





gun a campaign to raise \$10,000 towards the sustaining fund, which will enable the local Socialist organization to carry into effect the numerous plans and the enlarged activities decided upon at the recent special municipal convention.

Every Socialist party member, and many friends of the party who are not members as yet, will be asked to pledge a definite sum for the year, to be paid in monthly, quarterly, semi-annually, or annual installments. An average of about \$500 a month will have to be pledged if the \$10,000 expected from this source is to be raised.

Although the campaign has not really gotten under way, preliminary responses of a few who have taken on the sustaining fund, and some who are joining it now for the first time, have brought in approximately \$1,000 of the \$10,000. Morris Hillquit, S. John Block, Judge Panken, Morris Bertram, Mr. and Mrs. S. Hoffman, Dr. Safford, and others have already responded. About 1,000 members and friends of the party will be approached by Judge Panken to pledge something towards the fund.

In a statement which he has prepared to be sent to party members, Judge Panken declares that if our party is to continue to enjoy the unprecedented prestige it now enjoys the comprehensive program of activity decided upon will have to be carried out, and many of the items provided for will have to be carried out soon.

It is estimated by Marx Lewis, executive secretary of the Socialist party, that it will require between \$40,000 and \$50,000 to carry this program through 1930. His estimates are being considered by the Office and Budget Committee, of which Julius Gerber is chairman. If found to be correct, about \$25,000 more than can be expected from usual sources will have to be raised during the coming year. About \$10,000 of that will have to come from the sustaining fund.

Among the plans requiring an additional outlay is the appointment of assistant organizers for the various counties, the financing of a municipal research bureau, and the arranging for a weekly radio talk on one of the large broadcasting stations.

"Some may not be able to pledge more than fifty cents a month, others have pledged \$25 a month," Lewis declared. "But everyone can pledge something, and if everyone will, the \$10,000 we must raise on the sustaining fund, will be raised without difficulty. Let each give according to his or her ability—and give in a way that will enable the party officials to know what plans they can make, and what plans, if any, they must give up. We do not expect to have to give any of them up, but if we find we must, we should know it at the outset."

Contributions to the pledge fund can be mailed to Jacob Panken, 225 Broadway, New York City.

## Maurer May Run For Governor in Pa.

(Continued from Page One)

made some wise suggestions for candidates on the Socialist ticket. James Maurer, veteran in all things labor, has been suggested as the nominee for Governor.

There are few who know political Pennsylvania as well as "Jim." Harry H. Berger, Philadelphia manager of the "Forward," is the choice for Lieutenant-Governor. "H. B." is well known to the Socialist movement and trade-unions in Philadelphia. He led a successful battle against the communists in the Workmen Circle Branches. He is one of the most valuable unofficial advisers to unions in their disputes with employers. Dr. Van Esen, of Pittsburgh, may be the Senatorial candidate. Darlington Hoopes is slated to run for Judge of the Superior Court.

The trade unions of this state will have to select as their choice the Socialist Candidates or endorse knowingly or not the Grundy crowd. All eyes on Pennsylvania!

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## Jaszi Regrets Karolyi Cancelled Rand Lecture; Baldwin Role Puzzling

Though Sponsor of Carnegie Hall Meeting, Baldwin Helped Shape Cable of Communists Urging Cancellation of the Engagement

(Continued from Page One)

any kind of political organization. Therefore refuse lecture under auspices Rand School. Only under Feakins' management. This should be on posters and printed programs. This irrevocable."

"This message was a complete surprise to Mr. Feakins. We had not the least desire to 'monopolize' County Karolyi. Responding to a public announcement that he was to make an American tour under management, we contracted for the January seventh date, at terms offered by his manager. We organized a committee for the occasion including public men of various shades of opinion, who had this in common that they wished well to Count Karolyi in his efforts for freedom in his own country and elsewhere. We accepted his wording of the topic for his address, and made no effort to suggest what he should or should not say."

"We know now that Count Karolyi's action was the outcome of a series of cables and telephoned messages from certain persons in this city who for reasons of their own wished to prevent him from speaking under the auspices of the Rand School. The exultation displayed by the Communist press may sufficiently indicate the origin of these efforts. We believe Count Karolyi will discover that he has been wantonly misled, and we regret that he did not think fit, before making his decision, to communicate with us or otherwise inform himself as to the facts."

"The suggestion that we might go through with the meeting under the ostensible auspices of Mr. Feakins was, of course, altogether unacceptable to us. Whatever the Rand School does it is proud to do under its own name. Deeply as we regret that we shall not have the honor of sponsoring Count Karolyi's first meeting in this country, we have to accept his 'irrevocable' decision."

"It ought to be added that Mr. Feakins' conduct in this matter has been thoroughly honorable and generous."

Dr. Bohn's suspicion that efforts to dissuade Count Karolyi from carrying through the Rand School lecture originated in local Communist circles was confirmed by Mr. Baldwin's statement to The New Leader. According to Mr. Baldwin, Hugo Gellert, as head of the anti-Horthy League of America, sent Count Karolyi cables urging him not to speak under Rand School auspices. Mr. Gellert, while insisting he is not an actual member of the Communist Party, has for years been intimately associated with Communist enterprises and has been indistinguishable from a Communist Party member. The anti-Horthy League is a Communist pseudonym, as is well known and as is indicated by the attitude toward it of the Communist press.

While such efforts by Mr. Gellert and the anti-Horthy League might have been expected, Mr. Baldwin's part is harder to understand. With Mr. Gellert, Mr. Baldwin, all the time a member

of the Rand School's reception committee, discussed and helped shape a cablegram to the Count urging him to cancel the Rand School meeting. This cable, in substance, said: "Your first meeting scheduled under Social Democratic auspices will create misunderstanding and opposition. Urge you to cancel this date."

"I saw the cable before it was sent and approved it as a fair statement of fact," Mr. Baldwin declared.

When the telegram of Professor Jaszi was made public, The New Leader called it to the attention of Mr. Baldwin. Mr. Baldwin said he felt as Prof. Jaszi did about cancellation of the Rand School meeting. He sent The New Leader the following statement:

"Speaking personally as a friend of Count Karolyi, I regret that he did not advise the lecture bureau arranging his American tour not to book him under what might be regarded as political auspices. Count Karolyi has to watch his step along the rocky way of the European movement against Fascism, split between contending parties. As an officer of the Anti-Fascist League, he evidently feels that he cannot appear to be tied up with the Socialist Party in view of the Socialist International's condemnation of that League as a Communist manoeuvre."

"Those of us who know the bitterness of that conflict may sympathize with him, though we may regret that in fairness to himself as well as to all his American friends, he did not take the precautions to avoid getting into the jam."

Mr. Baldwin admitted that the Anti-Fascist League was a Communist group. The New Leader representative pointed out to Mr. Baldwin that his statement subscribed to Count Karolyi's view that he ought to refrain from speaking under "political auspices."

"If you wish," Mr. Baldwin declared, "you may add that I feel that once his arrangements had been made with the Rand School Count Karolyi should have gone through with them."

The New Leader informed Mr. Baldwin that it wished to print only what he voluntarily cared to say on the matter, rather than suggest statements for him. An amusing incident followed the cancellation of the meeting by Karolyi and the Rand School. The Communists had attacked the auspices of the meeting and had been particularly incensed because Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, was to preside. It was the Communists' intention, if they could get the meeting away from the Rand School, to have Mr. Baldwin act as chairman. Upon cancellation of the Rand School arrangements, Mr. Feakins, Karolyi's lecture representative, invited Mr. Thomas to preside at the meeting which is to be held on January 7 under Mr. Feakins' personal direction. Mr. Thomas referred Mr. Feakins' request to the Rand School and agreed to be guided by the school's advice.

E. L.

## Amalgamated Bank Increases Interest Rate To Depositors to 4.34

The Amalgamated Bank of New York announces that beginning January 1, 1930, it will pay quarterly interest on all Special Interest Accounts at the rate of 4.34 per annum. The first payment at this rate will be made April 1st, 1930.

Sidney Hillman, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Bank, and President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, commenting upon this advance in the interest rate to depositors of the Special Interest Department now numbering 13,000, said:

"This advance in the rate is in line with the announced policy of the Amalgamated Bank upon its establishment. At that time by-laws were adopted limiting the amount of dividends payable to stockholders. It was the intention of the organizers of the Bank that after provision was made for surplus and reserves—the safeguards for depositors—profits of the Bank should be shared by the stockholders with the depositors. Accordingly, the sum from the profits of 1929 sufficient to provide for this increase in the rate of interest has been set aside for the coming year."

## Paris New Manager Of Neckwear Union; Louis Fuchs Retires

Benjamin Paris was elected manager of the United Neckwear Makers Union at general elections held Tuesday in the Rand School. Paris had no opposition and received 746 votes, with 52 votes against him. Edmund Gottsmann was re-elected secretary, securing 795 votes as against 88 cast for his opponent. Harry Fuchs, with 707 votes, and Rueben Rubenstein, with 443 votes were elected business agents, running at the top of a list of six candidates. Under the leadership of Paris, the union is certain to continue its record of progress enjoyed since the union's inception. The election was marked by a quiet but earnest and intelligent interest.

His many friends in the trade union and Socialist movement will regret Louis Fuchs' retirement from the active leadership of the union. Fuchs has served as business agent and manager, and always proved himself a friend of the Socialist movement and the trade union movement in general. Fuchs was not a candidate in the election this year.

## Philadelphia Labor Hits at Grundism

PHILADELPHIA.—(F.P.)—Senator Joseph R. Grundy and Grundism have received a severe jolt at the hands of the Philadelphia Central Labor Union.

After listening to Vice-president William F. Kelly of the United Textile Workers portray him as a second Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde in his advocacy of a high protective tariff while employing foreign labor exclusively at a low wage in his Bristol, Pa. yarn mill, the Central Labor Union will record its "opposed" Grundism.

## Thomas Says City Reformers Are Futile

Chase, Niebuhr, Wallstein Join in Discussion of Future of American Cities

SPEAKING at the last speaker at the annual dinner of the League for Industrial Democracy at the Aldine Club Friday evening, December 27, Norman Thomas stressed the need for a positive social philosophy in order to build up the city of the future and decried the futility of the so-called good government movements. Thomas's speech came as a climax to the discussion which had included speeches by B. C. Viadeck of the Forward, Reinhold Niebuhr of Union Theological Seminary and Stuart Chase, as well as some remarks by Leonard Wallstein, Counsel for the Citizens' Union, who acted as chairman.

The Socialist candidate for mayor in the last election went on to give the reasons why good government movements are of no value in building a better city. Good government, he said, has a negative meaning and there is more to city government than honesty and efficiency. Good government does not touch special privilege and has no social program when it does get into power. Besides that good government does not seem to desire to get into power. It does not build up an organization to function in times other than at elections. Its best men refuse to run for office and it is forced to nominate men without any knowledge of city affairs whatsoever as was the case when Frank Waterman ran for Mayor in 1925. The present ideal of the apostles of good government, Thomas said, seems to be to get by with such a barren program no movement should stand in the way of the positive social philosophy which is necessary for the rebuilding of the city and of which the doctrine that land values are created by society and belong to it plays an important part. For unless that fact is taken into consideration no system of re-planning the city is possible nor will it be possible for the city to escape from the dangers which at present are attacking it on all sides.

Chase Sees City Hideous

Some of these dangers were brought out by Stuart Chase in his description of the city of the present. The city today, he said, is laid out on a pre-machine age basis and the effect of imposing the machine age on it is the same as would the placing of modern machinery in an old-fashioned wooden factory building. Three factors have made possible the tremendous growth of the city in modern times, he went on to say. These are the development of the elevator, which makes possible the skyscraper; the development of rapid transit in the form of subway, automobiles, etc., which allow the city to spread out, and finally the development of an extensive system for the supply of water without which, of course, no great multitude could exist for any length of time. But the city of the present is planned for real estate speculation and human welfare is only a by-product, and there is therefore a very great possibility of catastrophe. The increasing congestion which gives us a growing accident rate, deafening noise, the dome of dust over the city, etc., will finally make the city uninhabitable or lead to a technical breakdown.

Three possibilities were mentioned; either the situation will be allowed to drift, or a definite plan will be adopted which would necessitate a great deal of dynamiting and rebuilding or in case of war the city will be the first objective of the enemy bombers. The great obstacle to rebuilding the city are immense real estate values. Otherwise, Stuart Chase claims, the technical knowledge is available but is not being put to work.

Mr. Niebuhr stressed one hopeful aspect of the situation in stressing the necessity for education if anything is to be done. He said that education in the problems of the city is easier because the problems are so close to the inhabitant that he can see them without stretching the imagination. Professor Niebuhr saw the problem of the city as one phase of the problem of modern civilization, one of education, and compared the skyscraper to modern civilization with the little ornamentation on the top of it corresponding to the little culture at the top in modern civilization. He stressed the necessity for the realization of the problem by the student and mourned the fact that so few understand it at present.

## Phila. Cloak Makers Cut Hours Down to 42

PHILADELPHIA.—The Cloak makers Union of Philadelphia, a branch of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, have won a reduction of two hours in the work week after a ten week stoppage. The hours have been reduced from 44 to 42, with no reduction in wages.

The union will be distributed

## Austrian Socialists Defeat Fascist Attack On Republic

Autonomy of Vienna Maintained, Drastic Changes in Constitution Voted Down — Heimwehr Admits Set-back

(Continued from Page One)

through three purgings. The first took place on the basis of the protracted negotiations of Chancellor Schober. A large number of unacceptable points were removed from the Bill but the most dangerous reactionary attacks remained. The bourgeois parties were certain that these paragraphs would in the end be rejected, and they prepared in agreement with the Social-Democrats alternate proposals in case of rejection. They wished to show the Heimwehr that they remained faithful to the blackest reaction, and that it was only in the face of the spite of the Social-Democrats that the Fascist ideals broke down. In this way the most dangerous parts of the Government Bill were not rejected until the plenary sitting of Parliament.

I give below in condensed form a survey of the fate of the chief points of the Government Bill, and first of all give some of those provisions which were rejected by the Social-Democrats out of hand:

1.—Proposed removal of the required two-thirds majority for alterations in the Constitution. Rejected.

2.—The Federal President should have the right to postpone the new elections for the dissolved Parliament "in case of exceptional conditions." Rejected.

3.—Voting for the elections to Parliament should be made compulsory in all Federal Provinces. Rejected.

4.—The Federal Council (the Second Chamber of Parliament), which is elected by the Provincial Diets on the principle of proportional representation, and in which each province is represented approximately according to the number of its inhabitants, should be abolished, and in its place should be introduced a "Council of Provinces and Estates." Rejected.

5.—Vienna should lose its character as a province. Rejected.

6.—The City School Council, the highest school authority of Vienna, should lose its equality in comparison with the provincial school councils of the other provinces. Rejected.

7.—For the election of the provincial governments by the Provincial Diets the vote on the basis of proportional representation should be abolished and be substituted by the principle of majority election. Rejected.

Return of Nobles Defeated

8.—For the election to the representative bodies in the communes the vote on the basis of proportional representation should be abolished in the case of places with less than 3,000 inhabitants. Rejected.

9.—The possibility should be created for the re-introduction of titles of nobility and orders. Rejected.

10.—The symbol of labor, the hammer, should be removed from the State coat of arms of the Republic. Rejected.

11.—The censorship should be re-introduced. Rejected.

12.—The Government should have the right to decree a state of emergency, which means, to suspend the rights on the freedom of the individual, on the privacy of the home and on freedom of opinion which are guaranteed by the fundamental laws of the State. Rejected.

13.—Trial by jury should be replaced by mixed courts, in which the verdict would be given and sentence passed by a mixed bench composed of professional judges and laymen. Rejected.

The police should have the right to make emergency regulations through which they could make regulations even without legal instructions. Rejected.

15.—The appeal to the Supreme Constitutional Court by individual citizens should be excluded. Rejected.

16.—The funerals and burials system should be handed over to the Federation—in order to make cremation impossible! Rejected.

I now give the most important points in which the Constitution was altered in agreement with the Social-Democrats.

1.—The plan of the reactionaries to increase the minimum age of voters by four years (from 20 to 24) and to introduce a residential qualification, was dropped. The Government Bill adopted only the increase of the age by one year, namely to 21.

2.—The Federal President, who has up to now been elected by a joint meeting of both Houses of Parliament, will in future be elected as in Germany by direct election by the people. Voting in this election will be compulsory. The term of office is increased from four to six years. The order for the first direct election will not be made until ten weeks after the next parliamentary elections have been held, therefore, unless there is a previous dissolution, not till 1931. Till then the present President Miklas remains in office, but all the extensions of the rights of the President will apply to him. He now has the right corresponding to the Constitution in other democratic Republics, to nominate the Government, which has been elected up to the present by Parliament on the Swiss model, and to dissolve Parliament for the purpose of holding new elections. (But the present Parliament has been elected by the people.)

3.—In view of the opposition between the clericals and the Social-Democrats there has been no Constitutional regulation of the conditions regarding the school system. It was therefore only laid down in the Constitution of 1920 that alterations in the school system could only be made by coinciding laws of the Federation and the Provinces. This state of affairs remains in existence for elementary and secondary schools. Accordingly these are guaranteed just as up to the present against an advance of clericalism. On the other hand legislation on higher schools is to rest with the Federation alone in future. The Social-Democrats have however carried through that the law on the relations between the schools and the church, together with a series of school inspection laws and the higher school law of 1927 may only be altered in future if the provinces agree. A bar is therefore raised against a reactionary alteration of these laws, as the Vienna Provincial Diet has to give its consent. The conditions regarding the personnel of the school teachers also

rights being misused for the creation of a state of affairs in which there is no Parliament, and therefore dictatorial possibilities, are excluded by the manner in which the law is worded.

Emergency Decrees Limited

3.—Of these dangers the "right to issue emergency decrees" which was planned to go even further than that of the President of the German Republic, is the worst. The wording of the "right to issue emergency decrees" which is adopted in the Constitution has completely removed all possibility of such dangers. The President may only exercise this right in agreement with a Parliamentary Committee in which all parties are proportionally represented. The worst danger of such a forcible decree, namely, the possibility of a surprise, therefore falls to the ground. But in addition to all laws which impose financial burdens, all laws also which are connected in any form with the rights of the workers and social welfare, are expressly taken out of this right to issue emergency decrees. It is really limited to the case of an urgent rescue action, such as was shown to be desirable a short time ago in connection with the collapse of the Bodenkreidbank.

4.—Sessions are introduced for Parliament, but one-fourth of the members—therefore even the Social-Democratic fraction alone—has the right at all times to demand the calling of an extraordinary session which must begin within two weeks.

5.—The attempt to abolish the immunity of members of Parliament for actions which are not directly connected with Parliamentary activity, was rejected by the Social-Democrats. On the other hand they voted for Parliament being obliged to make a decision within six weeks whether court proceedings must take place.

6.—The election of the Supreme Constitutional Court was to be completely withdrawn from Parliament according to the Government Bill. According to the compromise one-half of the members of the Constitutional Court will continue to be appointed on the basis of a proposal by Parliament. Membership of the Supreme Constitutional Court also has the functions of the Supreme Administrative Court is declared incompatible with membership of a Parliamentary body, or with office in a political Party.

7.—Vienna retains its position as a province, and it is expressly stated in the Constitution that the City Council also has the functions of the Provincial Diet, the City Senate also the functions of a Provincial Government, the Burgo-master also the functions of a Provincial Governor, the Magistracy also the functions of the Court of the Provincial Government, and the Director of the Magistracy also the functions of the Director of the Provincial Court. Nothing is altered in the powers that have existed up to the present, and only a few provisions have been made in order to create appeal procedure for complainants, in view of the fact that the functions of City and Province fall together. This will be established by collegiate authorities for affairs connected with building and taxation, which will be composed and appointed by the provincial laws of Vienna. The appeal proceedings only go to the Federal Ministers concerned in the case of those tasks which devolve upon the Provincial Governor as organ of the Federal Administration. The control of accounts will be handed over to the highest Court of Auditors in Vienna also as in the other Federal provinces.

This, however, does not include control over the decisions of the parliamentary institutions regulating income and expenditure, but only control over the carrying out of their decisions. It therefore does not mean any possibility whatever of an attack upon Vienna's right of self-determination. The membership of the City Council, which has up to the present been 120, will be reduced to 100. All these provisions are of no essential importance whatever for the continuation of the administration of Vienna in the manner followed up to the present.

Police Problem Complicated

8.—In view of the opposition between the clericals and the Social-Democrats there has been no Constitutional regulation of the conditions regarding the school system. It was therefore only laid down in the Constitution of 1920 that alterations in the school system could only be made by coinciding laws of the Federation and the Provinces. This state of affairs remains in existence for elementary and secondary schools. Accordingly these are guaranteed just as up to the present against an advance of clericalism. On the other hand legislation on higher schools is to rest with the Federation alone in future. The Social-Democrats have however carried through that the law on the relations between the schools and the church, together with a series of school inspection laws and the higher school law of 1927 may only be altered in future if the provinces agree. A bar is therefore raised against a reactionary alteration of these laws, as the Vienna Provincial Diet has to give its consent. The conditions regarding the personnel of the school teachers also

Party Press Hails Victory

These are in essentials the alterations which have been made in the Constitution, and which the Brussels "Peuple" most strikingly characterizes with the saying: "The mountains labored and a ridiculous mouse was brought forth."

In view of the great successes achieved by Social-Democracy in its defensive battle, it need not regret very much that it could not make any new advance in democratic rights in this struggle. The Social-Democrats demanded an extension of direct democracy, and for anyone with insight it is clear that a development of the referendum in Austria would mean a strong guarantee of the Parliamentary system. The proposal that every law must be submitted to a vote of the people when demanded by a third of the members of Parliament, aroused the most serious apprehensions of the bourgeois parties. Accordingly, all problems relating to the referendum and popular initiative were left over for settlement later.

The "Arbeiter-Zeitung" of the 7th December draws the following conclusions for the tasks of the future from its detailed investigations on the results of the reform of the Constitution:

"This struggle thus ends with a defeat of Fascism. That which it wished to achieve, the 'defeat of Marxism', and even the weakening of the Social-Democratic Party, was not achieved! Those responsible have seriously damaged the whole economic system, and in spite of that have not achieved their aim! In view of this success the working class may be proud of its determination to fight. But the bourgeoisie may finally learn from this experience that all playing with Fascism only destroys its own economy but cannot break the power of the working class! Only if the bourgeoisie finally recognizes this, will the experiences of the past weeks not have been made for nothing. Then they will lead to the goal that Austria must reach if it is not to expire—to internal disarmament for permanent guaranteeing the peaceful, democratic development of the Republic!"

## Reactionaries Threats of Violent Methods Fail to Materialize as Socialist Workers Present Strong Front

the future in essentials in the sphere of influence of the provincial school council, i.e. for Vienna the City School Council. In the same way all the complicated provisions on the rights of the Minister of Education to issue instructions to the chairmen of the provincial school councils, and the right of the inspection of schools by Federal officials, are so formulated that an overgrowth of clerical influence is prevented as far as possible.

9.—The legal situation regarding the competence of the police is very complicated. At the moment there are absolutely no legal principles for the traffic police and police in certain other spheres; a Federal law without the consent of the Social-Democrats is not possible, and on the other hand a provincial law for Vienna cannot be made before the Federal law is passed. In this situation, which is in certain respects anarchistic, Federal Chancellor Schober hoped to make certain for all time by the reform of the Constitution of all the rights that the Federal police formerly had. But the plan to take the disposal of the traffic police from the provinces and above all from the Province of Vienna, did not succeed. The present provisional state of affairs remains until an agreement is possible. Likewise the plan to make the theatre and cinema system an affair of the Federation, and thereby to limit the sphere of influence of the Province of Vienna, has failed. The Federal police were merely given the supervision of entertainments which they also exercised formerly, and a share in the granting of licences for cinema and theatre undertakings. The problems of the traffic and theatre police are of a quite subordinate nature, but behind them lies the much deeper problem of the division of competence for all police affairs between the Federation and the Province of Vienna. In view of the present comparative strength of the parties, this was not dealt with at all.

Swiss Wire Polish S

Thanks to the article in "Vorwarts" on the terror of the Government murder of Generals, the subject has become the subject of the Prime Minister's declaration that the Government constantly confiscate the murder of Zagorski statements made by Dr. Rybarski under the influence of immunity.

Professor Rybarski declared he did not wish to take hind immunity, but demand he should be brought court. He would produce evidence who could corroborate statements under oath. The Justice, Car, declared would make use of Rybarski.

Swiss Wire Polish S

(Special Correspondent of The BASLE.—On the President, the President of the Social Democratic Switzerland, which took the Volkshaus at Basel 30 and Dec. 1, unanimously to send the following:

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DENTISTS



## Says Industry Must Carry Pension Cost

Waldman Declares There Are 2,000,000 Aged Needy—Congressional Tax Cut Assailed

NEW YORK STATE lags at least two generations behind the rest of the world, and even behind some of the other States, in providing a dignified and adequate method of relieving the suffering and distress of the aged, Louis Waldman, Socialist candidate for Governor in the last gubernatorial election, declared at a meeting at the Brooklyn Home for the Aged last Sunday. Waldman spoke on "What Shall We Do With the Aged—A Challenge to the Young." He said that estimates placed the number of aged people dependent for support either upon children, charity, or almshouses at 2,000,000 in the United States.

Mr. Waldman in the course of his address said: "What to do with the old men and women, no longer capable of earning their own livelihood and having no other income, has always been a problem. The situation has become worse, however, with the recent intensification of machine production. Investigation has shown that the deadline of employment in many industries is now fifty-five years of age and is progressively moving towards fifty years. Younger people are always there to take the place of the industrially old, even if physiologically they are still capable of doing some work. Some of these thus cast out by industry find some lighter or part-time work to do. Others in the large cities become street peddlers or do similar work. A large number of them remain utterly helpless and dependent."

"It is estimated that there are about two million aged people in the United States, dependent for support either upon children, charity or almshouses. New York State has its quota of these two million. "Long enough we tried what is now the admittedly unsatisfactory and altogether too costly method of private charity as a solution of old-age dependence. Socialists and progressives strongly urge that it is high time to try the more scientific method of old-age pension through a system of insurance. Under such a system the aggregate cost to the community may not amount to more than what it now spends for the care of the unfortunate, taking into consideration the haphazard way in which moneys are raised and spent through a multitude of private charitable enterprises; the duplication of costs in raising moneys, in overheads, in scattered and divided maintenance and management. But, what is even more important, is that such a system would afford to the dependent aged a feeling of self-respect and an opportunity to live through the best and declining days of their lives in decency and comfort. Our community and our state is rich enough and ought to be big enough not to compel its workers, after a life of useful toil to become inmates of charity institutions or beggars of alms, but rather should provide for them, as a matter of justice, through a pension system, a small share of the prosperity they helped create when they were young."

"The burden of insuring the workers to make available to them old-age pensions or annuities should fall principally on industry, the state to contribute some of the cost, and the worker earning above a fixed minimum to contribute a portion. "This system should be made universal by law and should cover workers of hand and brain. Of course, professional men and business men should not be included in the system, as they ought to be able to take care of themselves by their own initiative. They are the economic means for self-support, and should be treated accordingly."

## Tax Cut Assailed, Pensions Demanded

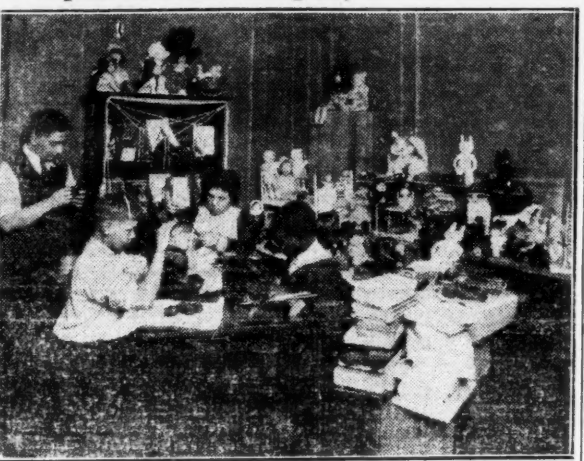
MAILERS of the United States Congress to enact a Federal Old Age Pension Law and its inference to the aged poor was sharply criticized in connection with the Congressional "Christmas" to Wall Street speculators and victims in the form of a tax cut in an article in the January issue of the "Old Age Security Herald," monthly organ of the American Association for Old Age Security.

The article declared that news of the Christmas Fund appeals indicated that old-age destitution is on the increase. In view of the prompt congressional reaction to the condition of Wall Street victims, "our neglect of the aged poor" was declared to be "shameful beyond all bounds."

"Without daily appeals in the press for pennies and nickels as always been the case in distress of the poor," the article declared, "without humiliation, without high priced publicity without discussion, and without a period of less than a hundred years, the aged poor have been reduced to a state of utter helplessness and dependence."

## Bleak Marion Christmas Enlivened By Pioneer Youth

Church and School Bar Doors to Party for Workers' Children, But Another Church Opens Doors — Toys Made by New York and Philadelphia Children Bring Joy



ABOVE—The Stiles families, composed of workers in the Marion, North Carolina, cotton mills, shown in front of their "home." BELOW—Children of the New York section of Pioneer Youth of America busy at work making and restoring toys which were distributed among the children of Marion mill workers.



By W. Walter Ludwig

(Special Correspondent of The New Leader)

MARION, N. C.—It is Christmas Sunday evening in Marion. The holiday spirit is unmistakably in the air. Before the county courthouse stands a stately evergreen, brilliantly lighted "by the power company," the waiter informs me with a touch of civic pride. At the churches "white gift" services are being conducted today. Hundreds of gifts brought by the worshippers are heaped about the altars and tomorrow will be distributed under the supervision of the Chamber of Commerce to the county's poor. Tonight at one of the churches a white-robed choir affirmed in cantata the coming of the "Prince of Peace." I thought of six snow-covered graves across the valley. To Marion?

With Hugh Moore, director of relief for the Friends Service Committee, whose car had broken down, I tramped through the snow to the mill village of East Marion. I found an elemental joy in wading the storm, feeling the snow drive into my face. It covered things equally, comfortable Marion behind us and the mill workers' homes looming ahead, gray against glistening white. Hadn't this Jesus about whom they were singing in the churches said something about the rain falling alike on the just and the unjust? If only North Carolina justice were equally impartial! Eight deputies accused of murder are free, home with their families tonight. Merry Christmas! But what of Cora Hall and old Mr. Jones? And the strikers sentenced to six months on the roads? Merry Christmas? The snow beats into my face. It too is cold. Like Justice. But fair...

School and Church Refused At the commissary Roy Price, president of the local union, joins us and we stamp off in final search of a place where the Christmas party of the strikers' children can be held tomorrow afternoon. The school and one of the churches have been approached and refused. We appeal to the clerk of the Baptist church which had summarily dismissed ten members on strike. "It's either your building or a Christmas party in the snow." He will let us know tomorrow morning at the company store.

Monday morning. Stacks of colorful toys have invested with a holiday air the little cabin used as a clothing dispensary. The toys, more than 2,500 of all sizes and varieties, have been sent from the shops and clubs of Pioneer Youth of America, an organization of workers' children in Baltimore, New York and Philadelphia. For a month these children have been repairing, painting and making out the gift of \$160,000,000 to those who were already sure of a fair income.

"A Blot on Our Nation The counsel of the more-socially minded Senators was ignored. The economic fallacies of the principle were willfully disregarded. In vain did Senator Couzens of Michigan plead that instead of giving that vast sum to those who are not the least in need, it should be utilized in the extension of work for the unemployed and relief to the aged. The numerous strangled bills in the congressional committees for the establishment of some system of Federal pensions, which would have given considerable purchasing power to thousands of penniless people and thus stimulate industrial production, were left to rest in their committee graveyards. Congress had no time to think of those who needed relief most."

At the party that afternoon Roy Price told me as he looked into the faces of his people, 500 of whom crowded into the church building which had been given without reservation. "I'm proud of this," he said. "Nobody knows how proud I am. Some of the school teachers told our children that Santa Claus won't come to see you this year." Santa was there all right in the person of 50-year-old Dell Lewis, one of those sentenced to six months on the roads for rioting. And there was a Christmas tree, not so fine as the one by the courthouse but cut and decorated by the strikers themselves. After Christmas carols there were talks by Hugh Moore and William Ross, and a brief presentation of the toys in behalf of the children of Pioneer Youth and their friends. Winifred Wildman and Betty Fowler, social worker and nurse for the Friends Committee, supervised the distribution of toys and treats of nuts, candy and fruit. Every family received its quota and those who couldn't come had theirs delivered the next day.

Who said there ain't no Santa Claus? To Marion strikers and their families he's a lot realer and friendlier than a statueque and hoodwinked lady called Justice.

Jimmy, a nine-year-old, sidled up to me as I was unpacking a huge case from Philadelphia. "That's what I want," he said, pointing to a toy dump truck. The truck, I afterwards learned, had been given by George, a Pioneer youth club member, whose father, a member of the United Textile Workers, had himself been on strike last summer. "I've been a-wanting one of them a long time," Jimmy hinted. I watched him manipulate the truck and marvelled that he knew exactly how it worked. That night, hurrying to my train, I saw the identical truck in a hardware store window over town. Plainly Jimmy's nose with that of a half dozen other "mill kids" had at some time been pressed against the window, admiring toys which his parents could never buy.

Jimmy a Runabout They laughed when I announced that Jimmy had spoken for the truck. "Wild Kid," somebody said. "Maybe it will keep him at home." Jimmy, it seems, runs away from home. His last escapade was to Asheville where he was found and returned by the Salvation Army and given four days in jail for delinquency by Marion justice.

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## 'Red' Cry Raised By Louisville Utility Ring

John L. Stark and Taxpayers' League, Making Progress, Enrage Gouging Corporations

(Special Correspondence to The New Leader)

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—Labor circles in this city are all astir, more alive than for years, thanks to the antics of reactionary elements who see in the Taxpayers' League, which unites trade unions and lodges of the railroad brotherhoods in educational work, a monstrous extension of Moscow. Louisville is the paradise of public service corporations in the Blue Grass State and they have no intention of permitting their servile subjects to take any effective action against their sway. The Street Car Company, the Southern Bell Telephone Company, and the Louisville Gas and Electric Company have been sovereign so long that any protest against their gouging becomes "treason" to the republic and a malign "conspiracy" directed by Moscow.

Ben Wilson of California, who has served the British Labor Party in its electoral contests, has spoken to schools, colleges, churches and labor bodies in this city, arousing wide interest in the labor movement. Wilson delivered forty speeches within three weeks. Being engaged by the Taxpayers' League which stands for municipal ownership of all public utilities he offended the Golden Calf.

"Bolshevism" Discovered The result has been a rising sentiment for public ownership and against the corporation gougers. Something had to be done to bring the masses back into the camp of the parties and politicians that represent car lines, telephones, gas and electricity. Out of this need emerged that old reliable phantom, a Red Scare. The gougers represent 100 per cent Americanism and the gouged "Bolshevism."

The gougers found a ready-made instrument at hand for giving publicity to the phantom. They found in Joseph Lee, editor of one of those parasite weeklies that pretend to represent labor, one who could serve them well. This sheet goes under the name of the "Journal of Labor" and has about 200 circulation. In March, 1919, this publication appeared one week with scare headlines proclaiming a "Plot to Overthrow A. F. of L. and Samuel Gompers Exposed."

The miscreant back of this "plot" in 1919 was J. L. Stark then General Organizer of the National Association of Expressmen and now Secretary of the Taxpayers' League. Some unknown person broke into Stark's desk and private letters of his disappeared. Some of these letters appeared in the "Journal of Labor" in that March issue ten years ago. Stark had been a member of the Socialist Party and it was letters relating to this organization that formed the basis of the "plot" that was "exposed" by Lee ten years ago.

Lee Helped Pliff Letters

It is this ten years old "plot" that has been dragged out by the editor of the "Journal of Labor" in support of the corporation gougers and their political agents. The issue of March 8, 1919, was reprinted and then distributed throughout the city.

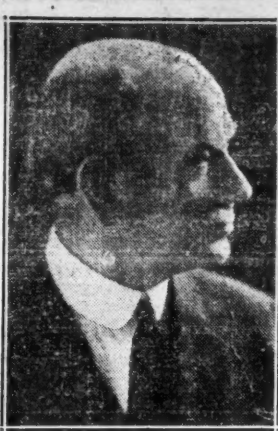
Of course, no one in the labor movement takes Lee seriously. In a signed statement by Stark which appears in a recent issue of "The New Era," the weekly which represents the League, he charges Lee with being accessory to the theft of his letters ten years ago. Stark also adds the following reference to Lee's relations to the labor movement:

"Joseph Lee has never done one single thing for the labor movement that would justify his having the right to make himself a representative of organized labor. He holds no card in any labor union and is therefore a self-appointed misrepresenter who bears no official connection, not even remotely, with the organized labor movement."

A mass meeting was called in the Free Public Library by the League and Pete Campbell, Secretary of the Kentucky Federation of Labor, did not mince words in denouncing Lee and presented some interesting history of Lee's dubious actions at the state legislature.

## Vladeck, Gray and Beckhart to Discuss Wall Street Crash

"What Happened in Wall Street and Why" will be the subject of discussion at the luncheon of the League for Industrial Democracy to be held Saturday afternoon, January 11th, at the Hotel Woodstock, 43rd Street east of Broadway. The speakers are to be John Gray, former president of the American Economic Association; Benjamin H. Beckhart, professor of Banking at Columbia University, and B. C. Vladeck, former Alderman and manager of the Jewish Daily Forward. Admission is \$1 a plate for members of the League and \$1.25 for others. Reservations should be made at the league headquarters, 112 East 19th Street, telephone Algonquin 5865.



EDWARD F. CASSIDY Socialist candidate for assembly in the special election in the 16th assembly district, Manhattan.

## Rand's 24th Term Offers New Courses

Socialist Theory and Work, British Labor, India, Arts Among Subjects Listed for Year

WITH the appearance of the Winter and Spring Bulletin of the Rand School of Social Science comes the announcement that the twenty-fourth season of this pioneer school in workers education will open on Jan. 6. All indications are that there will be a big registration. The courses given during the fall term added up to 340 class periods and those offered for the winter term amount to 415 periods.

Special attention is called to the courses that deal with "Problems of Socialist Theory" and tactics which are recommended to Socialists in Greater New York. These are to be given by Morris Hillquit, Norman Thomas, Harry W. Laidler and Algernon Lee. The lecturers will cover the whole field of the radical approach to American politics.

Mr. Lee will preside throughout the course and will endeavor to relate the various points of view presented in such a way that in the end important conclusions may be reached. In offering this course the Rand School wishes definitely to help toward the solution of the problems which face the Socialist Party.

Mark Starr's course on "British Labor's Rise to Power" serves a similar purpose. Mr. Starr will open with a detailed discussion of the differences between the British situation and our own. His accounts of the organization of the Labor Party and its methods of reaching the people will suggest to our workers some practical ideas applicable to American conditions.

August Claessens' course in "Public Speaking" and that of "Writing for the Papers" by Edward Levinson and McAlister Coleman are intended to train young party workers. All of our branches need the services of young people who have been trained in speaking and writing. A letter has been sent to branch secretaries asking them to suggest to likely young members that they enter these courses.

Of popular courses the new Bulletin offers a tempting variety, including a series of lectures on "Progress in the Arts" by Anita C. Bloch, Herman Epstein, Lewis Mumford, Gilbert Seides and Douglas Haskell. Dominic d'Eustachio will give a course designed to lead up to Einstein and his theories. At Camp Tamiment last summer Mr. d'Eustachio gained a rare distinction as a lecturer able to make the newer science interesting and unscientific.

## Canadian Labor Pioneer Dies in Vancouver

VANCOUVER, B. C.—(FP)—E. T. Kingsley, pioneer in the Socialist and labor cause on the Pacific Coast, is dead at the age of 73. He was one time editor and publisher of the Western Clarion, now defunct, and a leader of the Socialist Party of Canada, also defunct, whose views it expressed. Kingsley was well known to Marxian students in various parts of the world as an opponent of class liberation.

THE GROUP A CLEARING HOUSE OF OPINION meets at Auditorium — 159 West 85th Street Tuesday, January 7th, at 8:30 P. M. CLEMONT WOOD (Distinguished Author) will speak on "RATIONAL LOVE LIFE" Sunday Afternoon, at 4 P. M. (Jan. 12) Informal Discussion Group SEYMOUR A. SELICSON "MARRIAGE AND MORALS" (Bertrand Russell and Modernism) Admission 50c Organized 1918

The New History Society Presents COUNT LEO TOLSTOI guest of honor and MR. SOLOV FIELDMAN Speaking on "RELATIONS BETWEEN BAHAI and SOCIALIST IDEALS" Sunday Evening, January 5th at Nine Oak Room, Ritz-Carlton The Public is Invited

## Cassidy Runs For Assembly In Yorkville

Theodore Shapiro Party's Nominee in Special Election in 9th Senatorial, Brooklyn

SOCIALISTS in two sections of Greater New York are engaged in two campaigns to fill vacancies in the State Senate and State Assembly following a proclamation by Governor Roosevelt. The two elections will be held within the next two weeks.

The first election will be held on Jan. 9 in the Ninth Senatorial District of Brooklyn which includes the 20th and 22nd Assembly districts. The Socialist Party has nominated Theodore Shapiro, one of the most active and promising of the younger members of the party in Kings County.

Shapiro is a metal crafts designer by trade, a graduate of the National Academy of Design, Beaux Arts Institute and Cooper Union. He is a persuasive speaker, a man of outstanding ability, and would prove an able representative of the party and the masses in the upper chamber at Albany. He was the Socialist candidate for the Assembly in 1928 and 1929 in the 22nd A. D.

Yorkville to Stage Fight The other election will be held Jan. 14 in the 16th Assembly District in Manhattan, in the heart of the Yorkville section. Two decades ago a large Socialist vote was cast in this section. It was then populated by Germans who were influential in building up the trade union movement and the Socialist Party but the population has been changing in recent years.

The Socialist Party has nominated Edward F. Cassidy for Assemblyman. Cassidy is a veteran member of Typographical Union No. Six and one of the pioneers in the modern Socialist movement. "Ed" has grown old in the service of the movement but is still young in his devotion to his ideals. He has in past years been honored by the party with many nominations from Governor to Alderman.

In 1919 Cassidy was elected Alderman together with Algernon Lee elected alderman from another district, but both men were deprived of their seats by an insistent defiance of the election returns. Both Aldermen carried on a contest for their seats for 22 months when they were finally seated in the final few weeks of their terms. This was one of the most brazen election steals in the history of New York politics.

The Citizens Union has referred to Cassidy as a man of "integrity and ability." It is certain that he towers head and shoulders over the other candidates who are of the usual mediocre type that are sent to Albany from New York City.

Good Revival in Yorkville There are four branches of the party in Yorkville and as a result of the election last November these organizations have been remarkably active. Because of this renewed life, the new members that have been admitted since November and the ability and personality of Cassidy, an active campaign is being carried on for his election. Meetings are being arranged and the district will be thoroughly canvassed by members assigned for that purpose.

A New Year's celebration was held Tuesday night in the Labor Temple, 213 East 84th Street, in the interest of Cassidy's campaign. All the branches of the party participated and an excellent crowd turned out. August Claessens was one of the main speakers.

A letter is being prepared which will go to all the voters in Cassidy's district. Every party worker is hopeful of encouraging results of the election.

## PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At Cooper Union Eighth St. and Astor Place at 8 o'clock Friday evening, Jan. 10th DR. EVERETT DEAN MARTIN "The Psychology of Progress" In What Sense are "Ideals" Social Forces? A Lecture on the Nature of Public Opinion.

Sunday evening, Jan. 12th DR. ALBERT E. WIGGAM "Ethics and Social Science" Genius Tuesday evening, Jan. 14th MR. WILLIAM B. CURRY "Natural Science" The Development of the Science of Mechanics Since Newton

At Mullenberg Library 209 West 23rd Street at 8:30 o'clock Saturday evening, Jan. 4th DR. HOUSTON PETERSON "Types of Character" Emil Lucka's "Frontiers of the Soul," and Spranger's "Types of Men"

Thursday evening, Jan. 9th DR. E. G. SPAULDING "The Development of Fundamental Ideas and Fundamental Problems in Philosophy and Science" Matter, Force, Energy and Action

Monday evening, Jan. 13th DR. MARK VAN DOREN "The Autobiography of America" White and Black Wednesday evening, Jan. 22 DR. REXFORD GUY TUGWELL "The Industrial Discipline" Government and Industry

## Nervous and irritable? It's a warning...

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## FORUMS AND LECTURES

### Rand School of Social Science

7 East 15th Street Alg. 306

### NEW COURSES: NEW LECTURES

Winter Term Begins January 6

PHILOSOPHY OF EVERYDAY LIFE	PROGRESS IN THE ARTS
R. N. BOARDMAN Mon. 8:30 p. m.	HERMAN EPSTEIN, ANITA BLOCH, GILBERT SEIDES, LEWIS MUMFORD, DOUGLAS HASKELL Wed. 8:30 p. m.
AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT	HISTORY OF INDIAN CIVILIZATION
LOUIS STANLEY Mon. 7:00 p. m.	J. VIJAYA-TUNGA Wed. 7:00 p. m.
RECENT ECONOMIC CHANGES	SCIENCE AND CIVILIZATION
MARIUS HANSOME Tues. 7:00 p. m.	DOMINIC D'EUSTACHIO Thur. 8:30 p. m.
CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN LITERATURE	WORLD SOCIALISM TODAY
ABEN KANDEL Tues. 7:00 p. m.	DAVID P. BERENBERG Thur. 7:00 p. m.
SOCIALIST POLITIC AND POLICIES	SEMINAR ON MARXIAN ECONOMICS
MORRIS HILLQUIT, NORMAN THOMAS, HARRY W. LAIDLER, ALGERNON LEE Tues. 8:30 p. m.	ALGERNON LEE Thur. 8:30 p. m.
BASIS OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR	PUBLIC SPEAKING
JOSEPH M. OSMAN Tues. 8:30 p. m.	AUGUST CLAESSENS Thur. 7:00 p. m.
BRITISH LABOR'S RISE TO POWER	
MARK STARR Wed. 8:30 p. m.	

English Classes Now Forming: WRITE, TELEPHONE or CALL FOR INFORMATION

Registration Now Open NOMINAL FEES—SINGLE ADMISSION 50 CENTS

## A Momentous 3-Cornered Debate!!

### COMMUNISM, or SOCIALISM, or CAPITALISM?

Scott NEARING for Communism Noted Sociologist and Lecturer

Fenner BROCKWAY for Socialism Brilliant Labor Member of British Parliament

Prof. Edwin R. A. SELIGMAN for Capitalism Foremost Economist, Columbia University

SAMUEL UNDERMYER and ROGER N. BALDWIN, Chairmen —Subject—

Resolved: That Capitalism offers more to the workers of the world than Socialism or Communism

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1930—8.30 P. M. MECCA TEMPLE — 133 W. 55th STREET

Reserved Seats \$1.00, \$1.50, \$1.75, \$2.00 and \$2.75 Reservations advisable now for best seat locations Obtainable by mail or in person at New School Bookshop, 463 W. 23rd St. Civic Club, 19 E. 10th Street; Columbia University Bookstore; Rand School Bookstore, 7 E. 15th Street. Also by mail or in person at offices of LEAGUE FOR PUBLIC DISCUSSION 11 W. 42nd St., Room 1506—Chickering 5788 or Spring 1718 TO OUT-OF-TOWNERS—This debate will be published in book form. Reserve your copy now by sending \$1.00.

First Public Appearance in America COUNT MICHAEL

## KAROLYI

"FASCISMO — ITS DANGER TO WORLD PEACE"

CARNEGIE HALL — Evening, January 7th

TICKETS AT BOX OFFICE \$1.00 to \$2.50 MGT. WM. R. FEAKINS, Times Building

THE COMMUNITY FORUM Park Ave. at 34th 8 P. M.—S. K. RATCLIFFE, of England "ENGLAND UNDER MACDONALD"

11 A. M.—LEWIS BROWNE, author "This Believing World" "HOW TO BE HAPPY THOUGH INTELLIGENT" Admission Free

'LABOR TEMPLE' 14th Street and Second Avenue Sunday, January 5th, 1930 8:30 P. M.—Address by Charles C. Webber

8:30 P. M.—Madame Rosika Schwimmer on "A New Conception of American Citizenship"

BROOKLYN ETHICAL CULTURE SOCIETY Academy of Music (near Atlantic Ave. Subway Sta.) Sunday Morning at 11 DR. HENRY NEUMANN "What People Prize in Hard Times and Prosperity"

The Bronx Free Fell Asure Monnaie Temple, 1891 N. (Near East 172nd Street, Sunday January 6 8 P. M.—LEON ROSSER LAM UNIVERSAL RELIGION by the author

8 P. M.—Tribute to the Great Belshazzar by the author

8 P. M.—Tribute to the Great Belshazzar by the author



# POLITICAL ACTION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

## Where The A. F. of L. and the Communists Fall Short; The Socialist Party and a Possible New Party

By Reinhold Niebuhr

THE hope of changing the social order through political action is held by a school of thought which distinguishes itself from those who put their faith in economic weapons alone as well as from those who expect to use revolutionary methods. In America that means political actionists must dissociate themselves from conventional American Federation of Labor policies on the one hand and from the Communist creed on the other.

The traditional A. F. of L. policy is to champion the cause of the workers chiefly through the strike weapon and to make use of the political strength of the labor unions only by threatening the foes and rewarding the friends of labor in the two old political parties. This policy definitely implies an assumption on the part of labor that the present economic and social order is basically sound, and that it is necessary simply to universalize collective bargaining as a defense against the rapidly increasing aggregates of capital power in order to achieve that measure of justice which is desirable and still lacking in our present economic arrangements. Insofar as labor does not assume this and believes that the political state can be used to establish a higher measure of social justice, it has been content to trust bi-partisan political action.

It can not be denied that bi-partisan political action has at times achieved a measure of success. It was most successful during the war period when concessions were made to labor by the Wilson administration, not so much because political tools were effective as because the nation could not suffer by disaffection in the labor ranks and disturb the unity of the country in its war project. Since then labor has nothing to show for its

political activity. The misuse of the injunction in labor disputes has not been remedied in spite of many political promises. Tariffs which raise commodity prices without insuring a corresponding increase in wages have been raised by a party to which many of the officials of the labor unions adhered in the last campaign. Inheritance taxes and surtaxes on great wealth have been lowered by the same party. The farmers are represented in Congress by a bloc in the Republican party which, though impotent in the House, has at times won victories against reaction in the Senate by uniting with the Democrats to overthrow the Republican majority. Yet, in spite of their political activity, the farmers are outside the charmed circle of American prosperity. And if they have failed with political tools superior to those of labor, it is obvious that labor, which does not even command a bloc in Congress to champion its cause, is totally ineffective in the political councils of the nation. The policy of the American Federation of Labor can not be dignified by the term "political action." At best it is guerrilla warfare, and at its worst it is no better than political log-rolling.

While traditional labor leaders have followed this bi-partisan policy, their real trust has been in economic weapons. With better hours and better wages as their preoccupation, they have sought to cure all ills to which our economic life is subject by wielding the potential weapon of the strike. The higher standards of living American workers enjoy above those of other nations are supposed to justify this policy. The fact is that in both England and Germany

where labor is politically active it is not less active in the economic field than it is in this country; and if the European laborer falls short of the wages which Americans enjoy, that must be attributed to the ingenuity of the American technician, and the fortunate absence of customs barriers within our continental boundaries. American labor has not won a richer share of the rewards of industry than other labor; the rewards have been richer and, even though inequitably distributed, those who receive least have received more than laborers in other nations. Meanwhile, in spite of our wealth, we have been unable to lift millions of our citizens above the poverty line.

If pure economic action has no extraordinary triumphs to its credit in the past, even less may be expected of it in the future. The automatic machine, which has created a measure of prosperity by becoming increasingly the peril of labor's welfare. For the first time in our history we have stock market prosperity with simultaneous unemployment on a large scale. The more the automatic machine creates a surplus of labor, the less effective is the strike weapon. Skilled workers who can not be easily displaced may still avail themselves of it and may possibly win a five-day week by means of it. But the unskilled workers are impotent before this problem; and the automatic machine is constantly increasing the comparative number of the unskilled and the semi-skilled. And the same labor leaders who take pride in the pretended superiority of economic over

political action have not even succeeded in organizing the unskilled and semi-skilled workers. In the automobile industry, where stabilization is gradually eliminating early boom conditions, these workers are facing a constant trend toward wage reductions. Undoubtedly the workers of this class ought to be organized, but the problem they face will never be solved if the power of the political state is not finally brought to their aid. This power is necessary not only to reduce hours of labor and to create unemployment insurance but to effect a distribution of wealth which will make it possible for the toilers to consume a larger proportion of the goods they produce and thus protect themselves against unemployment.

There are other problems besides those created by the productivity of machine industry which demand political action for their solution. Confronted with the inevitable development of water power in the industrial life of the nation, a politically competent people will clearly not permit the transfer of this public property into the hands of private interests. Without a new political party, unhampered by past traditions of individualism and emancipated from the control of those who profit by the exploitation of natural resources, it will be impossible to save the rights of the people in this public property. No less important than the power problem is that of another natural resource, long since alienated from the public—coal. No solution for the mining problem has been offered within the limits of the present scheme of private ownership. If the state

as such does not take a hand in this problem, it will not be solved; and the state will assert the rights of the people only if their interests are articulated by a party devoted solely to them.

Perhaps the weakest link in the whole scheme of private ownership, as maintained at present, is the right of a man to bequeath his power as well as his privilege to his children without or with but small consideration for the society in which the wealth was created. When men create wealth and wield power through institutions established by their own ingenuity and initiative, there is always something to be said for their right to retain that same power and privilege which they enjoy, even though one may question whether they were as much the creators of the wealth as they assume. But once the wealth passes out of the hands of the pioneer generation, social function is increasingly divorced from ownership and, except in rare instances, ownership receives rewards from industry for which no real service is rendered. That is understood in older nations much better than in our own; wherefore they have advanced beyond us in political theory and practice.

Inevitably, however, the logic of the facts will destroy our romantic conceptions of the relation of the initiative of private ownership to the advances made in industry and commerce. Only through the action of the state, by means of progressive taxes on inheritances and incomes, can excessive profits be returned to society and used for the establishment of minimum standards in housing, recreation, and social welfare. The same is true of the wealth created by the

growing concentration in population in urban centers and the resulting rise in land values, wealth for which practically no social return is made by the owners. No economic action on the part of laboring people can affect these problems. They will be solved only if the people who suffer from the growing inequalities of our social order, together with those who are intelligent or sensitive enough to abhor injustice even if they are not its victims, will establish a new policy for the state in dealing with these economic questions.

Whether in matters of income and inheritance, of natural resources, labor disputes, unemployment, or any of the other problems clustered about the conduct of industry and the welfare of industrial populations, wise action by the state is hampered by individualistic traditions and laissez-faire political theories which the social and political facts render increasingly anachronistic, but which the powerful and privileged groups find it to their advantage to maintain. As long as the political state holds that business is private enterprise which will function most perfectly if it is interfered with as little as possible by government control, it is impossible for the workers who, even when they act collectively are powerless to effect basic changes in the conduct or in the structure of industry, to gain any equality of power with the masses of toilers, increasing dispossession by inexorable trends in commerce and industry, neutralized the effects of centralization of power and privilege and strive for control of the political life of the nation,

that any measure of justice may be established. Political individualism in a day when more and more private ownership connotes control over social functions which society alone ought to have the right to control, can be maintained only because the general public is too ignorant to understand political theories and to construct political instruments that fit the facts of modern industrial life. At present, American labor is not yet ready for this kind of political action. But the logic of the facts will drive them inevitably to it; and anyone who understands this logic is true to his duty if he plays with palliatives.

Whether the present Socialist party, increasingly emancipated from doctrinaire Marxism and prepared to become the kind of political instrument represented by the Labor Party in England, shall become the political force by which the dispossessed and the socially intelligent will attempt to gain ascendancy in the political councils of the state, or whether a new party is to be formed is largely a question of political pedagogy rather than of political principle. There is nothing in the program of the Socialist platform of the 1928 election to which anyone who is aware of the trend of industrial and economic events could take exception. The question is whether the political traditions of our people might not make the formation of a new party, including farmers and workers from the day of its organization, wise political strategy. In this matter it is difficult to know how much one ought to much one ought to think only of conforming political creeds to the economic facts.

It must be taken for granted that it will not be easy to organize a party such as is here contemplated and make it effective. Its success will be impeded not only by the general conservatism of a wealthy nation and the present political incompetence of the average worker, but by the special difficulties which the American governmental structure presents. In the United States where the presidential office has peculiar prestige and power and comparative independence from the legislative branch of government, the success or failure of a party has been gauged by its ability to win the presidential election. As a result, every third party movement which failed in the presidential election withered and died after its defeat. This phenomenon is, however, only partly due to the tremendous power of the executive office. In part it is due to the political infantilism and impatience of the American people. If some immediate dramatic victory can not be gained, the devotees of a new party sink into despair. This tendency must and can be overcome if America is ever to have a new party, fashioned to serve the needs of the workers and to bring political facts into conformity with economic needs. There is no reason why a new party can not concentrate upon Congressional elections for some years to come, with the aim of gradually increasing its Congressional representation until its strength in the House will not only effect legislation but will build up the prestige necessary for a successful national election. Without years of patient work by men who will not be discouraged by the meager fruits of the first decades, there can be no reorganization of the political life of our nation.

This policy of political action is distinguished, as suggested at the beginning, not only from that of pure economic action but from the creed of Communists and revolutionists. Communism is a philosophy which springs from either despair or romantic perfectionism. While large sections of the industrial population in America are in a desperate enough plight, conditions are not such as to prompt them to disavow the slow method of political action for the quicker but more dubious method of violence. Even if the mood of the workers were different from what it is, the creed of Communism represents neither a hope nor a peril in a middle-class nation like America. There is some possibility of educating a section of the middle classes to make common political cause with the laboring class. But any suggestion on the part of the workers that they will seek to gain their ends by violent methods will drive potential political allies into the arms of reaction. In the case of a few extreme left-wing leaders, their creed springs from a romantic perfectionism. They are able to prove quite conclusively that political action demands as endless series of compromises. But what may be viewed as a series of compromises from one perspective is, from another angle, simply a gradual growth of the social order toward a more ideal state. Of course, there is always the possibility that the meliorist will become tired or prematurely complacent and accept mounting compromises as ultimate goals. We can not blame continental Socialists for viewing with misgiving the creation of "labor lords" by the new British government as suggesting that the technique of gradual adjustment has gone to such lengths in England that it may enervate the revolutionary power of the progressive political group. But there is no reason why this need be true of either the British or other meliorists.

There is something morbid about those who regard the compromises of history with such abhorrence that they resort to force in order to create their perfect state, thus bringing forth violence out of the womb of moral sensibility. Men do not achieve sufficient social intelligence, the only manner in which they can create a new social order is to permit the old one to become so maladjusted to the needs that spasms of resentment against flagrant injustice must supply energy for the change. Intelligence failed to create. But there is a wasteful method of change and, since resentment is blinding, there is no guarantee that the new order will be any more just than the old. Frequently it merely substitutes new forms of injustice for those against which it reacted. The stubbornness of reactionary forces and the blindness of men sometimes make social convulsions and catastrophes inevitable; but of romanticists who live under illusion that they are realists by a theory of social progress we must not think.

The problem of organizing our economic life so that it will secure the highest measure of justice for all classes is a task for society as a whole. Portions of it may be delegated to the economic and industrial community as such; but ultimately the whole of society must be instructed in its problems and must work for their solutions. Neither piecemeal economic action nor revolutionary ardor is an adequate substitute for intelligent political action which brings the relationships of society into conformity with the needs of all its people.

## Free Speech in the City of The Angels

### Freedom For Real Estate Sharks Only, Is Dictum of Chamber of Commerce and Allied Forces

By George H. Shoaf

FOR some time Los Angeles, Calif., has been the center of a fight that started with the close of the world war, a contest between the advocates and opponents of free speech. While this is raging throughout America's bitterest battles unquestionably are being fought in the City of The Angels. In large measure, since few persons are deeply involved, though the interests and the future of all the people are at stake.

In the side of free speech, to be specific, besides the Socialist, Socialist-Labor and Communist Parties are the local branch of the American Civil Liberties Union led by C. J. Taft, the Parliament of Man presided over by F. Roman, the Libertarian League, Unitarian and Humanist Societies, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Shelley Club, and a number of lesser groups which now and then. Among the names which give more or less support are the Los Angeles Record and the Hollywood Citizen, both afternoon papers of limited circulation, and the Forum and the Los Angeles Worker, both weeklies with circulation still more limited. Outstanding among the orthodox minds, and about the only one of consequence, is the Rev. R. P. French, the fundamentalist broadcaster of Trinity Methodist Church. Organized labor, very much as almost helpless, theoret-

ically, at least, is committed to the fight.

Arrayed against this embattled host, which on paper looms large, but whose numerical and financial strength is pitifully small, are the Chamber of Commerce, the Merchants and Manufacturers Association, the Realty Dealers Association, the two big morning and afternoon newspapers, and the proverbial indifference and stupidity of the people. Most of the members of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association belong to the Chamber of Commerce, which body includes virtually every prominent man and woman of wealth in the community.

**The Los Angeles Boom**  
Los Angeles is the metropolis of a geographical area as unique and inviting as can be found anywhere in the world. Marvelous climate, magnificent scenery, productive soil and abundant natural resources combine to make Southern California a most desirable place of residence. Before the world war people had trekked thitherward; since the war they have swarmed into Southern California from every point of the compass, multiplying the population in some communities as much as ten times in ten years. Los Angeles, naturally, has benefited most from this influx.

Land values have increased enormously. City lots that found

no buyers at \$300 each ten years ago, now are held at prices ranging from \$10,000 to \$20,000. From \$50 to \$300 an acre is asked for desert land, and improved lemon and orange groves run anywhere from \$1500 to \$5000 an acre, depending upon location and water supply. By far the largest portion of this land, prior to the advent of the newcomers, was owned by a few families whose forebears got it for a song. Much of it in recent years has passed into the ownership and control of land syndicates, trust companies and banks.

There is something inspirational in the concept which visualized unpicturesque Florida—a low flat peninsula of sandy wastes, dismal swamps, mosquitoes, and flies, sickening humidity and littered "crackers"—as a promising prospect for real estate exploitation; real genius was required to promote that swindle. Southern California, with agricultural lands galore and homesites for all, had little need of high-pressure salesmanship to induce people to buy. Compared to the Florida robbery the methods used by the California bandits in blackjacking eastern home seekers out of their savings have been unimpeachable.

Virtually the whole Southern California real estate situation, with Los Angeles as headquarters, is one vast net to entrap the unwary. Lured from everywhere, the victims are caught and plucked to the skin; frequently nothing is left but their bones, which are shipped back whence they came. Those who own and manipulate the net profit hugely; and the net functions freely because it is supported by the most influential factors in the community which coordinate to that end. Los Angeles, as a skin-game joint, where in grafters play their trade, without doubt puts it all over every other center of crooked exploitation in the United States.

**A Mortgaged City**  
Few realty dealers or building and loan associations do business or invest business on an all-cash basis. Such procedure involves merely legitimate profit. They prefer to find a prospect with a limited exchequer, secure as first payment on a piece of land or building a sum of money equal to the entire profit on the transaction, and then await the inevitable foreclosure, when the performance will be repeated with the same collateral on the next victim. Often a house or lot will be sold on terms, and resold a dozen times, the last foreclosure showing the owner to be the same band of dealers who engineered the original purchase.

A realty firm or company of building contractors will subdivide a tract and erect a number of houses which are offered for sale under high-pressure methods. Values are ludicrously inflated. Ten thousand dollars will be asked for a home which cost \$6,000 or less. As low as \$500 will be accepted as first payment. A \$5,500 mortgage on a \$4,000 trust deed will be assumed by the witless buyer. Obligations are met until something happens, as it always does, and around Los Angeles. Comes

quickly, then, foreclosure, return of the property to the seller, and repetition of the game with a new sucker holding the sack, during which time the first buyer, or the second or tenth for that matter, raises hell and high water for the price of transportation for himself and family back East.

According to authentic information, 2,019 homes were foreclosed in Los Angeles in February of 1929. Within the last six months eighty per cent of the apartment house buildings in the city have been taken over by the banks and trust companies. Over the radio the Rev. R. P. Shuler, whom Los Angeles capitalists hate like poison, declared that ninety per cent of all private property is mortgaged, with one-third of the entire city bonded for more than it is worth or for what it can be sold.

Small business concerns are carried on not so much to sell goods to the public as to sell out the contents and equipment to the next brave one-hundred per cent he-man willing to take a chance. On one business street alone stands one store that has changed hands three times within five months. Apartment house managers change overnight. Farmers experience their most profitable farming among Eastern arrivals. The way it is manipulated, the whole game involves and requires an endless turnover; so long as fresh suckers come with money the game continues amid bankruptcies and broken hearts, with all the wealth in property and cash eventually being absorbed by the trust companies and banks.

Should Eastern tourists fail or the supply of working girls, wealthy widows and gullible old men play out, the crash which would follow would exceed in severity the worst that Florida ever knew. Oil and oranges, while valuable, by no means constitute the foundation on which grafters have reared an artificial and uncertain prosperity. The tourist crop by far is the best and biggest crop in Southern California.

**The "Better" Americans**  
Led by The Los Angeles Times, the Chamber of Commerce, during this period of inflation and graft, has developed into something akin to an Italian mafia in its methods of repression and blackmail. The inner circle of control consists of characters absolutely without heart or conscience who would stop at nothing to win their way. Sponsors of an un-American, anti-liberty organization known as the Better America Federation, whose mission is to censor and suppress every group and every meeting which voices a vigorous protest, the Chamber of Commerce, in its big building at Twelfth and Broadway, Los Angeles, has provided special quarters for its machinery espionage. Here, detectives, detailed from the regular police department and paid by the city, serve under the direction of the heads of the Chamber of Commerce. The "Red Squad," as it is called, does its work openly and makes the arrests. The "stool pigeons," or undercover men, attend every liberal and radical

meeting in the city and report back to the Chamber of Commerce the names of every school teacher and wage worker, actively employed, who cheers a speaker or takes part in the proceedings, following which, in many proven instances, the unfortunate participants lose their jobs.

To list all the anti-free speech activities of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, while significant and important, is too big an undertaking for this article. Two or three examples must suffice.

From its inception to the present moment the local branch of the American Civil Liberties Union has encountered stiff opposition. The open forums held weekly are attended by radicals of every persuasion. It is a noticeable fact that practically the same persons frequent every forum. For this reason the meetings are permitted to continue; the same people hearing the same doctrines from week to week, it is figured, are not likely to offer concrete revolt. The moment, however, the Civil Liberties Union endeavors to extend its work it runs into a snag. Right now, Leo Gallagher, the Union's attorney, is appealing his own personal case from a recent conviction in a free speech fight.

**Forbidden Lectures Printed**  
While these words are being written an undercurrent of excitement is shaking educational circles as a result of a refusal by the Board of Education to permit Dr. F. W. Roman, director of the Parliament of Man, to speak before the Teachers' Institute, now in session in Los Angeles. The Board of Education got its cue from the Chamber of Commerce. Dr. Roman, formerly with Cornell University, three years ago in philosophy, sociology and economics. His classes have grown to where he now conducts nine groups in Southern California with an attendance of several thousand. He is not committed to any particular program of reform, is not identified with any political party. He is interested primarily in education. His teaching is purely academic and unimpassioned. He is a great believer in democracy and the right of the people to govern themselves. He takes the position that if the people are informed, they will correct conditions, if given opportunity. His sole ambition is to provide information so that the people may act intelligently. And here is where he collides point-blank with the Chamber of Commerce.

Notwithstanding the teachers, twenty-five hundred strong, wish to hear this distinguished professor, and so declared themselves by resolution, they are denied that privilege, because the Board of Education, inspired by the Chamber of Commerce, says they shall not. However, the Los Angeles Record, an afternoon paper, has opened its columns to Dr. Roman, and every day during the meetings of the Teachers' Institute, excerpts from his forbidden lectures are printed.

Three years ago Dr. Roman delivered his lectures in the Los Angeles public library. Driven thence, he was accorded the hospitality of the Unitarian Church. Representatives of the Chamber of Commerce threatened to compel the church to pay taxes unless Dr. Roman was excluded; so he went over to the Friday Morning Club. In the banquet hall of the building owned by the club he held forth last year, until pressure was exerted which forced him to seek other accommodations. He is now speaking in an old abandoned church building whose owners engage it to him from month to month, and is awaiting the next move of the Chamber of Commerce.

**A Fundamentalist Crème**  
By all odds the most spectacular fight for free expression, and the one giving the Chamber of Commerce the most concern, is that waged over the radio by Rev. R. P. Shuler, pastor of Trinity Methodist Church. For twenty years the inner circle in control of the Chamber of Commerce and affiliated organizations has dictated Los Angeles politics and directed all publicity stunts. This last city election, which occurred in July of this year, Bob Shuler, as the radio pastor is called, entered the fight and single-handed and alone routed the bankers, business men, realty dealers and the entire capitalist press by electing a mayor of his own choosing, and that by the largest majority ever accorded a candidate for the office. The retiring mayor, who sued the radio preacher for libel and lost, admitted in open court that he was worth about \$15,000 when he took office, and that eight years later, or at the time of his retirement, he estimated his fortune to be about \$650,000. Shuler proved it to be nearer \$1,500,000.

As a result of his bold and daring advocacy of the people's rights, Bob Shuler has drawn upon his head the enmity of every person and institution of influence in Los Angeles. Curiously interesting is the fact that while he is the target of capitalistic attack, he is not an ardent, believes thoroughly in our form of government, upholds the flag, speaks occasionally for the American Legion, and is the outstanding religious fundamentalist in the West. To the chagrin of his fellow ministers in Los Angeles, he declares he is fighting the battles of the underdog, and boasts that in his congregation of four thousand communicants there is not one person of wealth.

The big fight in Los Angeles at the moment, therefore, is the concerted effort on the part of enraged and united capitalism to suppress this militant radio preacher. Three or four times a week over his radio station, KGEF, he publicly pillories corrupt politicians and exposes the methods whereby rich men grow rich. He fights privilege with vitriolic tongue and unwittingly, perhaps, is doing more to disclose class lines in this country than all the radical agencies combined. His tremendous influence with the people has terrified the politicians and made desperate the malefactors of great wealth. Just now

they are trying to induce the Federal Radio Commission to revoke his license. Failing this, the popular impression is that he will be murdered—an impression Shuler shares to the fullest extent.

Los Angeles capitalism is chiefly interested in an open shop, low wages, and a servile labor market. These it is determined to maintain at any cost. Any man or movement that assaults with force and effect these vitally valuable assets is damned and doomed. Of equal interest is the suppression of facts as they relate to real estate exploitation. The truth must be kept from the East, for upon the patronage of potential Eastern home seekers and investors depends the prosperity of Southern California.

**Boost Los Angeles, ignoring graft and the impoverished condition of the city's poor, and your name will be written high in the local hall of fame; tell the truth as it actually exists in undeniable fact, and you will be crucified head downward to a cross.**

### Jessie Stephen Here To Deliver Lectures On British Labor

Miss Jessie Stephen, Labor Party candidate for Parliament for South Portsmouth, England, 1923-24-29, will arrive in New York about the last of January and will be available for lectures in Greater New York.

This announcement was made by August Claessens, organizer of the Socialist Party, who is in charge of her lecture engagements in this city. Miss Stephen has lectured before in the United States and Canada. A domestic servant from the age of 14 to the outbreak of the World War, Miss Stephen became in turn a suffrage worker, trade union organizer, campaign manager, lecturer and journalist.

Miss Stephen has also been prominent in peace work and is a recognized authority on trade union problems. She has also been called upon to advise government departments on various phases of the British domestic servant problem. Her list of lectures covers a variety of subjects and personalities relating to the British labor movement. Terms, subjects and dates may be obtained from August Claessens, 7 East 15th Street, New York City. Miss Stephen will also make a national tour for the national office of the Socialist Party.

### Open Shoppers Concede Cleveland Unemployment

CLEVELAND—(FP)—The open shop American Plan Assn., basing its report on unemployment in member firms, states that 54,000 were on the payroll in 231 Cleveland plants in November, compared with 51,000 in November, 1928. The report admits, however, that unemployment is greater this year than last, many workers having come to Cleveland from Detroit and other cities where unemployment is bad.

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# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## ARTICHOKES AND ASININITY

You live in New York, and your sainted grandfather remarks some morning at the breakfast table: "I see where the mob has rodded a sucker in a Chl that they put on the spot," do not send old lady to have her head examined. Grandma's old as clear as it ever was. It's just that she's reading in the papers which contain social notes the doings of the members of our minor judiciary. Everyone in New York is going about now talking like a chapter from the latest rack novels, (the best of which in our opinion is "Caesar"). And if the elder generation is not, it is no wonder.

At this time all you boys and girls, even those of us who have the misfortune not to live in New York, have the low-down on that little dinner which even to Magistrate Vitale by a group of his constituents consisting of gunmen, drug-peddlers, and "broke kings." During the last campaign, Norman made certain admissions in regard to the types of Magistrates that were being wished by the Tammany administration. But even in the forceful as he was, was not adequate in his exposure of the peculiarly low mentality of those who resume to sit in judgment upon New York's people.

Magistrate Sylvester Sabatino confirmed everything that Norman had said, and went a bit further in delivering himself of his opinions regarding children who were arraigned before him for the offense of soliciting funds for the Gastonia Club, in the subway. Every New Yorker knows the subway is infested with solicitors of all kinds who, particularly in the early morning, that catacomb even more hideous by their presence. Nevertheless, the police chose to ask from this army of beggars two kids who were asking for help for strikers. They held them in a battle for over Christmas, and then diligent investigation revealed the fact that the two had Communist leanings. This horrendous word was duly relayed to Magistrate Sabatino who said to one of his 16-year-old prisoners: "I wish I could get alone in a 2 x 4 room. What I would do to I would black your eye, and teach you the American spirit."

While our admiration for such of the Communist youth as we have seen hanging around Union Square is, to say the least, not hot, nevertheless we offer to take Magistrate Sabatino into any room that His Honor may select, and give him a 16-year-old Communist. Grayed and bowed with years, as we are, we still figure that we pack a more American punch fully as vigorous as any came over on the stage of the Leviathan. We know of no more satisfactory terminal for a punch than the right eye of Magistrate Sabatino. If, after the affair, Sylvester decides that he won't like this country, why then let him go back where he came from, and not interfere with those who are trying to make it a decent place in a human beings may dwell. Apparently, his administration of justice has a pugilistic character to him be assured that a large number of us deem radical will be glad to discontinue matter with him with weapons of choosing. We could die contented if we were one good sock at one of these bully-boys.

return to our artichokes. It seems that Terranova, "the artichoke king," who, according to other than a prominent police inspector, is a little dicker with a Chicago gang-leader, a rather pretentious home in the heart of Pelham, you must know, has long been the high-hatted of New York's suburbs. For a climber to arrive plumply in Pelham, adjacent to the entrance of a Pilgrim into Mecca, Terranova's residence is literally cheek-by-jowl with the homes of "builders of business empires," prominent Wall Street brokers, exalted bankers, and others of the Elect, who do not relish publicity which their artichoke neighbor has reared upon the community of late. Mr. Terranova, at this writing, while not in the custody of police, does not answer his telephone, and one of us to brighten up the natives of Pelham is to call with a fine Italian voice, and ask some Social "ster Brown: "Please, will you go over to Mr. Terranova's house? Tell him, please, we have a new batch machine gun. Who he want ped off now?"

is all quite distressing. New York Society, in the days of Ward McAllister was so exclusively a matter of four hundred chosen souls, it is so dreadfully disrupted that one can never tell, one, what sort of person is occupying the residence next door to one? For all one knows, one's neighbor may be partner to the very bootlegger who supplies one with one's necessary liquor. It is all well to have commercial dealings with such fellows, but to have them for neighbors, ah, is a very different matter. And so Pelham is a night thinking of ways and means of leading Terranova to seek new friends. The Terranovas were all right so long as they did their sneering in a quite unostentatious manner, and snarled without murmur, but once they begin running their names in the papers, by God, sir, we run these rascals out. There is racketeering, and racketeering, and the Wall Street variety must, under no circumstances, be tainted with artichokes.

For a long time back we have intended to refer more in this column to the good work being done by The Consumers' Club, of 47 Charles Street, New York City, which supplies information regarding the goods and services which you buy. We are glad to learn that the activities of the Club which we are threatened for a while by a financial deficit, be enlarged through a gift from an anonymous donor. We are glad because this is an undertaking which meets a pressing need, namely, the need of a consumer for information concerning the merchandise which he or she purchases, free from advertising appeasement. The Club regularly sends out bulletins dealing with the real merits of such things as refrigerators, razor blades, foodstuffs, etc. The bulletins reported on have been examined by experts to have no axe to grind, and the reports tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth, about many highly exploited articles in daily use. Laboratory tests and economic studies are constantly being made of a number of important items of family purchase. Of course, the Club needs more members. In our opinion, the two-dollar membership pays for itself many times over in savings that you make from the information provided in the Club's bulletins.

hustle out to at least ten new members a month. We have set

## When Coxey's Army Marched

By James Oneal

THE "reconstruction" of the southern states following the abolition of slavery had not been completed when the nation was plunged into an industrial crisis in 1873. Twenty years later the new capitalism again broke down, inflicting widespread misery upon the working class. In this second crisis marching bands of the unemployed started for Washington to demand work. This second industrial crisis, or rather the march of the unemployed, is the theme of a book by Donald L. McMurtry, "Coxey's Army, A Study in Industrial Unrest, 1893-1895." Boston: Little Brown & Co. \$4.

In an introductory chapter the author presents the economic background of the unrest of the period which registered politically in the rise of the Populist Party and the march of the various divisions of Coxey's Army as a "petition in boots" urging Congress to enact legislation for the relief of the unemployed. The movement itself revealed the immaturity of the labor movement. The old free lands of the West had practically disappeared and the collapse of the economic system found the workers unprepared to meet the emergency. With no well informed fighters for their class in Congress they turned to the expediency of publicly exhibiting their distress to that body and to the people in their march across the continent.

Their program in one respect, building of roads and extension of improvements, was sound but it was also accompanied with a demand for flat money, an idea which had been approved from the time of Shay's Rebellion. The idea is simple to those who do not understand the complexity of the capitalist system. Start the printing presses going and turn out reams of paper money. Jacob Coxey, the Ohio leader of the movement, gave it its flat money character which was also probably shared by a majority of the marchers and in recent years he has framed bills of this kind for the consideration of Congress.

Naturally, a movement of this kind would attract all sorts of freaks which give it a picturesque character to offset its tragedy. There was Carl Browne, once conspicuous in the "sand lots" agitation with Dennis Kearny of San Francisco, wearing "a buckskin coat with fringes, and buttons made of Mexican silver half-dollars, high boots, a sombrero, a fur cloak when the weather permitted, and around his neck, instead of a collar, a string of amber beads, the gift of his dying wife." He had organized a secret order of Populists, had become a pal of A. P. B. Bozorro, a patent medicine fakir who expounded the "virtues of the great Kickapoo Indian blood remedy." On his religious ideas, a peculiar compound of Christianity and reincarnation, one must consult this book.

There was Jasper Johnson, "the Negro color beaver," heading the Ohio contingent; a "Pittsburgh astrologer" who prophesied that the army would be "invisible in war and invincible in peace;" Douglas McCullum of Chicago, the "best dressed man in the mob" and "sporting a plug hat;" the mysterious "Unknown" who later proved to be the patent medicine fakir, and Christopher Columbus Jones, a little chap 59 years old, who believed in Coxey's money bills and reincarnation, and "who wore a

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### On the National Convention

#### HAVING arrived at most exciting

National Convention, we can now afford to consider soberly the prospects confronting us. Never before have the 'sies appeared so clear, a phenomenon that assuredly is a reason for unbounded enthusiasm. Our new NEC leaves little, if anything to be desired: Abe Kalish of Boston, John Hall of Lynn, Ben Goodman of New York, Sam Bakley of Philadelphia, Albert White of Cleveland, Richard Briggs of Rochester, Eugene McStroul of Milwaukee, with Emanuel Switkes of New York as National Chairman, and Frank Manning of Chicago as the National Director, and such balanced representation of important centers bodes well for the accelerated growth of the Y. P. S. L. Of the many interesting aspects of the Convention, two were really outstanding: First, that a negro was elected to the National Executive Committee; second, that Canada was represented for the first time; our appeal thus manifests itself definitely as inter-racial and geographically American. Elsewhere in the New Leader is a full report of the Convention with the contemplated program.

### New York City

The I. L. G. W. N. is conducting a strike against the merchants selling sweatshop-made dresses in the Pickin Avenue section of Brownsville. Circle Two Seniors arranged on outdoor meeting that was addressed by members of that circle, some delegates to the National Convention of the Y. P. S. L. and Circle Thirteen. The female members of the Brooklyn circles will form brigades to dissuade potential customers from patronizing the shops that are being picketed. Meetings will be held indoors and outdoors whenever the weather will permit. The speakers so far have been Lester Shulman, William Stone of Colorado, Larry Cohen of the Harvard Socialists Club, Isadore Ostrowsky.

### Circle One Bronx

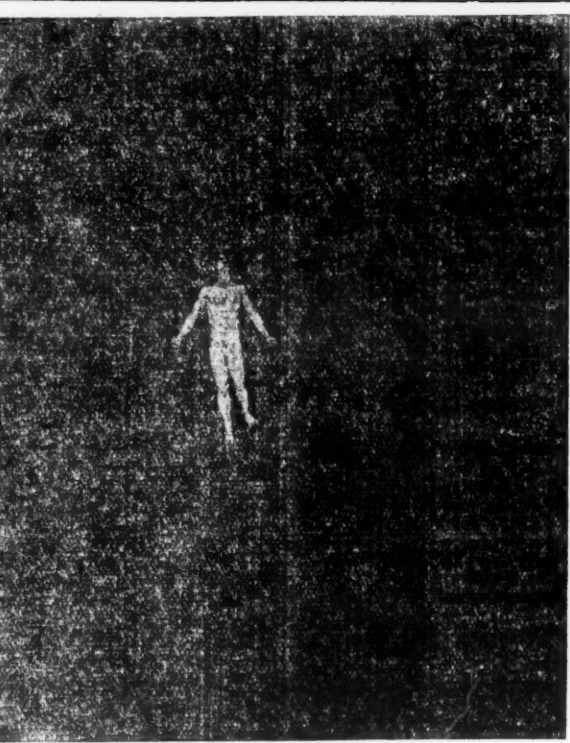
Circle One has pooled efforts with the Socialist Party of the Bronx to make tonight's barn dance a success. The admission is fifty cents, and real gaiety is assured at the affair, 1167 Boston Road, Bronx.

### Circle Six Manhattan

Circle Six is controlling a forum every Sunday evening for the Socialist Party of Harlem. An attempt is being made to get the young Porto Ricans to join this rapidly growing circle. A basket-ball team is being organized.

### Circle One Jr.s, Queens

Circle One Jr.s of the Municipal Region addressed the Sunday



"Come down, O Christ, and help me! reach thy hand"  
From John Vasso's illustration for "E Tenebris," in Oscar Wilde's "Harlot House and Other Poems," issued by E. P. Dutton & Co.

## Indian Freedom's New Leader

Nehru Excoriates Domestic Princes and Foreign Imperialists Alike

By Jawaharlal Nehru

YOU all know, all the world over, there were many kings and emperors nearly one century before. But now only seven or eight kings survive in the whole world. And they too are at once powerless. Let me count before you the present kings. England, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Norway and Japan have kings. In France, Germany and Russia, nobody today even remembers the king. At present the race of kings is steadily losing ground. It is losing in number. It is losing in power. I tell you that the days of kings and emperors are gone. During the last war, their fall commenced and now they can

never rise again. Rajas and Maharajas have no place in the future society. . . . Without giving a death blow to the feudalism you cannot proceed even a step in the direction of progress.

Never expect the Rajas and Maharajas to range themselves on the side of the people, i. e. against the British Government, on whom they depend for their existence. Princes as an institution cannot join us. They fear their rights and privileges will be taken away from them. They are not prepared to lose their present incomes. . . . Let me once more tell you that Rajas and Maharajas can have no grins by the Swaraj. They can then enjoy no more their autocratic hereditary rights. I may once again say this too that in the future princes will not remain. That the institution of the princes can continue is against the lessons of history. . . .

Whether the people of Indian States want princes or not, they can decide. I believe that every man and woman has equal rights. Nobody can have more or less rights because of birth or inheritance. In this age it is sheer foolishness to say or to believe that one particular class or man has or should have special rights. Young men, you may have your residence in British India or in an Indian State. No matter, the fight is the same. Keep before your eyes the vision of the new society of the future, in which every man and woman will have equal rights

Organization  
Education  
Solidarity

## FREE YOUTH

LILLIAN S. KAPLAN

Young People's  
Socialist League  
21 Essex Street,  
Boston, Mass.

Published Every Week by The New Leader for the Young People's Socialist League

### NATIONAL NEWS

**Syracuse**  
Elections were held and the officers are: President, Raymond Grossman; recording secretary, Colla Shapiro; financial secretary, Rose Pollivan. A one-act play on a social theme will be presented by the group in the future. The headquarters are at 416 East Castle street.

**Philadelphia**  
Sam Bakley, newly elected member to the NEC, will arrange a meeting with Camden, N. J. Wilmington, Del. and the Philadelphia Yipsels shortly. Organization projects will be boomed.

**Cleveland**  
The mimeographed paper that the Yipsels of this city issue, is undergoing a rechristening. Talbert White, the Editor, has been elected to the NEC of the Y. P. S. L.

The New Leader proposes a special rate to members of the Y. P. S. L. and any subscriptions obtained by Yipsels of one dollar per year. The offer lasts for FOUR WEEKS, the period of the New Leader drive for new subscribers. All Yipsels and circles are urged to follow this up immediately.

Appoint New Leader agents at once in the circles and get every Yipsel and circle to do so. If he or she does not, she does not

### Two Economists

FOR some time I have been meaning to say a good word for two books. The first is a brief book, easily read, called "The Useful Art of Economics" (by George Soule, N. Y.). Without being especially brilliant, profound or original it is nevertheless a well written, shrewd, common sense statement of the pragmatic new economics which deserves description as "a useful art"—useful among other things for exploding some of the older economic myths which unfortunately clutter up the minds not only of Rotarians but of some trade unionists in these United States.

The second is a much larger volume by G. D. H. Cole entitled "The Next Ten Years in British Social and Economic Policy" (The Macmillan Co.) The title is an exact description. Mr. Cole, assuming that Socialism through the Labor Party will be in power or a principal contender for power, says what should be its program? What about trade, credit, agriculture, foreign policy, better conditions for workers etc? How keep the machine going and at the same time repair it and put it on the right track? Mr. Cole's answers are models of vigorous, suggestive and practical thinking, much of which is applicable with slight changes to American conditions. What is perhaps most surprising is the willingness of this father of guild Socialism to recognize facts and put his pet guild schemes temporarily in cold storage though by no means losing sight of the values he sought to conserve by it. Such frankness and courage are wholesome signs in a country and party which face a desperately hard task. Not the best social reorganization can set England back in her old place of primacy in world trade. What Mr. Cole thinks can be done and how it can be done is worth reading. And it is hopeful reading even if you want to put several question marks on some pages opposite his plans.

To compare his book with Mr. Soule's is scarcely fair since the writers tackled different jobs. Yet since I chanced to read the two books at about the same time I could not but reflect how much farther advanced social and economic thinkers and their programs must be in England than here to give them value. Mr. Cole is every bit as usefully pragmatic as Mr. Soule and, as the nature of his subject required, far more definite and comprehensive on program. Yet he begins by acknowledging himself a Socialist and accepting the general Socialist philosophy. Might not some of our new economists get farther if they would do as much and acknowledge some organizing philosophy? Without it programs have a way of petering out—if they even get started—in those compromises which are necessary in practical government but are always risky.

Norman Thomas.  
and in which feudalism, imperialism and such other institutions will have no place. Young men, keep this vision before you. Think over it again and leave no stone unturned to materialize it in this land of your birth. That is real service to the Motherland.

## "Bishop Brown's Bad Books"

### COMMUNISM AND CHRISTIANISM

225 thousandth, paper bound, 247 pages; twenty-five cents.  
"Like a brilliant meteor crossing a dark sky, it held me tight."

### MY HERESY

This is an autobiography published by the John Day Company, New York; second printing, cloth bound, 273 pages; price \$2.00. "The most important book of the year 1929," Professor John Dewey honored it with a review in which he called Bishop Brown a Fundamental-Modernist and credited him with discovering how educated people can still remain in or come into the churches and join in the worship while openly rejecting all supernaturalism.

### THE BANKRUPTCY OF CHRISTIAN SUPERNATURALISM

Five volumes, paper bound, 256 pages each; twenty-five cents per volume.

### Now Ready

#### Vol. I—The Trial

It is an a b c introduction to science, history, philosophy and sociology. "Its chapter, What is the Matter with the Churches, is worth ten times the price of the book. The opening and concluding chapters are perfectly fascinating to me and my fellow convicts in this penitentiary. As a whole it is an unanswerable reply to the House of Bishops."

#### Vol. II—The Sciences

##### Just off the press

In his preface the "bad heretic" bishop says, I have done all within my power to make this book worth while simply as a course of instruction in the sciences. He might have added: but, anyhow, I have succeeded in making the theology of the "good orthodox" bishops so utterly ridiculous as to make them laughing-stocks when they preach it.

The worst of this series of five "bad books" are yet to come at intervals of six months, in the volumes on History, Philosophy and Sociology. But the opeminded will find all the books of

"Episcopus in partibus Bolsheviki et Infidelium"  
to be worth their weight in gold as educators—volume two doubly so.

Send fifty cents in two cent stamps for the three twenty-five cent books. This remittance will also pay a year's subscription to the bishop's new quarterly magazine, HERESY, each number of which will contain one of his "bad" lectures on some great subject. No. 1—The Negro Problem.

The Bradford-Brown Educational Co.  
GALION, OHIO

## THE CHATTER BOX

### New Year's Eve in New York City

"Pack your gullet full," said one;  
"Guzzle it down," said another. . . .  
Rattle, rattle, rattle,  
I'll eat the ratchety things;  
There was much more ado  
And a hell of a tother;  
While over the warmth  
Of music and gin  
The one and the other  
Jazzed a New Year in. . . .

"The line's awful long," said one;  
"We'll be Jesus-ed to death," said another  
Shuffle, shuffle, shuffle  
Made the shoddy-shod feet. . . .  
There were shivers a-plenty,  
But never much bother;  
And hardly a tune  
And never a shout  
While the headline shuffled  
The old year out. . . .

New Year's eve is never a time of hilarity for me. There is always grief for the doings of the twelve month gone. And surely a great deal of dread for what the next session of time promises to the disinherited of the earth. If ever I do go to banquet and parties of the conventional sort, and follow through the gestures of celebration, my soul's in it.

The obscenity of a hurrah and a fling while world writhes in continuous torture cannot be waded aside so lightly. Most of time we shout and howl with indecorous uncton only to drown out the constant growl of fear within and all about us.

When Park Avenue motors down to the elite club for their evening's joyousness, I gnash distinct rage between my teeth.

When the soft and smug middle classes go out to the theatres and exclusive hotels for their annual cut-up, a harsh resentment plays havoc inside of me.

When the multitudinous poor go out afoot to their masters albert with tinny horns and hoarse noise-makers, all the pity of my being goes up over, and I stand weak and useless in contemplation.

How little it takes to help them forget all fierce inequalities, the brutal injustices, the innumerable stupidities with which their lives are bedeviled throughout the year! And when I look up the Bowers Mission and bread lines . . . I push holes in my lips to restrain the unmanliness weeping.

This is the season of cheer and good wishes, however. One must not yield to the cold clutch of despair. Everything will turn out all right. The cloud is silver if turned inside out. Smile at the world smiles with you. Every little dog has its day. Look at Lincoln: think of Dick Whittington's inheritance. Tush . . . I'm thinking of the salary grabbers at City Hall . . . the dope peddlers, the police and the cahoot game . . . the employment mobs on Sixth Avenue . . . I'm not getting a thing.

If you're a rebel and your blood still runs true color, you wouldn't try to forget a thing. You sit up all New Year's eve and day sober as a yeolger, planning a bigger and stronger Socialist Party for the New Day when every evening will be fit for joy and laughter.

My New Year's resolve is tonight the same as has been since thinking became an encrusted habit with me: To work and dream for an end to shame of our present day scheme of things. . . . to keep the hope for Socialism alive in the hearts of the wavering . . . to bring its light into the world that still mope about in muddled hopelessness . . . to persist and persist despite all defeat and all trial . . . and to ever see an emergence into triumph for all we believe in so devoutly.

Come join with me, fellow comrades . . . fall in line . . . let us march onward . . . let us sing as we go . . . "The International Party shall be the human race . . ."

### Waitress

O tired dancer in aisles of hunger. . .  
Rest you now at twilight!  
Forty miles away sea gulls spin  
The mist into softly woven night.  
(Pale jonquils rest upon a bed of wind.)

Rest is a stranger you never met.  
Her soft full arms of sleep are hid  
In amber folds of twilight . . . and yet  
You laugh and go your way  
O tired dancer in aisles of hunger.  
Laura Tanne.

### In the Printing Shop

trip—trip—trip—  
the keys hammered along the rim of my brain  
beating back the thoughts that seek to  
escape from the formless interior out into  
clarified freedom—  
trip—trip—trip—  
the keys have paused from their clamor,  
and vague as smoke an image  
of a woman with golden hair streaming  
and breasts like ripe fruit stirring in the  
wind

And—  
trip—trip—trip—  
the keys pounding again  
beat down the image  
and it is shapeless and  
my mind is a grey blank and  
there are no more images struggling to rise  
as the keys batter the rim of my brain with  
their—  
trip—trip—trip—  
Saint Berna

A bloke named Odell from out west was  
know why I persist in writing verse while J.  
Walker and his boys are grabbing off the big  
dough. Truth is I'm just gasping with  
ament. It just can't be so. Tammany never  
that way. Right out in the open? . . . What  
pened? . . . Tell me it ain't true, Maggie . . .  
me it ain't true? . . .

S. A. de W.

The masses  
In resurrection freed  
From wordy snares woven by well-fed ge  
Shall grow to be  
The armies of humanity;  
And with a mighty gesture  
up the inviolable citad



# "Richelieu"—A Rich Hampden Portrait

The Stage

The Movies

Music

## THE WEEK ON THE STAGE

By Joseph T. Shipley

### CHURCH IN STATE

"Richelieu," Adapted by Arthur Goodrich from Bulwer Lytton's "The Cardinal."

However separate the recent meeting of the King of Italy and the Pope may show it is Mussolini's intention to keep the state and the church, there were days when closer union was not to the former's disadvantage. While the Borgias brought politics to defile their churchly places, others used the potency of their religious position (and strong, wise personality) to solidify and cleanse the state. Of these, in history to some degree, and wholly in Arthur Goodrich's new version of Bulwer Lytton's play, is Richelieu.

The Hampden presentation of the cardinal is at once rich and stately. A human kindness, however, seeps from the proud churchman into his sternest acts, and makes him a real figure, pulling down to our level the rhetorical grandeur of the story. If a parallel to high comedy may be sought, outside of tragedy, in the serious plays, it is in the comedy of the "Richelieu." It is an excellent instance of the type. Comedy for the most part springs from intellect, tragedy from the emotions; and melodrama is but an official heightening of the passions. Here we have the personal life of the cardinal involved with the life of the king and the future of France, complicated by Louis XIII's fancy for a fair maid, ward of the cardinal and the hero's love, the whole crossed by the mystery of a villain more foul in than Iago.

Companionship Hampden in good nature is Cecil Yapp as his chief advisor Joseph; Charles Carthy, Jr. does a sturdy bit as page; Moffat Johnston makes effective villain; Dallas Anderson well shows the weakling king; the two ladies are brave and clever, Evelyn Goodrich as Marion Lorne (whom history also calls) and Ingeborg Torrup as Julie, cause or center of much of the turmoil. In a play that suitably builds action round his character, and not the least, to his great gallery of vivid men.

### CHILDREN PLAYING

"The Wizard of Oz," From the story by L. Frank Baum. The Heckscher Theatre.

There is a double eagerness, and double service, at the Heckscher Theatre. The children taking part are evidently a spirit of fellow-feeling in fun, and the children in the audience find it contagious. Ash-Miller evidently has found the secret of making young folks work with him, which is one of the two secrets of modern education. The result is that they do quite remarkable work, and successfully sustain the not too critical souls that watch them. A catfish might comment on the adult motif of the ballet prelude, where Daisy Blau has arranged a courtship program, among the elders, at the close. It might also be questioned whether the wicked witch should, from the point of view of the psychology of the youngsters, have received such emphasis. But "Racketty Packetty House" and others on the program promise to be free from this element, for those who object to it; and any little folks taken to the performances, Saturdays till June, will find thorough enjoyment. The proceeds, incidentally, are for the benefit of the Heckscher Foundation for Children.

### ONE WHO IS ALL

Ruth Draper in Original Character Sketches at the Comedy Theatre. The coming of Ruth Draper, without Christmas, marks a new season. At least, if a holiday is measured by intensity of pleasant experience, by the keen light that comes with it, a trip to the Comedy Theatre is high holiday.

There should be little need to tell the readers of these columns that sort of work Ruth Draper does, but it is interesting to note how she introduces among her sketches, and our many favorites, "Three Women and Mr. Ford" presents the named gentleman through the eyes of those various relations with him, the intimate picture of the great (who is a hero to his valet?) through his secretary, who is largely responsible for the success and system of the man she ships as a great success that seems almost to comb his hair for his tie for him of a morning. Yet he thinks he is self-sufficient and "what every woman" is something that her male she has helped toward him not know. More striking and, though, her life, more deeply with emotional bearing, the two scenes of the miner's life in the first the every day of the home are emphasized the dull indifference of the revealed, the toil and poverty of the wife and the children. Second we sense—no, we miss—that comes with the "petty" of the great.

### In Dance Recital



Tamiris, the sensational dancer, who will be presented by the Actors-Managers, Inc., in a series of dances at the Maxine Elliott Theatre.

### SHAKESPEARE FOR OUR AGE

"The Novice and the Duke," Modernized from Shakespeare's "Measure for Measure." Theatre Assembly.

The faults and the virtues of Shakespeare, for this our age, come to light in the interesting production of "Measure for Measure" which Walter Greenough is offering wise playgoers. As I have pointed out, the Elizabethan stage dressed players of any period in bright Elizabethan dress; the Roman toga was a later thought for Caesar; and surely with non-historical plays we may do as much. What happens is that the poetry, especially when made obvious by one or two veteran Shakespeareans

**CHENKIN**  
"The where-to-go-Sunday problem solved." Audiences asked for more and more.—Eve. Telegram.  
SEATS \$1 to \$2.50 at Box Office

**MUSICAL ART QUARTET**  
Concert Mgt. DAN L. MAYER, Inc.

**TOWN HALL**  
**Keith Falkner**  
Tuesday Aft., Jan. 7, at 3 P. M.  
BASS-BARTONE FROM ENGLAND  
Tickets at Box Office  
Mgt. Richard Copley Steinway Piano

**CONDUCTORLESS**  
Symphony Orchestra  
CARNegie HALL, Sat. Evg., Jan. 4, 8:45  
NINETTE LUCILE GUILFORD Soloists  
HAYDN, Symphony No. 10;  
MOZART, Aria "Il Re Pastore"  
SALEZIO, "The Enchanted Isle"  
GLAZOUNOFF, "Stenka Razin"  
Tickets \$1, \$2, \$3 at Box Office and at 22 E. 55th St. Steinway Piano

**TOWN HALL**  
Saturday Aft. January 12th, at 2:30  
**Harold Samuel**

actors, who seem to slip even into the modern cast, seems rhetoric, but when moving as vital dialogue seems still touched with grace; the Elizabethan humor lives; and the Shakespearean characters are still alive in their stories.

"Measure for Measure" is now offered for the first time to this generation, and to miss it means losing much beauty and much laughter—including a "mercy" speech some deem not second to Portia's, and the rich bawdy humor of Pompey. True, our age has grown impatient of long endings; we cut the last two acts of the Elizabethan plays, making our modern dramas end in three acts, with the climax; and the shortening of Shakespeare; into three divisions does not remove his "falling action" and "denouement" after our present-day stopping-place. But Greek drama began with the point at which we'd be drawing to swift close; once the proper initial mood is granted the play, it holds.

In the present performance, the work of Anne Shoemaker as Isabella, and of A. P. Kaye as Pompey and Hugh Miller as the Fantastic Lucio, stands out in a competent cast. The production makes one wonder, indeed, why this play has been so infrequently shown... and by its quality requires attendance.

### Recital and Lecture

By New History Society

Mr. Solon Fieldman, formerly an active Socialist worker under Eugene Debs, will speak at the New History Society lecture tomorrow (Sunday) evening at nine o'clock in the Oak Room, Ritz-Carlton, on "The Relation between Bahai and Socialist Ideals." Mr. Fieldman is alternating in these lectures with Mirza Ahmad Schrab, Persian poet and lecturer. The son of the great novelist Tolstoy will be the guest of honor.

This evening there will be a joint recital of Jacques Singer, Austrian violinist who made his concert debut at the age of thirteen in Town Hall in 1925, and Moisei Agranov, Russian pianist-composer, in the ballroom of the Park Lane Hotel, 48th Street, East of Park Avenue.

### Only Colored Musical Show on Broadway

"Ginger Snap," the new colored musical show which opened at the Belmont Theatre on New Year's eve, gives it the distinction of being the only colored extravaganza on Broadway at the present time with a cast which includes many of Harlem's well known funsters like Homer Tutt, Boats Swan, Ethel Mone, Red Simmons, etc., and fetching music by Donald Heywood, and dances organized by George Stamper, "Ginger Snap" sounds like an interesting addition to the musicals now on Broadway.

### YIDDISH ART THEA.

MAURICE SCHWARTZ, Director.  
B'way at 28 St. BOGARDUS 0678.

**Now Playing**  
Every Friday Evening 8:30  
Sat.-Sun. Mat. and Eve. 2:30-8:30  
GOTTESFELD'S  
Reluctant Comedy Feature

### "Angels On Earth"

With Entire Ensemble  
Programs Carry Synopses in English

### BEGINNING SUNDAY EVG., JAN. 5

Through Sunday Evg., Jan. 12, at 8:30  
The Actor-Managers, Inc., introduce

### Dance Repertory Theatre

Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey, Charles Weidman, Tamiris  
Soloist: ELIZABETH REINBERG, Soprano  
BACH—TELLEMAN—TCHAIKOVSKY  
METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE  
SUNDAY AFT., JAN. 12, at 3:00  
Soloist: GABRIELI, Pianist  
MOZART—SCUMANN—TCHAIKOVSKY  
Carnegie Hall, Sat. Morn., Jan. 11, at 11  
Children's Concert—REQUEST PROGRAM  
ERNEST SCHELLING, Conductor  
ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

### Philharmonic Symphony

MENDELSSOHN, Conductor  
BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC  
SUNDAY AFTERNOON, JAN. 5, at 3:15  
Soloist: HAROLD SAMUEL, Pianist  
BACH—MOZART—PYPER—STRAUSS

Carnegie Hall, Fri. Eve. JAN. 10, at 8:45  
Benefit Orchestra Pension Fund  
Soloist: ELIZABETH REINBERG, Soprano  
BACH—TELLEMAN—TCHAIKOVSKY  
METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE  
SUNDAY AFT., JAN. 12, at 3:00  
Soloist: GABRIELI, Pianist  
MOZART—SCUMANN—TCHAIKOVSKY  
Carnegie Hall, Sat. Morn., Jan. 11, at 11  
Children's Concert—REQUEST PROGRAM  
ERNEST SCHELLING, Conductor  
ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

**CARNegie HALL**  
SAT. AFT., JAN. 12, at 2:30  
American Reappearance  
Eleanor

**Spencer**  
PIANO RECITAL  
Tickets at Box Office  
Mgt. Richard Copley Steinway Piano

**CARNegie HALL**  
MONDAY EVE., JAN. 13 at 8:30

**Frank Sheridan**  
PIANO RECITAL  
Tickets at Box Office

### In New Play



Glen Hunter comes to the Fulton Theatre this week in a new play called "Waterloo Bridge," by Robert E. Sherwood. Out-of-town reports are very interesting.

### "No, No, Nanette" at Strand

Ushering in a new long run policy at the Strand, which for sixteen years has been a first run, weekly change, continuous program house, "No, No, Nanette" had its world premiere last night. The film is First National's most ambitious effort. It is an all talking, singing, dancing, farce extravaganza in Technicolor. Co-starring in the cast are Alexander Gray, hero of "Sally" current at the Winter Garden, and Bernice Claire, who probably will be boosted to stardom by this one picture. Prominent in the supporting cast are Lucien Littlefield, Louise Fazenda, Zazu Pitts, Mildred Harris, Jocelyn Lee and Bert Roach. After opening night, all seats will be at popular prices.

### "Sons O' Guns" Doing Well

Due to the terrific demand for seats for Connolly and Swanson's "Sons O' Guns," the Jack Donahue-Lily Damita show, eighteen more orchestra seats are being installed this week at the Imperial theatre. This changes the floor capacity from 701 to 719 seats and increases the gross \$765 on the week, bringing the weekly statement close to \$50,000, the highest gross in town.

Because of their initial success, Connolly and Swanson plan to produce one musical comedy each year.

**GILBERT MILLER by arrangement with MAURICE BROWN presents**  
**Journey's End**  
By R. C. SHERRIFF  
**HENRY MILLER'S THEATRE**  
124 West 43rd Street  
Matinees Thursday and Saturday 2:30

**GILBERT MILLER and LESLIE HOWARD'S production of**  
**Berkeley Square**  
By JOHN L. BALDERSTON  
**LESLIE HOWARD and MARGALO GILLMORE**  
**LYCEUM**  
THEATRE West 45th Street  
Eves. 8:30, Mats. Thurs. & Sat.

**LAST WEEK**  
Theatre Musical Comedy Company in  
**VICTOR HERBERT'S**  
**BABES**  
**TOYLAND**  
Matinees: Thurs. & Fri. at 3 o'clock;  
Satur. at 2:30  
Prices: All Performances \$1 to \$3  
Beginning Jan. 13, PRINCE OF PILSEN  
JOLSON'S THEATRE, 59th St. and 7th Avenue. Eves. 8:30.

**THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS**  
**Game of Love**  
**And Death**  
By ROMAIN ROLLAND  
**BILTMORE THEATRE**  
47th STREET WEST OF B'WAY  
Eves. 8:30 — Mats., Wednesday and Saturday, 2:40

**CIVIC REPERTORY**  
14th St., 6th Ave. Eves. 8:30  
50c, \$1, \$1.50. Matinees 2:30  
EVA LE GALLIENNE, Director

Mon. Eve.—"The Sea Gull" (Tchekov)  
Tues. Eve.—"The Living Corpse" (Tolstoy)  
Wed. Eve.—"The Sea Gull" (Tchekov)  
Thurs. Mat.—"The Living Corpse" (Tolstoy)  
Thurs. Eve.—"The Cradle Song" (Sierra)  
Fri. Eve.—"Mlle. Bourrat" (Anet)  
Sat. Mat.—"Peter Pan" (Barrie)  
Sat. Eve.—"Inheritors" (Galspeli)  
Seats 4 wks. adv. Box Office and Town Hall, 113 W. 43d St.

**CITY Haul**  
with Herbert Rawlinson  
"Fantastic, preposterous, melodramatic farce," said The Times.  
"We heartily urge your support of 'City Haul.' Include the Hudson on your list some night soon."  
—Bob Grannis in The Graphic.  
"Provides highly satisfactory evening in the theatre."  
—F. P. Dunne, Jr., World.

**HUDSON THEATRE**  
44th St., East of Broadway  
Eves. 8:30; Mats. Wed. & Sat.

**BROKEN DISHES**  
MARTIN FLAVIN'S COMEDY  
with DONALD MEER  
"Should be seen at all costs." World.  
"Scored a hit—Donald Meek just lived the part"—Rathbun, Sun.  
"Packed with laughs."  
—Robt. Coleman, Mirror.  
"Unusually successful—audience cheering."  
—Ruhl, Herald Tribune.

**THEATRE GUILD Production**  
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**THE DEVIL**  
**MAY CARE**  
with MARION HARRIS  
DOROTHY JORDAN  
A First National & Vitaphone Picture

**Red Rust**  
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Party Branches and sympathetic organizations are requested when planning theatre parties to do so through the Theatrical Department of the NEW LEADER.  
Ingonquin 4622

### Unscrambling of Movie Mergers Ahead for 1930

Carl Laemmle, president of Universal Pictures, this week predicted that one of the big developments of the coming year in the picture world would be the "unscrambling of mergers."

"The merger pendulum has swung too far. It will have to come back. That is proved by many events and their meaning is plain," Laemmle declared.

"I believe the whole industry will advance all along the line in 1930. Entirely too much attention has been given to stock tickers and merger manipulations, instead of to the making of first class pictures and the proper conduct of picture business as picture business."

"Here at Universal we have devoted ourselves to the making of the best product we knew how, and marketing it on a basis that makes money for the exhibitor as well as for ourselves. We have always been independent; we are independent now; and we expect to remain independent. We enter 1930 in the best position in our history. Our studios are humming with work on big productions. Paul Whiteman in 'King of Jazz,' Laura La Plante and John Boles in 'La Marseillaise,' and 'All Quiet on the Western Front' will be super-pictures in every sense of the word. I confidently predict that they will set new marks for our competitors to shoot at."

### Browning and Quintero on New Civic Repertory Bill

After paying respects to France with Anet's "Mlle. Bourrat" and generous credit to Russian drama with Tchekov's "The Sea Gull" and Tolstoy's "The Living Corpse," Eva Le Gallienne's Civic Repertory Theatre turns to Spain for the fourth bill of its fourth season. Late in January the premiere will come of the second of the Spanish comedies by the Brothers Quintero previously promised in the theatre's season announcement, "The Women Have Their Way." It will be preceded by Robert Browning's well known short dramatic sketch, "In a Balcony," Shakespeare's "Romeo and Juliet," which was expected to be the fourth production of this group, has not been abandoned but will come later in the season.

Perhaps the outstanding feature of this new bill will be the fact that Miss Le Gallienne herself will assume a leading role in both plays and that in the second she will play a young girl while in the other she will appear as the aged Queen, an opportunity for contrast even more immediate than that which is daily afforded by her appearance in widely divergent roles in different plays on succeeding evenings.

**WILLIAM FOX presents**  
**"HOT FOR PARIS"**  
with VICTOR MCGLAGLEN  
FIFT DORSEY  
EL BRENDLE  
All-talking, all-laughing  
Fox Movietone  
Written and directed by  
RAOUL WALSH

New York's finest entertainment, with the entire Roxy Ensemble, Roxy Symphony Orchestra, Roxy Ballet Corps, 32 Roxyettes.

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World's Largest & Greatest Theatre  
7th Avenue and 50th Street  
Under Seasonal Direction of  
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### Returns to Footlights



After many years of starring in moving pictures, Herb Rawlinson returned to the stage, where he can be seen in "City Haul," at the Hudson Theatre.

### European Festivals of 1930

There is expectation of a banner year abroad, for those who can travel from one bright spot to another, or even settle down to the milder amusements of a more restricted itinerary. Oberammergau to begin with, will resume its great "Passion Play" after eight years, opening on May 6, and continuing until September. At Munich, the Mozart and Wagner Operatic Festival will carry on for a month, beginning early in July, preceded by a short dramatic season. August finds the lucky European with Salzburg awaiting him, and Reinhardt's production of "Everyman" and other spectacles.

Over in England—if you prefer the Nordic tour—there will be the Stratford-on-Avon Festival, running from April, the month of Shakespeare's birth (and death) until September. Heidelberg cas-

tle, anxious to prove that Shakespeare belongs to Germany right of deep understanding of the plays of the bard of Avon, Brussels, Vienna, Berlin, Dresden are among the other ties in Europe that are preparing festivals, music and drama the visitors they expect, of course, from these U. S. Stat

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The Greatest Hindu Spectacle  
**"Throw Of The Dice"**  
Surpassing in sheer beauty and most pictorial poetry its noteworthy predecessors "SHIRAZ" and "THE LIGHT OF ASIA." Based on the ancient and cherished Hindu legend "Nala and Damayanti" and performed by the same cast as in "SHIRAZ"

**THE MAN FROM THE RESTAURANT**  
An amazing film  
fascinating story  
LATEST RUSSIAN NEWSREEL

**Thrilling Talkie**  
Regina Crowe, American  
**Hell's Heroes Dandy Drama**  
Mirror  
**Hell's Heroes Fine Film**  
Eve. Telegram  
**Hell's Heroes Pleases In**  
Interesting—Realistic  
N. Y. Times  
**Hell's Heroes Gripping**  
Irene Thirer, News  
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Cont. Noon to Midnight  
**COLONY**

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Manhattan Symphony Concert

The Manhattan Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Dr. Henry M. Cole, will give its next concert on Friday evening, Jan. 5, in the auditorium of Mecca Temple. Soloists will be Rudolph Ganz, pianist and former conductor of the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra and Mme. Alik Young Maruchess, violinist. The following program will be broadcast from station WOR: Overture to "Egmont," Beethoven; Concerto for piano and orchestra in B flat minor, Tchaikovsky; Rudolph Ganz, pianist; "The Death of Tintagiles," dramatic poem after Maeterlinck; Loeffer; a-Valse Triste, Sibelius; b-Flight of the Bumblebee, Rimsky-Korsakoff; Alik Young Maruchess, violin; a-Valse Triste, Sibelius; c-Carnival in Paris, Svendsen.

"Second Choice" at Beacon

"Second Choice," starring Dolores Costello, and with Chester Morris and Jack Mulhall featured in her support, had its Eastern premiere last night, at Warner Bros. new Beacon Theatre, Broadway and 74th Street. "Second Choice" is a drama of frustrated love. It gives Miss Costello full play for her talents and ample opportunity to show off many stunning gowns. As the fiancée of Morris and the loveless bride of Mulhall, she achieves new laurels in dramatic expression. The picture is a Warner Bros. Vitaphone all-talking production. Surrounding it will be an especially selected program of Vitaphone Varieties.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

The National Office of the Socialist Party is located at 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. Clarence O. Senior is National Executive Secretary. Inquiries regarding organization, speakers, or literature, leaflets, books, supplies and Socialist Party publications should be addressed to the National Office. If there is no local organization in your vicinity, you may become a member at large by applying for membership to the National Office. Locals and branches are urged to place their orders for a weekly bundle of The New Leader. The results for the year are increased many fold and selling The New Leader at air meetings.

**NEW DUES STAMPS**  
New stamps for 1930 are now printed and should be ordered at once. No state stamps will be sent out from the national office. This year there will be one due stamp printed by the national office. No state stamps will be distributed. This stamp comes in varieties. One, National annual, is sold to states and federations at fifty cents and the other consists of twelve National stamps which are sold for cents. This does away with the use of postage stamps for the national and offices and for annual and by payments.

**MISSIE STEPHEN'S TOUR**  
Missie Stephen will arrive in New York the end of January and will stay until Easter. Her bookings handled from the national office. She will be in New York for several weeks and will give her services and she will give the women's section of New York on International Day, Feb. 23.

**Missouri**  
A hundred persons listened to a lecture by Paul Barker, field secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy and Clarence Senior, at an arranged by the Socialist Party in St. Louis, Mo. Barker spoke on the "Economic Basis for Brotherhood in the Flint Street Methodist Church."

**Massachusetts**  
A lecture in Socialism shown by the Boston branch of the Socialist Party on the increase. Alfred D. Brown spoke on the "Economic Basis for Brotherhood in the Flint Street Methodist Church."

On WEVD

(520.6-WEVD-New York City-1300 KC)

**SUNDAY, JANUARY 5**  
12:00-Paladino Orchestra  
2:00-Rev. J. J. Fiedler's Home Beautification  
4:00-Signal  
6:00-The Well Dressed Man  
8:00-Jamaica Red Orchestra  
10:00-Weinstein's Entertainers  
11:00-Rev. J. J. Fiedler's Home Beautification  
12:00-Mr. and Mrs. Chatterbox  
1:00-Continental  
2:00-Continental  
3:00-Continental  
4:00-Continental  
5:00-Continental  
6:00-Continental  
7:00-Continental  
8:00-Continental  
9:00-Continental  
10:00-Continental  
11:00-Continental  
12:00-Continental

**MONDAY, JANUARY 6**  
12:00-Melody Lady  
2:00-See by the Papers  
4:00-Hazel Burnham, Sonata in D minor, Brahms  
6:00-Social Service  
8:00-Dorothy Kane, soprano  
10:00-Bonnie Windsor, pianist  
11:00-Continental  
12:00-Continental

**TUESDAY, JANUARY 7**  
12:00-LeRoy Kent, tenor  
2:00-Nedra, violin  
4:00-Continental  
6:00-Continental  
8:00-Continental  
10:00-Continental  
11:00-Continental  
12:00-Continental

**WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 8**  
12:00-Continental  
2:00-Continental  
4:00-Continental  
6:00-Continental  
8:00-Continental  
10:00-Continental  
11:00-Continental  
12:00-Continental

**THURSDAY, JANUARY 9**  
12:00-Continental  
2:00-Continental  
4:00-Continental  
6:00-Continental  
8:00-Continental  
10:00-Continental  
11:00-Continental  
12:00-Continental

**FRIDAY, JANUARY 10**  
12:00-Continental  
2:00-Continental  
4:00-Continental  
6:00-Continental  
8:00-Continental  
10:00-Continental  
11:00-Continental  
12:00-Continental

**SATURDAY, JANUARY 11**  
12:00-Continental  
2:00-Continental  
4:00-Continental  
6:00-Continental  
8:00-Continental  
10:00-Continental  
11:00-Continental  
12:00-Continental

**SUNDAY, JANUARY 12**  
12:00-Continental  
2:00-Continental  
4:00-Continental  
6:00-Continental  
8:00-Continental  
10:00-Continental  
11:00-Continental  
12:00-Continental

At Town Hall



The Musical Art Quartet, pictured above, will give the second recital of their New York series in Town Hall January 7.

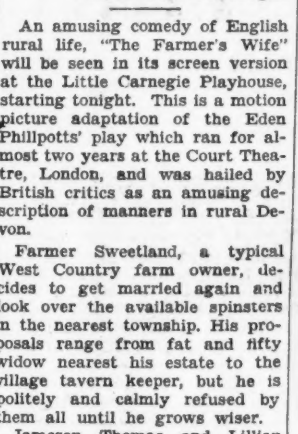
55th St. Hindu Spectacle

The third and latest in the series of Hindu spectacles, "Throw of the Dice," following "The Light of Asia" and "Shiraz," is open for an extended run at the 55th Street Playhouse for its first American showing. Enacted amidst the beauty and splendor of India by an all-Hindu cast, "Throw of the Dice" tells the story of a great romantic adventure. Niranjan Pal, Hindu poet, adapted the ancient legend "Nala and Damayanti," of the two Hindu kings who rival for the hand of a princess, for the screen. The film took eighteen months to produce, and no less than fifteen thousand miles were covered in the quest for picturesque locations, the scenes being laid in Agra, Jaipur and the surrounding countryside and along the edge of the Persian desert.

Himansu Ray, a graduate of Oxford University and a staunch believer in the possibilities of all-Indian films, Charu Roy and Seeta Deevi, all three of whom appeared in "Shiraz" and "The Light of Asia" play the important parts, supported by a cast of 8000 extras, 1000 horses, 800 elephants, 500 camels and a score of wild animals of the Indian jungle. Frank Osten, one of the outstanding UFA directors, directed "Throw of the Dice," with the help of Himansu Ray, who guided Osten in the atmospheric details of the film.

"Farmer's Wife"

At Little Carnegie



An amusing comedy of English rural life, "The Farmer's Wife" will be seen in its screen version at the Little Carnegie Playhouse, starting tonight. This is a motion picture adaptation of the Eden Phillpotts' play which ran for almost two years at the Court Theatre, London, and was hailed by British critics as an amusing description of manners in rural Devon.

Farmer Sweetland, a typical West Country farm owner, decides to get married again and look over the available spinners in the nearest township. His proposals range from fat and fifty widow nearest his estate to the village tavern keeper, but he is politely and calmly refused by them all until he grows wiser. Jameson Thomas and Lillian Hall-Davis are featured in the cast of this British International Production and they are supported by Gordon Harker, Gibb McLaughlin

Gifted Concert Artist



Dorothy Gordon, who is scheduled to appear on the concert stage sometime in January.

"The Racketeer" at The Hippodrome

Robert Armstrong and Carol Lombard are featured in "The Racketeer," a timely dramatic expose of the far-reaching power of gangster rule, which will have its screen premiere at the RKO Hippodrome this Saturday, January 4th. The theme deals with the love romance of a society girl and a leader of the underworld. Howard Higgins directed "The Racketeer" and the story was written by Paul Gangelin. The vaudeville show for this week is exceptionally attractive and colorful presenting as it does,

"All Quiet" Adds Yola d'Avril

Yola d'Avril, last seen in Mary Nolan's starring vehicle "Shanghai Lady," has joined the cast of "All Quiet on the Western Front," now being directed by Lewis Milestone for Universal Studios. Clara Barry and Orval Whitledge, whose ever welcome humor is in songs and patter; George Beatty, an outstanding comedy singer; Tinova and Baikoff, in a symphony of dances; Maurice Colleano, the famous acrobatic dancing comedian and his family; Bob Albright, the singing cow puncher and a quartette of Japanese equilibrists, the Eno Troupe.

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G. GOODE, Manager H. ROSENBERG, Secretary-Treasurer  
Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday  
Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday  
Local 245-Executive Board meets every Tuesday  
Local 246-Executive Board meets every Thursday  
These meetings are held in the Office of the Union

**BRICKLAYERS' UNION**  
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## NEW LEADER

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

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 4, 1930

## The Old and New Years

THE passing of the old year brought an end to a decade of what has been called American "prosperity." Near its close it suffered a financial convulsion and hundreds of thousands of workers were relieved of all they had. Doctor Hoover became alarmed and called some special conference to diagnose the ailment and this is written other experts of the American Economic Association and the American Statistical Association are meeting in Washington to order unemployment.

the meantime capital and finance have continued and merged, and mergers of mergers have been slowly driving the middleman to the wall. A few million farmers still cling to the hope no more hopeful than ten years ago when they seized their farms and homes. The up-capitalist and financial class pumped fabulous incomes out of workers into their money bags. Agents of their two parties sit in the seats of power with only a Socialist vote as a protest against the supremacy of our new feudal class.

The new year opens with all these tendencies working, so changing the old capitalist system of work days that it is fast ripening to be plucked by the Socialist heir. Here and there in some of the financial magazines a few of the brighter lights at the top of the pyramid are cautiously asking if the end of present tendencies does not lie in the end of capitalism and the dawn of Socialism. At the base of the monstrous structure of awoken men and women survey with the view of making it serve humanity. They look forward to the day when those at the top will be ordered to climb down and this is another tendency to take into account. It is here and hope. Get a crow bar and help to set the structure rocking.

## Robbing Jobless Men

ALL heartless abominations we know of nothing to compare with those creatures at the top of employment agencies who rob desperate employed men. Ben Hanford, the Socialist leader, once delivered a lecture entitled, "How to be a Man Who is Broke." Had Ben lived in the present era of Tammany grace he would have been able to expand that lecture to include parasites who rob the outcasts of industry. Now and then letters appear in New York papers by victims who tell the story of employment agencies and how the workers are swindled. The latest case has broken the headlines. About a hundred unemployed men parted with a total of more than a thousand dollars to scoundrels in charge of an "employment agency." Most of them were men with families and waited for hours in the cold for the day who was to direct them to employment.

These agencies require a license to carry on business, yet from the complaints that appear in the press this requirement does not always seem to be jobless. Is there a little "greasing of the wheels" in the Bureau of Licenses that makes possible for these contemptible ghouls to ply their trade? We do not know. We do know that New York City men who are broke are being swindled by these agencies.

The language is too strong in condemning these agencies and the administration under which they go on. It is all the more revolting when one remembers the campaign speeches of the gentlemen who rule the city. Those who rob the robbery of jobless men are equal to an orphan asylum and selling the toys of children they murder.

## Pittsburgh University

There is one contention of Socialist theory that has a mountain of evidence to sustain it. The ruling property interests largely determine the character of education. This is especially true of the United States where no survivors of the class serve as a barrier to the dominion of financial and capitalist rulers.

The descendants of the two presidents, Lincoln and Jackson, are the two presidents of the United States.

erican historians, in a remarkable letter to the American Historical Association in 1894 pointed out this fact. He declared that if history approached the character of a science and historians were able to predict changes to occur in society they must be prepared to face the persecution of the interests that would be injured by such changes. He emphasized the fact that such a struggle would be a bitter war and asked whether historians would survive this test of their intellectual integrity.

Pennsylvania, the private barony of steel, anthracite and railroads, provides a good illustration. The American Association of University Professors has assailed the administration of Pittsburgh University because that body is more interested in "endowments than in intellectual integrity." It has stifled free discussion because of fear that capitalists and bankers may withdraw financial support. The facts revealed by the investigation are notorious and require no repetition here.

We have had this situation repeated over and over again in American educational institutions. Never has Socialist criticism of capitalist society been more fully supported by its enemies than in this phase of its history. Every educator fears the resentment of our ruling classes and business administration of universities reacts accordingly.

## Magistrate Sabatino

OPPOSITION to the Communist movement does not require approval of Magistrate Sabatino's amazing conduct toward a Communist youngster last week. Here is a boy ostensibly collecting funds for strikers on a train. Collectors may be observed on the transit system for a variety of purposes, some honest and some dishonest, but this boy and his sister were singled out for arrest.

"What you need," said the magistrate to the boy, "is for me to have you in a two-by-four room. What I wouldn't do to you! I would blacken your eyes and give you some real American spirit!" This was followed by an ignorant tirade against the political opinions this boy is alleged to represent.

What we need in this city is a rooting out of low grade creatures in the Magistrates' courts. While this magistrate was performing on the bench New York dailies were carrying the story of another magistrate at whose dinner gangsters, thieves and murderers gathered for a social evening. New York under Tammany is sinking to the level of Chicago where public officials have appeared at funerals of dead criminals and pay their respects to their pals.

Sabatino's attitude was so outrageous that we wonder whether he has not been a member of Mussolini's Black Shirts. His conduct was lawless and his language that of the traditional bar room bully. He should be yanked from the bench and be sent to a school to take a course in elementary decency.

## IN A NUTSHELL

Grant us the will to fashion as we feel,  
Grant us the strength to labor as we know;  
Grant us the purpose, ribbed and edged with steel,  
To strike the blow.

—John Drinkwater.

Socialism would make us all divide up, would it? What do you think of that dividing up voted by Mayor Walker and his cronies for themselves?

Major-General Smedley Butler now says that God gave the United States the duty of policing our little brown brothers. Isn't it strange that God did not let our brown brothers know about it?

Henry Ford has acquired some more antiques for his museum but there is no indication that a niche has been provided for his anti-Semitic ideas.

With 21 more war planes ordered for Mitchell Field that parity conference in London will not prove a rarity in the history of such pow-wows.

With the Communists labeling all their opponents "social fascists" isn't it about time, boys, to go out and break up a few meetings?

Raiders have found magistrate Vitale's name on a list kept by Faccaro, said to be head of a drug squad. If the magistrate's registration as a voter is consulted it will be found that he is also enrolled in another dope organization.

Extra! A document of the underworld has been uncovered in which Vitale is told not to worry as "it's all fixed." And we must pay Jimmie and his official junta extra salaries for this magistrature-underworld alliance!

"I would blacken your eyes and give you some real American spirit," said a New York City magistrate to a boy in court. Even at that the eyes would not be as black as the magistrate who thus spoke.

He that earneth wages earneth wages to put it into a bag with holes.—Haggai, Hebrew prophet.

Magistrate Vitale does not believe in exclusive banquets so thieves, gunmen, and murderers were not excluded from that noble Bronx dinner.

Peace talk in war time is declared to be criminal. War talk in peace time is infinitely more criminal.—Arthur Ponsonby.

A G. O. P. leader rises in New York City to declare for a saving program. It is to "play the same game in politics that our opponents do." Three cheers for the game!

When the rich combine it is for the purpose of "exchanging ideas." When the poor combine it is a conspiracy. If they act in concert, if they really do something, it is a mob. If they defend themselves, it is treason.—Robert G. Ingersoll.

The relatives of the man reported to have starved to death in New York City last week will find they were mistaken regarding his death if they will consult the "prosperity" section of Hoover's last message to Congress.

Strip the bishop of his apron, the counselor of his gown, and the head of his cocked hat, what are they? Men, mere men. Dignity, and even holiness too, sometimes, are mere questions of waist-coat, than some people believe.

## The Negro Needs A Voice

By Frank R. Crosswaith

RECENT events in the Republic of Haiti have served to expose to public gaze a tragically weak spot in the armor of the Negro in the Western world in particular, and a missing link in the chain connecting the dark millions everywhere. Those of us who are prone to flattery and given over to self-congratulation, never tire of pointing with pride to what we call the remarkable progress made by the Negro in America since Emancipation.

However, the common yardstick by which we measure this so-called progress, is one that takes into consideration only those efforts of the Negro that mark the inevitable appearance among us of a relatively small group of Negroes who succeed in business and in the professions. In other words, we measure our progress by our bank deposits, the number of professional men and women we develop, the amount of real estate values possessed by our group, and by the enterprises over which we exercise a degree of control. That these are important milestones on the road to equality and social respect in a world resting upon economic power, not even a genuine idealist can successfully deny. Nevertheless, they do not constitute the only important meters by which the forward and upward march of any race or group should be gauged. What does it profit a man if he gains the whole world only to suffer the loss of his soul thereby, as is sound a truism today as in the days when first uttered.

## Negro Idealism Lost

In our scramble for some of this world's goods, the Negro has lost much of the idealism and spiritual fervor that buoyed him up under a pyramid of pain known as chattel slavery. The songs that once came rolling out from the heart and soul of the black cotton pickers—the field hand—to find a place in the spiritual store-house of the world, have ceased to roll. That wide stretch of imagination which at once bounded the Negro out of the corn fields of the South "out across Jordan" into "heaven" has been narrowed down to a "success" outlook. Under capitalism, idealism and even hope must bend the knee.

The weak spot which the Haitian affair discloses is located in the realm of Negro newspapers. There are in the United States approximately 250 Negro publications. Most of the news which these papers and magazines carry is gleaned from white newspapers and magazines. This is three true with regard to what is happening in Haiti. Except in local matters which have no appreciable significance to the race as a whole, White America edits the Negro newspaper and therefore shapes the policy of the Negro race. In other words, like our economic life, control at the source of news production and distribution is in alien hands; a rereading of the dispatches recently carried about Haiti in Negro newspapers will bear this out.

It seems to me that whatever obstacles in the past stood in the way of Negro editors and publishers collectively to establish a genuine, efficient and up-to-date news gathering and distributing agency, the turn of events in the world today demands it, and its practicability and usefulness are beyond dispute.

## The Associated Negro Press

The Jews long ago realized that their hopes for success in combatting the hostility of the world toward them and of getting their fellow men to think of them in terms of respect and friendliness, rested upon their ability to acquaint the world with their achievements and their progress, and that, therefore, it was their bounding duty to have a medium of expression. Thus we see established a Jewish News Agency successfully functioning to achieve the ends desired. When Ireland was bleeding on the altar of British imperialism, Irishmen also found it incumbent upon themselves to establish an instrument through which they could herald to the waiting world their own story and thereby increase the respect and win the sympathy and support of other peoples for Ireland's freedom.

The plight of the black man today in all lands places upon the shoulders of Negro editors in America a duty which they cannot much longer shirk. That duty calls for the organization of a genuine effective and modern international news gathering and distributing agency. Such an agency can render profitable service not alone to Negro newspapers, but to the white press as well. What a different story would have come to the world from Haiti if the combined Negro newspapers of America had on the scene there a James Weldon Johnson, a Walter White, or a J. A. Rogers.

The Associated Negro Press as at present functioning cannot adequately meet the requirements of the situation. For it, like most Negro organizations with a promise of the future, is a mere waist-coat, than some people believe.

## Youth Questions Capitalism

## Young Socialists In Convention

Fifty-Two Delegates Launch League Into Intensive Work for Trade Unions and Socialist Party

By Frank Manning

MORE than 52 delegates, from 38 cities in all parts of the United States, were assembled at the Rand School Auditorium last Saturday when the National Convention of the Young People's Socialist League was called to order.

It was one of the most enthusiastic and representative conventions held by the league for many years. Morris Novik, chairman of the Saturday session, introduced Morris Hillquit to the delegates and visitors as the first speaker. Comrade Hillquit, as well as Norman Thomas and Algeron Lee, reminded the delegates that all successful revolutionary movements of the world had been led by young men and women. These three veteran leaders of American Socialism impressed upon the convention the seriousness of the task before the Y. P. S. L. in supplying the energy and enthusiasm necessary to build our movement.

## New Officers Chosen

Manuel Savitkes of New York was elected chairman of the National Executive Committee of the League, and the following were elected as members of that body: Eugene McStroud, Milwaukee; Talbert White, Cleveland; Samuel Bakley, Philadelphia; Abe Kalish, Boston; John Hall, Lynn, Mass.; Richard M. Briggs, Rochester, N. Y., and Ben Goodman of New York City.

In addition to its duties as the governing body of the League, the new N.E.C. will act as a National Industrial Committee having as its object the assistance of and cooperation with trade unions throughout the country in their organization efforts and industrial struggles. Local committees will be formed to cooperate with the national committee. The N.E.C. members will also act as executive secretaries to the district in which they reside.

The convention voted to set aside the month of April for a membership drive with 5,000 new members as the goal. Every circle in the country will be instructed to hold at least one Monster Youth Rally during the month of April. The climax of the drive will come on May Day when youth rallies will be held all over the United States and some parts of Canada.



FRANK MANNING

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## Youth Committee Sought

Another forward step taken by the convention was the adoption of a resolution calling upon the National Secretary of the league to take the initiative in cooperating with all sympathetic youth organizations and in the formation of a National Youth Committee with representatives from such organizations as the League for Industrial Democracy, the Fellowship of Youth for Peace, Pioneer Youth, the Young Circle League, etc. It was the hope of the delegates that such a joint committee would avoid much duplication of effort.

## Students and Industry

McMahon Invites Collegians To Take Part In Drive To Organize The Southern Textile Mills

By Lawrence J. Rogin

STUDENTS from twenty-nine colleges scattered throughout the east gathered at Norman Thomas' house and at Union Theological Seminary for the annual winter conference of the League for Industrial Democracy this year to discuss "The Textile Industry—Battle Ground for Social Forces." There were afternoon and evening sessions on Thursday, December 26, morning and afternoon sessions Friday, and a morning session on Saturday. Beside discussing the textile industry there was some discussion of the place of the student in industry.

The meeting Thursday afternoon was devoted to a discussion of student experience in industry and a description of the mill work by students who took part in it and saw at first hand. Charlotte Wilder gave her impression of a trip through the southern strike area the past summer and told of the horrible conditions existing there. The reactions of a native Southerner to the situation were described by James Dombrowsky of Union Theological Seminary who told of the attempts of the residents of Southern mill towns to break up the strikes.

A most interesting talk was given by Robert Myer of Lafayette College who told of his experiences working in the silk mills for the past five years. He told of the application of the stretch-out system to the mills and of the fact that the strain of the work made it almost impossible for a man over forty to hold his job. The whole problem of the student in industry was treated by Walter Ludwig who has led and organized student in industry groups in the past. We discussed the problems of whether it is better for the student to go with a group or alone, whether the student should hunt for a job or get one with pull and the value of the experience to the student. This problem was also discussed by Mr. Thomas at the evening meeting in his home where he stressed the fact that students should not go into industry with the idea of helping the "dear worker." Mr. Thomas stressed the value of the experience to the student rather than to the industry.

## Student Council Planned

At the same meeting at Mr. Thomas' home a plan for organizing an undergraduate council of the college liberal clubs to work in cooperation with the L. I. D. was broached. This plan was completed at the Saturday morning meeting and Peter Nehemkis of Swarthmore, who was primarily responsible for the plan, was elected chairman of the executive committee.

growth of the industry from the early days stressing the fact that low wages were always one of its characteristics. He showed the uneven development within the industry with cotton lagging behind in the development. The disorganization of the industry was pointed out, and he urged the necessity of governmental supervision that would reorganize the industry and eliminate night work for women and children at low wages.

A. J. Muste of Brookwood next told of the attempts to organize the industry. He described the organization and growth of the United Textile Workers' Union until the depression of 1920-21 almost wiped it out and of the rebuilding which has been going on since then. The work of the I. W. U., the W. I. I. U., the Amalgamated Textile Workers, and the Associated Silk Workers was described also. Drawing upon his experience in the New Bedford strike of 1919 Mr. Muste told of the difficulties of organization and discussed the reasons why the U. T. W. U. has failed to completely organize the workers. These were: the lack of understanding of the psychology of the unskilled workers, the failure to map out a program of organization that could cover the entire industry, and the fear of mass action and radical philosophy.

The problem of protecting workers' rights in time of strike was presented by Forest Bailey of the American Civil Liberties Union. He cited as an example the fact that it took four years to establish the right to hold a meeting inside a hall at the time of a strike. Mr. Bailey stressed the fact that in times of strike the entire machinery of the law is focused against the strikers.

## Lovett on New Bedford

In the afternoon session Sara Bernheim analyzed the working hours and conditions and also the disorganization of the industry. The need of building a strong union and some sort of union management cooperation as has developed in the men's clothing industry was pointed out as a necessity if the industry is ever to be stabilized.

Robert Moss Lovett of the University of Chicago and Associate Editor of the New Republic analyzed the forces at work at the time of a strike from his experience in the New Bedford strike last year. These are five in number: the workers, the management, the shareholders, the community and the government. He showed the advantage of having the community with the workers as much as possible and told of the unique experience in the New Bedford strike where the workers appealed to the stockholders against the management.

and make their propaganda against social injustice and militarism more effective.

The maximum age limit for membership in the league was raised from twenty-five to thirty. The convention endorsed the Youth Publishing Association which was formed for the purpose of creating a National Y. P. S. L. magazine. Membership in this association will be \$1 per year. A drive for funds to make this magazine possible was also endorsed.

Resolutions were adopted urging the delegates to become active agents for The New Leader and thanking the Socialist Party for its renewed interest and for setting aside ten per cent of the United Socialist Drive Fund for the league. It is this money which will supply the ammunition for the new executive heads to carry on their great task.

This highly successful convention is an excellent indication of the impressive manner in which the Y. P. S. L. is slowly but surely emerging as a mature, aggressive and intelligent unit of the American Socialist movement.

Those comrades who have given years of service in the Socialist Party will be happy to observe that the Y. P. S. L. is training hundreds of young Americans to carry on when their labors have ceased. The whole spirit of the convention was for more and more cooperation with the party and for ever-increasing service in political campaigns, in educational and organization work and in all phases of the movement. It is, indeed, a wonderful and convincing sign that Socialism in America can not and will not fail.

It was a constructive convention. The delegates left in a happy but serious mood. One of the last actions of the convention was the unanimous nomination of Frank J. Manning as their National Director and International Secretary. All pledged their cooperation to him in the new period of activity and growth which is certainly ahead.

final speech of the afternoon in which he urged ultimate socialization of the industry. He said that the majority of the problems would be solved with ownership of the industry by the community and the administration by a public corporation in which consumers, workers and technicians would be represented. Under such control rationalization could take place without working hardships to labor. As a preliminary to socialization, however, he urged the building of a strong union and a vigorous and powerful labor party.

## MacMahon Invites Aid

At the final meeting Saturday the door was thrown open wide for student help in the organization campaign which is soon to take place in the South. Arthur Justine Wise, of the State Arbitration Board, had described her experiences in the Passaic Textile mills in the period just before the strike, both Tom Tippet, instructor at Brookwood, and President Thomas MacMahon of the United Textile Workers Union urged all those present to help in the drive, personally, financially, or in any other way they could. Tom Tippet mentioned the difficulties, such as the position of the church as a tool for the bosses, the antagonism of the courts, police and even state governments and the hostile attitude of the middle class. However, he said the attitude of the workers is enough to overcome these obstacles if the American Labor Movement accepts the challenge offered to it by the youth with the right spirit. It is not the job of the U. T. W. U. alone, he said, but one for the whole American Labor Movement.

Mr. MacMahon also stressed the importance of aid from outside even from intellectuals. However, he said, the U. T. W. U. intends to keep complete leadership over the campaign. While final detailed plans were to be drawn up at the conference of labor leaders in Charlotte, N. C., on January 6, Mr. MacMahon indicated some of the plans. He said that Marion and Elizabethtown would be kept in "the forefront of the struggle." He pointed out that the U. T. W. U. would not bankrupt itself in the strike as they had done in 1920-21. Also that the blows would be struck at crucial points. In response to a question from the floor he said that negroes would be organized only on the approval of white locals in the district and in separate locals. This statement provoked the remark by Mr. Thomas that only when negroes and whites are organized together can effective organization in industry be accomplished.

One thing is sure regarding the campaign of the Socialist Party. It will be a campaign of the people.

## LETTER BOX

"AMERICANIZING" THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

Editor, The New Leader:

Since the publication of my article on "MacDonald and American Socialism" I've met with comment, criticism, and inquiries regarding the content matter of the article. In a word, the inquiries and the comment centered about the indefiniteness of the article, indefiniteness in the sense that no specific or positive statements of new or different policies were appended thereto. In this respect the comment and the criticism were not unfounded. What I had in mind, however, in writing the article, was not so much the enunciation of specific planks for a new program or statement of policy, as the suggestion of a different approach in addressing ourselves to our public, a different attitude, in addressing ourselves to social and political issues from a Socialist standpoint. I took Ramsay MacDonald as an example in this connection, seeing in him an outstanding illustration of the attitude and approach suggested. In this respect, I think I am warranted in stating that I did definitely state, by way of contrast, certain attitudes of MacDonald's at variance with the traditional Socialist attitude and teaching on the subjects which he handled. These attitudes and approach of MacDonald's have nowhere been taken up by those who differed with me; they have been completely missed or avoided. Any comment or criticism, therefore, which fails to reckon with the specific attitudes which I cited, seems to me to be beside the point.

We all were pleased and elated with the manner in which MacDonald wrought while in this country. We gloried in his successes. That he scored successes will not be denied. Did we, however, whilst exulting in those successes, give attention as to how he attained them? For my part, I believed I did, and I placed my observations before my fellow Socialists. If issue is therefore to be taken, it seems to me that the issue is there. Nor can that issue be dismissed by characterizations of "vague and negative fault-finding" of which we have had so much as Comrade Algeron Lee puts in his article in the New Leader of December 14, 1929. There is nothing vague or loose, or of negative fault-finding character in my references to MacDonald's attitude. The references were pointed and direct, and these have been taken up. The question therefore, as I see it, comes down to this: Did MacDonald's speech reflect the traditional Socialist attitude on matters which he touched, or were they at variance with it? Were his remarks in line with the accepted Socialist position on the subjects he dealt with, or they diverge, and diverge fundamentally?

If the discussion be taken up on this head, I think we may be to come to an understanding of what I mean by the suggestive revisionism or "Americanization" of the movement. It is the revisioning of an attitude, dealing with political persons and issues; it means, as I stated in the article in question "the willingness to stand, not dogmatically for a doctrine, but for a cause, that willingness does not preclude looking at problems from the follower's standpoint, and understanding his side of the story. It means, in short, the consideration of political problems and persons in an open-minded attitude, that is, with a mind unswayed and undeterred by previous judgments or preconceived theories. That's the essence of my demand for revisionism and "Americanization" of the movement, that is, for enlisting the support of the American public. My contention is that MacDonald demonstrated the way to do it, and that there is much for us to learn from his method.

Perhaps this will make my position and purpose clearer.

EDMUND SEIDEL

New York City

## STICK!

Editor, The New Leader:

It is nice to see oneself all dressed up; but you added an ornament I didn't provide, and doesn't suit my complexion. In the paragraph on the A. C. W. you put an r in stuck and made it "they struck." I was trying to "point a moral" not "adorn a tale." And the moral was to learn to stick before you strike.

I suppose all union members have heard at their meetings during "communications and bills" appeals for moral and financial support (accent on the financial) from the union with 25 members and \$9.83 in the treasury in their battle for labor at large. Help us win this strike! Our battle is yours! etc. etc.

These are the unions which do not last; whose members declare that "unions ain't no good." "Wasn't it Franklin who said 'if we don't hang together we hang separately'?" The all unions should be this applied.