

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

VOL. XIV.—No. 22

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1932

Price Five Cents

By Laurence Todd

The A. F. of L. Is Facing the Crisis; Convention Meets in Sober Mood

CINCINNATI.—"During our recent years of prosperity the natural flow of wealth was distorted. Income was distributed in such a way as to benefit the high income groups at the expense of workers, and to encourage expansion of producing capacity without providing for the consumption of an increased volume of goods."

In these words the annual report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, delivered to the convention in Cincinnati Nov. 21, leads up to a showing of how capitalist greed wrecked the "balance" of production and consumption in 1929, thereby causing the economic collapse which is slowly starving millions. The report considers a decade of economic changes.

By means of charts and graphs it demonstrates that, from 1922 to 1929, dividend payments from the gains of industry increased much faster than did wage and salary payments—143.1 per cent for dividends as against 45.5 per cent gain for wages and salaries. During the first year of depression, dividend payments rose 5 per cent, while wage and salary payments fell 15 per cent. Stockholders' dividends from industry in this country amounted to more than \$5,000,000,000 each year from 1924 to 1930, and in 1930 the dividends paid were over \$3,500,000,000.

In 1922 the wage bill in American industry was \$36,603,000,000, the dividends were \$3,437,000,000 and there were 893 private incomes of over \$100,000. In 1925 wages were \$45,770,000,000, dividends \$5,189,000,000, and the number of private incomes over \$100,000 had risen to 2,318. By 1928 wages were \$50,058,000,000, dividends had shot up to \$7,074,000,000, and the rich whose incomes were over \$100,000 numbered 4,451. In 1929 wages were \$53,252,000,000, dividends \$8,356,000,000, and the rich who had over \$100,000 income were 4,348. In 1930 wages had fallen to \$45,503,000,000, but dividends had gone up to \$8,790,000,000. But in this first depression year the number of incomes over \$100,000 had fallen to 1,576, or only about one-third the number reported in 1929. Wealth was being rapidly drawn into a few hands.

In 1931 wages were back to only 103.1 per cent of their 1922 total, while dividends were 209.8 per cent of the total paid in 1922. And this year, based on the first 9 months' figures, the estimate is that total wage payments will be only 77.1 per cent of the total paid in wages in 1922, while dividends will be 131.5 per cent of the amount paid to stockholders in 1922.

These sharp contrasts prove that not only have wage rates been cut, but that millions of workers have been supplanted by machinery, which cannot consume the goods which industry produces.

"We estimate," says the report, "that, counting all workers and those dependent upon them, at least 60,000,000 persons are now living below minimum standards—nearly half our entire population. Forty millions of them have been dragged into poverty by depression; twenty millions more are in industries where living conditions even in normal times are below standard."

"Could there be a more serious indictment of our present economic order? We are denying one-third of our wage and small salaried

Now It'll Be Called Rooseveltburg



Building their shack for the fourth winter of the depression, these unemployed men are part of New York's Hooverville, located at East 10th Street along the East River. A motion is in order to change the name of the settlement to Rooseveltburg, or possibly Franklinton. Some seventy shacks like this have been put up by jobless, homeless men to fight off the wintry blasts. Many were built by the same men who put up the skyscrapers a few blocks away.

workers the right to work; we are slowly starving nearly half our population."

How the Federation is weathering the economic storm is indicated in Secretary Morrison's report, which shows that the per capita tax collected during the twelve months ending August 31, 1932, was \$312,809, as compared with \$357,201 for the preceding year. Total membership reported this year is 2,532,261, compared with 2,889,650 in 1931 and 2,961,096 in 1930. During the past year one international union—the National Federation of Federal Employees—withdraw from affiliation. Central bodies disbanded were 97, suspended 6, reinstated 11. Charters were granted to the American Federation of Government Employees, the Sheep Shearers' Union of North America and to new central bodies in Moncton, N. B.; Norwood, Mass.; Jackson, Miss.; Passaic County, N. J.; Ilion, N. Y., and Hazelton, Pa. The Federation now has 106 national and international unions, 49 state federations, 619 city central bodies, 4 departments, 604 department councils and 26,362 local unions.

The total vote in the present convention is 26,092, the United Mine Workers claiming 3,083 votes, the Carpenters 2,900, the Electrical Workers 1,390, the Musicians 1,000, and all others below 1,000.

Last year the Mine Workers had 4,000 votes and the Carpenters 3,020. Convention voting strength is based upon "average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor."

Helping the Needy

By Frank A. Hilker

Anyone who has any doubt as to the corporations giving real aid in order to lift the depression have only to read the figures relating to where the money goes that some of them get from the R.F.C.

The Wabash railway purchased a boiler washer that cost \$21,000. This machine saves them \$650 a month—in wages, of course. Another slice, \$347,275, is paid for semi-annual interest due on November 1st.

To be sure, the boiler washer is a saving—to the company; but what about the men who have been displaced by the machine? In other lines a similar practice prevails. The moguls cut to the bone but the wound causes no pain to their own anatomy.

\$650 would buy that many barrels of soup, or 650 sirloin steaks. However, the portions would not be so far reaching if used to buy steaks.

New Leader Plans Big Things

NO matter what the Socialist vote is, Socialists keep in mind the basic fact that continuous education is essential to a growing Socialist Party. THE NEW LEADER is an effective educational means of making converts to the Socialist movement. Education means more party members; more members mean a more effective organization; a more effective organization means a greater Socialist Party vote, and that vote will some day mean power and responsibility.

We expect soon to announce a few more features that will appeal to our readers and that will make THE NEW LEADER even more indispensable to its thousands of workers and readers. The ambition of the board and the staff is

to make it the very best Socialist weekly ever published in the United States.

In the meantime let no opportunity pass without calling attention to THE NEW LEADER and getting subscriptions. For your convenience, use the blank below.

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NEW LEADER

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

JAMES ONEAL, Editor
WM. M. FEIGENBAUM, Associate
Contributing Editors:

Abraham Cohen, Joseph E. Cohen, Morris Hillquit, Joseph Wallace Hoshan, Harry W. Laidler, Algernon Lee, Joseph T. Shipley, Charles Solomon, Norman Thomas, Louis Waldman.



Published Every Saturday at
17 E. 15th St., New York City

To the Fusionists

THE New York Herald Tribune on Monday provided an excellent text for a Socialist sermon. It is astonished that the Socialist Party will take no part in any fusion movement "to loosen Tammany's grip on the city." This, we are told, will dishearten those familiar with our "devotion to theory as opposed to practical considerations." We are warned that if we follow this course our vote is likely to slump to the 40,000 polled in 1925.

Well, we are not worried. It does not occur to the Herald Tribune that if we support a fusion candidate, instead of having even that minimum of 40,000 Socialist votes we will have none at all. Most of those votes would not be cast for any candidate if there were no Socialist candidate in the field. Intelligent Socialist voters cannot be delivered to this or that candidate. Delivery can be made of unthinking voters of other views and the Herald Tribune makes the mistake of placing Socialists in the same category.

Now we favor destroying Tammany's grip on the city but we will equally favor the ousting of a fusion administration if it succeeds Tammany. Moreover, we take this position because of "practical considerations" as well as theory. Our practical aim is to win the city for the working masses and if a program having this basic aim were presented to the fusion forces the latter would accept Tammany rather than accept that program. That is to say, fusionists represent a cheap capitalist administration of the city and Tammany represents a costly capitalist administration. Between the two, Socialists have no choice whatever. We are opposed to both.

How do these views square with the attitude of Mayor McKee, the latest idol of the fusion reformers? For years McKee presided in the Board of Aldermen and went along with the gang. He participated in the notorious salary grab and pocketed his share. Recently he took the shocking position that children should not continue their schooling beyond the age of 14. He is opposed to any intelligent housing program out of consideration for real estate interests.

Not in our generation has there appeared a mind so small, so barren of any social vision of the millions vegetating in the lower levels of society. The Socialist Party voices the claims of those in the social depths while Joe McKee is as responsive to the claims of those in the upper ranges as a piece of steel is to a magnet. That fusionists admire this gentleman is no surprise to us. They are mainly interested in cheap government and Tammany does not give it to them. Tammany rats infest thousands of niches in the city government and gnaw at the city's revenues. That they are a parasite swarm Socialists concede, but the fusionists would clean them out and rest content with that.

Down in the cellars of society are the millions for whom the Herald Tribune and the fusionists do not speak and will not speak. They would have these millions climb out of the cellar one day, help the fusionists drive out the rats, and then return to their miserable haunts while Joe McKee wields the executive power in the interests of the real estate speculators and the corporate exploiters of the masses. They would transfer power from the vulgar politicians of city capitalism to the "decent" politicians of city capitalism while Socialists would voice the claims of the masses below. These are our practical considerations and we know what we are about.

The World We Live In

A Socialist View of the Week

THE report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is in many ways the most interesting one it has made in the post-war period. Its survey of income by classes and groups shows what has happened in the most powerful capitalist nation in the world. In the seven years ending with the crash in 1929 wages and salaries had increased 45 per cent but dividends had increased more than three-fold in this period. Dividends even increased in the first year of the depression but wages declined and the disparity between the two categories has continued.

While wealth is rapidly concentrating into fewer hands the report estimates that about half the total population of the nation have been thrust below normal living standards, about 60,000,000 human beings being thus affected. There has been an absolute displacement of workers by machines. The loss of members by the affiliated unions is 357,289 compared with the figures of the last convention. A fighting note is being struck by quite a number of delegates, but in the building trades there is danger of a row over an old jurisdiction issue between the Machinists and Carpenters on the one hand and five other unions on the other.

The impact upon the Federation and its affiliates in the depression years is evident from a number of facts. Whether the members are aware of it or not, there has been a recasting of the philosophy of the A. F. of L. in these years. The first significant evidence of this appeared as the old "prosperity" period was coming to a close. The delegates were meeting in Toronto in October, 1929, when that period came to a close with a crash. For several years reports had been coming from local unions throughout the country of the displacement of workers by new

American Federation of Labor Surveys Wreckage of the Depression Era And Favorable Report on Unemployment Insurance Forecasts Future Work

devices and of workers with a trace of grey in their hair finding it increasingly difficult to get jobs. Simultaneously with the crash of "prosperity" the convention approved old age pension legislation with but one dissenting vote.

The machine revolution, the Wall Street crash, and the support of old age pensions signalized the beginning of the end of a union philosophy that had been stressed since the Portland convention of 1923. That convention worked out a philosophy one section of which opposed social legislation. "Self-help" through union organization and cooperation with the managers of industry were relied upon to solve the problems of the workers. For six years the publicity service of the A. F. of L. was devoted to stressing this point of view but stark facts facing the delegates at Toronto compelled them to make the marked concession in favor of old age pensions.

The period following the 1929 convention has been interesting. The "self-help" idea was not abandoned, although it cannot be reconciled with social legislation. Meantime the number of the jobless millions increased from year to year and charity was the only resource of the unemployed. The alms bags yielded less and less while the needs of the jobless became more acute. Just as the machine process of displacing workers was followed by approval of old age pensions, so at the recent meeting of the A. F. of L. Council the increasingly grave character of the depression

was followed by approval of unemployment insurance. At the Vancouver convention a year ago sentiment favoring it had mounted high and this year it carries all before it. Moreover, for months the old "self-help" philosophy has disappeared from A. F. of L. publicity. It passes away as a social philosophy comes to the front in support of social legislation.

This change is one to be welcomed and it will mean a fight in many states to get unemployment insurance on the statute books. It will be opposed by the ruling classes and their political agents more than any other working class demand in our history. That means that party organizations in the various states will have an opportunity to fight with the organized workers in warring this important concession from the reaction. There may arise differences as to the details in working out this legislation in the states, but the principle is one on which there can be no disagreement between Socialists and the organized working class.

Here is a great opportunity for Socialist-union cooperation in the coming months. Meetings will have to be held, publicity issued, literature printed and constant pressure be employed to get this proposal seriously considered by the various legislatures. Its social character means that only a social philosophy is available for its support. Its labor character must also appeal to millions of workers, organized and unorganized, and awaken in them a desire to obtain this measure from a reluctant and, in some cases, a defiant reaction that will include the conservative press, empty politicians, chambers of commerce and organizations of the employing class. Such a struggle should do much to give hope and awaken the fighting spirit in the working masses as a whole.

An Appeal for Negro Workers

WHAT the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People calls the "most critical stage of the fight against vicious exploitation of Negroes on the federal-financed Mississippi Flood Control Project is at hand" when Congress meets on December 6. A few months ago the revolting exploitation of Negro workers in this enterprise got into the headlines and there was some squirming in Washington. Senator Wagner of New York will introduce a resolution for a full investigation by a Senate committee, but the War Department is opposed.

What the outcome will be remains to be seen, but a flood of light into this government pest hole will be of service to many Negro workers. Not only have they been brutally treated but they have been paid starvation wages and it is estimated justice to them will mean about a million dollars a year in wages over a ten-year period. A flood of publicity regarding the treatment of these workers will also be helpful to Negro workers in government-financed enterprises where discrimination now prevails.

The N.A.A.C.P. is appealing to organizations willing to help these workers to wire their Senators to support the proposal for an investigation. Mass meetings will also be held on December 4 to focus attention on this matter and we hope that the result will be helpful to the Negro workers.

The Fusionists in New York City

ON this page we pay our respects to the Herald Tribune which regrets that Socialists will not join a fusion crusade in New York City, but we have not exhausted this theme in the editorial column. Charles H. Tuttle, Republican and former U. S. District Attorney, urges the G.O.P. to substitute a "New Guard" for the "Old Guard" leaders who regard Republican voters as "merchandise on the counter of a political five-and-ten-cent store." At the same time Sam Koenig, Republican leader, recommends Mayor McKee as a fusion candidate next year, New York Com-

missioner of One Thousand is "cordial" to McKee after the latter's speech before the State Chamber of Commerce. The Young Men's Board of Trade is backing McKee, and William J. Scheffelin of the Citizens Union appreciates McKee's address and hopes that the Chamber of Commerce will get back of him.

What is all this but a stir in the royal castle of capital and finance? Big property owners and conservative politicians are aroused over Tammany's misdeeds, although there has not been a single accusation that Tammany in any way is opposed to their big-property philosophy. Practically every such reform and fusion movement in New York City has been of this same character. It is an attempt at reformation within the ruling classes and that is no concern of the masses. As between the silk stocking and the blackleg, Socialists have no choice.

The City Streets

By William Allen Ward

"EXTRA" . . . the newsmen shout . . .
"big murder" . . .
"Buy a pencil," the street vender, stooped with years, pleaded . . .
"Gimme a quarter," the panhandler begs.
"Loan me a buck . . . it's my kid's birthday," a friend requests . . .
"Give it back tomorrow . . ."
"Move on . . . move on," the cop growls . . .
"Buy a paper" . . . the old lady seated on the goods box pleads . . .
It is raining . . . the streets—the city streets—are slippery . . .
"Hey, guy, where's the army recruiting station?"
A young fellow from the North Dakota wheat fields asks:
"I'm hungry . . . gonna join the army . . . Maybe I can get somethin' to eat."
So . . . the city streets chattered . . .
"Extra . . . gimme . . . join the army . . . buy a paper . . . oranges to sell . . . loan me a buck . . . buy a pencil . . ."
Such is the language of the streets in New York, Dallas, Denver, Oklahoma City,
Anywhere streets run and people travel.
"Gimme . . . gimme . . . gimme . . ."

Some Hideous Contrasts Of the Capitalist Order

AMERICAN capitalism is in some respects being transformed into a national poor farm. Of the 3,072 counties in the United States, flour has been distributed to unfortunates in all but 173, and this is not the end of the distribution of Farm Board wheat. The same board has also made 500,000 bales of cotton available for making clothing, and half of the cotton has been traded for ready-made clothing for the destitute. In the southern states there is also a "shocking inadequacy of medical care" as a survey of three typical counties in three states reveals. Cotton was the cash crop in the three counties and the low price or a crop failure leaves whole communities without any money. The Committee on the Costs of Medical Care that made the survey suggests that without outside financial aid the prospect for the sick in this region is hopeless. Here we have people unable to provide for their own ills who raise cotton to help other people from freezing this winter. It is such hideous contrasts that reveal how serious the breakdown is.

Last week the State Commission on Old Age Security reported that in New York State the older job-seeker is barred from 59 per cent of available jobs and is discriminated against in 89 per cent of them. Something like this has been happening to workers in general throughout the nation. Many of them depend upon that wheat and cotton raised in stricken agricultural regions.

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

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

1 Year in the United States . . . \$2.00
6 Months in the United States . . . \$1.25
1 Year to Foreign Countries and Canada . . . \$3.00
Entered as Second Class Matter, January 18, 1934, at the Post Office at New York, under act of March 3, 1879.

A.F. of L. Council Departs from Old Policy In Report Favorable to Jobless Insurance

THE report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the annual convention at Cincinnati on unemployment insurance is so important to the workers of the nation that we present the complete text below. It differs with the bill drafted by the Socialist Party in some important respects, but its significance lies in the acceptance of the principle. That it marks a departure from an old point of view and a welcome one at that is obvious. Socialists should become as familiar with this text as with our own as the report means that unemployment insurance will be up for consideration in most of the states in the coming months. The report follows.

It would be desirable, were it possible, to press for the enactment of one uniform measure for unemployment insurance applicable throughout the United States. But, due to the provisions and limitations of the United States Constitution as interpreted by the courts, since the regulation of manufacture and industry lies primarily within the province of State rather than Federal activity, it is practically impossible to enact constitutional Federal legislation adequately providing for unemployment insurance covering employees engaged in work in the different States.

The American Federation of Labor, therefore, advocates the passage of unemployment insurance legislation in each separate State, and the supplementing of such State legislation by Federal enactments; such, for instance, as bills covering employees engaged in interstate commerce or employed in the District of Columbia or in Federal territories, or such as the bill recently introduced into Congress by Senator Wagner, allowing corporations substantial income-tax credit on their Federal income taxes for such payments as they have made under State laws toward the creation of unemployment reserves.

Local Conditions Vary

It is evident that the local conditions of each State vary to such a marked degree that it would be unwise, even were it possible at the present time, to frame a single model bill to be enacted in every State. It is possible, nevertheless, to set forth certain general fundamental principles and standards to which such State legislation should conform. The American Federation of Labor, after mature consideration and discussion, has formulated the following principles which should guide in the framing of State unemployment insurance bills:

1. Every unemployment insurance act should contain specific provisions to protect union members from being obliged to accept work contrary to the rules and regulations of their organizations or employment under conditions such as tend to depress wages or working conditions.
2. Unemployment insurance legislation in this country should be carefully devised to promote its two primary objectives: (a) the stimulation of more regular employment, insofar as possible, and (b) the payment of unemployment compensation to those who are temporarily out of work through industry's failure to provide steady employment for its working forces.
3. The American Federation of Labor advocates a scheme of unemployment compensation made compulsory by law. Voluntary schemes are unlikely to pervade industry generally and are frequently open to other serious objections. Only by compulsory legislation can workers be adequately protected.
4. Since unemployment is to a certain extent one of the inevitable incidents of production and must, therefore, be regarded as part of the inescapable cost of industry, it, like other costs of industry, should be paid by industry itself. It, therefore, follows that, as a

matter of principle, no part of the contributions to support unemployment insurance should be paid out of the wages of labor, but the whole should be paid by management as part of the cost of production. The necessary funds should be raised as a charge on industry.

Amount of Contribution

The amount of such contribution must depend upon the local conditions in each State. A minimum contribution must be required sufficient to cover (a) the building up of adequate reserves, (b) the cost of the benefits to be paid under the act, and (c) the costs of administration. To cover these costs the American Federation of Labor believes that the contribution rate should be not less than 3 per cent of the total payroll.

The exact percentage, however, must vary in different States and will come to depend upon various actuarial data, which must be carefully collected as a basis for such



WILLIAM GREEN

determination from the experience gained both before and after the passage of the act.

By Morris Hillquit

American Labor on the March

THE Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has recommended to the Cincinnati convention the approval of a system of compulsory unemployment insurance to be established by state legislation.

This step marks a profound revolution in the social concepts and political attitude of the organized labor movement in America.

Heretofore the American Federation of Labor, alone of all great national trade-union bodies in the world, took an individualistic, not to say anarchistic, position against government interference in behalf of labor.



Morris Hillquit

It opposed all attempts to secure laws establishing a minimum wage or a maximum work-day for adult workers and "decided all forms of social insurance, which their fellow trade-unionists across the Atlantic considered as their most valuable and cherished achievements."

They argued that if the government were permitted to interfere in the industrial life of the country in behalf of labor, it would be difficult to stop it from exercising its powers against labor. They relied mainly on self-help in the form of economic pressure by the trade-unions, seemingly forgetful of the fact that in the condition of powerful capitalist development and concentration the economic struggles between workers and employers had become a tragically uneven combat.

This antiquated "liberal" social concept lay at the bottom of most of the Federation's philosophy and politics, its lack of class-consciousness and aggressiveness, its support of the political parties of capitalism.

Demand for Unemployment Insurance Marks New Epoch in History of A. F. of L.

It would be gross exaggeration to claim that the acceptance by the American Federation of Labor of the principle of state unemployment insurance signifies the conversion of that body to the philosophy of Socialism. But we are quite justified in asserting that it marks a first decided step in that direction.

An old German proverb proclaims that "He who says A must say B," and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has already said B and is on the high road to C.

Analyzing the causes of unemployment, the Council concludes that "the reason for this situation is to be found in the faulty distribution of the products of industry as against the achievements of American productive processes."

It demands "national economic planning for the purpose of balancing production and distribution," and explains that the plans for economic balance must not result in curtailing production and lowering standards, but "must grow out of a unified basic philosophy and co-ordinated procedure to advance human well-being."

The report recommends "Recognition of the equities of workers in the industry in which they work and at least protection equal to that given financial investments."

The concrete recommendations of the council as to the provisions to be embodied in the unemployment insurance laws are on the whole rather progressive.

The council had before it a number of "model" bills ranging from the anemic "American plan," sponsored by the American Association for Labor Legislation and substantially adopted in Wisconsin, to the full-blooded program which the Socialist Party formulated in its own model bill.

While the plan proposed by the Federation is not as broad and

The absence of complete data should not, however, prevent the passage of a law, since the liability of the fund is limited to the amount of the income provided by law. As experience is accumulated it will be possible to determine the income necessary to provide the benefits decided upon in the law.

5. At this time the American Federation of Labor deems it inadvisable to take an irrevocable stand as between the plant reserves system of unemployment insurance embodied in the Wisconsin law and an insurance system such as is under consideration in Ohio and in operation in many European countries.

A State Matter

Whatever plan is adopted, whether based on plant reserves or on a broader basis, we believe that it should be administered by the State and all reserve funds held and invested by the State. We are unalterably opposed to company-controlled unemployment re-

serves and believe that without State administration plant reserves will prove but another "company union" device.

We are also of the opinion that, at least at the outset, it is advisable to have but a single unemployment insurance fund (with, if a plant reserves system is adopted, separate accounts for separate employers) and a flat rate of contributions by employers regardless of the industry in which they may be engaged.

Later on, after more accurate data are obtained, occupation or enterprise may be scaled according to the hazard of unemployment, but sufficient data are not now available to warrant such classifications at this time.

6. Sound public policy requires that no insurance company in this country be allowed to invade this new field of unemployment compensation. No insurance company is allowed under present State laws to write this class of insurance. The federation believes that this policy is wise and should in no case be abandoned.

7. All funds should be invested in Federal securities or in the bonds of State or municipalities such as have never defaulted in the payment of principal or interest.

All Sorts of Unemployment

8. Insurance in general should cover temporary and involuntary unemployment. Unemployment means the conditions caused by the inability of an employee who is capable of and available for employment to obtain work in his usual employment or in another for which he is reasonably fitted. Nothing in the unemployment compensation act should require an employee to accept employment, nor should any employee forfeit his right to benefits under the act by refusing to accept employment under any or all of the following conditions:

(a) In a situation vacant directly in consequence of a stoppage of work due to a trade dispute;

(b) If the wages, hours and conditions offered are less favorable to the employee than those prevailing for similar work in the locality, or are such as tend to depress wages and working conditions;

(c) If acceptance of such employment would abridge or limit the right of the employee either (1) to refrain from joining a labor organization or association of workmen, or (2) to retain membership in and observe the rules of any such organization or association.

(d) Workers who quit work without good cause or who are discharged for misconduct shall not thereby forfeit benefits beyond a reasonable period.

9. The coverage should be as wide as possible. It should include clerical as well as manual workers. There are, however, certain classes of employment which it may be necessary to exclude from the general operation of the act, and these classes will vary according to local conditions. It would seem that the

(Continued on Page Sixteen)

rest of the working class to join with them and take the management away.

THE REVOLUTION IS HERE, NOW. STOP IT WHO CAN!

generous as that of the Socialist Party, it comes much closer to the latter than to the so-called American plan.

It places the entire cost of insurance on industry, demanding a minimum contribution of 3% of the payroll without deductions from wages. It calls for joint administration of the fund by representatives of the management and organized labor under strict state supervision. It provides a broad and liberal basis for the inclusion of beneficiaries and for the protection of union standards.

While the benefits (\$15 per week for 16 weeks in the year) are rather inadequate, they are much more substantial than the ridiculous subsidies recommended by the liberal social reformers of all shades.

Truly, the American labor movement is at last beginning to move.

The Impending Revolution

By Jack London

THE capitalist class is as blind today to the menace of the revolution as it was blind in the past to its own God-given opportunity. It cannot see how precarious is its position, cannot comprehend the power and the portent of the revolution. It goes on its placid way, prattling sweet ideals and demoralities, and scrambling sordidly for material benefits.

It short, so blind is the capitalist class that it does nothing to lengthen its lease of life, while it does everything to shorten it. The capitalist class offers nothing that is clean, noble and alive. The revolutionists offer everything that is clean, noble and alive. They offer service, unselfishness, sacrifice, martyrdom—the things that sting awake the imagination of the people, touching their hearts with the fervor that arises out of the impulse toward good.

The capitalist class has been indicted. It has failed in its management, and its management is to be taken away from it. Seven million men of the working class say that they are going to get the

By Henry J. Roemer

Public Relief Agencies Are Fast Breaking Down

Reconstruction F. C. Cares More for Banks Than for Human Beings—In the Face of a Terrible Winter Socialist Party Has a Serious Task.

WITH no near prospect of economic recovery, as I pointed out in last week's New Leader, misery among the unemployed and their dependents in the months ahead will be the worst in the history of the United States. Neither private charity nor local governments can carry the burden. Cities and counties because of tax delinquencies find it impossible to market their relief bonds.

A complete mobilization of the credit and tax resources of the federal government is imperative if hunger and starvation are to be averted. The federal administration, nevertheless, continues to insist that the main reliance must be placed upon local governments and voluntary charity organizations, with some supplementary assistance through loans by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Here are a few figures to illustrate the breakdown of this system:

Detroit has reduced the number of families receiving relief from 48,000 in January to 21,500 in August, with relief at the rate of 15 cents a day per person.

Chicago relief agencies in October sharply cut allowance for 100,000 families. Prior to the reduction, relief had averaged 16 cents a person per day.

In New York City, for every family added to the city relief rolls another family is arbitrarily dropped. Fifty-two thousand families have suffered this fate in recent months. Those fortunate enough to receive relief average 15 cents a day per person.

There is hardly a community in America which does not today find itself in the same predicament as these cities.

In the face of this mounting volume of misery and distress, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation has adopted a miserly policy in the distribution of funds for relief. In July it was empowered to lend \$300,000,000 to cities and states for direct unemployment relief. In the four months of its operation sixty million dollars have been loaned for this purpose. At the present rate of distribution of these funds it will be April, 1934, before the entire three hundred million dollars is spent.

Pennsylvania has asked for \$45,000,000 for relief from the R.F.C., and to date has received \$6,000,000. Illinois asked for \$37,000,000 in September and has since received \$13,000,000.

Wage Losses and Relief

The annual wage loss in the United States due to unemployment at present is fifteen billion dollars. Considering the fact that the average American worker when employed never earns sufficient to permit him to lay aside a large surplus for a rainy day, relief expenditures ought to total at least one-third of this wage loss if the health and vitality of the unemployed and their dependents are to be maintained. Instead of spending this minimum of five billion annually approximately a billion dollars is being spent by all unemployment relief agencies in the United States. The only logical source for the additional four billion per annum is the United States government.

In the face of this grave responsibility the bankers directing the affairs of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation have been so unsympathetic to the needs of the unemployed that it will take almost two years to disburse \$300,000,000 of federal money for relief. A humane administration would have distributed the \$300,000,000 between July and December and when Congress reconvened would have asked for more money. Even this would be one-sixth of what the federal

been distributed to these institutions since its inception.

Banks and Men

Charles G. Dawes got \$80,000,000 for his Chicago bank in one lump, while the state of Illinois received only \$13,000,000 for relief when it asked for \$37,000,000.

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad got \$32,500,000, the bulk of which was used to meet maturing loans, while the state of Pennsylvania received only \$6,000,000 when it asked for \$45,000,000 to feed the starving unemployed.

When Congress reconvenes the Socialist Party must lead in the fight to compel Congressional hearings on the heartlessness of the R.F.C. relief policy and the enactment of legislation providing more adequate federal aid.

Little can be expected from the incoming Democratic administration. In the first place, the present chairman of the R.F.C., Atlee

Pomerene, is a Democrat. In the second place, Governor Roosevelt's record in New York State is not one to inspire confidence. The records show that the average relief per family in New York State cities of 100,000 and over is 80 cents a day, or 16 cents a person. 90,000 heads of families in the state who have been approved for work relief after rigorous investigation proving destitution are receiving no aid because of lack of funds. According to the state relief administration, a minimum of \$10,000,000 a month should be spent on public relief. Instead only \$6,000,000 a month is being spent—\$3,000,000 comes from the cities and counties and \$3,000,000 from the state.

Because of the bankrupt condition of most local governments they cannot be expected to increase their expenditure of \$3,000,000 a month. It will be fortunate if they

can maintain it. Under the present state relief law it is impossible for the state government to spend the \$30,000,000 bond issue for relief just approved by the electorate at a rate more rapid than \$3,000,000 a month. The reason is that the bulk of this sum must be used under the law to reimburse 40 per cent of city and county appropriations for relief. It is, therefore, impossible for the state to do more than match the local governments' expenditure of \$3,000,000 a month.

Slow-Footed Relief

Unless the law is changed it will take ten months to spend the \$30,000,000, although it should be used up in four and a third months at the rate of \$7,000,000 a month to meet the needs of New York's destitute unemployed. This objective cannot be realized unless the State Relief administration is empowered by law to give money directly to local relief agencies when local finances are insufficient to provide adequate relief for all known cases of destitution.

Governor Roosevelt has steadfastly refused to call a special session of the Legislature to recommend changes in the state relief law that would make it possible for the state to meet its obligations to the unemployed.

Unless a determined fight is waged and won to force adequate appropriations to meet the needs of the distressed unemployed human suffering in the months ahead will be unparalleled. The organization that leads such a fight is sure of future mass support.

The Socialist Party to become a major factor in the American political scene must be in the forefront of such a struggle. This should be a major objective of future party activity. Nothing is more important.

Hounding of Anti-Fascists In U.S.A. Is Charged

Arbitrary summoning of American citizens of Italian birth by the Royal Italian Consular Agency in Yonkers for questioning about their political beliefs will be taken up in the immediate future with the State Department, the American Civil Liberties Union announces. The Union made public a letter addressed to Giuseppe Brancucci, head of the agency, expressing its belief that he was exceeding his authority.

Registered letters addressed by Signor Brancucci's office to various Italian-born Americans in Westchester County are in the Union's possession; each of these asked the addressee to call at the agency to receive information concerning him.

"These American citizens, or at least some of them," said the Civil Liberties Union's letter, signed by Roger N. Baldwin, director, "happen to be opposed to the Fascist regime in Italy, a privilege accorded them under American law. May we inquire on their behalf why your office, as a representative of a foreign government, saw fit to address American citizens concerning their political views? We are advised that the men who called were queried as to their attitude toward the Fascist government and were advised to investigate its benefits.

"We believe you are overstepping the authority of your office as a representative of a foreign government in this country in addressing American citizens on any political matters concerning their country. But before putting this matter before our State Department, we desire to have from you an explicit statement as to the object of these letters and as to the legal grounds on which you evidently assumed your action was justified.

"Here's hoping that I will send up some more subs for our paper," writes J. Hauck of Long Island, as he sends in the names of four new readers.

By Gertrude Weil Klein

A Woman's Point of View

ELEVEN million women in this country hold down jobs. Of these, thirty-seven percent are married women; and according to the working male population, especially the would-be-working male population, they should all be dunked in the ocean.

In the white collar class, which is taking some terrific punishment during these four years O. D. (of depression, if there's anybody who doesn't know) the feeling against the woman worker—and this goes double for the married woman worker is acridulous. Among office employees, where large numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled young men and women scurry to their identical cubby-holes, it's plain war.

The up-and-coming young man who used to make quite a spurge on his \$35 per week, the stinky young stenog who looked like Park Avenue on her \$25 pay envelop, are having the skin peel off their noses, so close to the wind do they sail, trying to get by on half their former salaries. Then, to add to

Now They're Starting a Campaign to Get the Married Women Out of Jobs—But One Must Eat

the agony, there is in almost every office of any size a married woman or two managing to hold on to a job, a salary, and a husband. Is it any wonder that the men regard the married woman worker as the poison in their pie?

Nobody wants to know whether a girl is working because she must. Let her get herself a man and get married. How? When? Where? Nobody can tell her that. And the married woman? Nobody gives a darn if she tries to explain that her \$20 per week is all that is keeping her and her husband from becoming public charges. She has a good case. She's married and that's that! Her place is at home!

Maybe this is not quite as inhuman as it sounds. It's partly due to the ballyhoo that's all in the game of seeming to be what you're not. When the pert little thing with the hat over one eye comes in flashing a big sparkler, the husband-to-be is always a well-fixed young man—a "manager"—whatever that is.

If she's going to keep on working she casually lets you know, it's because she prefers typewriting to dishwashing; or, in the inner offices where the language is fancier, it's a career or economic independence. The pay envelop is no consideration at all.

And now they are caught, these poor, bewildered young things, on



G. W. Klein

The Need of Socialist Education

By WILLIAM E. BOHN

FOR two months the Rand School has been corresponding with comrades all over the country with regard to its new correspondence course in Scientific Socialism. Letters have come from twenty-six states and from three provinces of Canada.

The one great thing which they reveal is that Socialists do not think they know it all, that they realize the value of sound knowledge. They understand that if we are to have a united party, a party that will grow consistently, exert its power increasingly, they must have a fundamental unity of Socialist concepts.

One comrade writes from California: "At our meeting today the gross ignorance of the Socialists concerning Socialism was revealed to me; and lo it is appalling. We must have the benefit of your correspondence course." Another writes from a town in New Jersey: "We increased our vote here from 800 to 2,000. Send us the material for your correspondence course

and we will send check by return mail."

A Yipsel director writes from Ohio: "We have a number of Yipsels who are new to the movement and we have no means of teaching them the principles of Socialism. You see, we are not blessed with a Rand School or able teachers. A course such as you offer will just about solve our education-of-new members problem."

The assistant organizer of a great eastern city tells of his job: "To my mind our biggest task is the building up of a strong organization centrally and in various parts of the city and county. This work usually declines for want of leaders and a program. We sorely need members who are well schooled in Socialism and in Socialist strategy. Therefore I want to begin organizing classes to meet as soon as the stir of the election is over."

These are samples of messages which are pouring into the Rand School every day. The picture that they give is inspiring, our workers are facing their job with energy and understanding.

It's just hitting at anything blindly, wildly, and we're going to see other manifestations of this dumb reaction before it's all over. And there isn't much point in women banding together to fight the men for what they claim is their work. It's not a question of women taking work away from men or men taking working away from women. If anything, the men started it, when they began building factories and moving the industries out of the home. It's rather a question of both men and women understanding their identity of interests as workers, and understanding the identity of their fates as economic pawns. Until large numbers of both men and women get together on this basis, the struggle for existence will get messier and sexier.

On the other hand, here's a bright little item to cheer you up. There used to be a little shop up on Madison Avenue in the fifties where a lady could go in and have a harness made for her poodle. Well, it closed up. Another victim of the depression, or so we thought. But inquiry disclosed that it had moved into larger and more gorgeous quarters on 47th Street. You can write your own article.

By William M. Feigenbaum

The Party—and Honest Elections

The Widespread and Continued Poll Frauds Are a Challenge to Socialists—No One Else Cares Enough About it to Do Anything—Our Party's Course.

EVERY year about this time a lot of people—Socialists included—get excited over the sanctity of the ballot and about the election thievery practiced as a routine thing by the dominant political organization in New York.

There is, we have every reason to believe, similar thievery in other parts of the country, where undoubtedly citizens—again including Socialists—work themselves into a lather over the sanctity of the ballot. This year Newark is in the limelight.

That Tammany henchmen steal votes even when Tammany Hall does not really need to steal to register the big majorities required by the bosses is an old story. They undoubtedly do it to keep their hands in; possibly because they never learned to be honest and would not recognize an honest count if they saw one. Or possibly they would be driven out of Tammany circles in disgrace if they were suspected of election day honesty.

The issue before us is not the facts; what faces us is the problem of what to do about it.

Can the thievery be stopped? Can we ever assure an honest count of votes?

We can—that is, if we are anxious enough to make a fight for it, and are willing to go through with it.

Two Parties

The Socialist Party is a political party that never sleeps. Its activities never cease. Its propaganda and educational work began the moment the polls closed on Election Day.

Tammany Hall likewise never sleeps. It carries on its activities every moment of every day.

But it holds no lectures; it conducts no classes; it publishes no educational literature. It is not even interested in the practical and theoretical questions that face its elected officials. "We will cross that bridge," the Tammany hacks say, "when we come to it."

Tammany's activities consist in lining up people; getting a line on them and becoming personally acquainted with every single voter in the city, and in placing as many of them as possible under obligations.

We know about the thievery that characterized every election in the pre-machine days of voting; we recall the theft by Tammany of the Aldermanic seats to which Algeron Lee and Edward F. Cassidy had been elected; and of August Claessens' Assembly seat. But no one went to jail for the bare-faced theft of thousands of votes.

We know about the theft of so many tens of thousands of votes in each election that elections became a howling farce, the reported results being only an approximation to the actual votes cast.

We know that in election after election Socialists were elected by substantial majorities—and certificates of election given to Tammany hacks; and that this thievery was often consummated with the connivance and the aid of the Republican "opposition."

And incidentally, we know that there is not a man in high office today who is not the beneficiary of such vile practices. Roosevelt and Lehman—not to mention O'Brien—had their majorities piled up by such methods; and Republicans in Philadelphia and Chicago benefit from the same gentle practices.

And those gentlemen either know about the practices that give them their majorities, or they do not. If they do not, they are a little less than bright. AND IF THEY DO...

We know about ballot-box stuffing, repeating, terrorization and colonization that continued so long

that they became the natural and normal things, and that at last—at long last—tens of thousands of voters began to consider the constant Socialist cry of fraud a cry of Wolf! Wolf!, and so the voters whose ballots were not counted anyhow began to drift away from voting their principles.

When the Machines Came

We hoped for better things with machines, but in vain.

Without caring very much whether Joe McKee actually got 135,000 votes or 400,000, it is a matter of grave and profound importance that votes cast were not counted, and that those intending to vote for McKee were not permitted to.

An election means nothing in a democracy unless the election re-

Pittsburgh Records

Huge Vote Gain

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—In spite of a wave of anti-Hoover votes that swept Andy Mellon's home city and county into the Democratic column, a tremendously increased proportion of this great industrial area's workers in iron, coal and steel cast their ballots for the Socialist Party.

The tiny dribble of 1,700 votes cast for Norman Thomas and Jim Maurer in 1928 swelled nearly 900% to a vote of over 15,000. Official returns are expected to swell this unofficial and partial report, while the bitter hatred of the Hoover-Mellon regime is witnessed in the cutting of the head of the Socialist ticket, leaving the balance of the ticket far ahead of the presidential vote.

The intensive work of the newly organized Tarentum branch was shown in an especially heavy increase in the coal and steel ruled valley of the Allegheny River, where the Socialist ticket in many districts alternately ran ahead of the Republican and Democratic vote, while Fawn Township was carried—Thomas 105, Roosevelt 65, and Hoover 101.

SYKESVILLE, Pa.—This Jefferson County coal town in the heart of the old 2nd (Central Penna.) district of the United Mine Workers gave the Socialist ticket a plurality over the contending capitalist parties. Although the Sykesville branch has only been revived in this community of 2,000 for a few weeks before election, the results ran:

| | |
|------------------------|-----|
| Thomas and Maurer..... | 202 |
| Roosevelt | 171 |
| Hoover | 153 |

The rest of the Socialist ticket also carried in equal proportion.

A WARNING

Watch out for one YPSL member's note: Jean August Halser, Jr., 5 ft. 9 in. tall, blond-wiry hair, blue eyes and a scar over his left eye. Former member of Allentown circle and disappeared with quite a bit of money. Also stole some money from a comrade in Reading.

He is traveling around the eastern states at present.

turns give an exact picture of what the people are thinking about. If it does not give such a picture the returns mean nothing, and democracy is, in effect, a failure.

Socialists are not interested in seeing people vote for McKee, or for Alger and Deutsch; but Socialists are anxious to see that every vote cast (or intended to be cast) is recorded, no matter for whom.

Otherwise there is no real democracy. Otherwise Socialists cannot conscientiously urge the masses to vote their hopes and aspirations.

Tammany today is more insolent than ever before. For example, there are five Assembly districts in New York in which the population is steadily declining; whole blocks of tenements are being torn down, schools are closed, the streets are depopulated. Yet every year the registration (under Tammany auspices) increases.

Tammany Methods

In one election district the Tammany hack who is "leader" reported 575 Tammany votes and one So-

cialist vote. AT LEAST FIFTEEN SOCIALISTS REPORTED VOTING IN THAT DISTRICT! (But they are afraid to complain, for the "benevolent" Tammany knows how to punish as well as how to give skipping ropes, ice cream cones and baseball bats.)

Socialists everywhere report that they found their names voted when they went to the polls. One Socialist caught a woman voting twice; and when he complained he was arrested! One Deputy (a Republican) protested a man who voted sixteen times. He was beaten up and thrown out. Tens of thousands—possibly a hundred and fifty thousand—who wanted to vote for McKee found that they could not. Tammany's ingenuity is great.

One watcher reported that Tammany hacks instructed voters not to pull the lever all the way over; thus it was impossible to vote, and voters left in disgust—upon which "All-star" votes were recorded to swell the "popular" sweep.

And so on, and on and on.

What About It?

Well, how about it?

There is indignation today. One Liberal newspaper is gathering evidence of cases in which would-be McKee voters were prevented from voting. Our good friends of the City Affairs Committee are doing the same.

But what will happen?

Based on many years of experience with New York elections, we can predict the answer—NOTHING. Indignation peters out. In a week all will be forgotten—except by Socialists.

We saw the bare-faced theft of 495 votes in a single Harlem election district in 1921, by the butchering of a tally-sheet in THE PRESENCE OF WITNESSES. We saw S. John Block order the arrest of the criminals—and we personally carried on a five-year campaign to punish the rascals. Tammany held the District Attorney's office, and when the thieves finally came to trial the case was dismissed "for want of evidence."

Tammany knows its business BECAUSE IT KNOWS THE PEOPLE OF EVERY DISTRICT, PRECINCT AND BLOCK.

That is a challenge to us.

No one cares enough about honest elections to make a fight for them EXCEPT THE SOCIALISTS.

Organization—and Organization

Tammany holds the people in its vise-like grip through a certain form of ORGANIZATION.

We have no baseball bats or skipping ropes to give; but neither can we (nor do we care to) terrorize the people to vote.

We have an ideal and a hope.

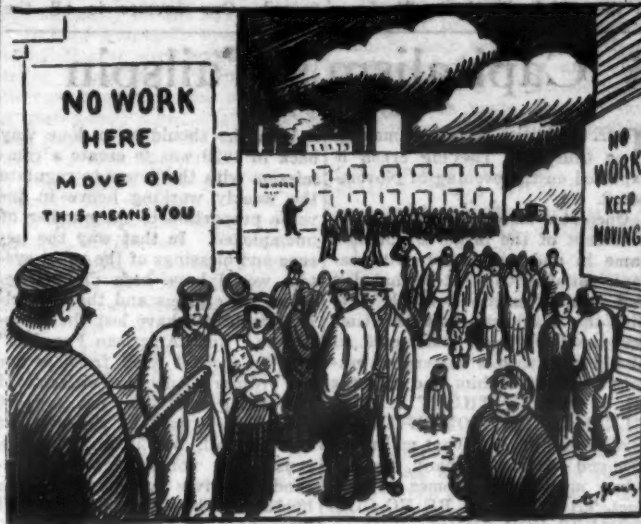
Tammany loots the people with the aid of organization.

We can inspire the people with our ideal; but only when we have ORGANIZATION COMMENSURATE WITH TAMMANY'S CAN WE TRANSLATE THAT IDEAL INTO ACTION.

Without neglecting our educational and propaganda work we must begin at once to organize in every district, and whenever possible, in every block. We must have captains who KNOW the voters; and who will be able to catch the colonizers with PROOF that will put the crooks into jail. And who will KNOW the voters so that when they watch on Election Day NOT A SINGLE FALSE VOTE will be cast.

If we mean business in our political work we have got to go it.

If we are not prepared to do it we might as well give up our party and become a mere educational forum.



The Terror in Peru

GEORGE LANSBURY, leader of the British Labor Party, cabled to the President of Peru in August protesting against the persecution of workers and students and appealing for the life of Haya de la Torre, the imprisoned leader of the Apra Party (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana), who came so near to success in the last presidential election.

On October 14th an "Open Letter" to Lansbury in the name of the Parliamentary Group of the Apra Party was handed to him in London by one of the signatories. After thanking Lansbury for his intervention the letter gives an appalling picture of the political persecution exercised by the dictator, Commandant Sanchez Cerro.

All the six signatories, members of the Peruvian Parliament, were seized by force and without trial, in the Hall of Assembly of the Peruvian Parliament, and placed on a ship and banished, despite the immunity and special privileges guaranteed to members of Parliament by the constitution.

"All the independent periodicals are suppressed," says the letter, "and the three universities of Peru and the three national colleges are closed. . . . More than 200 undergraduates from Lima and Trujillo have been sent to Madre de Dios, a barren region with a terrible climate. . . . In Trujillo 500 persons have been assassinated without trial, among them 57 women and 38 minors of 15 years of age, not counting the 44 members of the Apra Party who were shot."

"In Cuzco twenty peasants have been massacred. In Juarez more than 60 workers and students have been assassinated. People have been condemned to death in their absence, without trial, among them the brother of Haya de la Torre. Haya de la Torre has been subjected to court martial, in spite of his having been in prison for three months, in total isolation."

Then follows a description of the disgraceful conditions under which

Haya de la Torre has been imprisoned.

He was "prevented from communicating with the lawyer defending him . . . not allowed a visit from his doctor . . . an order was given to close the one small ventilator in his cell . . . he was forbidden to speak to anyone . . . he was deprived of sanitary arrangements . . . he was confined in a damp and unhealthy subterranean dungeon in order to bring about his death. . . . On August 6th Haya de la Torre resolved to go on hunger strike . . . his cell was changed, slightly improving his conditions. . . . What is happening, Comrade Lansbury, is that unless all free men throughout the world intervene actively now, Haya de la Torre will be slowly murdered in Lima."

All this in spite of the protests which have been sent to Peru from all parts of the world. On August 20th the Argentine Chamber of Deputies voted unanimously to approach the Peruvian Chamber with a request that it intervene on behalf of the life of Haya de la Torre, and it was reported from Lima on September 4th that the National Assembly of Peru had passed a resolution requesting the President of the Republic to give Haya de la Torre his freedom.

But apparently Sanchez Cerro prefers to face the contempt of the civilized world than the prospect of a liberated Haya de la Torre leading a popular movement which would sweep him from office.

Fred Henderson, The New Leader's London correspondent, writes:

"May I congratulate you on the magnificent series of campaign articles putting the Socialist case and its full appeal in The New Leader during the past month or two? I cannot imagine American working class opinion being untouched by them. . . ."

By Fred Henderson

British Labor Triumphs in the Cities

IN my last letter I was able to report the splendid evidence of recovery in the prospects of British Labor as shown by the proceedings of the annual conference of the Labor Party at Leicester. But, welcome as that evidence was as a manifestation of the renewed spirit of the Party and its clearer-than-ever insistence upon its full Socialist purposes, it was evidence only of the mood of the Party itself.

During the past month we have had triumphant evidence of the response of the nation itself—general and widespread—to the new fighting lead given at Leicester. The prospect of recovery has become more than a prospect; it has manifested itself as a realized fact. And if I devote this letter to what, at first sight, you might regard as the domesticities of British politics rather than their national expression, I think the facts will show you what a real and authentic national recovery is revealed in them.

Just a word of explanation as to our British system of local government. Our big cities are governed by city councils, one-third of whose members retire each year; the elections being held on the same day—the first of November—in every city. These elections give us an annual opportunity of testing public opinion over the whole area of Great Britain, so far as the towns are concerned.

City Elections

Last year these civic elections were held almost simultaneously with the Parliamentary General Election; and the Labor debacle in the Parliamentary fight was accompanied by losses—not nearly so severe, but still serious losses—in the civic elections; reflecting in that way the low ebb to which the mismanagement of affairs by MacDonald's Labor Government had then reduced the fortunes and the outlook of British Labor.

We have been putting all the revived hope and the new spirit which has come to the Labor Party during the past summer and autumn into these city contests; and the result almost everywhere has been a magnificent recovery of our strength all over the country.

The test was a severe one; for the retiring councillors this year were elected three years ago, when we were at the high-water mark of our strength in this country. We might have made quite a good recovery from our desperately bad position of a year ago, and still not have been able to retain anything like the representation which we captured at the crest of our successes as a party three years ago.

Well, we have done better than retain it; we have improved upon it.

In the eighty largest towns and cities we have put up fights in no fewer than 836 wards; and 458 of our candidates have been elected. In 35 of these 80 cities we have gained new seats in addition to retaining our three-year-old representation.

A Great Victory

And these sweeping successes have not been in localized patches here and there; they have been achieved in every part of the country. Our biggest success was at Oldham, where we have gained six seats. At Leeds we have gained five; at Sunderland four; at Birmingham, Hull, Birkenhead and Ipswich, three in each case; and the list of cities in which gains of one or two seats have been secured is far too long to trouble you with.

This national manifestation of the party during the war. He

Local Elections Show Gains Over All England—Triumphs Show Increases Over 1929, Labor's Year of Greatest Triumph—I. L. P. Secession Split the Vote, as Expected.

our restored strength is even more notable than the figures might indicate to you. For there have been two factors in this civic General Election throughout Britain which must be taken into account in estimating the magnitude of the recovery they represent for the Labor cause here.

In the first place, Liberals and Conservatives almost everywhere have stopped fighting one another in these civic elections. We have

had to face a pretty complete capitalist combination of forces; and quite generally the candidates against us have presented themselves to the electors definitely as "Anti-Socialists." To have forced them into one camp in that way, and compelled them to adopt such a public label for themselves, is in itself a rather significant psychological victory for our cause, quite apart from the actual seats gained. Our success is all the

move notable against this combination, which will, I think, prove to be a permanent new alignment of political forces in our civic life here.

And the second factor which gives added significance to our success is that we have gained it against the unhappy attempt of the I. L. P. to set faction-fighting going within the movement.

Opponents' Hopes Dashed

Our capitalist opponents had based high hopes on our being seriously weakened by that, especially in those places where I. L. P. candidates actually took the field against Labor and Socialist candidates. In most places the factionists have been simply swept out of existence in the result of the contests.

An actual case in point will reveal to you, more clearly than any amount of general description, exactly what the position is in this respect. And if I give you the facts in complete detail, it is because I think it to be rather important that you should have definite data, and not merely my opinion or an I. L. P. opinion, on which to form your own judgment as to what is actually happening here in Britain in this matter.

In my own native city of Norwich the Labor Party contested twelve wards. In all of them the two old parties, Liberal and Conservative, combined and put up a single capitalist candidate, adopting the label of "Anti-Socialist," against us. In seven of the twelve wards we had, however, also to face candidates put up by the I. L. P. and the Communists; and in the circumstances, with this faction-splitting of the anti-capitalist vote, I think that any one of our capitalist opponents would have bet you ten to one against more than one or two Labor candidates being elected.

In the result, we won eight of the twelve seats; and in every case the I. L. P. and Communist candidates were ignominiously at the bottom of the poll.

The actual figures in the seven fights into which each faction entered were:

- 1—Labor, 1025; Anti-Socialist, 892; I. L. P., 260.
- 2—Labor, 918; Anti-Socialist, 801; I. L. P., 202.
- 3—Labor, 1238; Anti-Socialist, 643; Communist, 49.
- 4—Labor, 843; Anti-Socialist, 756; I. L. P., 360.
- 5—Labor, 1093; Anti-Socialist, 255; Communist, 134.
- 6—Labor, 857; Anti-Socialist, 693; Communist, 137.
- 7—Anti-Socialist, 836; Labor, 663; I. L. P., 240.

I give these figures in detail and without comment; other than to

On WEVD

Station WEVD, the Debs Memorial radio station, announces among other features for the forthcoming week the following:

Sunday, Nov. 27—Forward hour, 11 a. m. to 12 noon.

Tuesday, Nov. 29—5:15 to 5:30, Michael Strange, dramatic and poetic readings; 8:15 to 8:30, talk, "The World Tomorrow," Kirby Page, editor; 10:15 to 10:30, talk, Dr. Harry W. Laidler.

Wednesday, Nov. 30—The Nation program, Oswald Garrison Villard, 8:15 to 8:30.

Thursday, Dec. 1—National Negro Forum, 10 to 10:30.

Friday, Dec. 2—"The Making of Tomorrow," Hendrik Willem Van Loon, 8:15 to 8:30.

say that Norwich is reputed to be

one of the three strongest I. L. P. provincial centres in England; and that in number one on the list the I. L. P. candidate was the retiring councillor elected three years ago as Labor Party candidate; number four also having been an I. L. P. seat in the last council, though with another candidate on this occasion.

You will readily understand how, with the combination of our capitalist opponents and the faction spirit of a section of those hitherto fighting with us, the general wave of success all over the country has been immensely heartening to us. Not only is the Party awake and on the march again, but the working-class rank and file, so sadly discouraged a year ago, have also caught the spirit of renewed Socialist purpose which animates the Party, and are rallying to it with renewed enthusiasm.

TOM MOONEY ASKS FOR A NEW TRIAL

SAN FRANCISCO.—The long-awaited attempt to bring about a new trial of Tom Mooney for the bomb explosion on Preparedness Day, July 22, 1916, is to be made at once by Attorney Cyrus B. King of Oakland with the support of Attorney Frank P. Walsh of New York.

This announcement was made at the time Tom Mooney issued a demand that Gov. Rolph grant a new pardon hearing on the basis of the confession of Paul M. Callicotte that he unwittingly placed the suitcase which contained the bomb at the point of the explosion. Mooney also demanded that he be granted a new trial on the one remaining indictment against him.

At the time of the trial District Attorney Pickert asked that the remaining indictments against Mooney be dismissed. Mooney energetically fought the move. Judge Franklin A. Griffin dismissed all but one indictment and that has been pending for 16 years. Judge Louis Ward of the Superior Court stated from the bench last January that this indictment could be brought to trial, with former prosecution attorneys retained as assistants to the present district attorney and with the evidence of deceased witnesses read into the record. It is this program which is now planned.

Mooney's statement is: I, the undersigned, Thomas J. Mooney, do hereby affirm and declare:

1.—That I am absolutely innocent of any crime, yet have been imprisoned almost 17 years;

2.—That Paul M. Callicotte of Portland, Ore., has now publicly come forward and confessed that he was the person who placed the suitcase containing the bomb which caused the explosion on July 22, 1916;

3.—That the said Paul M. Callicotte's confession has remained unshaken in spite of four months' grilling by Portland and San Francisco police, newspapermen and attorneys;

4.—That I hereby make public application and demand upon Gov. James Rolph Jr., of California, for an open pardon hearing at which the governor shall examine the confession and testimony of Paul M. Callicotte as the basis for reopening my pardon application;

5.—That I also hereby demand that I shall immediately be granted a new trial on the one remaining indictment against me, No. 7537, which is still undismitted and which is now pending in the Superior Court of San Francisco.

Capitalism's Tailspin

By Unemp Lloyd

THE capitalist system is making a tailspin! The big crash is expected on the evening of November 8.

Once at a manager's meeting the president of the large corporation came in and announced, with satanic satisfaction, that he had seen a machine, which gave him the assurance that the time was not far off, he could sit at his desk with a battery of buttons in front of him and run the whole plant WITHOUT A SINGLE MAN OR WOMAN IN IT! I remarked dryly: "That will mean the end of this company, because when machinery comes so perfect, THERE WILL BE NO CUSTOMERS FOR YOU!"

That is how the robot turns on its creator. The capitalists do not see that machine: can place man only as workers, not as customers. Machinery increases the capacity of production, but decreases that of consumption by taking away the purchasing power of the largest class of customers, the working class. The result: Overproduction and underconsumption.

Our little pilot in Washington has tried to remedy this by causing more overproduction. He has established Farm boards, Reconstruction corporations, Home loan banks and what have you, all of which may make a small showing before the election, but which will in the long run be just that many more blows by the robot on the capitalist system and with it on the entire suffering nation.

What he should have done way back in 1929 was to create a commission with the power to regulate the weekly working hours in inverse proportion to the number of unemployed. In that way the leisure and blessings of the robot system would have been divided between all citizens and the capitalists would not have lost their customers. But "American Freedom" did not permit such freedom for the ordinary American citizen. If a working man does not support his wife, she has the right to put him in jail, but if an employer causes the non-support of thousands of wives by laying off their husbands, he has the perfect "American Freedom" to do so!

The industrialists are even incapable to learn from an example. The horse was for centuries the honest and faithful servant of the farmer. He was also the farmer's best customer. Think of all the oats he ate! Think of all the acres cultivated.

Then the farmer substituted him with machinery. The robot ate gas and oil from the capitalist's oil well. Now the farmer's best customer is gone, there is an overproduction of farm products and the farmer is bankrupt. The capitalist is heading the same way, but will not take a warning from the example.

Machinery is all right so long as it serves man and beast, but when it is allowed to kill its customers, then the robot turns on his master!

Forum Season Will Begin With Oneal-Nearing Debate

THE Brooklyn Forum starts its second season Sunday night with a debate on "Communism or Socialism—Which Should the Workers Follow?" at the Academy of Music, Lafayette Avenue, near Flatbush Avenue.

The debaters will be James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, and Scott Nearing, Communist lecturer and writer. Dr. Harry Laidler will preside.

Oneal is a noted Socialist historian and is considered one of the best informed of the American Socialists upon the history of the Communist movement. In his book, "American Communism," he traces the development of the Communist Party out of the so-called "Left Wing" of the Socialist Party in 1919, through its many turnings and twistings to its present stand for immediate reforms.

Scott Nearing, Ph.D., former assistant professor of economics in the University of Pennsylvania, espoused Socialism when he was removed from his university position for radicalism, and joined the party during the war. He

took a 100 per cent pacifist position and ran for Congress against Fiorello H. LaGuardia, Republican-Tammany fusionist, on a platform of opposition to the war. Later he was indicted and tried under the Espionage Act for writing the anti-war pamphlet, "The Great Madness."

When Nearing quit the Socialist Party for its alleged conservatism, it is reported his application for membership in the Communist Party was held up because of his long-time uncompromising opposition to all wars under all circumstances. He was later accepted as a member and he has made several trips to Russia. He has written voluminously on Communism, as upon other subjects.

Both Nearing and Oneal are forceful and effective speakers, and their appearance on the platform is a guarantee that the debate will be strictly upon the merits of the issue.

The Brooklyn Forum is opening its second season with a drive for season memberships, carrying admission to all the affairs of the year. Plans will be announced at the Academy, and members will be enlisted there.

Amalgamated Workers Vote Strike for Wage Increase

AT the last meeting of the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America it was unanimously decided to demand 15% increase in wages for the coming season.

This is the first meeting in six or seven years, Secretary-Treasurer Abraham Miller said, in which the question of an increase in wages was discussed. While conditions are by no means favorable and while the Amalgamated, along with all other labor unions, is feeling the effect of the prolonged depression, technological displacement of workers and the growing menace of out-of-town non-union competition, the active members and officers feel that the drive for an increase will, nevertheless, be successful.

If the membership is willing to fight as it did in the general strike last summer—and there is every evidence that it is—and if the cutters give the whole-hearted cooperation they did during the strike—and nobody doubts that they will—then the fight is already won, union officials say.

The organization is in a more favorable position than it has been in a long time. The strike last summer, while it brought no immediate gain to the members in the form of wages or decreased hours, was a measure of union

strength and was the lever with which it regained control of the fast-slipping industrial situation. The non-union trucking men carting cut goods to non-union shops in Pennsylvania and Connecticut and Jersey non-union towns and who were draining the strength from the organized markets, were licked to a standstill. Today, the manufacturer who will try to bootleg his goods out of town will find it practically impossible to hire an expressman.

Printers Score "Red Squad"

LOS ANGELES.—Los Angeles Typographical Union No. 174, in a vigorous resolution denouncing the unconstitutional activities of the so-called "red squad," has demanded that Mayor John C. Porter appoint a committee to investigate those activities.

"We are for free speech," members of the union declared, "regardless of who is doing the speaking, and we feel that an investigation is warranted by the actions of the red squad in numerous cases."

The Central Labor Union and the Methodist Ministers' Association have also passed similar measures.

Unemployed Unions Hold Chicago Conference

CHICAGO.—A conference of organizations of the unemployed in the Midwest has been called by the Chicago Workers' Committee and the Unemployed Citizens' League of St. Louis to meet in Chicago November 19-20.

"This winter will no longer find us dependent on local relief funds, but on state and national grants," the call for the conference points out. "In order, then, that our demands have any effect, we must be organized not only in more places but upon a broader basis than we now have."

"Out of this conference, we hope, will come first, a helpful exchange of ideas, aims and tactics; second, a unanimous agreement on certain minimum demands to be incorporated in a platform and given due publicity; third, a loose federation of jobless leagues in which no group surrenders any of its local autonomy but all unite on certain general principles and national demands and set up a basis for larger cooperative enterprises than are now possible."



"PROSPERITY" WAGE OF BIG STORES \$22.71 WEEKLY

WASHINGTON.—Average salary of all employees of the 23 chains of department stores in the United States in 1929—at the height of "prosperity wages"—was \$22.71 a week; according to U. S. Census Bureau reports analyzed Nov. 2 by the Department of Commerce. This average includes the high salaries of executives and experts in the big stores.

In this study were included 20 local or regional and 13 national chains, operating 2,560 stores, whose aggregate sales in that year were \$685,172,168. They included the retail stores of two large mail order houses which also operate retail stores. For the 23 chains the total payroll was \$67,860,870, of which \$64,553,442 went to 54,652 regular full-time workers,

and the remainder to 16,489 part-time employees.

"The 23 department store chains reported average operating expenses equal to 24.35 per cent of sales," the Commerce Department stated. "The three largest chains do more than three-fourths of the business. They have an expense ratio of 23.05 per cent, compared with 28.58 for the other chains."

About 38 per cent of all the units in these 23 chains, operating at the end of 1929, were established between 1925 and 1928. More than 33 per cent were established in 1929.

Even more important in the retail selling field than the chains are the department stores, numbering 121, held in 14 "ownership groups," but separately managed. Their total sales in 1929 were \$1,008,002,800.

HOOVER DENIED FIGURES HE HIMSELF PRESENTED

ON many occasions during 1931 and 1932 the American Federation of Labor has pointed to the existence of six million children suffering malnutrition as one of the strongest reasons why Federal, State and local governments and the owners and managers of industry should adopt whatever measures are necessary to provide work for the millions of unemployed and thus enable parents to give their children adequate and proper food.

During the presidential campaign the existence of these six million undernourished children was used in literature and discussion criticizing the Republican administration. The United States Public Health Service was cited as the authority for the figures.

In his Indianapolis speech, President Hoover declared he had a letter from the Public Health Service denying having made such a statement. This was in effect an impeachment of the figures used by organized labor.

The fact is that Mr. Hoover himself first presented these figures to the public, before one of his own conferences.

In opening the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, on November 19, 1930, Mr. Hoover said:

"Statistics can well be used to give emphasis to our problems. One of your committees reports that out of 45,000,000 children . . . 6,000,000 are improperly nourished."

The committee of the Conference referred to by President Hoover was the Committee on Special Classes, whose chairman was Dr. Charles S. Berry.

In his report to the Conference, occupying fifteen pages of the official proceedings, Dr. Berry, under the heading, "Significant Findings," said:

"There are in the United States . . . 6,000,000 children (approximately) of school age who are malnourished."

In addition to Dr. Berry, the Committee on Special Classes was composed of ten outstanding authorities in child welfare.

Campaign orators may have embellished these figures with colorful pictures of underfed school children "fainting at their desks," but that embellishment does not refute the fact that six million children suffer from lack of food.

The Public Health Service may not have made the original statement. But it was made by responsible authorities of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection and originally given to the public by President Hoover himself.

The Ban Is Lifted On Edison Pickets

There will be no more police interference with the picketing of the Brooklyn Edison Company's main building in Brooklyn, N. Y., according to an agreement lately reached between Police Inspector Joseph F. Thompson of the 11th Division and a delegation of witnesses who had come to press charges against two patrolmen for the breaking up of a demonstration at the same point on Nov. 2.

This agreement, which hinged on the dropping of the charges, was made at a hearing in Inspector Thompson's office on a complaint registered with Police Commissioner Mulrooney by the American Civil Liberties Union, which accused Patrolmen Nos. 7511 and 14543 of tearing up banners of picketers and of intimidating marchers by displaying guns. These pickets had been protesting against the continued laying off of company construction workers in large numbers.

Conference Called To Aid Local 306

A conference to support the locked-out motion picture operators organized in Local 306 of the American Federation of Labor in their struggle against a company union has been called by the Labor Committee of the Socialist Party to meet at Beethoven Hall, December 7th.

The committee, through Samuel E. Beardsley, chairman, and Joseph Tuvim, secretary, takes its stand with the local in its battle against the so-called Empire State Motion Picture Operators' Union, which it characterizes as a company organization and declares that if the employers win the struggle other employers will be encouraged to organize so-called unions to break the hold of organized labor.

The sub-divisions of the party are asked to elect two delegates each, to meet with delegates from fraternal organizations and other bodies affiliated with the labor movement to make plans to aid the members of 306 in their fight.

WHAT THEY SAY— AND WHAT THEY DO

THE new Steel Notes published by Labor Research Ass'n carries a comparison of the publicity blarney about wages of the steel executives and what they actually do. The comparison follows:

WHAT THEY SAY

"Wage cuts will only be a boomerang and will retard recovery."—Pres. J. C. Williams, Weirton Steel Co. (subsidiary of Natl. Steel Corp.) in Steel, May 7, 1931.

"I am for higher wages—not lower. I have been opposed to wage reductions over the past three years, and have seen no benefits from them, but harm through decreased buying capacity and breaking down of home standards"—from speech by E. T. Weir, chairman of Natl. Steel Corp., to Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, October, 1932.

"The company is in a strong condition, with ample cash and no bank loans."—E. T. Weir, July 28, 1932.

WHAT THEY DO

"The Weirton Steel Co. has slashed wages in the tin mills of its Weirton works for the fifth time in the last 11 months"—newspaper story, Oct. 24, 1931.

"Workers in the tin mill of the Weirton Steel Co. have been cut 40% since the first of the year"—newspaper story, Oct. 16, 1931.

"All the steel companies have cut wages 10%, effective Oct. 1"—newspaper story, October, 1931.

"Steel wages down another 15%"—newspaper story, May, 1932.

"Directors of the Natl. Steel Corp. declared a quarterly dividend of 12½¢ a share (total, over \$30,000,000) on capital stock, payable Sept. 30 to holders on record Sept. 30, 1932"—Standard Corporation Records.

Goldman Recovers From Operation

Chas. L. Goldman, secretary-treasurer of the Joint Council of the International Pocketbook Workers' Union, who has been operated this week at the Mount Sinai Hospital, is now recovering, according to a statement issued by Dr. Ginsberg, the surgeon who performed the operation.

Comrade Goldman has been active in the cause of labor and Socialism for many years, and the news of his recovery has been received everywhere in the entire movement with profound relief.

Willie Kallio of Connecticut found five recruits who want The New Leader during the coming year.

JUVENILE CRIME GROWS WITH CRISIS

WASHINGTON.—While cases of general juvenile delinquency have shown an 8% decrease in the last three years, according to reports received by the Children's Bureau from 19 juvenile courts, stealing is on the increase.

In 1929 stealing cases were 40% of all delinquency charges, in 1931 they were 43%. In the opinion of the Children's Bureau, truancy cases have declined during the depression because unemployment and bad home conditions make school seem a lesser evil. The bureau also points out that in towns where there are one hundred wandering boys arriving daily, the tendency is to make them move on rather than to charge them with any offense.

Figures from May 1932 show a 25% increase in the number of children placed in foster homes. Whenever it is possible, child-caring agencies prefer to place children in home surroundings. In normal times, therefore, this increase might be explained away, but the Children's Bureau has reports from institutions and agencies for the care of children in 18 metropolitan areas that the number of children under their supervision has also shown a marked increase.

Infant and maternity mortality cases have declined, but the bureau points out that the birth rate has also declined. In their report they state that the "death rate of artificially fed babies is higher than the death rate of babies whose mothers nurse them," claiming that the present inability of mothers to buy prepared foods has been beneficial.

Although it is difficult to get any accurate picture of how the depression is affecting children, a New York health center reports an 18-60% increase in cases of malnutrition. Dairy companies all over the country report reductions in milk consumption. School teachers report their students "in a dazed condition all the time" due to lack of nourishment. One teacher did all the janitor work in her school in order to save the money to buy lunches for her pupils.

Miss Grace Abbott, chief of the bureau, predicts that the present insecurity and constant worry in the home will prevent normal mental development. The future will show the physical effects of the present inadequate feeding. "You can't feed a child skim milk one year and then make it up by feeding her cream the following year," she said.

The reduced number of fatal industrial accidents is directly due to unemployment. The decrease in traffic accidents is due to the reduced amount of pleasure driving and commercial transportation. Repeated statements that the depression has brought down the total death rate lose their significance in the face of these facts.

Notice of
Quarterly Meeting
of the
**NEW LEADER
PUBLISHING ASS'N**
THURSDAY EVENING,
December 15, 1932, 8 p. m.
RAND SCHOOL, 7 E. 15th ST.

ORDER OF BUSINESS,
Election of officers for
1933

ADOLPH WARHOL,
President
JULIUS GERBER,
Secretary.

Joe Begins to Slip Back Into His Old Sins and Bill Does His Best To Save Him From the Reformers

By Autolycus

"IT'S good to be alive these days and I feel like a five-year old colt when I read a morning paper now," said Joe as he and Bill sat down for lunch.

"Is the depression lifting or did you get a job?" asked Bill. "No, the job is still around the corner. It's the mounting moral sentiment rising against Tammany that pleases me and if it continues and the reformers get together, Joe McKee will be elected Mayor of New York next year. Then we can kiss Tammany goodbye."

"You're slipping again, Joe," said Bill with a gesture of despair.

"Well, aren't you opposed to Tammany? Don't you favor reform?" Joe inquired with astonishment.

Bill Takes Joy Out of Life

"Sure, I would utterly destroy Tammany and I favor many needed reforms, but Socialists want reforms plus something else. What is more, our reforms are not the reforms of the McKee reformers," Bill replied.

"You're the most aggravating guy I ever met; always taking the joy out of life by splitting hairs. Translate your lingo into English. What do you mean, anyway?"

"We Socialists have a basic aim and the reformers have not," said Bill. "We are educating, organizing, and fighting for power for the working class. That word POWER is a torch always lighting our way. Now you must admit that these respectable reformers not only do not want power for the working class, but that they will even fight to the last against us getting that power. That's one big difference between us and the reformers, isn't it?"

"Oh, I know that," Joe replied, "but they're going half way in your direction, so why not travel with them as far as they go? Once they get there, you can part with them and keep going on to your destination."

Joe Wants to Get Somewhere

"Joe, you are again straining our beautiful friendship," said Bill with impatience. "These respectable reformers are opposed to our supreme aim, they are opposed to our kind of reforms, and they aren't going in our direction."

"Aw, no wonder you never get anywhere," said Joe with profound disgust.

"And you've arrived somewhere with no job, no prospect of one, and still following the ideas that have brought you where you are," Bill replied. "You babble about the mounting moral sentiment against Tammany and about reformers getting together to do this and to do that, but you do not think of getting your class together to do something for itself."

"For the love of Mike, back to that class struggle again," said Joe.

"Yes, not for the love of McKee, though. I'm thinking of our class and the Socialist aim for power. Will you listen, Joe?"

"All right, if you don't get insulting," said Joe as he lit a cigarette.

Bill Handles Joe Gently

"Well, here goes," said Bill. "That bunch lives in luxurious apartments upstairs and we are down in the basement. The two classes live in two social worlds. We want to climb out and they do not want to come down. They are where they are because of our ignorance and we are where we are for the same reason."

"Now you sit here and munch a hunk of baloney and tell me that the bunch upstairs and our crowd below are travelling the same road. In a sense you are correct. We are travelling their road, not our own. I'm trying to get you to travel another road that leads to power for our class and you become mushy because the apartment upstairs becomes dirty. A few gentlemen want to clean it up and you want us to go up and help them. For Gawd's sake, Joe, let's keep our mind on the job of getting our class out of the basement."

"Like that old Methodist hymn, you almost persuade me," said Joe. "But you said that you also favor reforms and that brings you back on the road which you say I am travelling."

Joe Is a Hopeful Prospect

"I'm coming to that," Bill replied. "In the march on our road to power our soldiers of the revolution cannot live on the revolutionary aim alone. That aim inspires and keeps our ranks in a disciplined formation. While on the march we need sustenance and we have to take every fortress of the enemy that we can. The supplies we obtain and the fortresses we take are the reforms we want to wrest from the enemy. Our conception of reforms is working class conquests that eat away capitalist privileges, that strengthens the workers on their march, and that give them a sense of solidarity and power. The reformers upstairs oppose unions of city employees; revolutionaries in the basement would, if in control of the city, encourage their organization, increase their wages and shorten hours. The reformers would use the police powers against strikers while we would use those powers to protect strikers. Extend this idea of workers battering down the thousands of pillars of capitalist domination while the reformers polish and clean them and you have the difference between their reforms and ours. The upstairs reformers want clean rules for great property owners and we want rule for the masses in the basement. Is that clear?"

"Then you don't like the reformers," said Joe. "No, they can't be reformed, but I still have some hopes of you," said Bill as they paid their bills and passed out into the street.

By John Gabriel Soltis

How Floyd B. Olson Betrayed Minnesota Farmer-Laborites

Record of Governor That of Careerist—Advocate of Worst Gag Laws in the Country.

GOVERNOR OLSON'S betrayal of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party to the sinister political forces of the Democratic Party, in the recent campaign, came as a sudden shock to the thousands of class-conscious workers of the state. It was unexpected. Moreover, it evoked considerable condemnation, as it naturally would, on the part of groups who have been the mainstay of the Farmer-Labor Party.

To those of us, however, who know the intimate political biography of Governor Olson his espousal of the cause of capitalism in the person of Roosevelt caused no surprise. In 1928 he championed the cause of Hoover. His willingness to reduce the Farmer-Labor Party to a pile of ashes manifested itself several times before the recent campaign. His Roosevelt hook-up this year was the successful consummation of his shady politics, pursued in the Farmer-Labor Party since the year 1924, when he first announced himself as a Farmer-Laborite by filing for the gubernatorial nomination.

Prior to that year he was neither seen nor heard in the various left movements of the state. Politically, he was a Democrat, and such he remains to this day. After his defeat in 1924 he attended to his business as county attorney and headed a campaign of persecution against all political elements hostile to his political friends as well as to himself personally.

The Gag Law

Under the Minnesota gag law, whose passage he favored, and the law whose terms were of a sumptuary character, he prosecuted and suppressed a number of papers, among which was the Saturday Press engaged in unmasking certain of his political allies. He was brutal and savage in his attacks on free speech.

However, when the publishers of The Nation were alarmed over the czaristic nature of the gag law and saw the nefarious results achieved by Mr. Floyd B. Olson under it, the publishers of The Nation, under the leadership of the capitalist Chicago Tribune, made a nation-wide issue of it. Then Mr. Olson retreated. By this time he was again ready to run for Governor. This was in 1930.

When, in 1929, a Socialist speaker opposed Olson's political crony for re-election in the 6th Ward of Minneapolis and came within an ace of defeating him, the "liberal" and "progressive" Mr. Olson went before three grand juries to obtain an indictment for libel against the speaker. His case against this speaker was so flimsy that it took the genial Mr. Olson several months and three successive grand juries before his frame-up was finally realized.

These several instances are outstanding samples of his hostility to freedom of speech and press.

As county attorney Olson was a master political framer, having studied the black art under Bud Nash, who appointed Olson to his job in the county attorney's office. When Bud Nash was removed as county attorney, as a sequel to the bootlegging scandals of 1920, Nash prevailed upon the Republican Board of County Commissioners to put his understudy, Mr. Olson, into his place.

An Opportunist

Mr. Olson cannot even be called that vague and indefinite thing—a "liberal." He is a political opportunist of the capitalist type, resorting to questionable methods to promote himself politically.

Although he was county attorney for some ten years, he never prosecuted a single corporation. He could find nothing, apparently, to proceed against them. A score of millionaires were dodging taxes. But, as county attorney, he was

blind. Why? Because these same tax-dodgers endorsed him for office and contributed financially to his campaigns. They openly affixed their signatures to large ads in the press calling for his re-election.

I suppose that this sort of support on the part of the Minneapolis millionaires makes Olson their enemy!

In 1928 Olson made a deal with the State Democrats according to which he was to throw the Farmer-Labor Party back of their candidate for Governor. In return the Democrats were to support Olson for the United States Senate in 1930. Therefore, in 1928, Olson misled the Farmer-Labor convention on the matter of his running for Governor. He led the convention to believe that he would file for Governor. All of his Democratic henchmen in the Farmer-Labor Party, who poured a constant fire into the Socialists, such as William McEwen of Duluth and Frank Starkey of St. Paul, assured the convention in Olson's name that he would file. Thus they prevented the convention of 1928 from making a nomination.

Upon the adjournment of that convention, Olson announced that he would not file for Governor. Olson was true to his compact with the Democrats in 1928.

However, Olson's deal of 1928 was frustrated by the fact that Mr. Ernest Lundeen fled against the protest of the betrayers of the Farmer-Labor Party; the very elements that this year, together with Olson, sold the Farmer-Labor Party to Roosevelt.

Thus we see that Olson this year only followed his regular policy of betrayal. With his re-election, and the election of Roosevelt, the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota will receive a death blow. We may expect Olson to shed his Farmer-Labor cloak and run for the United States Senate on a fusion ticket, giving the Democrats a free hand for the governorship and the entire state ticket in the next year or so.

Customer Ownership of Stock in Utilities

Before the National Association of Securities Commissioners on September 26, E. R. Hicks of Little Rock, Arkansas, explained some of the reasons why the public utility companies sell stock to customers. "These securities," he said, "are distributed mainly for the purpose of keeping down complaints and keeping up high rates, and where the citizens of the community are required to vote upon these franchises the distribution of this stock is nothing more or less than a potential bribe to the people of that community."

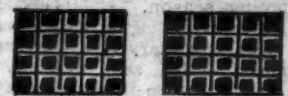
THE FRIENDS OF NATURE

Sunday, November 27, hike to Quaker Ridge; meet East 180th Street station at 8 a. m. Fare, 70c. Leader: Ruth Matthes. Feature: Association Football Game.

Sunday, November 27, hike to Pallasades Park; meet Dyckman Street ferry at 8:30 a. m. Fare, 20c. Leader: Robert Geyer. Feature: Fest Ball.

Edward Marks, Hempstead, sends in four subs, secured as a result of the meeting addressed by James Ouel.

And The Soory



SCIENTIFIC INDUSTRIALISM

INDUSTRY

CHAOTIC PLANLESS PRODUCTION

Industry has learned to produce with magnificent efficiency, with superb and monumental inefficiency. With the working class, brilliant management and countless savings, we produce so quickly that our abundance is a great day of industrialism the workers were slaves, and so is that the work is done too soon and too well—the capitalist world needs is scientific industrialism—SOCIAL—to give skill. Speed the day!

The Share-Shirk

ROOSEVELT and Hoover met at the White House Tuesday to talk turkey on the war debt problem, but got right down to appeasement.

They had a pre-Thanksgiving bone to pick, but there wasn't much meat on it.

Hoover said, that he could not be held responsible for a situation that would develop in the next four years. Roosevelt said, that he couldn't be held responsible for a situation that had begun to develop before he became President.

That makes two irresponsible presidents.

But our Share-Shirk presidents sure did get excited about the \$125,000,000 Europe owes us this year. That sum represents less than three per cent of this year's federal budget.

Meanwhile, more than 25 per cent of our industrial and farm workers and their families are destitute—but the nation's Chief Huddlers are too busy trying to decide what not to do about the war debts.

Roosevelt talked to a group of self-styled representatives of the pennies.

unemployed at the time and them that he was nothing cause, until March would "just an ordinarium" after March 4, the navy buck-passed.

At any rate, with his Thanksgiving with Farley and a few Democrat ward-healers, whom, can bet your head be am the Forgotten.

The bankers industrial held a mass meeting the other day to the Share-Work plan. Owen told that any workers was willing to share was patriotic.

Mr. Owen was part of Communist who the workers ought to share in equal portions the employers ought to be as wealthy as they are.

Mr. Young said that workers should be employed, but the workers need their money to pay capital. Mr. Young said the workers need to pit

... The Better



... efficiency. And we have learned to dis-
... efficient in an intelligent, industrious and skilled
... devices, as well as superb organi-
... greatest calamity in the world. In the early
... to the machine. Today the catastrophe
... capitalist world breaks down. What the
... to give the world the benefit of its own

... Begins

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... Mr. You think
... need to pitch

How about organized labor
launching a "Share-Dividend"
campaign?
...
One way to do that is to raise
income taxes to provide more
funds for unemployment relief.
Let's tell the coupon-clippers that
any one who refuses to share his
dividends with his own government
is unpatriotic.
...
"Sharing doesn't hurt as much
as suffering!" is one of the slogans
in the Share-Work drive. Neither
does Shearing, unless you're the
one who's being shorn.
...
And still they tell us there's no
class war! Maybe it shouldn't be
called a war, considering that the
workingclass is merely being mas-
sacred.
...
But don't worry. Christmas'll
be here soon and the unemployed
will get another meal.
...
And the lame duck Congress is
expected to give us beer. No
doubt, with a lame kick in it.
...
It's swell the way capitalism
helps us to solve our problems.
When capitalism produced the
World War, Woodrow Wilson de-
cided that it was time for the
American people to do something

By Joseph E. Cohen Those Jarred by the Election Have Some Tal Thinking to Do

Millions Voted Against Something, and Now See What
They'll Get,—to Save and to Spend,—Beer and
Free Lunch.

THOSE who have been hit amidships by the protest vote in the election are picking themselves up. As they clear the dust out of their eyes they are able to see that something has happened. The one-time mild and soft citizen is not what he used to be. Somehow he has poured down his throat gulps of firewater and he is kicking up quite a fuss.

To be sure he did not use his head as he should have. Instead of marking his cross in the Socialist column he missed and put one in for Roosevelt.

As a result of this blunder, he asked for bread and may get beer. Some mistake!

Anyway he stirred up the old politician. That once brazen boss is running for cover. And he is throwing to the wolves every private in his army he can spare.

In New York, Philadelphia and other large centers of political rottenness, padded government payrolls are being stripped of drones. The army of unemployed is increasing plenty.

Loading up the ordinary citizen with taxes has stopped. Caught with the lifted goods of swollen levies on the people the officeholders are reluctantly but effectively giving up regular spoils.

So far, so good.
But how little it all comes to!

Beer—and Free Lunch

Beer? Yes. But no free lunch counter. They did not vote for that. It would not be economy. And the old parties are strong on economy.

Yet just now there should be plenty of spending—the right kind of spending.

Taxes on the poor should be cut. But there will have to be new and plenty taxes on the big fortunes. One is no good without the other.

There is the book which every-one could read with profit—"The World's Economic Crisis and the Way of Escape." On this point of wholesale spending Henry Clay in his chapter says: "In the position the country is in today the only authority that can start a spending movement big enough to restore appreciably industrial activity is the Government."

This was said of England. It applies especially to America.

What the Government would get from a tax of three cents a pint on beer would be but a drop in the bucket. To have a real spending spree there would have to be a big leap into the vast piles of idle gold held by the small part of the people who have cornered nearly all the wealth.

Taking by Taxation
Taking by taxation, and taking as much as can be used to give the hungry food and the unemployed work, would be pressing the button to start industry going full speed.

To be sure, the nation did not vote for this. And it is hard for the parties in power to give the people what they voted for, let alone what they did not vote for.

For the ballots were against the old mess without being in favor of a change.

Those jarred out of office are the sober ones. Those jarred loose are grabbing at any straw to save from sinking. But it may take

in a hurry. And he solved a banking problem by organizing the Federal Reserve Board. And now that we have millions of families facing starvation, we'll allow them to buy beer.

Who knows? Some day a first-class earthquake may destroy Tommany Hall.

F. H.

THE CHATTERBOX

To Appeal to Young People,
To Simplify Our Great Message—
Thus We Will Win Our Battle

By S. A. DeWitt

Youth Despairs

Black pits yawn ahead,
Mouths seeking to devour,
Miserable tomorrow...
What have you to offer
To one who is young
And so unknowing...?

Here are my hands... How shall I use them?
And my eyes... Are they to remain unseeing...?
There is a sense within me
Quick to the pain and useless longing
All around me.
There must come an end to all this...
Perhaps... in a high beginning...?

G. K.

THE poet who sent me the above poem is evidently very young. There is in it all the bewilderment and pathos of youth faced by futurity... And futurity there surely is for most of our young folks wherever they are and in what-ever pursuit they desire to enter.

This we have discussed throughout our last campaign, and will continue to harp upon at all discussions. I am, for one, pretty well set on harnessing up all the splendid energy, enthusiasm and idealism that joined up with us since the party started coming back into its own.

You cannot each an old man new vision... Statistics from all vital sources reveal that most of our citizens above the age of thirty are fairly well advanced, physically at least, toward old age. And we failed to get them mentally when they were adolescents... The World War, patriotism, and anti-red hysteria got them instead... That was fifteen years ago... We will find it difficult to proselyte the bonus boys and their flag-waving wives intellectually for our program... And while Napoleon's armies, and all other military organizations, march to battle on their stomachs we have mighty little to hope for if an army of hungry and cold workers and farmers gather and march forward in protest against physical suffering... Some riots may ensue, there will be bloodletting, and tragic deaths, much emotional hubbub... but no change, no revolution of any kind toward a new world... They will be old men and women most of these, and like the bonus army at Washington will wave the flag, salute it, and sing the "Star Spangled Banner"... "No red flag, and no 'International' for us, buddies... we're Americans"... That's the answer they gave Norman Thomas... and what they did to the Communists doesn't make pleasant reading...

Our path lies along recruiting the youth of the factory, the shop, the office and the school... And that work can be best done by our leaders, perennial candidates, teachers and lecturers. The branch meeting hall or headquarters of each assembly district must be visited with regularity by those of us who have become articulate.

Our Educational Work

No leader, speaker or comrade capable in any way of teaching and inspiring newcomers in the party can be so great or so busy that he or she can afford to take vacations or long lay-offs. The price of Socialism in these days is eternal diligence.

Forums must be started in all sections, an intelligent and uninterrupted circle of lecturers arranged from head-quarters, and all business meetings must shut themselves off at a given hour to allow some older and better equipped comrade to hold forth on some aspect of Socialism. Enough time must be left for all who are in doubt to ask questions...

The younger members, the Ypsels and Young Circles must be given work to do, such as periodical distribution of literature, handing out throwaways for lectures, visiting enrolled voters, and arranging shop meetings.

On this last matter, we ought to go about the job seriously of reaching workers in office, factory and shop... Ypsels can be used to inquire at noon-days, or after work, right at the factory door, as to conditions and availability for our purposes. Socialist literature especially written for these workers must be printed by the ton and distributed sheet by sheet. Meetings for the factory folk must be arranged from time to time, in halls nearby, with locally known speakers and a bigger name added for attraction... A discussion subject for each particular meeting must be picked with care, moot to the lives of the workers, and in most cases, to be specific and plain spoken... high sounding subjects like "The Philosophy of Socialism," "Economic Determinism vs. Individualism," "Imperialism and the Next Conflagration," and the like, should be simplified.

Inferiority Complexes

Count me with Heywood Brown on the subject of simplified titles, and high thinking through plain talk... And a Socialist Primer, something on the style of Harry Laidler's "Road Ahead," brought up to the maturer apperceptions of the adult worker, would make for a swell five or ten cent pamphlet to hand out or sell to the working masses.

I'm afraid we lost a lot of perfectly willing votes from the workers themselves this year, because Al Smith speaks their language, and we appear, and certainly speak, entirely "too smart" for them. Secretly they admire us perhaps for being intellectually superior... But quite openly they shy off from us, because of their inferiority complexes...

All this is offered in the hope that we will get together real soon and work out a complete, unified program for the needful work ahead... And with the young folks we have so fortunately acquired to act as shock troops... we'll be on our way upwards... definitely...

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Slow Science

By Joseph T. Shipley

In "World Chaos: The Responsibility of Science" (Covici-Friede) William McDougall joins the long list of those who have effectively pictured the evils of the current social system. He comments, indeed, upon the analysis of many others. But he curiously bases his hopes for man's rising out of this mess of evil upon science, especially upon anthropology, as the basis of economic "science." "On a hopeful view, another twenty years would elapse before substantial progress along this line might be expected. That would bring us to the year 1970, or thereabouts. Can we afford to wait so long? Can our civilization survive in the meantime? I don't feel sure; but I hope it may: for I can see no alternative measures that offer hope of its salvation."

The professor's thinking is even more awry than his arithmetic. Anatole France guessed 1,000 years for what McDougall allows 20; and I thought him optimistic! Education is a great help, it may be; but unfortunately life cannot wait for the schoolroom. Norman Thomas—whom, by twisting a word, McDougall attacks—knows a better solution, fitted to our urgent times.

By James Oneal

The March of Democracy. By James Truslow Adams. New York: Scribners, \$3.50.

OF the modern social historians James Truslow Adams ranks high, although his work is uneven in merit. His three volumes on the history of New England dealt the final blow to the frost-bitten angels theory of the Puritan saints, a job of debunking which began with the work of Henry and Brooks Adams and William B. Weedon. The present author's volume on "Provincial Society" in the History of American Life series also displayed his interpretive skill and now in the book under consideration we have the first of a two-volume more popular history, bearing the subtitle, "The Rise of the Union."

The present work covers the period of discovery and settlement to the eve of the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency. The volume correlates with the modern trend in historical writing except that it is intended for general reading. "I have tried to hold the balance even," the author writes in his introduction, "and not to substitute for the old 'drum and trumpet' merely the voices and motives of the market place."

Rand School Dinner Hears Discussion of Vote Results

The annual Rand School dinner on November 20th drew a great crowd of enthusiastic Socialists to consider the results of the political campaign. Among them were many of the old-timers and also a lot of new-timers, and the occasion had about it the atmosphere of good comradeship that is always expected at Rand School dinners. In introducing the chairman, B. Charney Vlodeck, Algeron Lee referred to the twenty-seven years during which the Rand School has been the educational organ of the Socialist movement in New York, and the audience proved by the warmth of its interest how loyal are the friends of the school.

The chairman, in his introductory remarks, thanked heaven that two of the three speakers had a sense of humor and then introduced Hendrik Willem Van Loon as the man who recently became famous as a broadcaster over sta-

tion WEVD. The learned Van Loon proceeded to convulse the audience with a long story of the rise of Theodore Shonts, the moral of which was that the hope of Socialism lies in education of the young.

Heywood Brown, the second man with a sense of humor, quickly turned serious and suggested methods of making Socialism successful: (1) producing a Socialist platform in a hundred-and-fifty words and printing it on a postcard, and (2) coming out straight for the whole program of Socialism without any immediate demands. His suggestions evidently had some support in the audience.

Morris Hillquit, the third speaker, drew the biggest laugh of the evening by remarking that apparently he was the only person on the program who lacked a sense of humor. He began by saying that our national vote of about three

million WEVD. The learned Van Loon proceeded to convulse the audience with a long story of the rise of Theodore Shonts, the moral of which was that the hope of Socialism lies in education of the young.

million WEVD. The learned Van Loon proceeded to convulse the audience with a long story of the rise of Theodore Shonts, the moral of which was that the hope of Socialism lies in education of the young.

CONFERENCE ON HARLAN CASES

Delegates representing more than one hundred organizations will attend a conference on the Harlan and Bell Counties, Kentucky Miners' cases December 1st, at 8, at the Labor Temple, 242 East 14th Street. The conference is held under the auspices of the Kentucky Miners' Defense and Relief Conference, the local representative of the General Defense Committee, Chicago.

James Price, a field representative in Harlan for eight months, will give a detailed report on conditions and the distribution of relief to miners and their families, and on the court trials, which he attended as a General Defense Committee official. Arnold Johnson, a representative of the American Civil Liberties Union, speaks on the legal aspects of the cases. Other speakers from the Socialist Party and organizations sponsoring a congressional investigation in the Kentucky coal fields will address the assembly.

Twenty-two of the original forty-three miners indicted on conspiracy charges in the spring of 1931 will go to trial about November 28th. The conference will be called upon to formulate methods to secure publicity and finance on the Kentucky situation.

Further information on the activity and proposed conference can be secured by writing to P. O. Box 51, Station D, N. Y. C., or by calling Bowling Green 9-9448.

Youth Conference Against Militarism

A UNITED Youth Conference against War, sponsored by a large number of Socialists, trade union, radical and pacifist organizations, has been called to meet at the People's House, 7 East 15th Street, Nov. 25, 26 and 27.

The conference is called by Nathaniel Weyl as temporary chairman, and the keynote address, "The World in Crisis," will be delivered at 8 p. m. on the first day by A. Fenner Brockway, Chairman of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain and Chairman of the War Resisters' International.

Large numbers of clubs, college groups, etc., are reported as sending delegates, and a representative conference is expected. Among the organizations represented will be the Young People's Socialist League, the L. I. D., Pioneer Youth, the Young Circle League, the Rand School Fellowship, the Young Communist League (Opposition), Brookwood Labor College Fellowship, and many pacifist organizations.

The various sessions will be addressed by Glen Trimble, Tucker P. Smith, Devere Allen, J. B. Matthews, Benjamin C. Marsh, Roger N. Baldwin, Reinhold Niebuhr, Norman Thomas and others.

On Saturday night the conference will resolve itself into a rollicking frolic, entitled, "The Dance of the Cannon Fodder."

quarters of a million, three times that of four years ago, is a remarkably encouraging result of a campaign carried on almost without money or organization. He felt that our vote was a Socialist vote and expressed satisfaction at the fact that we did not receive the protest vote.

Incidentally he challenged Brown to produce in his column a Socialist platform within the limits of a hundred-and-fifty words. As to the suggestion of doing away with immediate demands, he referred to the eleven million unemployed and remarked that they need food now, not in the future Socialist commonwealth.

As to Socialist work in the continuous day-to-day campaign he

NEW LEADER FORUM

A WORKING CLASS PARTY?

By Frank McBroom

Without appearing presumptuous, I would like to take exception to the underlying philosophy contained in Jam. Oneal's review of the book, "The Coming of a New Party" by Paul H. Douglas, in the issue of Oct. 29. It seems to me that here lies the dangerous weakness of the Socialist movement: its refusal to translate the ideals and aspirations of Karl Marx into present-day terms and conditions.

In his article Comrade Oneal refutes the argument of Mr. Douglas that the Socialist movement should not be based on a class struggle, on the grounds that any compromise movement "deceives the laboring millions to whom it must make its primary appeal if it is to make any headway." But who are the laboring millions?

A very rough estimate of the forty-odd million wage-earners shows that about sixteen million are what, for the sake of distinction, may be called laborers; seventeen million, white collar workers; eleven million, farmers. Now, it is evident that the distinction between "white collar worker" and "laborer" is one of convenience only, and that fundamentally they are identical, but no amount of theory will alter the fact that one class, the "white collar," considers itself, falsely or not, on a somewhat higher plane than the "laboring." Then, isn't it reasonable to suppose that this version of the "white collar class" to Socialism arises from a fear that Socialism will deprive it of its better status, real or fancied?

The problem is to propound a doctrine, not of lowering one class to equalize the balance between two, but of raising both to the same high standard (rugged individualism causing the farmer to hold out to the last ditch against any form of social equalization). To me, the view of some Socialists is not realistic: it presupposes facts which are unwarranted. We do not have a large working class which has been oppressed for hundreds of years. The line of demarcation between the laborer and white collar worker is so easily obliterated that the two are constantly interchanging, and there is not a large class of people born to toil and curse an oppressive class. Opportunity is plentiful for advancement from the poorer state to the richer one, and that seems to be the inherent weakness of an appeal to the laboring class alone. The concept of a socialist state must be altered from one with the laborer triumphant to one with labor and middle-class triumphant. In plain words: the "white-collar" or middle-class is essentially as important to a Socialist movement, in this country, as the laboring class. Therefore, I think Mr. Douglas has made the point in his argument for a united move toward Socialism.

I realize that I can be answered simply by the statement that Socialism aims at a classless society, but we are dealing with facts, not with hypotheses. Can you convince people that you are attempting the thing that will benefit them by in-

stating that another class of people, or what they choose to call another class, shall be the "fundamental basis and driving power?" Columbus, Ohio.

If any "white collar" or even skilled workers consider themselves on a plane above workers in general they subscribe to bourgeois views. To try to placate those views is to abandon the Socialist position. It is the job of the Socialist to show that the aristocratic "higher plane" view of any section of workers is illusory, not to make concessions to it.

This does not mean, as our correspondent implies, that we want to lower "one class to equalize the balance between the two." Our aim is to raise the whole of the working class above even the status now occupied by its more favored sections. As for the party itself, it is either a working class party or it is not. If not it has no right to call itself "Socialist."

As this is written a dispatch from Chicago quotes Paul Douglas as saying: "There is no present prospect for the strong third party. President-elect Roosevelt will play ball with the Progressives." We disagree. The third party is here. It is the Socialist Party. What Roosevelt and the Progressives do or do not do is of no concern to us. We will go forward in building our own party, indifferent to what liberals and progressives may do. It is because Socialists have always held that the workers are the "basis and driving power" of their movement that the movement is distinguished from all capitalist and middle class parties.

BOOKS WANTED

North Carolina textile workers have shown an interest in reading and study groups, but they can't buy books with their wages of from \$2.50 to \$4.00 per week. In order that they may be able to study, a circulating library has been started. Several persons have already sent books and magazines. We need many more.

There are many requests for such pamphlets as are put out by Brookwood Labor College: "When Southern Labor Stirs" by Tom Tippet, "Your Job and Your Pay" by Tippet and Polla, any of Upton Sinclair's books, "Clash" by Helen Wilkerson, "Life of Mother Jones." Any one wishing to send any of these or any other labor plays, books, poems, etc., for use in workers' study groups may send them to my address.

Beulah Carter,
Organizer American Federation
of Full Fashion Hosiery
Workers' Union,
612 Willard St., Durham, N. C.



Labor Banking not a Panacea
Professor J. Douglas Brown, of the Industrial Relations Section of Princeton University, has issued his latest table showing the condition of labor banks as of June 30, 1932. Only seven banks remain, with total resources of \$28,564,797. At one time there were 36 labor banks, with resources of over \$125,000,000. It will be remembered that the so-called labor statesmen predicted the growth of their labor banks to rival Wall Street, while Otto Kahn, Frank A. Vanderlip, and other financiers welcomed the labor bankers as

said that what we need is a solid, nation-wide organization based on the working class. He remarked, that the campaign just closed furnishes a good beginning for the work of building such an organization, for both national and local campaigners have emphasized genuine Socialist and working-class ideas.

brothers in business. The class conflict was going to be settled in their counting rooms. Alas and alack, one more panacea has gone the way of others proposed to solve the internal, external, and inevitable contradictions of the capitalist system.

Comrades!! Attention!!

We offer you the opportunity of being pioneers in the glorious Vanguard of economic independence where you will be able to earn a good income, work indirectly for Socialism, and give your fellow workers a lift towards a higher plane of living.

We appeal to the ambitious ones; to those who want to make money selling hand made cigars. This is a commodity that practically sells itself, because of its high grade quality, artistry and attractive price offered under a new plan system. For detailed information, send name and address to:

THE VANGUARD
National Producers and Consumers League, c/o
612 Willard St., Durham, N. C.

Late Returns Show Steady Gains State Conferences to Plan Winter's Work

AS additional election returns continue to filter in from all sections of the country, and as the states are beginning to report the officially canvassed vote, three things are becoming plain.

1. That the officially reported vote will be 700,000, or possibly a bit over, for the Thomas and Maurer ticket.

2. That there were heavy increases wherever (and only wherever) the party maintained a good organization, where it continued Socialist propaganda all year around and aimed that propaganda mainly at the working class and, finally,

3. That the debauching of the ballot-box seems to have been greater and more widespread than it has been in many years.

The outstanding states, where the vote was most consistent and where the gains were greatest, were New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Pennsylvania. Other states that scored successful increases were California and Michigan.

Where the Party Slipped

States like Minnesota, where the party played ball with time-serving, vote-catching and trimming organizations—as in the Farmer-Labor Party—showed disappointing, but quite natural results.

The frauds, so far as is now known, were greatest in New York and New Jersey. With a Thomas-Maurer vote reported of about 43,000, and the heavy increases in Essex, Bergen, Hudson, Passaic, and Union counties more than gratifying, but the reports of the most bare-faced stealing and ballot mutilation lead one to question whether the actual increases were not far greater. The Newark frauds set a new record.

In New York tampering with the ballot was greater than in many years, and Socialist votes were either miscounted—by the simple process of entering whatever the Tammany boards wanted on the tally sheets—or not cast, by the simple process of terrorization, by Socialist voters being driven away and votes cast by Tammany heels.

To date three states have reported the official vote, as follows: Mississippi, 683; New Hampshire, 947, and Vermont, 1,533. The total of the three states is 91 less than the vote reported in The New Leader last week. The New Jersey vote will be from 8,000 to 10,000 greater than that reported last week.

Illinois

Official, though incomplete, returns show 55,000 votes for Thomas and Maurer in Illinois. It is expected that the vote will be 8,000 to 10,000 more when complete returns are in. The vote unofficially reported last week was 32,000.

An Oregon Record

The Oregon vote, incomplete, was 14,000 for Thomas and Maurer the highest Socialist vote ever polled in that state. It was 9,817 for U. S. Senator, and 14,811 for State Treasurer. In 1928 the Thomas vote was 2,720. The Iowa vote is not yet known, but in the single county of Webster, where in 1928 the Thomas vote was 48, the Thomas-Maurer ticket polled 854 votes, and the remainder of the ticket received over 500. In 1928, Thomas polled under 3,000 in the entire state.

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ISSUES

STARTLING facts suppressed by other papers will be revealed in the next few issues. Send 50 cents today and be sure to receive the most extraordinarily interesting issues of La Follette's great weekly newspaper.

Evanston, Ill., seat of Northwestern University, polled 544 votes, with several precincts still out. A new branch was formed in March; hence the increase.

Pennsylvania Leads

Pennsylvania showed heavy and solid increases everywhere, no part of the state being immune from the growth of the party. York County gave the Presidential ticket 1,054, and the city added 485 more. The legislative ticket ran a bit ahead.

Smith Township, Washington County, gave Thomas 26 votes out of a total of 40. Four precincts gave Thomas 145 votes to 15 in 1928.

Williamsport, Lycoming Co., organized a local in September. The vote showed an increase from 94 in 1931 to 1,157 for Thomas. The local ticket ran close to one thousand votes.

Westmoreland County gave Thomas 3,988; Foster, 305; the S. L. P., 41. The local ticket ran over 4,000. Hermine in Sewickley Township, a suburb of Pittsburgh, gave a straight vote of 95. There

LECTURE NOTES

The League for Mutual Aid will give a "Heaven and Hell Dinner" in London Terrace Grill, 405 West 23rd St., Tuesday, Nov. 29, at 7 o'clock. Manuel Komroff will tell what he knows about "Heaven and the Fairy School," while Art Young will give the result of his researches in connection with his forthcoming book, "Hell Up-to-Date." The Schubert Choir will give a program.

The Triangle Club will give a benefit dance in the Community Church Center, 550 West 110th St., Saturday, Nov. 26, at 9 p. m.

Under the direction of Frank Strawn Hamilton "Logie, Old and New" will be discussed in the Muhlenberg Forum, 209 West 23rd St., Nov. 25, at 8:30 p. m. On Nov. 26, "The Philosophy of Plato" will be the subject of discussion.

The week's program for The Institute for Advanced Education is as follows: Scott Nearing, Nov. 28, in Irving Plaza Hall, "The World Economic and Social Outlook." Dr. Alfred Adler, Nov. 29, "Love and Marriage: Sexual Failures." Louis Brown will speak on "Blessed Spinoza" in the Roerich Museum Branch, 310 Riverside Drive, Nov. 26. Lectures start at 8:30 p. m.

Dr. Everett Dean Martin will speak on "Lucretius: Mechanism as a Basis for Social Philosophy" in Cooper Union, Nov. 25. On Nov. 27, Dr. Horace M. Kallen will speak on "Philosophical Rationalizations in the Social Economy." On Nov. 29, Prof. Frederick Barry will lecture on "Illustrations of Developed Scientific Inference." Lectures start at 8 p. m.

"Have We Outgrown Religion?" will be the subject of a symposium in Town Hall, Sunday at 11 a. m. The following will participate: Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Dr. W. Beram Wolfe and Dr. G. F. Beck.

Dr. Harry F. Ward will speak on "Will Russia Return to Capitalism?" Sunday at 8 p. m. under the auspices of the Community Forum, 550 West 110th St.

Dr. Leon R. Land will speak on "What Religion Has to Offer" at the Bronx Free Fellowship, Masonic Temple, 1591 Boston Road, Sunday at 8. At 9, L. D. Abbott will speak on "Novellists in Revolt."

Speakers scheduled for The Group in the Auditorium 150 W. 85th St., are as follows: Tuesday, Nov. 29th, Dr. George Swetlow,

were 9 Communist votes.

Lancaster County gave Thomas 1,757 votes, and the straight ticket a little less. In 1928 Thomas received 376. In four townships the Socialist vote was 408 out of a total of 2,493.

Delaware County

The Socialist presidential ticket polled 2,372 votes in this county as against 310 four years ago. The Socialist candidate for Congress received 2,860 votes. There was no Socialist candidate in 1928. The campaign of 1933 started in this county on Nov. 15.

Camden

The vote in Camden, N. J., jumped from 800 to 2,000, and in the county from 1,000 to 5,300. Nutley, N. J., gave 274, compared to 72 in 1928.

North Arlington, N. J., polled 209 votes to 12 in 1928. The party organized a branch there in May.

Delaware County, N. Y., showed an increase from 52 to 183 votes in four years. Binghamton added 612 to the total.

Allegheny County, Maryland, Cumberland, county seat, gave Thomas and Maurer 1,367 votes. The same county gave the Socialist candidates in 1928, 144 votes.

Washington County, of which Hagerstown is the county seat, gave the Socialist ticket 214 votes as compared to 78 in 1928.

lecturer on legal jurisprudence at the Brooklyn Law School, "Family Relations and the Law in Soviet Russia." The coming Sunday at 4:30 P. M., Dr. Sol Liptzin, author of "Arthur Schnitzler," will lecture on the relation of that famous writer to Viennese literature. V. F. Calverton will speak on "American Literature and Social Revolution," Dec. 4th, at 4:30 P. M.

Brookwood Launches Drive for Scholarships

Brookwood Labor College announces a nation-wide campaign for funds, beginning Nov. 21 and extending to Dec. 17. The chief purpose is to provide scholarships for industrial workers in residence at Katonah and in the extension classes which the college conducts in various parts of the country.

James H. Maurer, formerly president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor and recently vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, is chairman of the Brookwood Board of Directors. Among the other labor directors of the school are Miss Fania M. Cohn, head of the Educational Department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; A. J. Kennedy, international president of the Amalgamated Lithographers' Union; Abraham Lefkowitz, vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers and legislative representative of the New York Teachers' Union, and Phil E. Ziegler, editor of the official journal of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

Cards passed out at meetings asking those who receive them to sign, if interested in the Socialist Party, are being used by Earl Sabin, of Pennsylvania, in the efforts to increase the circulation of The New Leader. He sends in two subs as a starter.

EVEN AS NOW—

The law locks up both man and woman
Who steals the goose from off the common,
But lets the greater felon loose
Who steals the common from the goose.
—Early English.

CHICAGO.—Conferences of Socialist workers in various states are being scheduled throughout the country to discuss the party's work for the coming months, the party's national secretary reports. Michigan and Indiana have held such meetings, and plans are being completed for similar gatherings in Illinois, New Jersey, West Virginia and other states.

The Illinois conference will be held Saturday and Sunday, Nov. 26 and 27, in Slovene Hall, 11th and Kansas, Springfield. West Virginia Socialists will meet in Fairmont the following week-end, the first session opening at 1:30 p. m. Saturday, Dec. 3. The New Jersey meeting will be an official convention, and will be held Sunday, Dec. 11, in the Workmen's Circle Hall, 190 Belmont Ave., Newark.

IOWA

The election may be over for most people, but Sioux City Socialists are just getting started in their organization work, according to plans inaugurated at a meeting in their rooms at Union Labor Hall.

Renewed efforts to gain membership, to finance monthly mass meetings, and to bring noted speakers will be made. Plans call for a closer study and participation in local affairs. Three party classes for economic study are being organized: One at the home of Mrs. A. M. Prescott is held each Wednesday night; one at the home of Rev. B. M. Watson, and the regular Friday night meetings at Union Labor Hall, under the direction of H. N. Sturgeon.

At the last meeting Sturgeon discussed the book, "A Plan for America," and J. M. Rens spoke on "The Socialist Plan of Democratic Government."

A highlight on the winter program will be a lecture some time in January by Dr. Harry Laidler, noted economist and executive secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy.

WISCONSIN

Racine.—Revocation of the charter of the Racine branch of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin was voted Saturday by the state executive board.

Work of organizing a new branch was started immediately under the supervision of Lea Krzycki, state secretary of the party.

Application for a new charter will be made within a few days, it was stated.

VIRGINIA

Following the successful election campaign, the Virginia Socialists are planning the campaign of 1933, when a Governor will be elected. In addition, 24 cities will elect municipal officials. The Socialists are planning to name candidates for over 100 offices, and to wage a vigorous campaign. The party is working along two lines: one to keep Socialist voters out of the Democratic primaries, and the other to see to it that all voters pay up their poll tax. The tax must be paid by May 1st to permit citizens to vote in November.

PENNSYLVANIA

Hermine.—Following a successful campaign, in which the party scored a heavy increase (but not enough to satisfy Anton Zornik, who sends us the item), the local in Westmoreland County is planning increased educational activities. At the next meeting John R. Keister, a recent convert to the (Continued on Page Twelve)

DEBATES—LECTURES—FORUMS

THE COMMUNITY FORUM

Sunday, 8 P. M.—DR. HARRY F. WARD

"Will Russia Return to Capitalism?"

11 A. M.—Sunday Service, Town Hall, 123 West 43rd Street
Symposium—"Have We Outgrown Religion?"
Dr. John Haynes Holmes; Dr. W. Beram Wolfe; Dr. Gustav G. Beck

League for Industrial Democracy and United Youth Conference Against War

LUNCHEON DISCUSSION

Hotel Woodstock, 127 W. 43rd St.
Saturday, Nov. 26th, 12:30 P. M.
IMPERIALISM IN 1933
Dorothy Detzer, Executive Sec'y, W. I. L. P. F.
Wayne L. Lees, University Maryland
T. A. Bisson, Foreign Policy Ass'n
A. Fenner Brockway, English Laborite
Roger N. Baldwin, Chairman.
Tickets, 75 cents; Non-members, \$1
Student members, 40 cents.
Make reservations at the office of the L. I. D., 112 East 19th Street.

Institute for Advanced Education

Irving Plaza Hall, 17 Irving Place
All lectures begin at 8:30 p. m.
Monday evening, November 28th:
SCOTT NEARING
"The World Social and Economic Outlook"
Tuesday evening, November 29th:
DR. ALFRED ADLER
"Love and Marriage, Sexual Failures."

INGERSOLL FORUM

Pythian Temple, 135 W. 70th Street
SUNDAYS, 8 P. M.—Admission 25 cents
Nov. 26th—Special Meeting, Thanksgiving Day, 8 P. M.
SECOND ANNUAL TRIAL OF GOD
Nov. 27th—MORRIS GOLDBERG
"Spinoza and Atheism"

FREETHINKERS OF AMERICA

Sunday, 8 P. M., 115 W. 37th St.
SPECIAL MEETING—DEBATE:
"Does Physical Death End All?"
Affirmative:
MORRIS GOLDBERG, Ph. D.
Negative:
MR. ADOLPH M. DEUTSCH
Admission to Non-Members, 25c

DEBATE!

Sunday, Nov. 27th, 8:30 p. m.

Communism or Socialism Which Shall the Workers Follow?

SCOTT NEARING VS. JAMES ONEAL

Brooklyn Forum
Brooklyn Academy of Music
39 Lafayette Ave., near Flatbush Ave.
Tickets: 25c-50c-\$1.00 at Box Office,
Rand Book Store, 7 E. 16th St., N.Y.C.
Sun., Dec. 4th—Harry Elmer Barnes Vs. Charles Solomon

PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At Cooper Union, 8th St. & Astor Pl. at 8 o'clock
FREE ADMISSION

Friday evening, Nov. 25th:
Dr. Everett Dean Martin
"Lucretius: De Rerum Natura—Mechanism as a Basis of Social Philosophy."

Sunday evening, Nov. 27th:
Dr. Horace M. Kallen
"Philosophical Rationalizations in the Social Economy."

Tuesday evening, Nov. 29th:
Professor Frederick Barry
"Illustrations of Developed Scientific Inference: The Law of Gravitation, the Atomic Theory, Organic Evolution."

Tuesday Eve., Nov. 29th, at 8:30 P. M.
PROF. GEORGE SWETLOW
speaks on:
"Family Relations and the Law in Soviet Russia."

Sunday Afternoon, Dec. 4th, at 4:00 P. M.
V. F. CALVERTON
speaks on:
"American Literature and the Social Revolution"
at THE GROUP, 150 West 85th Street

Mussolini's 'Amnesty' a Farce

AFTER it had been announced by Mussolini himself at Milan, and also by the world press, as if it were a historical event the amnesty decree published by the Fascist régime, which is supposed to mark the final consolidation of this régime and its generosity to its adversaries, has now been made known.

The kept Italian press writes as if it were the most generous amnesty ever proclaimed.

But—as was to be expected—this is simply another

Fake Amnesty



The Duce

lie to add to the collection of rewarded servilities. In effect (not to mention the post-war amnesty of 1919) even the Fascist amnesties of 1922 and 1923 went far beyond the present one. But in 1922 and 1923 it was a question of releasing the criminals (and only those!) who had "worked" for the "Fascist revolution"; and the most shameful indulgence was practiced. At the present moment it is a question of adversaries, and it is sufficient to give the impression of a generosity which the Fascists carefully avoid from exercising in reality.

Not one of the outstanding victims among the hundreds of enemies of Fascism sent to the galleys by the Special Tribunal will recover his liberty. A reduction of their sentence by five years will be all, provided these heroes had not incurred other sentences in the past, even if they were of a polit-

The Duce Gets Great Credit for "Mildness," While His Savagery Increases.

ical nature and in no way serious. For in such cases there will not be even a reduction of sentence.

Not Even for Veterans

The belief has been allowed to grow that the ex-combatants, the decorated, and the wounded would enjoy special treatment, but there are no advantages for the war heroes who dared refuse to bow to Fascism. And this at the very moment when other decrees are providing all sorts of professional privileges to the Fascist pretorians who ran wild during the Civil War.

As far as the political prisoners are concerned, the amnesty will only benefit those who should never have been sentenced, those who have only been sentenced for having received a proclamation or having given a few lire to the subscriptions for political victims. We shall, therefore, see a few dozen unknown persons who have never really worked in any party set at liberty—unless we see them leave at once for the islands as deportees—and a few dozen young Communists and young Socialists.

But Terracini, Gramsci and Licausi (Communists), Pertini, Bauer, Andreis, and Ernesto Rossi (Socialists and Republicans), Vinciguerra and Rendi (Liberals), and others too numerous to mention, will still remain in prison for five, ten, fifteen or twenty years.

Such is the "amnesty" which was supposed to provide the proof that Fascism has been consolidated to such an extent that it can afford the luxury of being generous.

The Fugitives

The same applies in the case of the fugitives. Not one of the crimes which can be laid at the door of nearly every one of the fugitives is included in the amnesty. Not the "crime" (for it is a crime according to Article 269 of the Italian Code) of not having kept silent abroad on the

most certain truths regarding events in Italy. Not the "crime" of having slandered the King or other Fascist constitutional institutions (Article 290) nor that covered by the same Article—of having pilloried Fascist "justice." Not the "crime" (Article 302 to 305 of the Italian Code) of having carried on simple anti-monarchist or anti-Fascist propaganda, nor that of having entered into agreements or created organizations for carrying on such propaganda.

The foreign press has been allowed to believe that the amnesty was so generous that in practice it placed the fugitives in a position to return and live in Italy; if they did not do this they would be providing definite proof that they are only kept abroad by their wicked relations with all the enemies of their country. On the contrary, the fugitives are banished from their country more completely than ever because they persist in working for its liberation from the dictatorship.

The Islands

There is no trace in the Fascist amnesty of a general measure applying to the political deportees who are herded together on the infamous islands by simple administrative decisions. Perhaps there will be releases of individuals, but nothing like what the foreign press had been allowed to believe, namely, an almost complete liberation of the political deportees.

Which need not surprise us, for a general measure with regard to the political deportees would not have permitted the deportation, which will certainly take place, of nobody knows how many of those whom the amnesty or the reduction of sentence have set free.

World opinion will never be the victim of a more audacious "amnesty swindle" than that conceived today by the Fascist régime. Everything was promised from the political point of view, but everything will have been given only to the thieves, bankrupts and chaders of all the fiscal, financial and customs laws.

The Dawn of A New Day

By Ferdinand Lassalle

THE working class, in whose heart no germ of a new privilege is contained, is for this very reason synonymous with the whole human race. Its interest is in truth of the whole of humanity, its freedom is the freedom of humanity itself, and its domination is the domination of all.

From the lofty mountain summits of science, gentlemen, the dawn of the new day is seen earlier than below in the turmoil of daily life.

Have you ever witnessed, gentlemen, a sunrise from a lofty mountain?

A purple streak colors the extreme verge of the horizon blood red, announcing the new light; mist and clouds gather, roll themselves in a mass, throw themselves in a mass, throw themselves against the glow of morning, and succeed in covering its ray for a moment. But no power in the world can avail to hinder the slow and majestic rising of the sun itself, which an hour later stands in the firmament visible to all, and giving light and warmth to all the earth.

What an hour is in this spectacle which nature presents to us every day, one or two centuries are in the far more imposing spectacle of a sunrise in the world's history!

Two more new ones from J. W. Adams, Pennsylvania.

Newark Socialists Protest Against Election Thievery

A protest meeting against election frauds and irregularities has been called by the Socialist Party to be held in the Newark Public School of Fine and Industrial Arts at High and Williams Sts., Tuesday evening, November 29th. Socialist watchers will tell of their experiences at the polls on Election Day, and Paul Blanshard will address the meeting.

A special Election Investigation Committee, consisting of John Martin, Dr. Louis Reiss, Milo Jones, M. Hart Walker and Maurice Rosenkrantz issued the call for the meeting in a statement reading:

"Reports received at Socialist Party headquarters on Election Day from watchers indicated numerous election irregularities throughout the city, and especially in the Third Ward. Stories were told of ballot box stuffing, marking of ballots, and the intimidation of watchers. These have since been confirmed by disclosures

through the press of evidence of vote-stealing and the recent theft of ballots and registration records from the City Hall and from the Hall of Records.

"All facts point to a wholesale violation of election laws, the direct theft of votes, the intimidation of citizens and a vicious alliance between gangsters and politicians. Not only have thousands of votes for Socialist candidates been stolen, ignored or prevented, we honestly believe, but the most precious right of the American citizen has been openly violated and the guilty parties are still at large."

"Here's the subs of two fellow workers and my renewal," says Joseph Fonyas of Utica.

"It's great, say all those who are a bit familiar with The New Leader," is the report that comes from Wilho Kallio with four new subs.

Where Your Union Meets

BONNAZ, SINGER EMBROIDERERS' UNION, Local 66, I.L.G.W.U., 7 East 15th St. Phone Algonquin 4-3657-3658. Executive Board meets every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union. Z. L. Freedman, President; Leon Hattab, Manager; Morris Fishman, Secretary-Treasurer.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION, Local 9 Office and headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone Stagg 2-4621. Office open daily except Saturday from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening. Charles Pfaff, Fin. Sec'y; Frank E. Lutz, Treasurer; Andrew Street, Bus. Agent; William Weingert, President; Al Bayler, Vice-President; Milton Rowcroft, Rec. Corresponding Sec'y.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th St., New York, N. Y. Phone Tompkins Square 6-5406. Hyman Blumberg, Sidney Resman, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, Amalgamated Bank Bldg., 11-15 Algonquin 4-599-1-2-3-4-5. Sidney Hillman, Gen. President; Joseph Schlossberg, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

CAPMAKERS—Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, Office, 133 Second Ave.; Phone Orchard 4-9380-1. Local 1—Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue, New York City.

FURRIERS' JOINT COUNCIL OF N. Y., Local 101, 105, 110 and 115 of the INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS OF U. S. and C., 25 West 31st Street, Phone Penn. 6-7532. Meets every Tuesday at 8:00 P. M. B. Merkin, Manager.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION, Local 2, International Fur Workers Union, Office and headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn; STagg 2-6794. Reg. meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, Morris Reiss; Vice Pres., Joseph Karrass; Business Agent, B. Kalmikoff; Secretary, Samuel Mindel; Treasurer, Albert Held.

HERBER TRADES, 175 East Broadway; Phone Broadway 4-8610. Meets 1st and 3rd Mondays, 8 P. M. Executive Board same day, 5:30 P. M. M. Tigod, Chairman; M. Brown, Vice-Chairman; M. F. Insane, Sec'y-Treasurer.

LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION, Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U., Office, 109 W. 33rd St.; Phone Wis. 7-9011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union. Maurice W. Jacobs, Pres.; Samuel Perlmutter, Mgr. Sec.; Morris W. Jacobs, Chairman of Exec. Board; Philip Oretsky, Asst. Mgr.

LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, 3 West 16th Street, New York City. Phone Chelsea 3-2148. David Dubinsky, President.

LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA, New York Local No. 1, Office, Amalgamated Bldg., 205 West 14th St.; Phone Watkins 9-7754. Regular meetings every second and fourth Tuesday at Arlington Hall, 49 St. Mark's Place. Albert E. Castro, President; Patrick J. Hanlon, Vice-President; Frank Schol, Fin. Secretary; Emil Thenen, Rec. Secretary; Joseph J. O'Connor, Treasurer.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, Office, 440 Broadway, phone Spring 7-4548; uptown office, 30 W. 37th St., phone Wisconsin 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 P. M. Manager, N. Spector; Sec'y-Treas., A. Mendelwitz; M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Roden.

MILK WAGON DRIVERS' UNION, Local 581, I. U. of T. Office: 259 W. 14th St., City. Local 534 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at Beethoven Hall, 210 East Fifth St. Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at Beethoven Hall, 210 E. Fifth St. Chas. Hofer, President and Business Agent; Max Liebler, Secretary-Treasurer.

NECKWEAR CUTTERS' UNION, Local 6389, A. F. of L., 1123 Broadway, Chelsea 3-7249. Regular meetings first Monday of every month at Irving Place, Irving Place and 15th St. Gus Levine, President; A. Weitzer, Vice-President; E. Meyer, Recording Secretary; A. L. Berger, Fin. Secretary and Treasurer; William R. Chisling, Manager.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11019, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St. Phone Algonquin 4-7081. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30, Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottsman, Secretary-Treasurer.

PAINTERS UNION, Local 281, Office, 62 East 106th Street, Tel. Lehigh 4-3141. Exec. Board meets every Tuesday at the office. Regular meeting every Friday at 210 E. 104th St. M. Gaff, Fin. Sec'y-Treas.; M. Greenberg, Recording Secretary.

PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD of Greater New York, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Office, 31 West 15th St.; Tompkins Sq. 6-5406. Board meets every Tuesday evening at the office. All locals meet every Wednesday. Morris Blumberg, Manager; Hyman Novador, Sec'y-Treas.

POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION, New York Joint Board, Affiliated with the Amer. Federation of Labor, General office, 53 W. 21st St., New York. Phone Gramercy 5-1023. Charles Kleinman, Chairman; Charles I. Goldman, Sec'y-Treas.; Abe Stein, Manager.

TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6, Office and headquarters, 24 West 10th St., N. Y. Meets every 2nd Sunday of every month at Stuyvesant High School, 15th St., East of 2nd Ave. Phone Tompkins Sq. 6-7470. Austin Hewson, President; Daniel McCauley, Vice-President; James J. McGrath, Secretary-Treasurer; J. J. Fahy, J. J. Hambrick, John Sullivan, Organizers.

WAITERS & WAITRESSES UNION, Local 11, East 28th St.; Tel. Ashland 4-8107. Julius Berg, Pres.; Wm. Lehmann, Sec'y-Treas. It is a 1st meeting every 2nd and 4th Thursday at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th Street.

WATERPROOF GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, Local 30, I. L. G. W. U., 3 West 16th St. Phone, Chelsea 3-3577. Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. Benny Weisler, Manager; Joe Kessler, Secretary-Treasurer.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 99 of I. L. G. W. U., 3 West 14th St., New York City. Phone, Chelsea 3-5755-5757. A. Snyder, Manager. A. SHORE, Executive Supervisor.

(Continued from Page Eleven)

party, will speak. He is a well-known figure in the community and his adherence to Socialism has attracted considerable attention.

Allegheny County.—"The Allegheny Valley is going to be Pennsylvania's second Reading"; that is the gist of a letter from M. A. Petrak, party secretary. The election results were as follows:

The Allegheny Valley Branch was organized in May. The valley cast 14,000 votes for the Thomas-Maurer ticket.

Thirty districts represented by branch members (outside Pittsburgh) cast 2,000 votes, to 100 votes in 1928. Several townships were carried by the party ticket. The vote was straight.

The results were accomplished by hard work, "and can be duplicated," the party secretary says, "everywhere in the United States."

The branch distributed 40,000 pieces of literature; the work was financed by the branch, and there was no deficit, regardless of the \$100 contribution to the National Office from the proceeds of the Thomas meeting. Branch meetings average 75 in attendance, and they are growing.

But Comrade Petrak says, "WE ARE NOT SATISFIED WITH THE RESULTS."

MICHIGAN

(Owosso, Mich.)—One hundred persons representing Socialist locals in more than a score of Michigan communities, met here last Sunday to draw up plans for this winter's program of the Socialist Party in this state.

Plans for a state-wide lecture series, a bi-weekly party publication, study classes in economics and labor problems, and a permanent central election campaign committee, were discussed.

Local Detroit is conducting a forum in the City College. The literature agent sees to it that there are always plenty of books and pamphlets on hand. The East Side Socialists have established a permanent headquarters at 11939 Gratiot Ave.

WEST VIRGINIA

A mass state convention will be held in Fairmont on Dec. 3-4, Saturday and Sunday, to open at 1:30 p. m., evening session 7 p. m. on Saturday. Sunday session begins 10 a. m., afternoon session 1 p. m. The following subjects will be considered: Organization, Murray Baron, H. W. Glasgow—speakers. Educational Work, Dr. R. T. Kerlin, H. L. Franklin. Finances, Amicus Most, J. F. Higgins. Y. P. S. L., by members of the

A petition to the state Legislature, to amend the election laws to permit all minority political parties to have watchers within the polls and to be present in the counting of the votes, will be planned. This is a joint meeting of the S. P. and the Y. P. S. L. and all members of the party in West Virginia are urged to be present. All will be entitled to a voice and a vote at the meeting. The meeting will be held in the hall opposite the B. & O. R. R. depot.

NEW JERSEY

The newly organized branch in Passaic will have a charter festival Friday evening, November 25, in the Workmen's Circle Hall, 50 Howe Ave. The few comrades who carried on the identity of the Socialist movement in this city have much to rejoice over the fact that the branch now numbers 40 young and actively, enthusiastic members, who carried on a vigorous campaign.

(Continued on Page Thirteen)

(Continued from Page Twelve)
 paign during the last election.
 A committee of the State organization will be present, as well as committees of all branches in Passaic County have been invited, also speakers who addressed the well-attended meetings in the past three months have been invited. Hilarious start for further activities will take place. Beginning December 2, a weekly forum, that will continue throughout the winter, will begin.
 Henry Jager, premier Socialist propagandist, will conduct a class in Socialism and public speaking in the Newark Labor Lyceum, 190 Belmont Avenue, every Tuesday, beginning December 6th. The course will be held at 8 p. m., and admission is free. Jager also announces that he is open for lecture dates.

New York State
Meeting postponed.—The meeting of the State Executive Committee has been postponed to Sunday, December 4th, in order to assure a better attendance.
Port Jervis reorganized.—Local Port Jervis, Orange County, has been reorganized, and will return to the "active list" after several years of dormancy. Fingal Stening is Financial Secretary.
Some Official Returns

| County | 1928 | 1932 |
|-------------|-------|-------|
| Chemung | 109 | 708 |
| Tompkins | 244 | 497 |
| Cayuga | 512 | 713 |
| Cattaraugus | 602 | 2,520 |
| Nassau | 1,901 | 3,490 |

 The official canvass in Schenectady County gives the party 100 votes more than the unofficial report gave.

Forum on Tuesday, Nov. 29, at 9 sharp, in the clubrooms at 1637 East 17th St.
 5th A. D.—Due to the efforts of Samuel H. Friedman and a number of others a new branch has been organized in the 5th A. D. Announcements will be made shortly of its officers, activities and plans.
 6th A. D.—Saturday night, Nov. 26, we are staging a supperette and dance at 167 Tompkins Ave., near Hart St. Pleasant atmosphere, along with excellent food, music and entertainment assured. Fifty cents will be charged to defray costs.
 Bay Ridge.—No branch in the city is showing such phenomenal increase in membership as the newly organized Bay Ridge Branch in the 9th A. D. Due to the fine team work among a number of the new members a constant stream of applications is pouring into the city office. The branch will hold a special meeting Saturday evening, Nov. 26, in the home of Comrade Sholes, 120—68th Street. Organizer Claessens will be present. After a short talk and business meeting the branch will hold its first informal social gathering.
 11th A. D.—Meets Monday night at home of Mrs. A. J. Boulton, 58 Quincy St. Hy. Rosner will speak.
 16th A. D.—A meeting of the branch will be held Friday evening, Nov. 25, in the headquarters, 6731 Bay Parkway. William M. Feigenbaum will speak on the results of the recent election.
 18th A. D., Branch 1.—The branch is running a series of educational lectures, the first of which was delivered last Thursday evening by William M. Feigenbaum on "The People Have Spoken." A very large crowd was present. Canvassing is being done; new members brought into the branch. Monthly dances are planned.
 21st A. D.—At a meeting last Monday a capacity attendance heard Organizer Claessens analyze the results of the recent election. The branch is in excellent condition and has made plans for numerous future activities along educational, social and organizational lines.
 23rd A. D.—The membership is obtaining subscriptions of members to the Brooklyn Forum and intends to sell a number of tickets for the events of coming Sunday evenings. On Dec. 2nd there will be a social affair at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum in recognition of the campaign committee's good work. It was decided to have lectures at the weekly Monday evening business meetings.
QUEENS
 Jamaica.—A meeting of the branch will be held on Friday evening, Dec. 2. A well-known speaker will discuss the results of the election and the work before the Party. The branch meets at 9218 New York Boulevard.
 Syracuse is getting back its old stride that once made it an outstanding center in the Socialist Movement. Walter Solowski sends in three more subs.

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| RICHMOND | 7.50 |
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| CHICAGO | 15.00 |
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New York City

General Membership Meeting.—The membership of the Socialist Party of Greater New York is summoned to attend a general membership meeting in the auditorium of the People's House, 7 East 15th St., Thursday evening, Dec. 1. Norman Thomas, Morris Hillquit and Louis Waldman will address the gathering on an analysis of the results of the recent election and the immediate task before the Socialist Party. Admission will be by card only.

City Central Committee.—The regular monthly meeting of the City Central Committee has been postponed to Thursday evening, Dec. 8, at 8:30 p. m., at the People's House, 7 East 15th St.

Organization Work, New Branches and New Members.—Due to the splendid campaign and the fine increase in activity organization work is going ahead at full speed. New members are coming in in large numbers, and there are still hundreds of prospects who have been written to whose applications will be in shortly. The City Executive Committee, at its meeting of Nov. 23, admitted 123 new members. The committee also chartered two new branches, in the 4th A. D. Manhattan and in the 5th A. D. Kings. Organization work is now in progress for the formation of new branches in the 12th, 19th and 20th A. D. Manhattan, in the lower part of the 2nd A. D. Bronx, in the New Lots, Canarsie and Coney Island sections of Brooklyn. There are now 78 branches under the jurisdiction of Local New York City and it is expected before the municipal convention and campaign starts in the spring that there will be at least 100 functioning branches.

Women's Section Class in Socialism and Public Speaking.—The first session of the class organized under the auspices of the Women's Section and the Rand School was held Monday afternoon. There were more than 50 paid registrations and many more women are applying for entrance. Comrade Esther Friedman is the instructor for the first hour on "The Fundamentals of Socialism." August Claessens is in charge of the second hour as instructor in public speaking. The class will continue its sessions every Monday afternoon between 2 and 4 p. m. The fee for the class is \$1.50.

MANHATTAN

6th A. D.—A meeting of the branch will be held Monday evening, Nov. 28, at 48 Avenue C, at 8:30. The Sunday evening Forum will start Jan. 8.

5th A. D.—The executive board elected an educational committee to work out plans for activities for the coming winter. An important branch meeting will be held Friday, Nov. 25, at 8:30, when a full report of the last campaign will be given by the organizer.

4th A. D.—A new branch has been organized in the 4th A. D. At the first meeting A. N. Weinberg represented the city office and at the conclusion of his address 17 applications were received. The branch has been chartered by the City Executive Committee and will begin functioning.

BRONX

2nd A. D.—The mid-Bronx Forum under the auspices of the branch at the Paradise Manor will open its seasonal activities Friday, Dec. 2, with Norman Thomas as first speaker. The branch is also arranging a theatre party to raise funds.

5th A. D.—Branch meeting will be held Monday, Nov. 28, at 8:30, at Pel Park Palace, 708 Lydig Ave. This will be regular meeting place hereafter. Comrade Wisotaky, who was recently transferred to this branch, was elected educational director and will lecture on "Socialism and the Trade Unions." At a previous meeting Mrs. Kalmanson, who recently returned from an eight-week tour of Soviet Russia, delivered an interesting lecture on "What I Witnessed in Soviet Russia."

8th A. D.—August Claessens will lecture on "Nature and Nurture" at the West Bronx Socialist Forum, Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison Avenues, Bronx, Sunday morning, Nov. 27, at 11:00. This Forum is conducted under the auspices of the branch and is in its second season. Samuel Orr will precede the main lecture with a short talk on current events.

BROOKLYN

Brooklyn Forum will hold its first debate Sunday evening, Nov. 27, at 8:30, on "Communism or Socialism—Which Shall the Worker Follow?" The debaters are Scott Nearing and James O'Neal. This is the opening of the second season of the very successful Forum under the auspices of the Brooklyn County Committee and meets in the Academy of Music, 30 Lafayette Ave., every Sunday evening. The admission for single events is 25 cents, 50 cents and \$1.00. Membership subscription cards can be purchased for \$3.00 for the entire course of 20 lectures and debates. An interesting program has been announced for the following Sunday evenings.

Brighton Beach.—The second session of the Forum held last Friday evening again brought out a capacity crowd. Friday evening, Nov. 25, William Karlin will speak on "Will Civilization Survive?" Friday, Dec. 2, Jacob Panken will speak on "Tale of Two Cities—New York and Vienna."

Midwood.—Bela Low, chairman of the Education Committee of Local New York, will discuss the situation in Germany at the branch

YPSSEL NOTES

Anti-War Conference.—Ypsel activities this week-end will be largely occupied at the sessions of the Youth Conference at the Rand School from Friday evening through Sunday afternoon. Practically all of the circles in the city will be represented, as will the National office.

Manhattan.—The new group at 100 West 72nd St. will meet Sunday, Nov. 27, at 8:30 p. m. A group is also being organized in Greenwich Village.

Circle 3 Br., Kings. will hold a Dance and Social on the evening of Saturday, Dec. 3. Admission 15c. Meetings are held every Thursday at 8:30 p. m. at 6731 Bay Parkway. Flatbush Juniors.—Meetings are being held every Sunday, 2:30 p. m., at 844 Utica Ave. A chorus is being developed.

Circle 9 Br., Kings.—Jack Drachler will speak on "The European Youth Movement" on Sunday, Nov. 27, 4 p. m., at 55 Snyder Ave.

Circle 6 Br., Manhattan.—The monthly Red Cross membership meeting will be held on Sunday, Nov. 27, at 8:30 p. m. YPSL or Party card must be presented.

Bronx Dance.—The Borough Council is sponsoring a social at

9 West 170th St. this Saturday evening. Admission of 15 cents will be compensated by the free refreshments.

Fay Rockaway.—Phil Heller will speak on "The Political Situation in Germany" at the Friday meeting on Nov. 25 at 158 Beach 85th St.

Staten Island.—Zeke Antonsen will discuss the U. S. Supreme Court at the bi-monthly meeting on Thursday, Dec. 1, at the home of Christensen, 191 Elm St., West Brighton.

Milwaukee.—Another link in the YPSL chain has been forged with the organization of the E. V. Debs Circle. With a membership of 35, it gives promise of developing rapidly.

Eli Cohen, County Organizer. John Weber, County Secretary, and Bill Quick, Jr., N.E.C. member, addressed a large Debs Memorial meeting. Weekly Socialist educational classes, led by professors from Milwaukee colleges, started immediately after the campaign. "Mill Shadows" by Tom Tippet, produced so successfully in New York last spring, has already been put into active rehearsal by the Drama Group.

Men and Women Wanted

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 Good Food—Pleasant Atmosphere
LUNCHEON, 35-50 cents
DINNER, 65-70 cents
 Free room for meetings and social gatherings.

"Dear Jane", A Prize of Porcelain and Pearl

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

DELIGHTFUL JANE

"DEAR JANE." By Eleanor Holmes Hinkley. At the Civic Repertory.

"Quietly, without pretensions excursion and alarm, a new delight has come into the theatre. In a style that is always deft and delicate, often witty, and sometimes truly poetic, a style flavoured, yet not burdened, with literary allusions, a style of porcelain and pearl neatly fitted to the theme, yet—to level the author at herself—"with enough faults for the sweetness not to cloy," Eleanor Holmes Hinkley sets "Dear Jane" Austen on the stage. It is a playful play, no more solemn-serious and fraught with the burden of the world than Jane's own books; yet minutely observant, catching a number of figures in careful miniatures. A deal of love and joy—not to mention pains—have gone into the play, and they have blended to produce a gentle treasure. The theme, if we seek one, is the grim question some women face, of marriage versus a career; but in Jane's testing the tragic limitations are no more than glimpsed beneath the cloak of her humor-decked courage. Even the bugaboo Samuel Johnson is topsyturried, the whole play being a flat rejoinder to his prolegomenary pronouncement that women are stupid, silly, and superficial, and able to create only in the physical sphere. With Boswell's aid, the dictum is laid down on the day Jane is brought forth. The prologue is the weakest element of the play, especially for those who do not know that Dec. 16, 1775, is Jane Austen's birthday; and neither Johnson nor Joshua Reynolds fits our picture. But throughout the play Aline Bernstein's settings, and the swirling colors of her costumes, chime with the spirited directing of Eva Le Gallienne—herself a charming though subdued Cassandra, in the cast—to make the production rise to the peak of excellence from which Josephine Hutchinson's Jane glows and laughs and tugs at men's hearts like a pixie. A radiant role, that sets her high among our younger actresses. And a delightful play; a more humorous, more poetic, successor to "Alison's House," a worthy addition to the rich roll of the Civic Repertory.

Popular Yiddish Actress-Manager



Jennie Goldstein, who is to be seen these evenings at her own theatre in the Bronx, the Prospect, where she stars in "Golden Dreams" by Sam H. Cohen.

SHAKING UP SHAKESPEARE

Repertory of Comedies, mainly. Directed by Percival Vivian. At the Shakespeare Theatre.

Every now and then it is good to be reminded that the plays of Shakespeare are not only good poetry, but excellent theatre. The Julius Hopp-Percival Vivian company is ambitious; it has rechristened the Jolson Theatre; and it has started with a play easy to spoil. Yet a pleasant amateur-

Empire Theatre Broadway and 46th St. Eves. 8:30; Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40

Pauline Lord in The Late Christopher Bean

with WALTER CONNOLLY "Alive with laughter." —*Carroll, World-Telegram.*

Henry Miller's 124 W. 43rd St. Eves. 8:45 Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:45

CIVIC REPERTORY

14th St. & 9th Ave. WA. 9-7450 Eves. 8:30; Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40

EVA LE GALLIENNE, Director

—WEEK OF NOVEMBER 26th—

Mon. eve. "CAMILLE"

Tues. eve. "LILIOM"

Wed. mat. "CAMILLE"

Wed. eve. "DEAR JANE"

Thurs. eve. "LILIOM"

Fri. eve. "DEAR JANE"

Sat. mat. "PETER PAN"

Sat. eve. "LILIOM"

Seats 4 wks. adv. Box Off. & Town Hall, 115 W. 46th St.

ishness (especially in the tiny fairy dancers) somehow adds to the fellowship and fun of the watching; and the good spirits with which the piece is carried off speaks well for the remainder of the series. Go up and discover that Shakespeare belongs, not within boards, but on them!

"HATCHETATION"

"CARRY NATION." By Frank McGrath. At the Biltmore.

What the woman, who thought her name a divine prophecy—CAN-Carry a Nation—would think of the prohibition she went amassing for, is another question. Save that—like many in real life—he didn't know how to get rid of her, Mr. McGrath has made an effective play out of her life. Running through the lively scenes is a picture of our growing country no city folk should miss; and Esther Dale makes the portrait of Carry Nation vividly real. One line, especially, we shall not forget:—The government? "Like a rotten fish, it smells worst at the head!" J. T. S.

New Yiddish Play at Bronx Prospect Theatre

Jennie Goldstein, star and director of the Prospect Theatre, has the stellar role in "Golden Dreams," a new Jewish comedy-drama by S. H. Cohen with music by Harry Lubin. This play is the new weekend attraction supplanting "Price of Happiness." Miss Goldstein is supported in "Golden Dreams" by the entire Prospect Theatre company, including William Schwartz, Gertrude Bulman, Max Wilner, Abraham Teitelbaum, Katie Kaplan, David Yanover, Tillie Rabino-witz, Jacob Wexler, Rebecca Weintraub, Meyer Honigman, Fanny Lubritsky and Mrs. Nadel.

"With Williamson Beneath the Seas" Opens at Cameo

"With Williamson Beneath the Seas," an adventure among the mysteries and monsters of the deep, photographed by the Williamson tube, is current at the Cameo Theatre. Close-ups of sharks and barracudas as well as intriguing pictures of many fish never before photographed. The raising of treasures from sunken ships and a fight to the death between a diver and an octopus fur-

Musical Comedy Producer Whose "Varieties" Is at the Casino Theatre



George White has another hit on his hands with "Varieties," a revue which stars Harry Richman, Bert Lahr, Lili Damita, and others.

nish drama to this picture. In order to make this picture, Williamson perfected his father's invention, the Williamson tube, and has added the photosphere, which enables him to bring to the bottom of the ocean studio lights. Often these lights are not necessary, but by this additional feature Williamson is prepared to pursue and photograph any of the deep sea wonders or cannibals.

The THEATRE GUILD presents

The Good Earth

Dramatized by OWEN DAVIS

DONALD DAVIS from the Pulitzer prize novel by PEARL S. BUCK

GUILD THEATRE 52nd St. W. of Broadway Eves. at 8:30, Mats. Thurs. & Sat. at 2:30

46th ST. THEATRE WEST OF B'WAY—LA 6-1219 Mats. Thurs. and Sat.

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200 Orchestra Seats \$4.00 500 Orchestra Seats \$3.00

SAM H. HARRIS presents

"DINNER AT EIGHT"

A New Play in Seven Scenes by GEORGE S. KAUFMAN and EDNA FERBER

CONSTANCE COLLIER CONWAY TEARLE ANN ANDREWS MARGUERITE CHURCHILL PAUL HARVEY MALCOLM DUNCAN MARGARET DALE OLIVE WYNDHAM JUDITH WOOD MARY MURRAY CESAR ROMERO GREGORY GAYE AUSTIN FAIRMAN SAMUEL LEVENE HANS ROBERTS

Music Box Theatre 45th Street West of Broadway Matinees Thursday and Saturday 2:30

Maxine Elliott's Theatre 23rd St. East of Broadway; Eves. 8:45

Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:40

SUCCESS STORY

A New Play by JOHN HOWARD LAWSON

LAST 3 Weeks!

ELMER RICE'S Counsellor At-Law

with PAUL MUNI

PLYMOUTH Theatre, 41th W. of B'way. LA. 4-8726 Eves. 8:30; Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

Gaynor and Farrell on the Screen of Fox Brooklyn—Nina Olivette in Stage Show

With its opening sequences aboard a big three-masted schooner and the remainder of the story taking place in a fisherman's colony along the Maine coast, "Tees of the Storm Country" presents a romantic, if salty, atmosphere at the Fox Theatre this week.

Janet Gaynor and Charles Farrell are co-starred in this Fox film offering, and such players as Dudley Digges, June Clyde, Claude Gillingwater, George Meeker, Matty Hemp and DeWitt Jennings are in the cast.

Musical comedy fans and dyed-in-the-wool screen fans will be happy to know that Nina Olivette, the star of many musical successes, will appear in person on the stage of the Fox Theatre with Johnny Burke in a miniature musical comedy titled "Rookies." Additional features will be Bob West and Rosa Rio. There will be a "Magic Carpet" and a Terry Toon cartoon presented.

J. P. McEVOY'S NEW With PHIL BAKER and Company of 80

AMERICAN

"Some of the most original and effective ingredients ever stirred into a revue."

—Gilbert Gabriel, American

SHUBERT THEATRE, 44th W. of B'way. Evenings at 8:30 Matinees Wednesday & Saturday 2:30

CRIMINAL AT LARGE

"... baffles you, excites you, horrifies you in skillful accord with the best traditions of its class. It attains that seventh heaven of all movie addicts, brutal murder among gentle folk, the heebiejeebies amid the dress shirts and the marchionesses... an almost perfect playing of the good old murder game... a darling of the mystery addicts."

—Gilbert Gabriel, N. Y. American

BELASCO THEATRE, 115 W. 44th St. Eves. 8:40 Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40

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Conducting Beethoven, Liszt, Schelling, Borodin

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PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY

TOSCANINI, Conductor

Metropolitan Opera House

Sunday Afternoon, Nov. 27, at 2:30

Soloists: ELSA ALSEN, Soprano PAUL ALTHOUSE, Tenor BEETHOVEN—WAGNER

DOBROWEN, Guest Conductor

Carnegie Hall, Thurs. Eve., Dec. 2 at 8:45

Friday Afternoon, Dec. 3 at 2:30

HANDEL—BEETHOVEN—TCHAIKOWSKY

Carnegie Hall, Sat. Eve., Dec. 3 at 8:45

Soloists: EUNICE MORTON, Pianist HANDEL—SCHUBERT—TCHAIKOWSKY ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Stetson House)

THE CHEERFUL MUSICAL REVUE!

BALLYHOO

OF 1932

with WILLIAM & HOWARD EUGENE

JEANNE AUBERT Lulu McConnell

Bob Hope, Vera Marzke, Gloria Gilbert

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"Something to see and hear... inventive, swift and humorous." —*News*

44th ST. Theatre West of B'way Eves. 8:30. \$1 to \$3.45 Mats. Wed. & Sat. — \$1.00 to \$2.50

MAX GORDON Presents

Clifton Webb

Charles Butterworth

Tamara Geva, Patsy Kelly

in the

NEW HOWARD DIETZ REVUE

FLYING COLORS

Words and Music by Howard Dietz & Arthur Schwartz

IMPERIAL THEATRE, 45th St. West of Broadway Eves. 8:30; Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

Clara Bow's Film—Ravel's "La Valse"—At the Roxy

"Call Her Savage" Marks Clara Bow's Return to Screen. "La Valse" as a Ballet

Clara Bow makes her return to the screen at the Roxy Theatre, starting today in "Call Her Savage," adapted for the camera by Edwin Burke from Tiffany Thayer's novel of that name.

Gilbert Roland heads the all-featured supporting cast, which also includes Thelma Todd, Monroe Owsley, Estelle Taylor, Willard Robertson, Anthony Jowitt and Weldon Hepburn.

An elaborate stage production has been planned by Frank Cambria marking the engagement of Catherine Littlefield, formerly principal ballerina of the Philadelphia Grand Opera Company as Premiere Danseuse of the Roxy Theatre and Miss Mary Read, long associated with John Tiller troupes, as director of the Roxyettes.

The piece de resistance of the program will be "La Valse" by Maurice Ravel, for which the Roxyettes have been increased to fifty-four. The orchestra, ballet and singing ensemble have also been considerably augmented.

The Fox movietone Newsreel will be followed by "Edelweiss," a spec-

Stars Who Shine in Gilbert Miller's New Plays



Judith Anderson, who has the principal role in "Firebird" at the Empire; and Pauline Lord, who comes through again with a delightful performance in "The Late Christopher Bean" at the Henry Miller's Theatre.

tacle reminiscent of Switzerland which includes a yodelling chorus and a dance by Velodia Vestoff.

The overture, played by the Roxy Theatre Symphony Orchestra under the direction of David Ross, is "Cleopatra" by Mancinelli.

"Kameradschaft" Praised by National Board Review

The National Board of Review's Committee on Exceptional Photo-

graphs has awarded "Kameradschaft" (Comradeship), the new German-French talking picture now being shown in its fourth week at the Europa Theatre, major recommendation as "an unusual picture of a mine disaster on the Franco-German border in which common danger brings former enemies together in the work of rescue. It is an international picture of great power and of extraordinary moral effect."

George White's MUSIC HALL VARIETIES

HARRY RICHMAN LILI DAMITA BERT LAHR

50 George White Dancing Beauties

CASINO Theatre, 7th Ave. & 50th St. — COL. 5-1300
Wed. Mat. 50c to \$1.50; Sat. Mat. 50c to \$2.00
Evenings (ex. Sat.) 50c to \$2.50, plus tax

ARTHUR J. BECKHARD presents ANOTHER LANGUAGE

A Play by ROSE FRANKEN
with a distinguished cast, led by
GLENN ANDERS
DOROTHY STICKNEY
MARGARET WYCHERLY
JOHN DEAL

BOOTH THEATRE—410 W. of B'way
Evs. 8:30—Mats. Wed. & Sat.

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and Harriet Hector, Milton Berle, Andre Randall, Edwin Styles, Lillian Shade, and 155 others, including Helen Jackson Girls.

BROADWAY THEATRE, B'way at 53rd St.
Nightly 700 Orch. Seats \$2.50
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Second Big Week! RICHARD ANN DIX HARDING

"The Conquerors"
with EDNA MAY OLIVER
GUY KIBBE
(9:30 A. M. to 2 P. M. 35c)
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4th Record Breaking Week!

Comradeship (Kameradschaft)

Minimum of Dialogue—English Titles
The First Socialistic Talking Film From Germany

"...for sheer reality and emotional dynamics surpasses anything that has been produced and exhibited in this Hollywooded land of ours."

S. A. DeWitt, Columbus-New Leader

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Big 3 in 1 Show!

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"The Old Dark House"

with BORIS KARLOFF

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"TESS OF THE STORM COUNTRY"

On the Stage—Johnny Burke and Nina Olive

"Maedchen in Uniform"

(Girls in Uniform)

must be seen!"

"I recommend it without qualification. It is the year's ten best pictures rolled into one!"

—William Boehnel, World-Telegram

"Touching, subtle and dignified. One of the most original talkies yet to be made."

—John S. Cohen, Jr., New York Sun

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Adventure among the mysteries and monsters of Jules Verne . . .

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"Yorck"

UFA

The epic conflict of a MAN portrayed against a Titanic Background

Little CARNEGIE 140 W. 57th St.

George White's "Music Hall Varieties" at the Casino Theatre

George White brought his "Music Hall Varieties" to the Casino Theatre Tuesday evening. "The Music Hall Varieties," according to Mr. White, will glorify the variety form of entertainment with an unusual array of Broadway stars.

The performers will be given daily, including Sundays. A popular scale of prices will be in-

augurated which will range from \$1.50 to \$2.00.

Harry Richman, Lili Damita and Bert Lahr will head the galaxy of luminaries now being assembled for the production. The cast also includes Eleanor Powell, Loomis Sisters, Betty Keane, Barre Hill, Serge Flash and others to be announced.

An added feature will be a typical George White beauty chorus.

"I am going to give theatrogoers the highest grade entertainment in my 'Music Hall Varieties,'" George White said yesterday.

"RAW"

and dripping drama scarce equalled in the cinema . . . Muni is superb.—Regina Crows in New York American.

"I AM A FUGITIVE FROM A CHAIN GANG"

PAUL MUNI

WARNER BROS. HIT OF HITS!

4th WEEK!
B'way & 47th - Midnite Shows - 35c to 1 p.m. Exc. Hol. & Sun.
SOON-EDW. G. ROBINSON in "SILVER DOLLAR"

JOE E. BROWN

"You Said a Mouthfull"

with GINGER ROGERS

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B'way & 50th St. —POPULAR PRICES— Fulton & Rockwell

JENNIE GOLDSTEIN

GOLDEN DREAMS

by E. H. COHEN — Music by HARRY LUBIN
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"PROSPERITY"

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SNEL BARRET

Extra Added Attraction

ADE LYMAN & Orchestra

CAPITOL Broadway at 52nd St.

BULL fighting

as a sport, an art and a laugh

EDDIE CANTOR

in "THE KID FROM SPAIN"

All Seats Reserved

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3:45 - 8:45 - 11:45 - 3 Shows Sunday 3:45 - 8:45 - 11:45

RKO PALACE Theatre B'way & 47th St.

ON THE STAGE

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By Norman Thomas

TIMELY TOPICS

Every week Norman Thomas writes in his pungent style his own comments upon the salient events of the moment.

The A. F. of L. Marches Forward

THE statesmanlike report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in favor of compulsory unemployment insurance is like a bright light on a very dark night. Its positive arguments admit of no effective reply. They are cogent and convincing. I rejoice that the Council sees so clearly that ideally unemployment insurance should be national. As the Council points out, given the constitution as interpreted by the courts, a national unemployment insurance bill would probably be declared unconstitutional. Hence we shall have to work for state bills.

At the same time I am convinced we should work with might and main for the Socialist amendment to the constitution which would give Congress power to enact all necessary social and economic legislation in behalf of the workers. I should like to see included in that amendment a specific provision that Congress could impose necessary forms of taxation, which, of course, would include a capital levy. Until we can act nationally in national crises democracy is in grave danger.

To go back to the specific matter of unemployment insurance. I doubt if 3% imposition on industry will provide sufficient funds to make unemployment insurance adequate. The Socialist idea of the participation of the state through taxation on the income receiving group is still valid.

Whether or not a 3% premium on payrolls would provide a sufficient fund for unemployment insurance, it is now too late to look at this measure as an adequate source of help. In rejoicing that the A. F. of L. has seen the light it is still possible for us in a friendly spirit to point out that much of the present tragedy would have been alleviated if the A. F. of L. had seen this light in '28 or '24, or even earlier. As matters now stand, we are dealing with millions of men and women who have already lost their jobs and therefore cannot insure them. It is necessary to get positive action for maintenance of the workers while a program of useful work is being formed. This requires federal action.

Fortunately the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. recognizes this in its other planks for the aid of the unemployed. The situation, however, demands a more vigorous statement in behalf of immediate action for a maintenance wage. We must act and we must act fast. The A. F. of L. should put itself in the very vanguard in demanding such action. Only so can it hope to reach the unorganized workers or to recoup its serious losses in membership.

Of course the A. F. of Labor is on very sound lines in its hearty endorsement of the five-day week and a six-hour day. It does well also to call for "national economic planning for the purpose of balancing production and distribution." I wonder if there is any labor man who will be willing to argue with a Socialist how such planning can be carried out short of Socialism, that is, without social ownership of the things for whose use we plan. The same logic which has finally forced the A. F. of L. Council to endorse, at least partially, immediate demands made long ago by Socialists will force labor men to endorse the Socialist philosophy and the Socialist program.

A Gentleman's Agreement

A GENTLEMAN'S agreement has at last been entered into by the government and the Radio Corporation of America under which nominally the R.C.A. is to be separated from Westinghouse and the General Electric which now own it. The decree also will affect the patent licensing relationship between the R.C.A., the General Electric, the Westinghouse and other companies involving more than 4,000 patents.

We Socialists can afford to be very skeptical



Norman Thomas

before we throw up our hats and cheer for this decree. It is pretty clear that some outrageous practices were used in forming the R.C.A. It is very doubtful whether now that the eggs have been broken the omelet can be unscrambled. As in the case of the Standard Oil dissolution, social gains from this anti-trust decree will be mighty small. Indeed, it is quite possible that the companies accepted the decree to forestall criminal proceedings against them and their directors for some of their acts.

Does this decree mean, for instance, that the government will not make any investigation of the amazing loss to investors, especially to small investors, in the manipulation of the R.K.O. stock by the R.C.A.? This question is important from a Socialist angle, not primarily because we are interested in making great trusts safe for little investors, but because of the light it sheds on the whole racket which is called capitalism. It must not be forgotten that the most prominent single figure in the whole R.C.A. set-up is capitalism's fair-haired boy, President-elect Roosevelt's staunchest Wall Street backer, Owen D. Young. My campaign suggestion that some of these deals in which he was at least indirectly involved through his company needed investigation with a view to possible criminal action was studiously ignored by almost every paper in the United States. He and other high dignitaries will be on at least as good terms with the incoming administration as with the Hoover government.

Lowell of Harvard

I READ in the headlines: "President Lowell Resigns at Harvard. Noted for His House Plan." If history remembers to record the name of A. Lawrence Lowell at all it will not be as author of a "House Plan" in Harvard University. It will be as one of those responsible for the legalized murder of two obscure Italian Anarchists lifted by their fate to an heroic level in history.

By what inner processes of rationalization this old Boston Brahmin and educator, President Lowell of Harvard, justified his extraordinary role in the Sacco-Vanzetti affair I do not profess to know. Certainly the fact stands that he was more responsible than the Governor of Massachusetts or his colleagues on the Governor's commission for the most terrible act of class and caste injustice which even the history of America affords. Only the future can tell just how much this execution of two men who were obviously denied a fair trial will cost the world by the contribution it has inevitably made to cynical bitterness and distrust of protestations of faith in right and justice.

In the paeans of conventional applause which will now come to President Lowell of Harvard, will not the figures of Sacco and Vanzetti, like some unforgettable ghosts, perpetually rise to remind him of the day when he lost one of the greatest opportunities that ever came to an American of his class; that is, an opportunity to show that in this country the processes of justice are more than a rationalization of class interest and class prejudice?

A Trip to the Bay State

I WISH I could share with my readers the tremendous encouragement I got over the last week-end in Massachusetts. A splendid meeting at North Adams on a rainy night in which locals around that industrial town participated and the conference of delegates from Connecticut valley locals in Northampton Sunday afternoon and evening showed that the Socialist cause was marching on and that the Party was preparing its plans to meet its opportunities.

I may add that the general note in letters which I get is a note of encouragement and determination. As I thought, a great part of our vote was not counted. From town after town I have heard of uncounted votes. We can only end that by more effective organization. Some time I may want to comment on what the vote showed in percentage of increase, but I want the complete figures before me when I make this comment.

In the light of my present partial knowledge I should like to call attention to the immense increase in the state of Washington. In percentage I should say that this is about the largest, certainly one of the largest, increases in any important state in the country. I can assure you that the movement in Washington is very genuinely proletarian. It has not for that reason failed to draw support from the more far seeing and professional groups.

which will be largely a program of political and economic education, was already under way.

The vote was 15,000 in Detroit and about 30,000 in the state.

"The election was but an incident in the upgrowth of the Socialist Party in this state," Francis King, state secretary, declared. "Not only did our vote reach a new

peak, but our party organization in the state is more extensive than ever before. While we had only ten locals a year ago, we have seventy now. What we have been doing, and are continuing to do, is to build from the roots up a political party which will represent the economic interests of the mass of the people."

American Labor Demands Unemployment Insurance

(Continued from Page Three)

legislation should approximate, insofar as practicable, the coverage of State workmen's compensation acts. As time goes on the scope or coverage of the act may well be broadened.

Compensation

10. The claim of employees to receive unemployment compensation as provided under the act should be clearly recognized as a legal right earned by previous employment within the State. Receipt of unemployment benefits shall in no way entail loss of suffrage or other civil rights. Persons not legal residents of the State and those not citizens of the United States shall not by reason of that fact be disqualified from receiving benefits.

The amount of benefits to be paid and the number of weeks during which they shall be paid must depend upon the local conditions in each State and upon the amount of contributions paid into the fund. We are informed, for instance, that under the conditions prevailing in Ohio, a contribution of 3 per cent of the total payroll makes it possible after a waiting period of three weeks per year to pay benefits for a maximum period of sixteen weeks in a year based upon 50 per cent of the normal weekly wages, but not to exceed \$15 a week.

It seems advisable to restrict the payment of benefits to unemployment occurring after a specified waiting period. The length of this waiting period will materially affect the amount of the benefits which can be paid and the length of time during which they can be paid.

Workers who are partially unemployed should receive unemployment compensation at a reduced rate. The exact amount of the reduction will presumably vary in different States. We suggest that a fair principle would be to pay for partial unemployment the amount of the benefit which would be payable in case of total unemployment reduced by subtracting one-half of the amount of the wages actually received.

11. (a) The administration of the scheme of unemployment compensation and the responsibility for the keeping and investment of the unemployment funds should be in the hands of a State commission. This should be either a special commission created for the specific purpose or an already existing State commission or department of labor.

A Voice in Management

(b) Both labor and management should have a voice in the administration of unemployment insurance. Advisory committees composed of an equal number of representatives of labor and management will prove very useful and, in some States, local appeal boards similarly constituted will be found desirable.

It should be recognized, however, that workmen can have genuine representation only through labor organizations. Unless labor can, in effect, through its organization select its own representatives, pretended representation is but a farce.

(c) The cost of the administration of unemployment compensation should be met out of the unemployment fund itself.

(d) The operation of employment exchanges is closely and vitally connected with the administration of unemployment insurance. The commission should take over, supervise and expand public employment exchanges in States where these already exist or in States where none exist should create and operate such exchanges.

(e) The administration regulating the payment of benefits should be decentralized as far as possible.

Payments should be made upon claims presented through local agencies, established and supervised by the commission and acting in close cooperation with the public employment offices. Appeals should be allowed to a central authority.

12. The whole scheme should be so construed as to induce and stimulate so far as possible the regularization and stabilization of employment. This may be effected in various possible ways; as, for instance, by basing the amount of contributions payable upon some merit-rating scheme or in States not adopting an exclusive State fund by the establishment of separate industry or separate plant funds.

This statement embodies within it certain standards and principles that we believe should be incorporated in unemployment insurance legislation. We suggest, however, that a flexible policy be pursued in all States and that unemployment insurance legislation be secured which will maintain the above standards as far as possible and yet which will accommodate itself to the varying circumstances and conditions in each State. It is essential that the protection of the rights of citizenship and of union membership be maintained in all acts.

Pending the adoption of compulsory State insurance, voluntary unemployment schemes should be subject to State regulation. We therefore believe it vital that suitable legislation be enacted to provide for State supervision of all such plans, including as a minimum the deposit of benefit funds in separate trust accounts, whether or not such funds include payments made from employees.

J. LOUIS ENGDALH DIES IN MOSCOW

Word comes from Moscow of the death from pneumonia in the Soviet capital of J. Louis Engdahl, leading American Communist. Engdahl was traveling in Europe with Mr. Ada Wright, mother of one of the Scottsboro Negro boys, under Communist auspices seeking to arouse sentiment in Europe for the unfortunate lads.

John Louis Engdahl was born of Swedish immigrant parents in Minneapolis November 11, 1884. After a college education he became a newspaper man and worked on papers in many parts of the country. He became a Socialist in 1910 and in 1911 he joined the staff of the Milwaukee Leader. A year later he traveled with Emil Seidel, then Socialist candidate for Vice-President. In 1914 he was made editor of the American Socialist, official national party organ, and continued until the paper was suppressed upon the entry of the United States into the war. He was tried and sentenced to 20 years by Judge Landis, together with Victor L. Berger and three others, but the Supreme Court quashed the conviction because of proved prejudice by the trial judge.

During the early party dissensions, Engdahl opposed the Communist elements, but during 1920 and 1921 he took a more and more definite Communist position until he joined that party and became editor of its local weekly.

For the past ten years he has been active in various phases of Communist work as editor, organizer and lecturer. He is survived by a widow and a daughter.

Picked at random from the avalanche of subs that came in during the closing days of the campaign: From a Connecticut booster, 5 new subs.

Detroit Gratified and Is Building for the Future

DETROIT.—With the Socialist vote in Michigan the highest in the party's history, leaders of the Socialist Party here declared the election results accorded with their early analysis of the vote and that their campaign for the future,

which will be largely a program of political and economic education, was already under way.

The vote was 15,000 in Detroit and about 30,000 in the state.

"The election was but an incident in the upgrowth of the Socialist Party in this state," Francis King, state secretary, declared. "Not only did our vote reach a new

peak, but our party organization in the state is more extensive than ever before. While we had only ten locals a year ago, we have seventy now. What we have been doing, and are continuing to do, is to build from the roots up a political party which will represent the economic interests of the mass of the people."