklyn, won the office of financial secretary over Larry E. Selman. **Yipsel Hike Tomorrow** New York Yipsels will hike tomorrow to Hunter's Island. This will be the first early spring (or shall we say late winter) hike of the season. All comrades will meet at the Pelham Bay station of the I. R. T. at 10 a. m. sharp. Arrangements for baseball teams are being made for this summer. The first tryouts will take place at the hike, under the direction of Victor Riesel. All comrades who intend to participate, should bring along all proper paraphernalia. **New Executive Committee** At the last meeting of the Central Committee of New York City, a new Joint Executive Committee of Juniors and Seniors was elected. The members are: Winston Dancia, Harry Lopatin, Julius Bertman, Julius Umankey, Ben Seidler, August Tylov, Jack Allen, Ben Horowitz, Morris Cohen, Yetta Riesel, Phil Heller, Irving Smith, and Aaron Levenstein.

desire to leave so as not to impose on his valuable time, he insisted that I remain and I did. It was a treat to me to sit there and watch the Socialist Party at work. Details would consume too much time. In the matter of arrests, the sheriff's office has no choice, but even arrests can be humanely accomplished and this was stressed to the deputies as they were given warrants to bring their parties in. In some instances, when the case was of a minor character, and the individual was known to be a permanent resident, he was called up on the 'phone and asked to come down and surrender. This was done to save him and his family embarrassment. It puzzled me, at first, how a man, so short a time in office, could be so complete a master of his job. But in due time the situation cleared up. Comrade Klein has been a deputy sheriff for fourteen years. This is a civil service job and many other party members have been deputies for years. This holds true also of the police and fire departments. Thus, when an important office has to be filled in any of these organizations, the party is in the fortunate position of being able to appoint to such office, capable and experienced men from those departments, many of whom, through the civil service merit system, are already high officers in those organizations. Benson spoke highly of Klein. "I'm the party's representative in this office," said the sheriff. "It's my duty to lay down the policy of the party here. In order to carry out this policy effectively, I had to have a man who is capable, efficient and who knows the force and understands all the

**Lecture Calendar** **MANHATTAN** Sunday, Feb. 22, 8:30 p. m., Pauline Newman, "The Equality of Men and Women," 96 Avenue C, Socialist Party, 6th A. D. Branch. Friday, Feb. 22, 8:30 p. m., Dr. William Bohm, "The History of Hard Times," 600 West 181st street, Socialist Party, 22-23rd A. D. Branch. Tuesday, Feb. 24, 8 p. m., Edward P. Cassidy, McCall's Coleman, Donald Henderson, "Unemployment," P. S. 43, Amsterdam avenue and 129th street, Socialist Party, Morningside Heights Branch. Friday, Feb. 27, 8:15 p. m., Morris Hillquit, "Troubles at Home and Abroad," Yorkville Temple, 157 East 86th street, Yorkville Branch, Socialist Party. **BROOKLYN** Friday, Feb. 20, 8:30 p. m., August Claessens, "The Problems of Unemployment," 808 Adea avenue, Socialist Party. Friday, Feb. 20, 8:30 p. m., Samuel O. "Labor Legislation," 1167 Boston road, Socialist Party, 4th A. D. Sunday, Feb. 22, 11 a. m., Harry Laidler, "Unemployment Insurance," Hollywood Gardens, 896 Prospect avenue, Socialist Party 3-5th A. D. Tuesday, Feb. 24, 9 p. m., August Claessens, "Selfishness—A Study of Human Behavior," office of Dr. A. Mollin, 1405 Walton avenue, Socialist Party, 2nd A. D. Thursday, Feb. 26, 8:30 p. m., Louis Waldman, "America Facing the Future," Hollywood Gardens, 896 Prospect avenue, Socialist Party, 3-5th A. D. Friday, Feb. 27, 8:30 p. m., Samuel A. DeWitt, "The Liquidation of the Small Business Man," 1167 Boston road, Socialist Party, 4th A. D. **BROOKLYN** Friday, Feb. 20, 9 p. m., Samuel A. DeWitt, "The Socialist Attitude Towards Soviet Russia," Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Socialist Party, 23rd A. D. Branch. Friday, Feb. 20, 9 p. m., Eliezer Brown, "Determinism," 218 Van Sicken avenue, Socialist Party Branch 3 and Y. P. S. L. Friday, Feb. 20, 9 p. m., Julius Umankey, "Socialism and War," 3068 East Third street, Socialist Party, Brighton Beach Branch. Sunday, Feb. 22, 8:30 p. m., Theodore Shapiro, "Soviet Russia and the Five Year Plan," 2202 Mernaid avenue, Socialist Party, Coney Island Branch. Sunday, Feb. 22, 8:30 p. m., August Claessens, "Our National Heritage—The Facts of Biology," first of a series of five lectures on "Hereditary and Environment," 7212 20th avenue, Socialist Party, 16th A. D. Branch. Monday, Feb. 23, 9 p. m., Henry Rosner, "The Bank of United States Crash," 85 Snyder avenue, Socialist Party, 21st A. D. Branch. Tuesday, Feb. 24, 8:30 p. m., Bela Low, "The Road to Socialism," 1637 East 17th street, near Kings highway.

inner workings of this important branch of the county government. We have a number of fine comrades who have been on the force for years. The Executive Committee of the party went over the list with me. Joe Klein was selected because he possessed the necessary qualifications for this position and because of his constant devotion to the party. "Other comrades," added Al, "sought the job. Joe was the most surprised man when he was informed of his appointment. He deserved it on the basis of all around merit and loyalty." A humorous incident occurred one evening when I was visiting with Joe. Someone in the outer office was creating considerable commotion. We walked out and there found an old fellow, considerably under the weather, talking, shouting and gestulating. Joe asked him to quiet down and leave. This aroused the old boy and he became pugnacious. When every peaceable effort to evict him had failed, Joe ordered a deputy to lock him up and he willingly walked with the officer toward the jail. As the fellow was being led away, we returned to the undersheriff's office. Joe immediately raised the receiver of his 'phone and instructed the jailer not to book the inebriated gent, but to set him loose. A few minutes later the deputy returned, panting. He had had a tough struggle pushing his erstwhile charge from the prison office into freedom. Evidently the poor fellow yearned for a home and grub. If so, this was the only case of Socialist "injustice" I found while rambling in and about the Sheriff's domain.

**QUEENS** Tuesday, Feb. 24, 8:30 p. m., Laura Garrett, topic to be announced, Manor Court, Community Room, 4313 Carolin street, Sunnyside, Socialist Party, Sunnyside Branch. Friday, Feb. 27, 9 p. m., Simon Berlin, "Morality, Social and Individual," Grand Hotel, 22-24 Beach 35th street, Edgemere, Socialist Party, 6th A. D. Branch.

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## How Every Worker Can Save Money

We have been urged to write a column on the fascinating subject of Thrift for the Workers. In our opinion this is one of the most vital problems which confronts our working classes today—how to save scarce and scarce money from the huge wages which all of us are now receiving.

Considering that Cal Coolidge is getting in the neighborhood of two dollars a word for his pieces on Thrift there ought to be something in it for us. So get out your budget books, boys and girls, and we will show you how to save and save and save.

To begin with, did you ever hear of psychoanalysis? Sure you did. It means going to a lady or a gentleman who wears gold-rimmed glasses and in the case of the latter has a beard, and lying down on a sofa and shutting your eyes and telling the analyst all about what is going on inside you. And I mean you don't leave out anything. You just lie there and go on and on and on and the analyst sits there taking notes and once in awhile says, "Ahem" or again he may say "Oho."

You wouldn't think that anyone could make a living by just sitting alongside a bird on a soft who is telling all, and saying "Ahem" and "Oho" but as a matter of fact there is a pile of jack in this and even more than usual during the depression. Folks get so upset wondering what the hell is going on all over and what hit them such a sock that they are anxious to lie down almost anywhere and tell their troubles to anyone who is willing to listen. So about the only folks who are making anything these days are speakeasy proprietors, the cops who live off them, and psychoanalysts.

Yes, this here depression turned out to be Heaven's gift to the psychoanalysts and at the same time it provides a most valuable hint for us Thrift for Workers writers. For here's how you can all save from \$15 to \$25 an hour, which is the usual analyst's fee, by simply going home and lying down on your sofa and telling all your troubles to your aunt or your cat or anything that happens to be around the house.

Figure that it takes you from six months to a year to get analyzed right and that you have to put in three to six hours a week on the job and you have an enormous item of saving right there. Now the next item comes in saving on rent. I have before me as I write an advertisement from a current issue of a snappy weekly magazine called, "The New Yorker." In it I learn that there is a saving of three thousand dollars a year rent if you live at one end of East Sixty-sixth street, a block from Fifth Avenue rather than right on Fifth Avenue itself. You can get the coziest sort of penthouse apartment for the niggardly sum of \$12,500 a year at the cheaper end. So there is a big saving for you with no extra charge for all our research.

What's next? Visiting English lecturers are next. A part of the new five-year plan for the restoration of the economic stability of the British Empire is the mass exportation of lecturers from the Mother Country to our shores. To be sure, the pickings are not quite as good as they used to be but the fact still remains that almost anyone of these lecturers is sending home more bacon than is the Prince of Wales with all the hullabaloo connected with his South American trip. I haven't had a look at the Prince's sales report but I'm here to bet that any visiting lecturer around our parts who isn't beating his own record has either a cold in the head or has this accent.

Up to now there has been passed no Federal law requiring attendance upon these lectures compulsory. You have an old phonograph around the house whose tone is foggy and a bit surprised all the time, simply turn it on and you will have the same effect as attending a British lecture. Of course the words may not be just the same, but as you can only understand one out of ten in either instance what do you care? Figure your entrance fee to a British lecture at anywhere from \$1.50 to \$3.00 and once more you are on the right side of the budget.

There are many other ways of saving. Take the old-fashioned idea of wearing undershirts for example. A great many of us old-fashioned gentlemen have been in the custom of wearing undershirts, particularly in cold weather. But consider the savings in wearing no undershirts at all. Of course this is no trouble for those who lost theirs in the recent Stock Market debacle. And the rest of us ought to be glad to make this sacrifice, especially when we consider how far along this line the natives of Arkansas who were unlucky enough to be born Democrats instead of Belgians have gone. Down there to show that they still have faith in the fine old American institutions of self-help and to make snoots at the alien idea of the "dole" they are going without pants as well as without shirts of any kind.

We agree with President Hoover that this shows the right spirit that all of us should exhibit in these days of depression caused by the dumping of Soviet wheat on us. In fact we know a man who hasn't eaten bread for days because he suspects it is made out of dumped Soviet wheat. He has eked out a subsistence on British Stock on the ground that while that has been dumped on us for twelve years now, we don't recognize Russia and we do recognize England, that is at the rare times when they recognize us. A true patriot.

But I suppose the finest contribution we can make to Thrift is to help the big savers save in a big way. Who are the biggest savers? The employers, of course. And how can they increase their savings? By saving pay wages. Suppose you go to your boss tomorrow and say: "Look here, boss. You are in a much better position to save than I am. My savings compared to yours are a corner grocery store business compared to the Atlantic and Pacific chain. I want to show you that I am alive to the spirit of the times and to get myself full in the swing of the American tempo and to that end I want to merge my savings with yours, so that from now on you needn't bother paying me any more wages. I'll just stick around the plant and work for nothing."

That seems to us something that a Hoover Commission might well look into. There is about the Voluntary Remission of Wages, the philosophy of individualism and go-it-alone that marks out the American labor movement from all others in the world. In fact it was not so long ago that we remember a radio speech by President Green of the A. F. of L. in which he urged the members of that hard-hitting, militant organization to put their savings into securities of the big corporations. This of course was before October, 1929, and it is touching to think today of the thankful feeling that must well up in the hearts of the followers of President Green when they look back on the time when they were able to merge their savings with the A. T. and T. and the Radio Corporation. As an out-of-work mechanic with a union card remarked to me yesterday, "I learned my first lesson in self-help and the old-fashioned American spirit of sacrifice by listening to the speeches of Bill Green and Matt Woll in the years of Prosperity. In fact they made me what I am today and I should dearly love to meet either of them to take them by the hand and tell them just what I think of them."

McAlister Coleman.

# A Social Revolution in Spain?

By Jaime Menendez

## Alfonso Doomed, Fortunes of Socialist and Republic Parties On the Rise

THAT a social revolution in Spain is inevitable is generally conceded. Developments in recent years point in that direction. Much is made today and has been made ever since 1917, of the fact that the "old politicians" are incompetent, inept and corrupt. The real situation, however, is reduced simply to this; the country cannot be ruled according to "old methods." The growth of social dissatisfaction in Spain made it impossible for the country to have a stable government. Before the coup d'état in 1923, conditions had become such that the longest government for a long period of years—the "Government of Notables"—presided over by Don Antonio Maura, with Francisco Cambó as Minister of Public Works and Santiago Alba of Education—lasted only nine months. The average run was of about six months. The country was in a perennial crisis. In the meantime, Socialism made astonishing strides.

The dictatorship of Primo de Rivera stemmed, to all purposes, the growth of radicalism in Spain. Let us see briefly how and why it was brought about. In 1921, Spain suffered one of the greatest defeats in her history in Morocco. In a few days, some 40,000 soldiers were slaughtered by the rising tide of Moroccan revolt under the able leadership of Abd-el-Krim. The Spaniards were caught "napping," with the forces of occupation distributed along the territory in indefensible outposts, most of them with a little road leading to them. The Moroccans isolated them, and then started on a campaign of butchery. In one day they killed 8,000; a few days later, another 9,000.

When the slaughter came, the military leader of the Spanish forces, General Fernandez Silvestre—a personal friend of King Alfonso—was witnessing a bull fight in Almería. With all haste, he hurried to Melilla and thence to the interior. He knew he was committing suicide. He was killed the following day. That is typical of the Spanish general. The blunder comes first; then suicide.

At the same time, the Moroccan war was throwing the nation into practical bankruptcy. The national debt mounted by leaps and bounds (to-day it stands at 20,000,000,000 pesetas). Bureaucracy, corruption, profligacy grew in proportionate ratio. The ruling classes, in a futile attempt to stem the tide of discontent, appointed a commission of generals and parliamentarians to investigate the Moroccan disaster. If the final report was adverse to them, they might somehow hide it, and let the thing gradually die out. But the report was presented to Congress a few months later by General Picasso. It told in clear, unmistakable terms, that King Alfonso himself was to be blamed for the disaster, along with others. He had personally conducted the operations by wire from his palace, passing over the head of General Berenguer, who was commandant general in Morocco, and communicating with his friend Fernandez Silvestre, first at Almería, then at Melilla. Fernandez Silvestre was the field marshal. The report named King Alfonso and although it abstained from asking that a sentence be imposed on him, it asked the death penalty for General Berenguer and for General Fernandez Silvestre and Navarro (both had been killed in the field of battle, and hence the purpose of this sentence was just to dishonor their military conduct), and others. It asked the people to render judgment on the case of the King himself.

This report practically threw the nation into the throes of revolution. The forces of the old regime tried to stave it off, but a series of agitations developed, always asking that the "provisions of the Picasso Report be carried out." On the 11th of September, 1923, the Chamber of Commerce at Madrid took such a course; in September a 24-hour strike was called. Similar moves by the middle and laboring classes, under the active leadership of the Socialist Party, were taken in Bilbao, Valladolid and elsewhere. In Madrid a meeting was held on the evening of the 22nd, which almost developed into a revolution. The night of the following day, Primo de Rivera arrived from Barcelona, going directly to the office of the President of Congress, where the Report was filed. To this day, no outsider knows what happens to it.

There were other causes leading towards the coup d'état. Barcelona was in a state of virtual anarchy. A regiment that had been sent to Morocco had revolted. The military juntas established in 1917 were helping make the life of every government precarious. The abortive revolutionary strike of this same year had embittered the not so sweet relations between capital and labor. A dictatorship had saved the Italian king, why not do the same in Spain?

Primo de Rivera avowed himself a friend of the people. He had been punished twice for speeches unbecoming a general. He was

considered something of a Gambetta. Above all things, he was a sincere admirer of King Alfonso. He hated the old politicians. But he let the Socialist Party function during the length of his Dictatorship. In consequence, its power was extended even to the farthest hut in destitute Andalusia, influencing the lives of those poor peasants who "live content with a mouthful of olives and a glass of wine." Without stopping at this time to consider the economic progress of the country during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, we shall pass to dwell upon the developments of the last few days.

Spain at this writing has another Government—of the Right. And if the purposes of those who have the "best interests of the country at heart" are fulfilled, we shall soon have national elections. Shall we? The significance of the last ministerial crisis is that Spain will have, instead, a social revolution.

Before calling Sanchez Guerra to form a Government, King Alfonso called Count Romanones—reputed to be the wealthiest Spaniard—first and then Marquis Alhucemas—the man who lost the premiership thanks to Primo de Rivera. He called Francisco Cambó—the outstanding industrialist of Spain, practical owner of Compania Hispano Americana de Electricidad and other gigantic concerns, and a man of liberal political tendencies—but he failed. Then he called Sanchez Guerra, the man who had sworn to serve him no more. He was consistent this time, for he would serve the nation, instead. From that very moment, Spain had no king. For a day that was actually the case. But then Sanchez Guerra is a maulin old sentimentalist. The King thought—foolishly—he could sway him. He in his turn thought he could sway the powerful Socialist and less powerful Republican parties. He went to jail to confer with the "President of the Republic," Senor Alcalá Zamora, and others. They all wished him well. That was as far as they could go. The fate of Spain was actually settled in the Carcel Modelo (Model Prison) of Madrid, the most favored resort in the country today. Just a few months ago the students imprisoned there managed to insert an advertisement in *Heraldo de Madrid*, telling of the low rents and ad-

mirable living conditions of the greatest Madrid Hotel, giving the location, which, it was discovered later, was that of the Carcel Modelo.

King Alfonso is today the most pathetic figure in the political life of any country. Imagine a Bourbon-Hapsburg, accustomed from time immemorial to see hordes of politicians bowing down in servility abandoning his country to see Santiago Alba in Paris, and thrusting on him the task of returning the Nation to normalcy; and, later, to leave his palace to go to the bed side of Premier Berenguer, so that his resignation might be handed to him. He not only repeated his visit to Berenguer—a precedent in the history of Spanish Monarchy—but he called Senor Alba once more on the telephone; he begged General Aznar to come to him, he called Melguades Alvarez to his palace, and on receiving the answer that he would not form a government, he told him to come just the same—still thinking that his personality would do the trick! Everything unavailing, he could gather round General Aznar, an old man broken in health, entirely divorced from the articulate life of the country—a few remnants of the dispersed Conservative Party and two or three crumbs from what was once a strong Liberal Party. Cambó was called, but he sent his friend, Ventosa, instead. These are times calling for the utmost of caution, and Cambó is shrewd.

There were no alternatives, for although a military dictatorship loomed as a possibility, the impending general strike, keyed to take place as soon as another dictatorship assumed power, threatened to disrupt the last bit of corporate life in the country.

We are assured of national elections, municipal and congressional. (It is a Spanish tradition to return a majority to any party in power through the handling of municipal appointments, to act as supervisory bodies, before a general election. Any time, Spain could give an overwhelming majority to the Conservatives, and a few months later, do the same for the Liberals. It was known that the elections promised for the last few months would be arranged just in this manner, and it was the refusal of Berenguer to have municipal elections that wrecked his plan.) It would be an aston-

ishing thing not to have a revolution, instead.

It is necessary to consider the growth of proletarianism in Spain, in order to judge the possibilities of success for anything but a social revolution. According to the census of 1920, Spain had a working population of some 5,100,000. Of these, thirty-eight per cent were industrial workers, sixty-two per cent agricultural.

According to more recent statistics, compiled by the Primo de Rivera regime, the industrial workers were grouped in a few large unions. Outstanding among these is the Union General de Trabajadores (General Worker's Union), Socialist, with a membership of 246,475. Others of more vague character, had a membership of 209,637. The Free Professional Syndicates had 68,344 members; and the Catholic Syndicates had 47,480. There are also the syndicalist and communist groups, regarding which not much can be said, on account of their being officially nonexistent. They are not very large, but they are extremely active. The first of these were to blame before the coming of Primo de Rivera for the almost daily murders of leading industrialists in Barcelona, and the second are to-day under the guidance of Moscow, with Comrade Nin, who for years was the aid of Trotsky, at their practical head. It is extremely likely that Comrade Nin will find his way to the first Spanish Parliament.

The Socialist Party has, then, at least a quarter of a million members holding socialist party cards. Besides, many other unions are socialistic also, although they function more under the heading of particular professions. Moreover, this refers only to industry. In the agricultural regions the work of the socialist and communist parties in recent years has been almost completely successful. In 1922, the Socialist Party had already 510 associations in the rural districts. Membership is small, because there is not money enough to pay dues. But the following the party has is one of the most painful thorns in Spain's body politic. Utterly indescribable conditions, together with the loss of last year's harvest helped to create a favorable environment for the spread of socialist doctrines in Southern Spain. According to a detailed survey made in

Cordoba in 1928, acknowledged as reflecting conditions in general among the peasant working population, the Spanish farm laborer gets an average yearly wage of 1,140 pesetas, just above three pesetas a day, which translated at today's exchange means less than 30 cents. With this he has to keep soul and body together, and leave something for the wife and the children. Moreover, he has an average enforced vacation of over 100 days in the year. Surprised to find these peasant populations listening attentively to doctrines advocating a more equitable economic system?

Summing up, the Socialist Party of Spain has today a membership perhaps passing the half-a-million mark. And a following well above the million mark.

Moreover, the position of the industrial workers of Spain is very strong. Spain is rapidly becoming one of the industrial centers of Europe. She is selling today railway material to Belgium and the Balkan countries, despite the competition of the European cartels and the frantic efforts of the British steel industry for markets. She has cities that in 1920 had already a working population of half-a-million. A general strike would totally paralyze the life of the country. It did so in the tragic days of 1917. It did so recently in Madrid, when there was actually hunger two days after an almost general strike. And a general strike is hanging over the head of King Alfonso the very moment he calls another dictator and the very moment general elections are called.

Much has been made of the state of illiteracy of Spain, to show, that a social revolution there cannot succeed. In the southern part of the country, more than 60 per cent of the population is illiterate. In 1920, over 74 per cent of the inhabitants of Granada—the glamorous Granada—were illiterate, and illiteracy means that they do not know how to write and read. My own mother—the wife of a public school teacher—could only learn the A B C after she was married. And she was born in that part of Spain that many consider the nucleus of enlightenment—Asturias. Who is to be blamed? The system.

This very situation will make it much more easy for a social revolution to succeed. Jules Sauerwein, a man who has little sympathy for the Spanish socialists and communists, but who knows Spain, fears this very thing: the dictatorship of the proletariat south of France. Conditions are almost ripe. So much so, that the Government of Berenguer in his last days in power granted a special subsidy of 10,000 pesetas for food in Andalusia.

But turning to the King, let us end by saying once more that he "hasn't a Chinaman's chance." His own personal friend, Dr. Gregorio Marañon—reputed to have cured his son of that terrible hemophilia that threatened to leave the Spanish throne vacant—signed recently a manifesto, together with the philosopher Ortega y Gasset and the author Perez de Ayala. This manifesto could not be published in the press, even when conservative papers were anxious to do so. It was distributed from hand to hand. They say that in Spain today all normalcy is rotting, and that "the traditional State is reaching the last stage of decomposition." They advocate a republican regime, being necessary before so doing to "liberate the Spanish soul from the vile domesticity in which the Monarchy has kept it." Both, Dr. Marañon and Ortega y Gasset were offered portfolios by Sanchez Guerra. They refused to accept them.

Strong monarchical and Catholic newspapers, such as *El Debate* of Madrid, sense the impending catastrophe. This newspaper said editorially a month ago, on account of the Saint day of King Alfonso: "The Spain of today is in possession of a treasury unique in the world, for the Royal Family is the only one through whose veins runs the blood of Isabella the Catholic. Leaving aside all considerations, this must goad Spain to keep the royalty."

"The present generation shows itself excessively materialistic and politically downtrodden, putting its passion above all that glorious past as well as above the future. . . . To dethrone the King would be an act of political vandalism, for the Crown is not ours; it has been inherited from our predecessors and it is our duty to pass it to future generations, being able to say, at the same time, that the Crown of Castile belongs to all the peoples speaking the tongue of Cervantes."

No more is there an appeal to reason. But the Spaniard has heard so much of this maudlin sentimentalism while the nation continues to live under utterly undecipherable conditions of backward medievalism that is threatening very seriously to throw everything to the devil, historical tradition, religious piety and monarchical splendor.

## The Chatterbox

### Song of the Unemployed

By years that were meant for play  
I carried the load of a man;  
It warped me and wearied and wore,  
But I thought it was God's own plan  
And who in a lowly place like mine  
Dare question a Godly plan . . . ?

I knew I was born to work;  
Sprung from a worker's seed,  
Truly I gloried and sang at my bench  
And plied for my daily need;  
And wanting for little, I hungered for less,  
And knelt to the Godly creed.

I served for my master's ease;  
Held true to his weal and trust.  
I heaped for him hills of dazzling dices,  
I bowed to his "do" and "must" . . .  
I never balked at my pittance . . .  
Whatever he gave . . . was just . . .

Then came a time of stress . . .  
Orders were meagre—few;  
Bills and charges and other things  
That make for expenses, grew . . .  
Then one strange day, I heard him say,  
"There's nothing for you to do . . ."

To the land of Nothing-to-do,  
I trudged with millions more;  
Stunned and dumb, never questioning why,  
I dragged from door to door,  
Pleading for work, wheedling for work,  
Begging, nothing more . . .

Then once in a curious light,  
I posed for the fool I'd been,  
Giving away all the marrow of me,  
In a game where I never could win,  
And keeping the waste that was left of me,  
As though I had sloughed in sin.

Strange . . . ! I who was born to work,  
Sprung from a worker's seed,  
Have nothing to give to these eager hands  
That they might earn for my need . . .  
And maddened by famine, with food in sight,  
I stab at my Godly creed . . .

I stab, and with gnashing spite,  
I tear through the blinding weave,  
And find a nasty smear at Him . . .  
I curse . . . I disbelieve . . .  
And who can blame for blasphemy  
The soul that's an empty sieve.

And who can judge for crime,  
The hands that would never shirk  
The meanest task, or the quickening brain  
That calls for creative work,  
And hears with the leaden thud of doom,  
The words . . . "There is no work"

I only ask for work . . .  
What is left in flesh and brain  
Cries out for something it must do . . .  
This idleness is pain . . .  
Or it will find something to do . . .  
And then will try in vain

To halt the march of famished men  
With sanctimony's sigh . . .  
Hungered hearts in a time like this  
Beat furiously high,  
And hopeless men in the dark of death  
May kill before they die . . .

This poem is an evolution out of almost twenty years of poetry propaganda writing that I have dedicated to the Socialist movement. When it first appeared in the New York Call in 1911, Frank MacDonald and Josh Wanhope asked me to work on it, until it would be perfected as nearly as a poem of this kind could be made perfect, so that it become a part of the literature of labor. This I have done on several occasions through re-publication. Each time I trim and chisel it down. I hope that the day may come in my own life when I shall need to reprint or revise this poem no longer. With Socialists forcing job insurance to the fore, and Socialism in general stepping nearer and nearer to realization, who knows but that we may all live to see the day when the Song of the Unemployed will only be a curio out of a miserable past.

The funniest thing I have heard lately is about a certain old Socialist leader and writer who actually aspired to have a bust of himself implanted in the Hall of Fame of the Palestine University. Needless to say, the organization to whom this matter was referred turned the ambition down . . . But of all things . . . ! Gee! That is funny anyhow,  
S. A. deWitt.

### He Died Upon the Street

For the sinful gutter maiden there was haven,  
There was aid,  
For the jail-bird sorrow laden there was Prison-gate Brigade;  
For the villain of the city there was sorrow,  
There was bed,  
For the murderer there was pity—for the burglar there was bread.

But he'd never learnt garrotting, and he'd never tried to steal,  
And by dark burglarious plotting he had never earned a meal;  
And he'd never strangled or strangled folks, or jumped upon his wife,  
And he'd never mauled or mangled any mortal in his life.

Rogues' resorts would not receive him—him,  
The man of honest name,  
And should workhouse folks relieve him he was branded with a shame;  
He was neither worm nor spoiler—he was one beyond the pale,  
He was but a broken toiler who had never been in jail.

Had he been a Mongol, tainted by the blight of leper-land,  
Or a savage, scarred and painted—he'd have found a helping hand;  
Hed he been a knave or idiot, he had gained a sure retreat—  
He was only poor and honest—so he died upon the street.

—P. Luttig (Peter Airey) in a Sydney "Bulletin" of many years back.

Even if Hamilton Fish were to get away with his Red Herring the article would not bring relief to a single jobless worker or hungry farmer. But that is the value of the Fish herring. It diverts attention from the bankruptcy of Fish's party at Washington.

A "box car battalion" of jobless soldiers are on their way from Seattle to Congress to find out whether anything can be done for these "rugged individuals." Hoover should hand them a copy of his book containing his campaign speeches in 1928 by way of comforting them.

## The Banker and the Altruist

(With Apologies to Lewis Carroll)

THE War was raging on the sea,  
Raging with all its might.  
The world was full of T N T  
And guns and dynamite—  
But all the bread was eaten up  
And not a loaf in sight.

The Banker and the Altruist  
Were in a melting mood;  
They wept like anything to see  
Their Allies without food.  
"If we should make them buy for cash,"  
They said, "it would be rude."

"O Allies, will you trade with us?"  
The Banker thus began,  
"Some guns and grain and army mules  
On the instalment plan—  
We sell them to our special friends  
As cheaply as we can."

So four old Allies hurried up,  
All eager at the news.  
They bought them Ford and phonographs;  
They bought them soap and shoes.  
They paid with tears of gratitude  
And handsome I O U's.

The Banker and the Altruist  
Traded ten years or so,  
Until the franc was stabilized  
Conveniently low,  
And all the hard-up Allies stood  
And waited in a row.

"Some tons of gold," the Banker said,  
"Are what we think correct.  
We'll add a little trifle, too,  
Our infants to protect;  
So, if you're ready, Allies dear,  
We'll start in to collect."

"But not from us," the Allies cried,  
Turning a little chill.  
"After such kindness, who would think  
You'd send us in a bill."  
"Our contract," said the Altruist,  
"You sign it, or keep still."

"It is a shame," the Banker said,  
"To cause such consternations,  
When we have sold them so much stuff  
And made such protestations."  
The Altruist said nothing but—  
"Hand out those reparations."

"I weep for you," the Banker said,  
"I deeply sympathize."  
With sobs and tears he figured out  
Sums of the largest size,  
Holding his income tax receipt  
Before his streaming eyes.

"Now Allies," said the Altruist,  
"Our trade has but begun.  
We have some first-class goods to sell—"  
But answer there was none—  
And this was hardly odd, because  
They'd busted every one.

Jessie Wallace Hughan.

## Federation of Labor to Back Relief Program

HARRISBURG, Pa. — (FP) — Having issued their manifesto setting forth a minimum program for relief of the unemployed, including a ten million state appropriation for food, clothing and shelter for sufferers and the appointment of a Committee on Public Safety to work against further wage cuts or lowering of working standards, the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor is going forward with plans for mass agitation throughout the state.

Pres. Phillips has sent letters to all local unions and central bodies in the state, setting forth a program of action. Every organization is asked to form a legislative committee to visit senators and representatives at their homes and insist on the necessity of immediate action on the federation program.

Mass meetings are to be organized in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Scranton, Wilkes Barre, Erie, Port Jervis and other industrial centers under the auspices of local unions and the state federation. A public hearing before the joint meeting of the appropriation committees of both houses is to be requested and local unions are to send delegates.

## Jobless Disfranchised

CHICAGO.—The several thousand unemployed workers who have been forced to seek shelter in the various relief lodging houses in Chicago are not eligible to vote in the coming mayoralty or any other election, the board of election commissioners has decided. Former Governor Ed. F. Dunne, attorney for the board, looked up the law and found that a man must have a permanent residence to be able to vote. Even if an unemployed worker has lived at a lodging house for 30 days, generally conceived as making residence "permanent," he can't vote, Dunne said. At least 15,000 here are thus disfranchised. Politicians observed that Dunne has deprived each jobless of at least \$5—since the selling of one's vote is almost an ethical procedure in Chicago.

## Debs Memorial Fund

TWO weeks ago The New Leader carried a letter by William Blenko of Milton, W. Va., regarding a proposed memorial window to Eugene V. Debs to be placed in the Rand School of Social Science. It is expected to raise the fund for this window by small contributions of friends and comrades, all over the country and a few have been

received which are acknowledged below.

In the meantime Comrade Blenko has forwarded a miniature of the memorial window which may be seen in the office of The New Leader. It is a beautiful design in rich and varied colored glass. Four red shields surround the portrait of Debs, each bearing the name of a prison where Debs served time for his class, "Cook County," "Woodstock," "Moundsville" and "Atlanta." In the center is Sidney Carton of Charles Dickens' "Tale of Two Cities," the author's famous story of the French Revolution.

All contributions to the Debs Memorial Fund will be acknowledged in The New Leader. The following is the list of contributors up to and including February 10.

A. H. Floaten, St. Helena, Cal. . . . \$1  
William Blenko, Milton, W. Va. . . . 6  
J. Molloy, Boston . . . . . 1  
Clarence W. Broomall, Kensington, Md. . . . . 1  
James O'Neal, New York City . . . . 1  
Nathan Fine, New York City . . . . 1  
Algernon Lee, New York City . . . . 1

Total to February 10 . . . . . \$12  
James O'Neal, Treas.

ATHEISM  
Book called FREE Tracts, 10c  
Am. Assn. for Adv. of Atheism,  
307 E. 14th St. New York, N. Y.



# First Grand Opera in Sound—Pagliacci Opens Brecher's Central Park Cinema

The Stage The Movies Music

## In One of the Funniest Plays in Town



Lee Tracy, above, plays the Lawyer in "Oh, Promise Me" which Sam Harris is presenting at the Royale Theatre.

## In Song Recital This Sunday Night



Nina Goddard, above, whose recital this Sunday night at the Guild Theatre presents songs of many nations.

## The Week On The Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

### "THE BARRETT'S OF WIMPOLE STREET" by Rudolf Besier. At the Empire.

KATHARINE CORNELL'S first venture as a producer is a vivid picture of an oppressed family, and a sensitive study of its genius, Elizabeth Barrett. Let it be admitted at once that no play can recapture the mental image most lovers of literature cherish of Robert Browning and his wife. Let it be added that the present play gives further shock by confronting us, who picture Browning as a staid old man, with an impetuous young fellow, a firebrand, a dandy (yet "Sordello" won its peace and its crown when Browning was 25). Then let it be emphatically said it all is real.

Mr. Besier has made the large and lively Barrett family a background for the struggle between the head of the family, who wishes to keep his daughters all unmarried, and the invalid Elizabeth, whom love makes well, then frenzied. Even Robert Browning is subordinated to this duel; he never so much as sees his father-in-law. (One would like them at least to have crossed glances, if not verbal words). Into the character of Mr. Barrett a deal of Freudian has gone; the clutch of tightness on Elizabeth's arm, the horror thought—for she lived before the Oedipus complex was named—may legitimately rise from the new knowledge that all the Barrett children save herself were conceived in fear—the father satisfying himself upon a wretched wife. It is learning this that sets Elizabeth free, gives her the (still frightened) power to dash for Italy as Mrs. Browning.

The role of Elizabeth Barrett not only is as sensitive and varied a part as Katharine Cornell has played, but reveals her prominent in the theatrical list as leading lady of the land. Scarce two names to mind, for subtly restrained and intellectually balanced playing, to set beside that of Katharine Cornell, as she meets the demands of this exhausting piece. Not all of "The Barretts of Wimpole Street" maintains the rich tone it takes on after its leisurely opening; Act Two moves with the "Sonnets from the Portuguese" rather than

with Robert Browning; and at times the grim father grows to a semblance of Syngal. But its major mood is tense and heady and rich; it is performed by an excellent cast, with Brian Aherne a good Browning for his Barrett, and Katharine Cornell the crown of a royal play.

### ADELE T. KATZ LECTURE

One of the most ambitious talks in the lecture-recital field was given by Adele T. Katz in opening her series at Steinway Hall, February 10, on Wagner's Nibelungen Ring. Her lectures are timed to accompany the presentation of the operas at the Metropolitan Opera House in the annual Wagner cycle. The "Ring" consumes four long afternoons at the Metropolitan, yet Miss Katz in the space of an hour and a half succeeded not only in giving the historical background of Wagner's remarkable music-dramas and an outline of the story, but also in presenting to her audience the essential leit-motifs as they occur in the operas. In the latter task she was assisted at the piano by Hyman Kuzwell. Miss Katz's survey gives one a comprehension of the sweep and unity of the four operas as the story develops and the motifs take their place in the glorious music that is Wagner. The heart of Wagner's music is the motifs accompanying the characters, the objects, the activities or the scenes depicted.

Miss Katz has thoroughly mastered her material, but not entirely her delivery. Her voice is somewhat monotonous and her pedagogy at times defective. In her anxiety to be scholarly, she has sacrificed flexibility. She could take much less for granted than she does of the expertise of her audience and elaborate to illustrate some points more than she does. Moreover, she has not developed sufficiently the social interpretation of music, although she is aware of this significance. She recognizes, but only in passing, that the "Ring" might be looked upon as a conflict of labor and capital. G. E. Shaw, whose age in the "Perfect Wagnerite" showed the revolutionary implications of Wagner's music, as the times made them rich in social feeling. Miss Katz should develop the social point of view. A working class audience would help her to do so.

LOUIS STANLEY

### Joe Cook, Star of "Fine And Dandy," Honored

In recognition of the vast amount of publicity given Evansville, Ind., by Joe Cook, the Rotary Club of that city yesterday voted unanimously to enroll the "Fine and Dandy" star as an honorary member of the organization.

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

DWIGHT DEERE WIMAN presents

MARY BOLAND

In her newest, gayest comedy

VINEGAR TREE

Playhouse, 48 St. E. 8:40. Mat. Wash. 10:30. Mon. Feb. 22. BEST SEATS \$1.00 to \$2.50.

Civic Repertory

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

EVA LE GALLIEN, Director

Mon. Mat. .... "PETER PAN"

Tues. Eve. .... "CAMILLE"

Wednes. Eve. .... "ROMEO & JULIET"

Thurs. Mat. .... "A SUNNY MORNING"

## First Sound Film of Grand Opera Chosen to Inaugurate Brecher's Central Park Theatre

The first complete sound film of a grand opera has been selected by Leo Brecher to inaugurate a policy of motion pictures at his recently acquired Central Park Theatre (formerly Jolson's) on Seventh Avenue at 59th Street. It is Fortune Gallo's production of Leoncavallo's "Pagliacci."

The decision to film this particular opera is considered a wise one as "Pagliacci" lends itself admirably to screen requirements. It is brief, it possesses variety, the costumes are effective and the scenes are pictorially delightful. And in addition, the work enjoys a popularity of which few of the great musical dramas can boast.

Although Signor Gallo has adhered strictly to the original and was careful to avoid what might be called a "Hollywood version," a novelty has been introduced into the picturization of "Pagliacci" by including a ballet in the first act and again at the opening of the second, adding to the action and effectiveness of the picture.

Musicians and critics who have previewed the film are of the opinion that the vocal recordings and orchestral effects are produced in a distinctly superior manner.

### What Ho, the Mountaineers!

Rex Cole's Mountaineers, the hillbilly musicians from our sunny South, will carry back to Dixie as much as \$175,000 as their intermediaries leave them. A contract for that sum, with Rex Cole, our General Electric distributor, was accepted last Monday by Merlin N. Aylesworth, president of the NBC, (which has nothing to do with biscuits), for the Mountaineers. Having looked at the Mountaineers, we shall shudder as we hear the radio tunes from their guitar, bull fiddle, bass jug, accordion, violin, jews-harp, harmonica, and sweet potato. But I suppose if you multiply 1,000 "fan mail" requests for songs per week, they've won what they're getting. I hope some of that \$175,000 goes to relieve starvation in the Southern hills.

### "Illicit" and Splendid Vaudeville at the Hipp

"Illicit" the screen feature at R-K-O's Hippodrome this week starring Barbara Stanwyck is the unusual revelation of a girl's strange love theories. With Miss Stanwyck, film land's newest find are: James Rennie, Charles Butterworth, Joan Blondell, Natalie Moorehead, Ricardo Cortez and Claude Gillingwater.

Violet Carlson, musical comedy's petite comedienne heads the attractive vaudeville show that includes Sammy Cohen, the little comic of the screen; the Gamby Girls, La Belle Pola, bright star of Monkeyland; Danny Small with Harry Mays, dark hued dance exponents; Charles Gregory and Jules Raymond, musical maniacs; Josephine Chappelle and Harry Carlton.

Maxine Elliott's Theatre, 39th St. E. of W. 8:30. Mat. Wed. & Sat. 2:10. Extra Mat. Wash. D.C. Mon. Feb. 22.

Luigi Pirandello's

NEW PLAY

AS YOU DESIRE ME

with JUDITH ANDERSON

Theatrical 45th St. Eves. 8:30. Mat. Mon. Feb. 22. Thurs. & Sat.

The Greeks Had a Word For It

A New Comedy by ZOE AKINS

Presented by William Harris, Jr.

Sam H. Harris Theatre, 42nd St. Eves. 8:30. Mat. Sat. & Mon. Feb. 22. Mat. Wash. D.C. Mon. Feb. 22.

The World's Newest Racket Widows Made While You Wait—See

ON THE SPOT

EDGAR WALLACE'S TRAILER

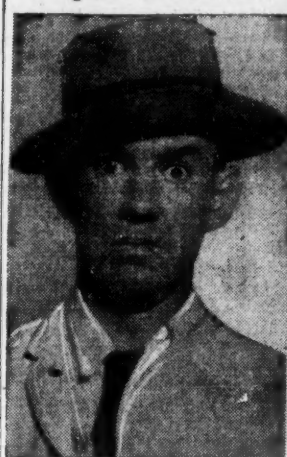
CRANE WILBUR, ANNA MAY WONG, 250 Good Seats \$1 to \$2

EDGAR WALLACE'S

FORREST THEATRE

48th St. West of Broadway Eves. 8:30. Mat. Wed. & Sat. 2:30. Extra Mat. Wash. D.C. Mon. Feb. 22.

## In Green Genzler's Newest Musical Hit



"The Gang's All Here" finally arrived at the Imperial Theatre last Wednesday night. Two who shine brightly in this newest musical from the Green-Genzler firm are Ted Healy and Zelma O'Neal.



## "Comrades of 1918," German Film Epic, Begins Indefinite Run at Cameo; Considered A Biting Accusation Against War Madness

"Comrades of 1918," the German screen epic, which as "Four Infantry Men on the Western Front in 1918" has been the sensation of Central Europe, had its American premiere Thursday evening (February 19) at the R-K-O Cameo Theatre, before a distinguished audience.

This Teutonic film accomplishment is a heart rending accusation against war madness, and it's showing at least once each year in every school as a preventative against future conflicts has been urged upon the Reichstag by Alfred Kerr, of the "Berliner Tageblatt" and by many other critics.

## "Viennese Nights" Now At the Beacon and B'klyn Strand Theatres

"Viennese Nights" moves from the New York Strand Theatre Friday into the Beacon, at 74th Street, and opens concurrently at the Brooklyn Strand Theatre. The Romberg-Hammerstein romance is finding high favor in its popular price showings.

Vivienne Segal, Alexander Gray and Walter Pidgeon play the featured roles in this romance of old and new Vienna. Sigmund Romberg and Oscar Hammerstein 2d, the authors and composers of this, their first romance written directly for the screen, assisted Alan Crosland in its direction.

KATHARINE CORNELL

in The Barretts of Wimpole Street

by Rudolf Besier

Presented by Katherine Cornell

Staged by Guthrie McClintic

AT THE EMPIRE THEATRE

GILBERT MILLER Presents

Tomorrow

AND Tomorrow

with Zita JOHANN and Herbert MARSHALL

HENRY MILLER'S Theatre, 124 Eves. 8:40. Mat. Mon. Feb. 22. Thurs. & Sat.

Helen Hayes

in "PETTICOAT INFLUENCE"

By NEIL GRANT

HENRY STEPHENSON

"The evening is full of bliss and content."—J. Brooks Atkinson, Times.

LYCEUM Theatre, 45th St. Eves. 8:30. Mat. Mon. Feb. 22. Thurs. & Sat.

ETHEL BARRYMORE

Theatre, 47th St. W. of W. 8:30. Eves. 8:30. Mat. Wed. & Sat. 2:30. Extra Mat. Wash. D.C. Mon. Feb. 22.

BILLIE IYOR

BURKE NOVELLO

in a rousing, rollicking riot of laughs

The Truth Game

with FOSTER TREE

## "Father's Son" With Lewis Stone and Irene Rich at Strand Theatre

"Father's Son," with Lewis Stone, Irene Rich and Leon Janney featured, will have its Eastern premiere at the Strand Theatre, Friday, February 20.

Adapted as the most human drama ever shown on the Strand screen, "Father's Son," is an adaptation of "Old Fathers and Young Sons," Booth Tarkington's famous story of a father who gave his son everything but understanding.

Also on the Strand program is a Vitaphone "short" featuring Henry Santry, noted orchestra leader, and his "Soldiers of Fortune."

## "Lost Gods" at the Warner, Film Record Of Lost Civilization

Skyscrapers in the desert—built of mud and salt, which would melt away in the slightest rain, except that there is no rain—

Lost civilizations, buried for thousands of years under desert sands—

A beautiful white queen of savage desert tribes—fact, not a fictional scenario—

The scandal of an infatuation for a dancing girl by a prince 40 centuries ago—

These and many other amazing incidents are presented in "Lost Gods," current at the Warner Theatre. This is a talking picture record of Count Byron Khun de Prorok's unusual discoveries in ancient Carthage, Utica and Libya in an expedition backed by the Algers Museum of Natural History.

"Lost Gods" is the result of eight years' search into the lost civilizations of antiquity. Count de Prorok, who headed the expedition, is a famous author and scientist. His talk, which accompanies the film, reveals hitherto unknown facts concerning the lives, customs and religions of people who thousands of years ago vanished from the face of the earth.

Historical cities are excavated right in front of the camera, and discoveries unearthed in view of the spectator. One of the most

## German Screen Epic Begins Run at the Cameo



"Comrades of 1918," long heralded throughout Europe as one of Germany's sensational films, had its American Premiere at the Cameo Theatre Thursday night. This Teutonic film masterpiece is said to be Germany's "All Quiet" and is a powerful accusation against War Madness. Above are Hans Joachim Heubels and Gustav Dresse in a scene from the picture.

unusual things to be seen in "Lost Gods" shows Count de Prorok opening the tomb of a Carthaginian dancing girl. With it he reopened a scandal that probably enveloped breakfast tables 4,000 years ago.

Gold cymbals and other requisites of her art told the explorers of the girl's occupation. There were jewels and ornaments of gold and silver and a vanity case containing seven different shades and types of rouge—obviously suggesting that the ladies painted centuries ago.

## Winnie Lightner

Joe E. Brown

"Sit Tight"

WINTER GARDEN

Continuous . . . Popular Prices . . . Midnite Shows

SMOKING IN MEZZANINE

The Hero of the Year's Great Drama! in BOOTH TARKINGTON'S Most Human and Touching Story

"Father's Son"

LEWIS STONE Irene Rich—Leon Janney

STRAND 8'way & 47th St.

Continuous . . . Popular Prices . . . Midnite Shows

War!

Terror striking, dramatic, real! The German side of the war . . . by the Germans.

"Comrades of 1918"

American Premiere

THE CAMEO

A Picture to end all Wars!

TH ST. PLAYHOUSE

154 W. 55th St. Just East of 7th Ave. Circle 0129. Continuous 12-Midnite Pop. Prices

5th MO Seats Now Available at All Performances

THE ONLY ORIGINAL VIENNESE SCREEN OPERETTA—PRODUCED IN VIENNA!

"Zwei Herzen im 3/4 Takt"

"Two Hearts in Waltz Time!" A Musical Romance of Gay-Vienna!

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's Miracle Picture

TRADER HORN

ASTOR Theatre, Broadway & 45 St. 3 times Sun. & Holidays 2:30-8:40. Seats 1 Week in Advance

All Seats Reserved

"One is deeply thrilled—indeed, thrilled to a point of shouting almost—when the African gun-bearing bulls spear into the brain of the charging lion when the beast is but a step from him. This will give you a terrific kick. There are several fights to the death, too."

—George Gerhardt, Eve. World

Theatre Parties

Party Branches and sympathetic organizations are requested when planning the theatre parties to do so through the Theatre Department of the NEW LEADER. Phone

Algonquin 4622 or write to Bernard Feinman, Manager New Leader Theatre Department, 7 East 13th St., New York.

Last 2 Performances

Chanin's 46th St. Thea.

Next Sunday Evg., Mar. 1

AND FAIRWELL APPEARANCE

CARNEGIE HALL, Fri. Eve. March 13 at 8 P. M. Sharp

World's Choreographic Marvel

MARY WIGMAN

She moves with the unrestrained grace of a panther

EVERY HOUSE THIS FAR OVER WHOLESALELY SOLD OUT. SECURE YOUR SEATS EARLY

Mgt. Bureau Musical Bureau, Inc. (Baldwin)

Tickets \$1 to \$5. Now on Sale at Box Office

TOWN HALL

TUESDAY EVE., MARCH 3 at 8:30

LEILA

Bederkahn

DANCER OF THE ORIENT

with an orchestra directed by Alexander Maloff

AMERICAN DEUT

Tickets at Box-Office

Mgt. R. COPELEY, (Baldwin Piano)

CARNEGIE HALL

SATURDAY AFT. MAR. 14 at 2:30

JOSEF HOFMANN

PIANIST

Tickets on Sale at Box-Office

Mgt. R. COPELEY (Steinway Piano)

Philharmonic Symphony

MOLINARI, Conductor

BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC

THIS AFTERNOON at 3:15

Soloist: ALBERT WALLSTEIN, "Cello"

KATZ—RESPIGI—BLOCH

RAVEL—SMEETNA

TOSCANINI, Conductor

Carnegie Hall, Thurs. Eve. Feb. 26 at 8:15

Fri. Aft., Feb. 27, 2:30; Sat. Eve., Feb. 28, 8:15

WEBER, SCHUMANN, SAINT-SAENS

METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE

Monday Afternoon, March 1, at 2:30

WEBER, SCHUMANN, DVORAK

ARTHUR JUDSON Mgr. (Steinway Piano)



## Irish at Fox Bordoni "Girls Demand Excitement" on Screen

Again this week, the Fox Brooklyn Theatre has an extra attraction in addition to its regular screen feature, "Girls Demand Excitement," and the Fanchon and Marco "Fountain of Youth" idea, in the supreme stage personality of Irene Bordoni. And La Bordoni, who not only does some clever impersonations, but sings several delightful songs in her own particular eye-rolling fashion, is the hit of the show.

Fanchon and Marco's most costly idea, a breath-taking lesson in underwater undressing, is "Fountain of Youth," which is on the Fox stage, headlined by Lottie Meyer, and featuring Eddie Hanley and Co.; Frank Stever, Bob and Jack Crosby, and the Sunnikit Disappearing Diving Girls.

## Percy Grainger is Guest Conductor with Symphony Society of Brooklyn

The Symphony Society of Brooklyn, Ole Windyngstad, conductor, will present their third concert, Sunday afternoon, March 1, at 3:15, at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. Alma and Anton Witke, are the assisting violinists and Percy Grainger will be the guest conductor.

Grainger's compositions cover a great many strongly contrasting types of musical expression, ranging from short, snappy, popular small pieces, such as his "Country Gardens" and "Gay But Wistful" on the one hand, to large works of a grandiose and austere character, on the other, such as his "Marching Song of Democracy" (produced at Worcester, Mass., in 1917), "The Warriors," "Music to an Imaginary Ballet" (first given at the Norfolk, Conn., Festival), "The Bride's Tragedy,"

## Rabbi Louis J. Newman To Speak at the New History Society Sunday

Rabbi Louis J. Newman, of Congregation Rodef Shalom, will be the guest speaker in the Parliament of World's Faiths, in the ballroom of the Park Lane, tomorrow evening at 8:30. This Parliament has been arranged by the New History Society, sponsored by Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Stuyvesant Chandler, and will present one spokesman of a World Faith each week. During the course the teachings of each founder will be explained and their application to present day problems brought out. The course of lectures will present less history and more inspiration; no insistence on creed and more emphasis on truth; and above all, no claim for the superiority of one Prophet over another.

## Famous Singer



Johanna Gadski, soprano, will soon be heard at Mecca Auditorium when the German Grand Opera Company comes to New York.

## Opening Leo Brecher's Newest Cinema, "The Central Park Theatre"



What was once called the Jolson Theatre is now the "Central Park" under the direction of Leo Brecher, who also controls the Little Carnegie and the Plaza. Last night, a brilliant audience from all walks of life witnessed the inaugural presentation of "Pagliacci," the famous Leoncavallo opera, which is said to be the first Grand Opera Film in sound to reach the screen. Above are scenes from this much discussed film.

## German Screen Play Stays at the 55th Street

"Zwei Herzen im 3/4 Takt" (Two Hearts in Waltz Time), German screen opera, is to be held over at the 55th Street Playhouse. This German production enters the 20th week of its run, commencing Friday, February 20. By the end of this week, "Zwei Herzen im 3/4 Takt" (Two Hearts in Waltz Time) will have 798 showings at the 55th Street Playhouse, practically to capacity business all the time.

## Walden School Presenting Attractive Children's Concerts

Simple, beautiful music for children, excellent musicians, no tire-some explanations, is being presented this season in five concerts at the Barbizon-Plaza under the auspices of Walden School. This Saturday, Feb. 21st, at 11 o'clock, the Adesdi Chorus will sing. There will be a 4th concert March 21, and a 5th April 18. Tickets are \$1 and \$2, on sale at Beckhard and MacFarlane, Inc., 250 West 57th, Columbus 1895, or at Barbizon-Plaza, Saturday morning.

## Nina Gordani at Guild

After traveling with "Nina Rosa," then as Katchen in "The Student Prince," Nina Gordani comes to the Guild this Sunday night in a series of folk-songs and singing diversions. Her program, which is neither concert program nor monologue, is a recapture of the now rare mood of the disease, in which pantomime-body and face—share the effects of word and tonal quality. Songs of Spanish origin, old English, Italian, Jewish, German, French, and Russian, make up Miss Gordani's varied and interesting program.

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**BROTHERHOOD OF DECORATORS OF AMERICA**  
District Council No. 8, N. Y. C. Office, 101 Hudson St. 2nd floor. Meetings every 1st and 3rd Sunday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

**PAINTERS' UNION No. 281**  
Office, 62 E. 15th St. Tel. L. 1-2-3-4-5. Meetings every 1st and 3rd Sunday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

**PAINTERS' UNION No. 281**  
Office, 62 E. 15th St. Tel. L. 1-2-3-4-5. Meetings every 1st and 3rd Sunday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

**PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD**  
Of Greater New York. Amalgamated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Union. Office, 101 Hudson St. 2nd floor. Meetings every 1st and 3rd Sunday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

**POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION**  
New York Joint Board. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. General office, 53 West 21st Street, New York. Phone Gramercy 1023. L. Laderman, Chairman; Jack Berry, Secretary-Treasurer; Barnett Wolf, Manager.

**TYPEWRITERS' UNION No. 6**  
Offices and headquarters, 24 W. 16th St., N. Y. C. Meets every 2nd Sunday of every month at Stuyvesant High School, 15th St. East of 2nd Ave. Phone West 9188. Leon H. House, President; John Sullivan, Vice-President; Jas. J. McGrath, Secretary-Treasurer; Theodore F. Douglas, Organizer.

**VEST MAKERS' UNION**  
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Peter Monat, Manager. Office, 31 West 15th Street; Phone Tomkins 5460. Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.

**WATERS & WAITRESSES' UNION Local 1**  
41 East 28th St. Phone L. 1-2-3-4-5. Meetings every 1st and 3rd Sunday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

**WATERPROOF GARMENT WORKERS' UNION**  
LOCAL 1, L. O. G. W. U., 3 W. 16th St. Phone, Manhattan 1934. Secy-Treas. Secy-Treas. Oper. Local 1. Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Sunday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

**WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION**  
LOCAL 62 of L. O. G. W. U., 3 W. 16th St. Phone, New York City Telephone Chelsea 5756-5757. A Snyder, Manager.

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**Government of the people, for the people, by the people shall not perish from the earth.—Lincoln.**

**QUEENS**  
Sunnyside  
Bela Low spoke at the Sunnyside forum, Feb. 13, on "The Five Year Plan in Russia." All seats were filled and late comers had to stand. A social and dance has been arranged for the specific purpose of raising the branch quota for the city office emergency drive fund. This affair has been arranged for Saturday evening, March 14, in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum.

**Midwood**  
Tuesday, Feb. 24, at 8:30 P. M., Bela Low will deliver the fourth lecture on "The Road to Socialism" in his series on the fundamentals of scientific Socialism. These sessions are very well attended.

**ASTORIA**  
An enrolled voter meeting held by the branch last Friday evening brought out an excellent crowd for this section. William Karlin and Sam C. A. DeWitt aroused considerable enthusiasm by their splendid talks. A number of people joined the party. More meetings will be held in the near future and canvassing will be done to induce the many new enrolled voters in the 1st A. D. to become members of Branch Astoria.

**When You Buy  
Cloth Hats and Caps**  
Always Look for This Label

# THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

The National Office of the Socialist Party is located at 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

## Jimmie Higgins Contest

With two weeks to go before the end of the Jimmie Higgins contest, Clarence Senior, national secretary, announced that all applications received by county or city central committees before midnight on March 1, would be counted as credit for the contest. Local secretaries are charged with the responsibility of reporting the results of the contest to the national headquarters. It will be given for members of the party and for non-members. It will be given for members of the party and for non-members. It will be given for members of the party and for non-members.

During the week, B. A. Zarenba of Los Angeles passed the contest. He was the only one to pass the contest. He was the only one to pass the contest. He was the only one to pass the contest. He was the only one to pass the contest.

## CLEVELAND DRIVE SUCCESS

With Norman Thomas as the main speaker, the Cleveland Drive banquet was held Feb. 10, and was more successful than the one held in the fall of 1929. Almost \$500 was raised.

## OTHER DINNERS PLANNED

Richmond and Hopewell, Virginia, Pittsburgh, the Brown and Williams, and the Cleveland Drive banquet were held Feb. 10, and was more successful than the one held in the fall of 1929. Almost \$500 was raised.

## PENNSYLVANIA TO FOLLOW

Plans have been announced by Sarah Limbach, secretary of the Pennsylvania organization, for a drive in that state. Letters will be sent to all those who have not answered the national appeal by Norman Thomas and Morris Hillquit, signed by the leaders of the state organization, including James H. Maurer, Darlington Hoopes, Mayor Stump, and others. These letters will be placed in each community, whose responsibility it will be to see that all who can possibly contribute should do so.

## BRONX TO USE LOCAL METHODS

August Claessens, organizer for the Bronx, announced last week that the Bronx branch will use local methods in its drive. He said that the branch had already been solicited by the national drive letters, but would put on a local drive in addition to the national drive in persons who could not be reached otherwise.

## Michigan

The Socialist Dramatic Club presents "Black Hell" and "What Price Gold," Saturday, March 7, at 8 P. M., St. Andrews Hall, 431 E. Congress Street. Dances ladies 35c and gents 50c. All profits go for organization work in Wayne County.

## Norman Thomas will speak in Detroit under the auspices of the People's Forum, Sunday, March 1, 3 P. M., Cots and Warren avenues. Readers are asked to give the party a hand to put this over.

## STATE CONVENTION

The State Convention of the Party will be held Feb. 22, 11 A. M., at the Jewish Socialist Hall, Holbrook Avenue, between Brush and Oakland. Any member in the state may be a delegate. We appeal to all members to attend. If you can't send the Convention a letter.

## Illinois

"If Socialists ruled Chicago" is the topic at the next meeting of the Socialist Open Forum on Thursday, Feb. 26, at 8 P. M., 2638 W. Washington boulevard. The speakers will be the Socialist Party Candidates for city offices. A. J. Connelley, Mayor; H. Schneid, City Treasurer; and Clarence Seaman, City Clerk. Admission is free. The main address is from 8 P. M.

In the future the meetings of the Socialist Open Forum will be on the second and fourth Thursdays of each month. The program is as follows: March 12—"What the coming Socialist Conference Must Face and Achieve." Discussion led by M. Halushka, March 26—"The Socialist Attitude toward Soviet Russia." Dr. Lorber of the Chicago Daily Forward. April 9—Prof. Harold Lasswell of the University of Chicago. Subject to be announced.

## UNEMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE

An Unemployment Insurance Conference is being called by the Socialist party and a number of trade unions for Sunday morning, March 8, in the Labor Lyceum at Ogden and Kedzie avenues and all local unions of the A. F. of L., independent unions and fraternal organizations have been invited.

The conference will be presented with a bill drafted to suit Illinois conditions by Kellam Foster, Harold Kelso and Clarence Senior and based upon the N. E. C. model bill. The opening gun in the Unemployment Insurance Campaign for Illinois will be fired by Norman Thomas on Sunday, March 8, at 11 A. M. in the Labor Lyceum at 11 A. M.

The Socialists of Chicago won their battle with the capitalist politicians and succeeded in keeping five of their six aldermanic candidates on the ballot.

Mass distribution of our campaign newspaper the "Municipal Advocate" is occurring daily and will go on until election day, Feb. 24. In order to give the Republican a run for their money and possibly beat some of them we need the help of every comrade. All those desiring to aid in any way should contribute immediately with the campaign manager, I. A. Anderson, 3239 Potomac avenue, or with the County Office, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago.

The County Executive Committee of Cook County is calling a preliminary conference of delegates from the Socialist Party and the local organizations and Socialist Party Branches for March 1, in Hall 1, Workmen's Circle Lyceum, to plan a joint May Day demonstration.

## Iowa

Norman Thomas spoke at the Workmen's Circle Branch in Sioux City, Thursday, Feb. 19. Names and addresses of the delegates to the National Conference in New York City were taken and the local comrades hope that a thriving organization will soon take the field working for Socialism in this part of the state.

A full city ticket will be entered in the Camden municipal elections this spring. With a vote of over one thousand to build on, the local comrades are looking forward to a hot campaign which will give good results in education and organization. March 14th the campaign will be opened with August Claessens of New York as speaker. Sidney S. Grieb, the new organizer has mapped out a plan to cover the city with literature at least five times before the campaign.

## New Jersey

Standing room only was the sign on the door of the courtroom in Hightstown when the local Socialists brought Judge Jacob Parker from New York for a propaganda tour in Virginia. Over five hundred people crowded into the small courtroom to listen to the judge and to David George, out-line plans, starting May 1st, to have a full-time state secretary and four district organizers in the field. The local comrades are beginning to feel confident that in the next municipal election they will sweep Hightstown.

A banquet at Richmond and a mass meeting in Hopewell on March 2nd and 3rd are being arranged tentatively for either Mayor Daniel W. Hoar of Milwaukee or Morris Hillquit of New York, when they are in Washington for the meeting of the N. E. C. STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The date of the meeting of the committee has been changed to Sunday,

Feb. 22. It will meet in the Workmen's Circle Center at Broad and Third Streets, Richmond, 10 A. M. There is to be an important day session and members are urged to attend. Local Richmond has adopted a resolution similar to the one adopted by the Washington Heights Branch of New York on Sunday.

## Pennsylvania

### A WOMEN'S GUILD

In response to a suggestion by the State Committee, a meeting of active women members was called early in January, to organize a women's committee for special work. The organization is rapidly taking form and promises to fill a real need. The women have selected the name, "Progressive Women's Guild," and set dues at 15 cents per month, and meet every second Wednesday evening at the Pittsburgh Headquarters of the Party.

A meeting will be held Monday, Feb. 23, at 8 P. M., at 204 East Broadway. Very important matters concerning the branch will be taken up. Every member must attend.

### MANHATTAN

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### JUGO-SLAV SOCIALISTS

Prosvetna Matka and Clubs of the Jugoslav Socialists, 2nd floor, 101 Hudson St. 2nd floor. Meetings every 1st and 3rd Sunday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

### New York State

#### MEMBERSHIP

State Secretary Merrill announces that the number of members-at-large has now passed the hundred mark by a good margin. These are members admitted from counties where there are no local organizations. About one-quarter of the dues-paying membership of the Socialist Party of America is now found in New York City. In 1924 it was less than one-fifth.



# NEW LEADER

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

Editor ..... James O'Neal  
Assistant Editor ..... Edw. Levinson

## Contributing Editors:

Morris Hillquit, Abraham Cahane, Harry W. Laidler, Norman Thomas, Joseph E. Cohen, Jack J. O'Connell, John M. Folsom, John M. Work, McAllister Coleman, Joseph T. Shipley, Louis Stanley, Louis Waldman.



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

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1931

## "A Trivial Thing"

ONE must go back to the noble addresses of Mayor Walker in the campaign of 1929 to appreciate the muck which day by day spatters the scoundrels that constitute the Tammany machine. Not since the days of the rule of Sicily by the Mafia have we had anything so disgusting as these swine. There isn't a dirty job that would bring dollars to their pockets that has been overlooked. Even innocent girls have been framed to serve the itching palms of these scoundrels.

The latest scene in the endless drama of Tammany rule stages two policemen assigned to vice duty. If the testimony is verified it shows that \$400,000 of speakeasy graft has been collected from 125 resorts in recent years by these officers. This was probably divided with some higher officials. Thousands of other resorts and other police officials must be involved as the present disclosures simply lift one corner of the curtain.

Two new rackets designed to snare women were disclosed by a stool pigeon who participated in them. The "furnished room racket" and the "nurse racket" involved the framing of innocent women who paid the scoundrels to avoid publicity. The details do not concern us here but it is shocking that human beings vested with the power of the law can thus prey upon defenceless women.

Jimmie Walker, the window dressing for this unspeakable thing known as Tammany politics, in defense of his regime once said that "A trivial thing dressed up will often assume a world of importance." The trivial thing has become a huge ulcer oozing filth. Some day there will be a reckoning with these vandals.

## Congress

A WRITER in the New York Times presents a close-up view of Congress that is illuminating. A political depression accompanies the industrial depression. "Nothing focuses, no view is clear" at Washington where the statesmen muddle amid unsolved problems while the leaders grope in "a world of unreality" towards one certainty—the election in 1932.

It is quite a contrast with the rosy day when Coolidge was ushered out and Hoover in. "It is an epochal difference, a change in mood so great that it is hard to believe we are less than two years away from the elation of the honeymoon days of this administration." The same Congress that met to hear the first message from the Great Engineer is today "in the rattle of dissolution." It gropes through a fog, the whole effect of which is "histrionic, shoddy, empty of life."

In other words, the politics of capitalism has sunk to its lowest level at a time when intelligent thinking and action are essential. The only thing certain is the next general election and the maneuvering of each party to win the largest number of offices. The Democrats, who once carried the banner of small capitalists, long ago hoisted the flag of the upper ruling groups and marched into the same camp occupied by the Republicans.

The result is this shoddy and empty life of Congress. There isn't even a pillow fight between the two parties as the vote on Hoover's farm "relief" and on the bonus loan bill shows. The working masses have disfranchised themselves in that body by sending enemies of their class to it, and Congress has declined to the level of a diet of witless and drifting law makers. The best relief it could give to the hungry and the jobless would be to adjourn.

## Untermeyer's Blast

THE address of Samuel Untermeyer at Los Angeles on Tuesday was a near Socialist analysis of American capitalism but it did not go beyond this interpretation to suggest what we are going to do about it. In saying that "a more generally untrained body of national State and local legislators and one of lower intellectual standards is

not to be found in any civilized country on earth" he supplements what we say above of Congress. The master combines of capital have "buried" their tentacles so deeply into our economic life that the forty-years old anti-trust law has become absurd. The greed of the power trust is "shaking" the very foundations of government" and the "despotic power of capital over government" is the reason why the working masses do not get the social legislation which is taken for granted in many other nations. The only serious attempts at enforcement of the anti-trust law have been directed against "organized labor to which the law was never intended to apply." Considering that "ours is the veritable paradise of the demagogue and ignoramus in public life," we drift without knowing the end.

Here are some essentials of a Socialist interpretation. We are ruled by the owners of concentrated capital in our economic life and in the law-making bodies. The anti-trust law is a paper sword against capitalist combinations and a Damascus blade to decapitate trade unionism. Legislation is for the powerful owners of capital while the workers are outcasts in legislative halls.

So far so good, but the speaker then turned to a laudation of Governor Roosevelt and in doing so he led his audience back into the moron politics which he had just denounced! The Socialist would push the analysis on to a logical conclusion by urging war upon the politics and politicians responsible for this dominion by a class. He would call for independent party action by the workers of the nation but such logic is beyond the ken of those who want capitalism without its legitimate fruits.

## Insurance at Albany

THE hearing at Albany on the unemployed insurance bill introduced by Senator Hastings shows the need of heavy pressure if any favorable action is taken at this session. The Hastings bill itself is woefully inadequate to meet the situation and only by important amendments can it be made even half satisfactory. This is generally the course taken in any important social legislation. The measure first appears as a mutilated and inadequate thing like a bone stripped of meat thrown to a dog. Senator Hastings runs true to form.

The manufacturers want the whole matter left to them and that means either nothing would be done or action that would correlate with a company union affair. Owen D. Young, millionaire prospective heir to Hoover's job, succeeded in saying nothing in a long telegram sent to Senator Hastings. He merely revealed that he is qualified for the presidency by his skill in stringing words together that mean nothing.

Representing the State Federation of Labor, John O'Hanlon went no farther than to suggest a commission for further study. We expected no more from this quarter as there has been no indication that the Federation would rise to its responsibility. It has no program on an issue that vitally concerns many thousands of its own members to say nothing of hundreds of thousands of workers in general. Morris Hillquit, representing the Emergency Unemployment Council of New York City, alone was positive and definite in support of adequate legislation that would meet the emergency.

All energy possible should be put into the work of obtaining signatures to the bill sponsored by the Emergency Conference. The diet of capitalism at Albany will do little without strong pressure by the victims of industrial prostration.

## IN A NUTSHELL

Discussing the plight of the starving farmers in the West on Lincoln's Birthday, President Hoover said that "buried in this problem lies something even deeper." If the well fed President and Congress continue to "relieve" the starving many a tombstone in the agricultural region will bear the above quotation.

American capitalism has so many diseases that it reminds us of a one-legged man on crutches, with eye-sight impaired, water in his veins, and hobbling to a destination, he knows not where.

One use for princes of royal houses has been found. The Prince of Wales is on a tour to increase the sale of British soap, steel and other commodities.

The Communists at Philadelphia made their contribution to aid the unemployed. With resolute courage they broke up a Socialist meeting.

Election returns are still coming in for New York City. The Mayor's Committee on Employment last week began its eleventh distribution of food, over 14,000 packages of vegetables going to Brooklyn and nearly 3,000 to Queens. In Manhattan 605,000 tons of coal was sent to over 6,000 families. We understand that there will be no toleration of the "dole" in God's country and Tammany's province.

While Hoover will do nothing to destroy the "individual initiative" of the jobless and the wretched farmers his Department of Commerce is still heroically seeking out markets for capitalists and loans for bankers all over the world. And they like this sort of "dole."

Mayor Mackey of Philadelphia declares that there are 250,000 persons, including 50,000 children, in the city without the bare necessities of life. Will Hoover please send these unfortunate his full page advertisement of 1928 with the fable "A Chicken for Every Pot?" It will help in stabilizing the "character" of these unfortunate at a time when it is being subjected to a strain.

Meantime, Socialists and their friends should not forget that national drive for party funds. It will help to drive bankrupt politicians from public office.

Capitalism may be on its last legs, as some people surmise, but the working class have yet to learn how to kick the crutches from under it.

## Sugar Refining in Jamaica

By Jessie B. Lloyd

MONTEGO BAY, Jamaica.—Sugar is messy stuff. As the tawny cane juice courses through open wooden gutters, it splatters. The whole mill reeks of rum, molasses, and pigsties. Heat pours from the uncovered tanks where the juice is skimmed, from the pipes and gutters, and from the vacuum pans where it is boiled for crystallization. And the burning Jamaica sun on sheet zinc roofs is bad enough without that.

After half an hour of dodging unguarded belts and wheels, holes in floor boards, and pipes leaking hot stuff, the visitor feels faint. The way is devious through a crowded jumble—the result of efforts to modernize this old mill.

"Some weeks, when the cane is coming in heavy, we start Monday at 6 a. m. and work right through till 8 p. m. Saturday, night and day," says an assistant foreman, a skinny colored man with a taking grin in his skull. "The price of sugar is so low. In 1919, 1920, 1921, we used to have two shifts. Only worked twelve hours. But can't afford that now."

"You mean the same people work from Monday morning to Saturday night?" I shouted. The 20-hour day I had met before at small Jamaica mills, but never dreamed of the 132-hour shift.

"Oh, you may get two or three hours off a day," he replied. "There are two men in each section. At night you can't leave, because you never can tell just how the stuff will run and you need two to handle it when it's ready. But during the day you're allowed to leave—you can take turns watching and get off half an hour or maybe an hour for meals. I go home. The barracks are just over the way." There the families of these sugar mill workers live crowded into rent-free boxes.

"What do you do with your time on Sunday?"

"Sleep," he answered with a deep breath, though he added hastily, as if fearing a catch question, "and sometimes go to church."

"Do you have many of those continuous weeks in a season?"

"Well, last year the season was six months, and we had about 15 weeks like that. Often one after another."

He added that so far this year the work was not heavy. Many cane cutters were refusing to cut at reduced wages. The cane would run only from 6 a. m. to 10 p. m. today.

"How can people stand working so long without rest?" The 132-hour shift haunted me.

"We have to sleep walking around. Waiting for a tank to fill up, or for the stuff to boil right." Accidents? Sometimes, yes, he admitted. Sleepy men might be clumsy with the hot liquid.

Wages, he said, range from 7s 6d a week (about \$1.80) to 30s (\$7.20) for foremen. The cleaners, youngsters about 15, are even lower paid. Sometimes little boys of 9 and 10 are employed as cleaners. "If they are orphans and need work."

The assistant manager, a young Englishman, told us the average wage for fulltime work was 12 to 13 shillings a week—\$2.88 to \$3.60.

"But they have to work day and night continuously to get it," he added. "I had to myself, when I was learning the ropes. Now, of course, I work from 8 to 5 in the office."

The system was rather beastly, he admitted. "But what can we do, with the price of sugar so low? As it is the United Fruit Co. is paying 47 10s (about \$36.50) for a ton of raw sugar, and it costs us 43s 4d (about \$64.50) to produce a ton. Jamaica sugar producers are trying to meet the situation by cutting production—each man to 75 percent of his five-year average. But things are bad just now. Anyway the men are contented. Why, we've had to turn away scores asking for the jobs."

"Why do the people work at all assistant foreman privately. 'O.S. for twelve shillings?' I asked the assistant foreman privately. "Wouldn't it be better to go up in the mountains and live on bananas, breadfruit and coconuts?"

He smiled. "All the land is owned now, even way up in the mountains. The worst kind of land, far from the road, is £20 (about \$97) an acre. Getting so you'd have to pay £60 (about \$291) for any land worth while and you'd have to pay 13 shillings a year tax on that. If you can't the government comes along and sells it. There's no land left for poor people."

**BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP**  
The Bronx Free Fellowship in cooperation with the Platt School of Music will present an unusually fine concert this Saturday evening, Feb. 21st, for its members and friends, in the Banquet Room of the Fellowship, 1501 Broadway, 15th Street, between 14th and 15th Streets. The program will consist of songs by Norman Carey, Irish-American Ballads, Augustin Morris, concert pianist, and Arthur Bogin, violinist. Informal dancing will follow.

## A Neglected Reform The Abolition of Inheritance Socialization of Estates as a Weapon Against Private Property

By Horace B. Davis

WHEN you say to the average man, "abolition of inheritance," meaning of course the inheritance of private property, his first reaction is, "What about the widows and orphans?"

Well, what about the widows and orphans? Most of them have enough money to pay their husband and father's funeral expenses, if the industrial insurance policy hasn't lapsed; and then, if they don't happen to live in a state that has mothers' pensions, the widows and orphans go to work, or come back on relatives or charity. Statistics of the surrogate's court indicate that in Brooklyn two-thirds of the men who die don't even bother to make a will. This widows and orphans argument is like the one they spring on us when we talk about nationalizing the railroads. A moment's thought will show that if the inheritance of private property really were abolished widows and orphans would be properly taken care of for the first time.

Then they will tell you that inheritance is a natural right. That argument is an old friend, too, but as it happens the capitalist courts will not give it any aid or comfort, because they recognize that inheritance is not a right but a privilege—we might add special privilege. The whole institution of private property can only be justified on the ground that its benefits to society outweigh its disadvantages; and as it happens this form of private property is neither right nor expedient.

But don't parents work harder for the sake of leaving something to their children? Not so. Some people work harder, or steadier, because of their families, but the thought of inheritance is usually present in their minds only remotely if at all. In any case, sensible people realize that a healthy child would bring up can take care of himself when grown, and they devote themselves to his present welfare. They invest money in him, not for him. Worry about the child's future will always be present, of course, until the present system of wealth distribution is altered; and what better means could there be of bringing about such a redistribution than the inheritance tax? This at least is the method favored by as conservative an economist as Prof. Ely.

But the knock-down argument,

the cornerstone of the opposition to the inheritance tax and a fortiori to the abolition of inheritance, is that it is a tax on capital. The argument runs as follows: Rich people save a larger proportion of their incomes than poor people. Therefore the way to encourage capital accumulation is to tax the poor. This argument has seduced as Glenn E. Hoover, who answered in bang-up style the usual fallacious arguments against inheritance taxes in the American Economic Review a couple of years ago.

As an argument, it looked a lot more formidable than it does now. With most of the economists today falling over each other to point out that excess capital accumulation and deficient spending was a big cause of the present depression, it looks funny to be worrying over the drying up of capital funds. But in any case, the argument is fallacious. The purpose of society is not capital accumulation, but good living; and if savings fall short for any reason, we have the example of Soviet Russia, which saved 12 per cent of its income for capital expansion after 7 years of war, famine and pestilence, and has saved nearly half of the government income as part of the five-year plan.

Similarly, all the things that are now done by private bequests could be done better under public direction. Some day a study of foundations will be made which will reveal their essentially reactionary nature. Education, art, science should all be integrated parts of the national life. Insofar as they depend on the wills of dead men, they are on an insecure basis.

A heavy inheritance tax would not foster government extravagance, because as the inheritance tax increased other taxes could be correspondingly reduced. Neither does the inheritance tax cause a shrinkage of social wealth, as claimed by Andrew W. Mellon. Even supposing that the forced sale of an estate to pay the tax depressed market values temporarily, there is no diminution of social wealth. In practice, an estate may be gradually liquidated over a period of years, and practically its full market value realized.

So why do not Socialists favor the abolition of inheritance? The institution of private property and

unequal distribution of wealth rests in large part on the institution of inheritance. It fosters inequality; it perpetuates class distinctions. Inherited property is not earned under any definition; it is not enjoyed by those who have produced it; it is largely wasted and misdirected.

The answer to this question is I believe chiefly historical. Marx, starting off bravely in the Communist Manifesto, lost interest later on in the problems of taxation, and neglected them almost completely. But further, when Ecarius and the Geneva group in the First International came forward with a proposal to abolish inheritance, Marx, who was then on the outs with Ecarius, produced a labored argument to prove that Ecarius was a nitwit for having suggested such a thing.

This blunder of Marx's was not shared by all his contemporary social thinkers. The Belgian refugee Collins gave much thought to the problem of inheritance, and John Stuart Mill predicted that within a generation it would be a leading political issue. So the abolition of inheritance, which forms no part of the tradition of Socialism, has almost become a tradition of liberalism; and in England today the Liberals have been calling conferences to discuss the subject, while the Labor Party is only mildly interested in the subject. Even the Conservative Sir Josiah Stamp has contributed more to the study of the subject than any British labor leader except Hugh Dalton.

Those who can't be for a measure unless it can be shown to be peculiar to the Socialists should read Rignano. He shows how the inheritance tax can be used as a weapon of socialization. The money that passes by inheritance each year is a little more than enough to run all organs of government, national, state and local. A 100 per cent on inheritance would therefore result in a gradual accumulation of wealth in public hands. Rignano is the inventor of the "grandfather tax," by which a man might leave to his son only the excess over what his father left him.

All Socialists, and nearly all economists are in favor of the inheritance tax. Some don't realize however that every one of the arguments they employ in favor of the inheritance tax leads inevitably to the abolition of all inheritance. There is no logical half-way station.

## THE NEW LEADER MAIL-BAG

### RUSSIA

Editor, The New Leader:

Algeron Lee has asked me to specify those acts of Socialists that I have considered an alignment with reactionary forces in common unfriendly attitude upon the common cause of international Socialism. I am amazed at a time when conservative economists are inquiring if it does not already have capitalism on the run, starting from the prior assumption that Socialism can develop only in countries already highly industrialized. Comrade Hillquit dismisses Walter Duranty's report of strikes toward Socialism as "wholesale butchery." The London Economist, or "The Russian Experiment," by Arthur Feller which book Comrade Hillquit himself has recommended.

First hand accounts of Russia's experiments in socialization, for good or evil are of utmost importance to Socialists everywhere. The impressionistic articles of Amy Louise Strong, Ed Folsom and others available through Federated Press Service? I do not condone Russian ruthlessness (although on the basis of facts at hand I would not hysterically call it "wholesale butchery"). Nowhere is dictatorship so by my liking, but even with dictatorship Russia may claim achievements which I as a Socialist can heartily applaud. In America we can seek a more desirable Socialism by democratic methods, but we neither deserve the name of Socialists nor can expect to win the support of workers unless we are building a better society than Russia is building. We will never do that by negative criticism of its efforts.

**PAUL PORTER.**  
Editor, The New Leader:  
It is a relief to know that Hillquit, O'Neal, Sharts, myself, and sundry other American Socialists are not accused of entering into "a formal and definite alliance with reactionaries." But if Comrade Porter finds our position with regard to Russian Bolshevism "scarcely distinguishable" from the position of monarchist and capitalist reactionaries, I can only say that the fault lies in his inability to see a distinction which is very real and plain.

Louis Waldman and Mr. Tuttle both denounced Tammany corruption and opposed the re-election of Governor Roosevelt in the recent campaign. Norman Thomas, in last week's issue of The New Leader said some very sharp things about the high officials of the American Federation of Labor; almost on the same day these officials were attacked elsewhere by Mr. Edgerton of the National Association of Manufacturers. Was there "an alignment in common un-friendliness" between Waldman and Tuttle, and between Thomas and Edgerton? Perhaps Mayor Walker would say so in the one case and Matthew Wolf in the other. But I am sure Comrade Porter would not say such a statement indicated either un-friendliness or, well, let me repeat the phrase, "an alignment in common un-friendliness."

### ALGERNON LEE.

Editor, The New Leader:

I will like you to answer this question in your paper. Does the National Executive Committee of the Conference for Civil Rights in Russia with having made a single untrue statement of fact concerning repression, espionage, and systematic government terrorism in Soviet Russia? He could not safely do so for the facts are well established. But he says it is an unfriendly act to tell the truth about a trial in Russia unless we couple our denunciation of the terrorist policy with a statement that it is used only as a means to the noble end of building "a planned economy." Also, he thinks it is hysterical to use the words "wholesale butchery" in reference to the deliberate shooting of forty-eight prisoners without even the pretense of a trial. I wonder how large a butchery must be to meet Comrade Porter's idea of wholesale operations in that line.

### HARD TIMES

Editor, The New Leader:

William Meier has asked through your columns in connection with my article on "Profits as the Cause of Hard Times" in what sense a man who invests his money spends it, and why it is not true that increased investment should necessarily lead to "overproduction" and consequently to hard times.

Investing money is the same as spending money only in the sense that investment is buying the products of industry and thus furnishing work, just as much as spending money is. The investor buys capital equipment rather than consumer goods, but makes work in that way just as true as does the man who spends his money for consumer goods.

The reason why an increase in capital equipment by increased investing would not of itself alone cause "overproduction" is because the increased capital equipment has to be used by workers who get wages, and likewise workers spend their wages for the products of industry and thus furnish work, just as much as spending money is. The investor buys capital equipment rather than consumer goods, but makes work in that way just as true as does the man who spends his money for consumer goods.

## A Week-End Up New York State

By August Claessens

A SHORT speaking trip up State last week brought me to Syracuse, Rochester, Utica and Albany. Meetings were arranged for me by our local comrades and as these were the first gatherings since the last campaign, they were a fair indication of what excellent opportunities there are for Socialist propaganda. These meetings proved that wherever Socialists make a fair attempt to get people together the response is good and new members and subscribers can be obtained and our membership can be enhanced for more activities. Conditions very bad everywhere are arousing resentment and thought. This may not be expressed in demonstration or large crowds coming to meetings, but it surely is fertilizing the soil for our seed. It is up to us to do the sowing.

The meeting in Syracuse was a surprise. Our local has not functioned for some time and propaganda meetings were seldom held. Thanks to Comrades Sanders, Kleiman and a few others the hall was filled and this in the face of ugly weather and mean travelling conditions. Everybody happy with this modest success, some new members and contacts obtained, our local will meet and re-organize and attempt more doings.

The meeting in Rochester was in the nature of a banquet of the local comrades and some twenty people who came later for the speeches. H. J. Hahn delivered a stirring address on present conditions and the Socialist solution. This invaluable comrade, Pastor of the Salem Church in Buffalo, speaks over Station WGR every Sunday morning at 10:00 A.M. and every Socialist in the middle and western part of the State that I met, is clad with the remarkable quality of these talks over the air. Reading some printed copies of addresses one can understand the enthusiasm aroused and also feel happy that such splendid Socialist propaganda is reaching ever so many people. Every kind of support—financial and moral—should be given Comrade Hahn to be able to continue.

The Rochester local is still small. Nevertheless, it is growing and has ambitious plans for a monthly paper for free distribution and the organization of branches for the coming City elections.

The meeting in Utica was of the best attended in many years. This was due principally to the fine work of Henry J. Sutton, of Newark, N. J., and the assistance of many Utica comrades, and the interest aroused by legislative hearings in town concerning the recently elected Democratic States whose victory was made possible only by manipulating the primaries and stealing the Socialist nomination. The audience was very responsive and a goodly quantity of literature was sold and distributed. Many new people were attracted and the local under the guidance of able and experienced comrades will soon have renewed activities. Though the weather and travelling conditions were atrocious, Socialists came from Rome and nearby towns and were happy about the success of the meeting.

The final meeting in Albany was held in the Forum of the Unitarian Church and our Local assisted in advertising the meeting. It was fairly successful in attendance but because of the fact that it was held under other auspices than our own, no tangible results were achieved. These meetings all demonstrated a revival of interest in our message, and even under unkindly weather conditions people will come out to hear a Socialist. These up-State cities are covered with snow and ice and the authorities are apparently awaiting the warmth of Spring and the Red Cross to thaw out and remove the barricades instead of giving their armies of unemployed a chance to earn something.

Our organization is woefully weak and afraid to undertake expenses necessary for propaganda work. Up-State Socialists are willing and ready to work for the cause and understand that people are more receptive than formerly, but encouragement and help is necessary. We down-State Socialists must assist. A little financial help, more meetings and literature distribution, and more publicity, such as my meetings go so easily, and our up-State locals will soon be on their feet again.

tion of the cause of hard times. It is a necessary addition to the Socialist doctrine because economists who support capitalism have not been slow to point out that profits can be and are used to by the production of industry just as much as wages and therefore the mere existence of profits is not enough to bring about "overproduction" and hard times. It is the existence of profits plus the fact that they are slow in being available to buy the production of industry, that causes the trouble.