

## Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Sanity of the Austrian People—British Labor and India—The Election and Public Utilities—The Republican and Democratic Truce—Twelve Years After—Justice Denied

### SOCIALIST SUCCESS IN AUSTRIA

OVER Austria on the twelfth Armistice anniversary Europe's dark skies were streaked with light. The success of the Socialists in holding their own and the failure of the swashbuckling Fascists in the election on November 9th give new hope of peace and new proof of the essential sanity of the Austrian people.



### THE INDIAN CONFERENCE

RAMSAY MacDonald's guarded intimation of Dominion status for India in his speech at the Lord Mayor's banquet is a fairly good omen that something may come of the Indian Round Table Conference which begins this week. Yet that conference is terribly handicapped by the complete absence of representatives of the Indian Nationalists who are infinitely the strongest party in India. Moreover if the Prime Minister really means to encourage a plan for Dominion Status why did his government not say so to Gandhi before civil disobedience began and give proof of good faith by granting that amnesty to political prisoners for which the Labor Party used to stand?

I doubt neither the difficulties of the Indian situation nor the Labor Party's good faith when I say that the Labor government's policy has heretofore been inconsistent with Labor's own declarations, Socialist principles and far seeing statesmanship. This, I think, the international Socialist movement should clearly say for its own soul's sake.

Equally bad for international Socialism and for the health of the Labor Party at home has been the general course of the Labor government in hanging on to office at the price of no Socialist legislation. Again I do not doubt that in good faith leaders of the party have felt that there were things worth doing in office even at this bitter price. But the tide of British municipal and bye elections shows how they are losing round. Now they are likely to go sooner or later out of office, somewhat discredited among the electorate, on a relatively unimportant or secondary issue. Whereas they might have chosen an issue on which even their defeat by a Conservative-Liberal coalition would have been like a trumpet call to the workers and that not alone in England. Then they could have fought a new general election on terms which would have made men rally to processes of democratic procedure with a confidence and hope that the record of the MacDonald government, however good its intentions, has certainly not increased. Even yet much can be saved if on India or on internal affairs the government will take a bolder line.

### THE PROGRESSIVES AND REGULATION

A CONFIRMED optimist might find some cause for satisfaction in the fact that without any important exceptions that I know of the voters in the last election supported the more critical of the two old party candidates toward the public utilities crowd, whatever party label he bore. Thus, Norris the Republican was elected in Nebraska, Pinchot the Republican in Pennsylvania, Roosevelt the Democrat in New York, and Costigan, a thoughtful progressive was elected as a Democrat to the Senate from Colorado. In Massachusetts the Democratic candidates made some gestures toward unemployment insurance and, I believe, a sterner attitude toward public utilities. The trouble is that none of these gentlemen—certainly not Roosevelt or Pinchot—has a real and satisfactory program for making public utilities our servants. That end requires something more than building a few public power plants and stricter regulation. What we want to achieve is ownership of public utilities and their efficient management on democratic terms under competent boards. Moreover the division of the liberal forces between Republicans and Democrats as usual plays into the hands of the reactionaries.

### SHREWD OLD PARTY LEADERS

WHEN a batter in a baseball game strikes out badly he is quite likely to try to change his luck by picking another bat. Usually he picks a bat as nearly like the one he has abandoned in weight and size as possible. It is about on this level that the American people swing from the Republican bat to the Democratic bat. Nationally the Republicans deserve defeat, but the Democrats did not deserve victory. The shrewd old boys in both parties are probably thankful that neither has so clear cut a control but that it can pass the buck of the responsibility to the other party.

As if to broadcast our Socialist contention that the Democrats had no program and were essentially different from the Republicans, their seven leaders signed one of the most extraordinary letters in American politics. It said in effect, "The Republicans are no good and have made a mess of things and therefore we will support them in restoring prosperity without maneuvering for political advantage. They passed an outrageous tariff and therefore we will not seek to repeal it but only hope for cautious revision of certain items." The letter did not discuss foreign relations but it is commonly assumed that the Democrats will follow the general Hoover program, whatever that is, in foreign affairs. This amazing letter has been hailed by the business press as a good omen. So it is for those who put the maintenance of their power, prestige and profit above all other things. It pays them to own both old parties.

### A DISMAL ARMISTICE DAY

ARMISTICE DAY twelve years after the war to end war saw an armament competition still bickering futilely about how to seem to reduce armaments without really doing anything about it. It saw a whole world caught in a general economic depression which served to augment rivalry for whatever foreign markets there may be. It saw an America oblivious to the lead it might and could take in world disarmament and in conference to wipe out debts and reparations.

### TAMMANY'S CHARITY BRIBES

THE COUNTRY which has steadily denied justice to the unemployed is making some progress with charity. By ostentatious charity Tammany bribes the votes of those to whom it has denied justice. And by charity Wall Street seeks to make the victims forget how miserably it has failed to bring the prosperity it promised to everybody by some magic of stock gambling. One small victory we have won in New York. There has been enough public protest to compel the Emergency Committee to drop its plan to lower the wage level by imposing on jobless men a five day week at \$3 a day in emergency jobs. Instead it will give a three day week at \$5 a day which will hold up the wage level and bring aid to more unemployed. This is, of course, a gain, but a \$15 week is a tragedy in the richest country in the world.

## Dabbling Droolidge Says:

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SOUTHAMPTON, November 14.—One important thing is voting. We all fought hard to get the vote. Even women are now allowed to vote. Now that they have the vote they should go to the polls and use it. The polls are places where men vote. They are also places where women vote. To vote you have to go to the polls. You have to go to the polls to vote.

It is interesting to note that during the past week electric power production was 1,675,757,000 kilowatt hours as against 1,671,393,000 in the week ended August 16th. This is most encouraging. Pessimists may point out that during September it gets darker sooner than it does in the week ended August 16th. But we should not lend an ear to such destructive critics. This country was built on faith. If we have faith in the National Electric Light Association we shall have even more kilowatt hours than we have now. Kilowatt hours are something like ergs and ohms. The erg for ohm is one of the things that has made family life in this country so different from family life in Czechoslovakia where there is very little family life. Morals there are quite loose. Which are different from morals in Boston where morals are quite tight.

DABBLING DROOLIDGE.

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# "Why Starve Amid Plenty?"

## Plight of the Unemployed Indicts The System And The Two Old Parties Which Join To Maintain It

FACING starvation in a sea of abundance. That is the plight of millions of working class families in the United States. It is what prevails in other nations having the modern capitalist system of production.

Western farmers have a vast surplus which they cannot sell. Men, women, and children of the cities suffer because they cannot buy. Both classes sink lower and lower because production has mounted higher and higher!

### Fate of Tantalus Plagues Millions

AN old myth states that Tantalus, for revealing the secrets of Zeus, was plunged up to the chin in water. Over his head hung an abundance of delicious fruits, but both the water and the fruit retreated as often as he attempted to taste them. From Tantalus we get our word "tantalize."

So the fate of Tantalus has come to torment millions of wretched workers whose fruits of laborious toil, equitably distributed, would make this world a home of happy human beings.

"Why Should We Be Hungry?" is the cry of the jobless masses. It is the cry of Tantalus who could not eat or drink although food and water were within his reach.

### Meaningless Words for Starving Men

THIS tragedy has come to us with the Republican wing of capitalism in power. The Democratic wing of the same system has almost captured the Senate and the House at Washington. Its leaders issued a statement three days after the election. Perhaps they have a program? Vain hope.

They talk of the "ghastly business depression." They say that "the Democratic Party faces its duty with a firm determination." It will "steer the legislation of the nation in a straight line toward the goal of prosperity." It will cooperate with President Hoover and his party "in every measure that conduces to the welfare of the country." It will "seek to remedy the evils that are afflicting the nation." Business "should not be frightened." The tariff may be bad but Democrats favor no "general revision." The one bright spot "in the financial gloom of the present situation is the Federal Reserve System."

That's all. Carefully written and signed by the presidential candidates in recent years and other leaders. A collection of meaningless words without a single measure suggested to relieve the tantalized millions of rural and suburban workers.

### A Sad Awakening for Voters

WE expected nothing more. Millions of voters did and the Democratic statement is a sad awakening for them. A party representing the suffering masses and receiving the heavy vote which the Democrats received would be quick to outline its leading measures.

The party will "steer legislation . . . toward the goal of prosperity." Will it? Then what measures has it that will lead to this goal? It mentions none. It has none. It has nothing but empty words, as empty as the stomach of Tantalus in the presence of abundant fruit and water.

The Democratic Party many years ago passed into the camp of the capitalism of the East. It was disturbed by a radical wing of Western farmers in the nineties but by 1904 it marched with banners flying into the holy offices of finance and capital.

### The Two-Party Nurse of Capitalism

BACK in the eighties the Republican Party was the party of oil and railroads in Pennsylvania. So frank was this relationship that a current joke of the period declared that in moving adjournment it was the custom to so move "if the Pennsylvania Railroad has no more business for this body to transact." John D. Lawson, in a work on law, warned readers against Pennsylvania supreme court decisions by saying that "The Pennsylvania Railroad appears to run that tribunal with the same success that it does its own trains."

Over in Ohio the Democratic Party controlled and sent a Standard Oil magnate to the U. S. Senate. The Democratic legislature that sent him to Washington went down in history as "the coal oil legislature." Standard Oil and the Pennsylvania Railroad were allied powers with feudal sovereignty over the parties and many of the states in that period.

In 1928 the multimillionaire, Raskob, moved the Democratic Party into the General Motors Building. The great bankers and corporation magnates in that year divided their campaign contributions of \$14,000,000 almost equally between Smith and Hoover. The ruling classes invest in both parties. They own the candidates, the parties, the offices and the power. That is why Democratic leaders give empty words for millions of votes.

### Toilers Alone Must Force Relief Measures

SO the giant Labor, like Tantalus of ancient Greek mythology, thirsts because there is too much to drink; starves because there is too much to eat, and shivers because there is too much clothing to wear. And this is civilization!

Toilers of the nation have no hope of the gathering of the party agents of capitalistic enterprises at Washington. Measures of relief must come of their own initiative, organization, and action. Mass meetings, petitions, demonstrations, and demands for relief along the lines of the Socialist program will help. Nothing else will.

By agitation and organization we must wrest every concession we can from the political agents of the possessing classes. With this fight against misery must go the building of the Socialist Party.

Conditions are grave. Distress is widespread. A fighting party of the masses is the supreme need in these twilight days of a decaying anti-social, industrial and political order.

## Hungry Jobless Shiver On Site of Walker Model Housing Development

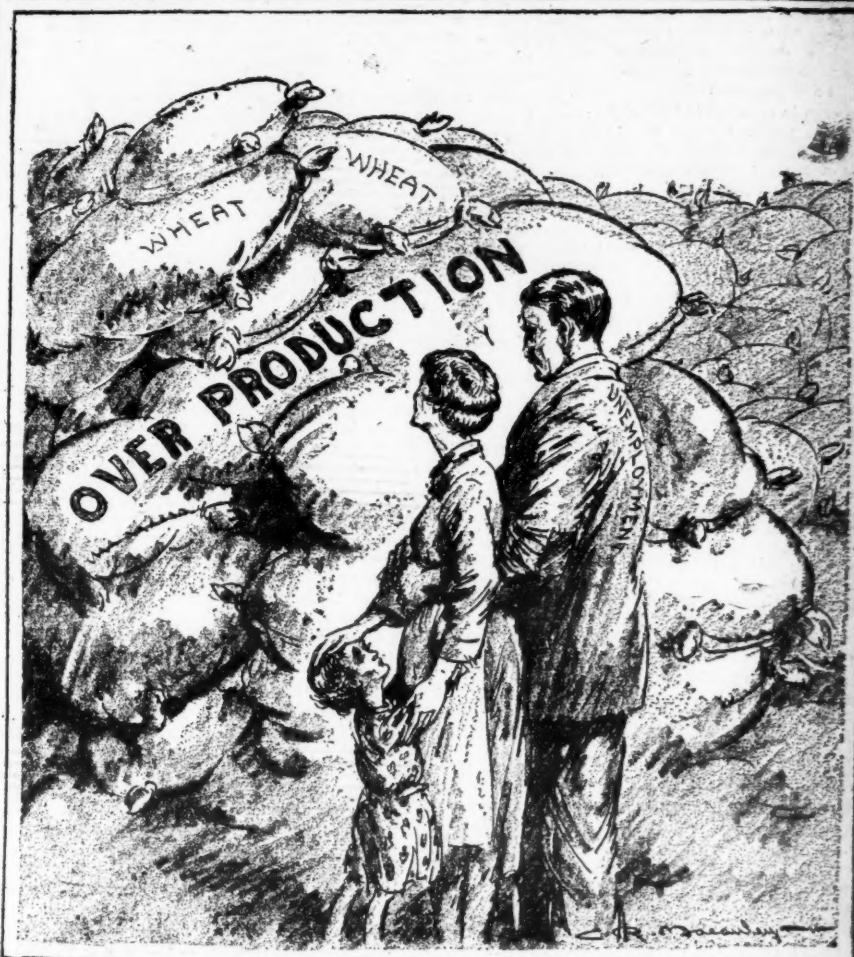
THROUGHOUT all that desolate territory in the lower East Side of New York from Canal to East Houston Streets between Chrystie and Forsyth Streets, where tenements have been razed in connection with street widening projects and where incidentally Mayor Walker with the kind assistance of great-hearted philanthropists was to have erected model houses for workers, there has sprung up of a sudden the strangest of settlements. In place of the promised model homes, all across this

waste, the unemployed have set up homes of their own in preparation for one of the most tragic winters which has ever swept the city. In shelters made of packing boxes, junk of all sorts, in the rudest of huts alongside of which the improvised homes of evicted miners in West Virginia would look like mansions, the workless workers huddle by the fires on these cold nights hoboing it, many of them for the first time in their lives.

Near one of the longest breadlines in the city the outcasts can at least depend on some sort of handout every day. The men have devised a communal system whereby they share what wages they can pick up and go on shifts at guard duty to keep up the fires during the nights.

And not many miles away on that same East Side servants are opening up the apartments of the privileged who pay all the way from \$10,000 to \$25,000 a year rent awaiting the only town of their masters.

## Why Should We Be Hungry?



From The Brooklyn Eagle

## Govt. Health Insurance Practical, Experiment Shows

\$21 per Year Provides  
Complete Medical  
Service for Families

WASHINGTON.—(FP)—At a cost of \$21.81 per individual per year, complete free medical service has been furnished to its 15,000 employees and their families by a Binghamton, N. Y., shoe firm. The service was of as high a quality as that furnished by private practitioners in the neighborhood, says a report by Dr. Niles Carpenter for the committee on the costs of medical care.

The personnel of the medical service included 28 physicians, 4 dentists, 67 trained nurses, and 32 technical and professional assistants. Ninety-four per cent of the persons eligible used the service in whole or in part, and 77 per cent used it exclusively. The per capita cost of physicians' services was \$5.69 per annum. The company paid out \$900,000 on medical services during the year.

Doctors have long recognized the advantages of a centralized health service available to the whole community, but have declared against socialized medicine on the ground that it would eliminate the close personal tie between the family and its doctor. Dr. Carpenter's report indicates that "the relation of the physician, in the plan described, to the patient is a free and personal one, similar to that found in good private practice."

The evils that have been supposed to inhere in "contract practice" are evidently not insuperable. Furthermore, the system benefits the doctors financially. There are no incomes over \$13,000, but there are none less than \$3,000. A survey of 51 "outside" physicians in Binghamton showed that nearly 10 per cent were getting less than \$3,000, compared with less than 8 per cent getting \$13,000 and over. Another publication just released by the committee shows that for families whose income is under \$2,000, averaging 4.7 persons, the average charges for medical care in a year are \$15.28 per individual.

These charges are of course distributed very unevenly between the families. Thus in a group getting less than \$2,000, 60 per cent spent less than \$50 in a year for medical care, while 5 per cent spent more than \$250. These figures make plain why the majority of working class families have to apply for charitable aid in case of a long illness.

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### Hosiery Workers Prepare for Decisive Strike in Reading

Reading, Pa.—(FP)—Reading's sweated hosiery workers, whose low wages and bad working conditions have forced union hosiery workers in other parts of the country to take wage reductions, are on the march at last. At a great rally held in a Reading theater, 1,500 knitters and helpers turned out to assure the Hosiery Workers Federation that they were through with the wage cutting and speedup initiated by Berkshire Knitting Mills, key to the anti-union forces in the industry.

With City Councilman Jesse E. George, Socialist, in the chair, the hosiery workers heard the leading national officers of the union, including Pres. Emil Rieve, Sec. William Smith, and Organizer E. J. Callaghan. Another meeting will be held Nov. 16 to authorize a strike vote against all non-union mills in Reading to win back successive wage cuts aggregating 30 per cent and more in the past few months.

The hosiery workers' mass meeting demanded the 48-hour week, elimination of the worst features of speedup, collective bargaining and establishment of the national agreement wage scale.

## Socialist N. E. C. Meets This Saturday

Two-Day Session in  
Newark Will Consider  
Plans for Coming  
Year

MEETING for a two days session in the Workmen's Circle Institute, 190 Belmont Ave., Newark, this Saturday, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party will hold one of the most important meetings it has held in years. The general increase in the Socialist vote throughout the country and the successes in Wisconsin and Pennsylvania bring with them important problems of propaganda and organization.

This certain advance of the party comes on the eve of the thirtieth anniversary of the organization of the Socialist Party in Indianapolis 30 years ago next year. It has been suggested that because of the increase in the Socialist vote and this thirtieth anniversary next year that a national convention be held to celebrate it. Added to this is the fact that a convention held in an odd numbered year would give its entire attention to problems of education and organization. It would not be occupied with campaign plans and political nominations and at the same time organization needs would be planned a year before the nomination convention met.

This suggestion will come before the committee for consideration. One difficulty will be to finance such a convention because of the industrial depression.

Other matters of importance that will come up is a proposal to move national headquarters from Chicago. This has been before the committee for more than a year. The impossibility of obtaining publicity in Chicago is the main reason urged by those who support the proposal for removal.

Another matter of importance

(Continued on Page Two)



## Sheehan Asks For Recount In Milwaukee

### Socialist Counted Out in Congress Race by 370 Votes

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Evidence of gross irregularity in counting the ballots has induced him to demand a recount in 50 precincts, James P. Sheehan, Socialist candidate for congress from the fifth district, has announced.

Latest unofficial reports give W. H. Stafford a plurality of 370 votes. Sheehan was spurred to action when friends informed him that three inspectors of election booths had given different versions of how one type of ballot marking should be interpreted.

The case in question is that of a voter who places a cross at the top of one party list and then marks a similar cross for candidates of another party.

"One inspector said he ruled the ballot void, another said he counted as a straight party vote and the third said he gave the votes as marked by crosses for each candidate," P. T. Schoemann, who assisted Sheehan in his campaign, declared.

Cites State Ruling  
"There is no question about such a vote, as the state election commission has ruled that such votes must be counted as indicated by separate markings," Sheehan stated.

"If a man places a cross at the head of one party's list of candidates and then switches to one or more candidates of another party, those votes for the other party must be counted. The opposing candidates, of course, get no vote, even if their party was given a 'yes' marking at the head of the list."

"I will file my application for a recount Monday and if results indicate it is worth while, I will demand a recount of the entire district," Sheehan declared. There are 233 precincts in his district. The cost of a recount of one district is \$2, which would place the cost of a recount of the 233 precincts at \$466.

Sheehan called attention to the recount demanded by Victor L. Berger when he was defeated by Stafford for congress in the last presidential election.

Recalls Berger Case  
"The case mentioned and other irregularities were brought up and Berger had the votes recounted. The original difference was only 739 votes. A partial recount showed Berger had gained 311 votes, but the ballots of the entire district were never counted."

"For some unexplainable reason Berger decided he had lost, but if I find any such discrepancy I will have the votes of my entire district recounted," Sheehan declared.

The Socialist vote for governor in Milwaukee county doubled in two years, it was shown in a review of the figures of the election.

Frank Metcalfe polled 22,334 votes in the county compared to 11,004 polled by Otto R. Hauser two years ago.

Hauser polled 9,784 votes in the city while Metcalfe totaled 19,211.

Metcalfe made huge gains in many wards. In the 20th ward he polled 2,812 against 1,248 for Hauser. In the 25th ward Metcalfe picked up 1,659 against 890 for Hauser.

In the 21st ward, Metcalfe's total was 1,109 against 615 for Hauser.

The 22nd ward gave Metcalfe 1,036 against 647 for Hauser.

In Shorewood, Metcalfe had 64 votes compared to 26 for Hauser. Metcalfe led Hauser by 10 votes in Whitefish Bay, Metcalfe having 33 votes. Wauwatosa town gave Metcalfe 194 against 67 for Hauser.

Fox Point gave Metcalfe two votes and Hauser polled one.

The Socialist vote in the Fourth congressional district increased from 22 per cent of the total vote cast in 1928 to 37 per cent in the recent election.

In the Fifth district the Socialist increase in the two years was from 37 to 40 per cent of the entire vote cast.

Representative John C. Schafer, Fourth district, stalwart Republican, found that his lead over a Socialist candidate had been cut from 18,900 votes in 1928 to 5,736 at Tuesday's election.

Quick Gets 37 Per Cent  
Walter J. Polakowski is the Socialist who opposed Schafer in 1928. The vote was Schafer 37,885, and Polakowski 18,885. A total of 85,527 votes was cast. Polakowski's percentage of the entire vote was 22 per cent.

William F. Quick, Socialist, received 20,181 votes as compared to 25,817 for Schafer. The entire vote cast for all candidates was 54,887, of which Quick received about 37 per cent.

In the Fifth district W. H. Stafford defeated the late Victor L. Berger, Socialist, by a margin of 729 votes. The vote of the two candidates was: Stafford 41,265; Berger 40,536. Berger received approximately 37 per cent of the entire vote of 106,113.

The vote between Stafford and James P. Sheehan, Socialist, Tuesday was: Stafford 26,838 and Sheehan 26,961. A total vote of 63,499 was cast, of which Sheehan received 40 per cent.

## Muste Will Address Journeymen Tailors

The Journeymen Tailors Union No. 1, of Greater New York and vicinity will hold a mass meeting, Monday, November 17, at Labor Temple, 243 East 84th street, New York City, at 8 p. m. A. J. Muste will address the gathering. Every custom tailor and bushelman is urged to attend this mass meeting.

The union has been carrying on a campaign to unionize the custom tailors and clothing store bushelmen. Hundreds of tailors and bushelmen have joined the organization. It is the intention of the organization to continue this organizing campaign until the trade is completely organized. The merchant tailors and clothing stores are cutting wages of the tailors daily. A day does not pass but what there is a change of working conditions of the tailors. The hours are being lengthened, and Sunday work prevails.

The conditions in custom tailoring and clothing stores are worse now than they have been during the war. The wages are actually lower in many places. The employers are taking advantage of the fact that there is no organization of the workers in the custom tailoring and clothing stores. By remaining unorganized the employers will make further cuts in wages and lengthen hours.

## Morningside Hts. Branch Opens New Quarters

The rather ambitious project of maintaining headquarters during the past campaign has proven so successful that the Morningside Heights Branch is now at home in their new permanent headquarters at 556 West 125th street. The new location is on the second floor just over the Irish Theatre and only a short distance from the West Side I. R. T. subway station at 125th street, which assures friends and members easy accessibility and great convenience to branch activities.

Interesting and varied work is being planned for the coming year. There will be many communities formed and in view of the program which is only roughly outlined at this time the headquarters will be open daily, except Sundays, from the hours of six to ten.

## Socialist Vote Upstate N. Y. Takes a Drop

### Total Outside of N. Y. C. Fails to Come Up to Expectations

THE vote received by Socialist party candidates in up-state New York failed to keep up with the big gains registered by the party in New York City, returns from 29 of the 57 counties outside of the city indicate. On the contrary, the vote dropped below the 1928 vote received by the party. There will nevertheless be a good total increase in the state vote thanks to the 88,333 votes received by Louis Waldman, Socialist candidate for governor, in New York City.

The vote in the 29 up-state counties reporting totaled 10,675 for Waldman as compared with 17,360 in the same counties two years ago. The rest of the Socialist ticket ran about 2,000 votes ahead of Waldman in the counties reporting. The total vote received thus far in New York City and the 29 up-state counties is 99,008, as compared with 65,956 in the same counties in 1928. As a result of the unexpected drop in the up-state vote, which has usually equalled the New York City vote, the Socialist state total will be nearer 120,000 than the 175,000 which it was first believed was polled by the party.

Here are the returns received up to Thursday:

N. Y. Socialist Vote (29 of 57 Upstate Counties)					
County	Waldman (Gov.)	Roth (Lieut. Gov.)	Karlin (Att. Gen.)	Hillsdorf (Compt. Gen.)	1928 Vote (Waldman)
Chautauque	503	659	669	678	951
Chemung	187	246	235	219	100
Delaware	52	72	53	51	30
Dutchess	946	994	982	1015	1198
Fulton	243	313	292	307	343
Genesee	335	402	390	394	719
Hamilton	2	4	0	1	0
Jefferson	180	266	240	250	358
Livingston	274	365	369	379	922
Madison	149	227	213	214	258
Ontario	338	407	400	405	894
Orleans	338	359	377	381	633
Oswego	266	373	350	440	401
Rockland	413	392	403	395	435
St. Lawrence	362	446	415	433	507
Saratoga	302	359	351	369	706
Schenectady	1060	1201	1277	1282	1174
Schoharie	189	251	250	235	305
Schuyler	50	83	78	76	85
Seneca	141	179	167	173	130
Steuben	827	1083	1043	1084	1591
Sullivan	288	284	331	358	275
Tioga	57	77	80	81	172
Tompkins	80	148	149	139	226
Warren	94	106	101	108	57
Wayne	245	345	321	327	557
Westchester	2593	2652	2806	2873	3997
Wyoming	148	198	183	182	303
Yates	13	46	40	42	33
Totals	10,675	12,565	12,545	12,891	17,360

Together with the New York City vote the totals thus far received are:

	Waldman	Roth	Karlin	Hillsdorf	1928 Vote
New York City	88,333	77,091	94,141	89,252	48,956
29 Upstate Counties	10,675	12,565	12,545	12,891	17,360
Totals	99,008	89,656	106,686	102,143	65,956

## Railway Clerks Declare for Job Insurance

### Second Largest Rail Union Also Demands Government Pension for the Aged

ST. LOUIS.—(FP)—The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks went on record for unemployment insurance, at the St. Louis meeting of its general officers and 200 system chairmen from every section of the country. The Brotherhood is the second largest railway labor organization.

A comprehensive unemployment relief program which includes compulsory insurance, old age pensions, federal compensation legislation for workers engaged in interstate commerce and a public building program financed through increased taxation of corporation profits was adopted at the conference of the Brotherhood's policy making body.

Pointing out that the revolutionary effects upon industry of the substitution of machinery for labor during the past decade has not only directly caused the unemployment of millions, but has probably been the principal factor in causing the present depression, the Brotherhood declared the only way to check these disastrous tendencies is to increase the relative consuming power of the workers more rapidly than has been true of the last industrial cycle. The conference endorsed the A. F. of L. and railway labor organizations' program calling for the progressive increasing of wages, the shortening of the work day and work week and the establishing of vacations with pay for all railway workers.

Opposes Consolidations  
Better homes for workers, and adequate hospital, library, school and recreational facilities will provide jobs as well as improved handling of public works expenditures, the union recommended. It asked a long-time planning of public works.

The unfair advantages accorded truck and bus transportation, compared with rail transportation, came in for lengthy discussion at the conference. Roads are given free to these auto transportation firms while the railroads have to maintain private rights of way, it was pointed out. Extension of regulation similar to that controlling railways is asked to equalize traffic conditions as well as extension of railroad labor laws to cover interstate bus and truck workers. The Brotherhood also stated that it opposed all railway consolidations which cannot be clearly proved to be in the public interest. Consolidations engineered purely for stock manipulation result in untold damage to railway communities and workers affected.

"Although these proposals are moderate, the Brotherhood realizes," it states, "that any program for the solution of these pressing social problems will meet as its greatest obstacle the narrowness, the inertia and the corruption of the political forces ruling the nation." The setting up of a permanent non-partisan labor committee is urged in all election districts to use labor's strength in the primaries and general elections.

### Labor Athletes Attention!

Max Rosen, manager of the Brownsville Labor Lyceum announces to all basketball teams that the basketball court in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, is open for the season. The court was previously occupied by the Nonpareil Club and other noted organizations.

Teams that are interested in booking games can do so by applying at the manager's office in the Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn, Phone Dickens 3237.

## Woman Socialist in Legislature



Assemblywoman Lillith Wilson, of Pennsylvania

## Socialists of Reading Carry 42 Precincts

### Working Class Sections Prove Mainstays of Party's Candidates

READING, Pa.—In the election which sent Darlington Hoopes and Lillith Wilson, Socialist Party candidates, to the Pennsylvania Legislature, these candidates carried 42 of the city's 71 voting precincts. The working class wards were the Socialist Party's strongholds, although in every section of the city the party's growing strength was evident as reports arrived at party headquarters. Hoopes' plurality over Behm, Republican, was 443; Wilson's, 85.

City Councilman Jim Maurer ran second in the city in his race for governor. Maurer's vote in Reading showed a total of 5,450. Hemphill, the Democratic and "Liberal," who appealed to the "wet" vote, ran first with 9,316 votes reported and Pinchot was last with 4,915. The Maurer vote was a remarkable testimonial of Socialist strength in Reading, coming, as it did, at the end of a campaign in which opposition forces were united behind Hemphill.

### CITY TOTALS IN READING ELECTION FOR LEGISLATURE

Hoopes (S.)	7,413
Wilson (S.)	7,655
Behm (R.)	6,970
Fidler (D.)	6,086
Mast (D.)	5,607
Billings (R.)	5,467

Hemphill (D.)	9,316
Maurer (S.)	5,450
Pinchot (R.)	4,915

Starting their campaign last August, the Socialists carried on a vigorous educational campaign, conducting meetings in the rural district of Berks county as well as in the city and finishing up with three broadcasts of literature which reached every home in the city and county. They made their appeal on purely economic lines, stressing the importance of the Socialist program of social ownership of industry as the only method of escape from the hardships of unemployment and poverty.

In strong contrast to the activities of the Socialists, the old party candidates appeared rarely before the public and when they did they found it impossible to offer anything original of interest to the workers.

Our advance in civilization depends upon the extent to which the individual is set free from the individual gamble against the chances and accidents of life.—F. Henderson.

If the League of Nations would only agree not to have another war until the last one is paid for, everlasting peace would be assured.—Lord Dewart.

## Broun and Pauline Newman To Debate 'Equal Rights' Bill

AN interesting and timely debate has been arranged on the subject of special legislation for women workers. The debaters are Heywood Broun, famous columnist, and Pauline Newman, well known trade unionist.

During the recent campaign this matter came into prominence because of some remarks made by Heywood Broun in the hectic campaign waged in his district. Broun stressed the position of the feminists, proponents of the "equal rights" bill. This aroused criticism among some active trade unionists. The result is that considerable interest and discussion has been aroused on both sides of the mooted question as to whether special legislation for women workers is desirable, and should be urged as a social policy. As a means of clarifying the issue this debate has been arranged. The speakers are

## Minn. Elects Farm-Laborite As Governor

### Olson Wins by 175,000 Majority—Party Also Wins Lieutenant-Governorship

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The Farmer-Labor Party has elected its first Governor of the State of Minnesota in the person of Floyd B. Olson whose vote will exceed 175,000 majority. Henry Arens, Farmer-Laborite, was also elected Lieutenant-Governor.

Olson was popular throughout the state and ran ahead of other Farmer-Labor candidates.

The railroad train service brotherhoods conducted a well-organized campaign for Mr. Olson and the remainder of the Farmer-Labor ticket. They took practically no part in the congressional contest. On account of the attitude of the national officials of the labor organizations, organized labor in Minnesota, as such, took little part in the campaign, but the membership were never more active and effective.

Lieutenant - Governor Arens served eight years as a state senator, is a farmer, and vice-president of the cooperative Land of Lakes creameries.

F. H. Shoemaker, editor of the Organized Farmer of Red Wing, polled 4,152 votes for congress in Goodhue county on the Farmer-Labor ticket to 5,514 for his Republican opponent. Shoemaker polled a total in the district of 20,172 to 33,508 for the Republican. Four out of six senators supported by the Farmer-Laborites were also successful in Ramsey County and several were elected in Hennepin County and other counties will send Farmer-Laborites to the legislature.

The Old Age Pension law was adopted in Ramsey County by a vote of 2,889 majority. This is a most remarkable victory in view of the fact that it was opposed by the "famous" Municipal Research Bureau and both the daily newspapers and it required a majority of the votes cast.

It seemed to be one of the most popular questions for the voters as relatively few persons cast a negative vote while more than a majority voted on the question and voted for it.

A referendum vote on the county ballot is somewhat unusual and many persons who favored the Old Age Pension were unable to find it on the ballot, expecting that it would appear on a separate ballot as city and state propositions. It was clearly presented to the voters in an unfair form, and its success in spite of these handicaps makes a wonderful triumph.

Another of Gerber's plans is to form a separate branch in the 11th A. D., composed of neighborhood people, with a year-around headquarters. After this club is organized, a captain will be appointed for each election district and the canvassing of voters will begin immediately.

Aside from placing the voters on the subscription list of the New Leader, various types of literature will be mailed to them throughout the year at intervals of once a week.

School and street meetings is another development Gerber promises to work out so that Socialism and the party's activities will remain poignantly indelible in the minds of the voters in the 11th A. D. throughout the year.

Those Socialists who already reside in this district are advised to communicate with Comrade Gerber at once, care of Station WEVD, 45 West 45th Street.

OUR ADVERTISERS EXPECT THE SUPPORT OF OUR READERS. WHEN YOU PATRONIZE THEM BE SURE TO SAY THAT YOU SAW THEIR ADS IN THE NEW LEADER.

## Gerber Plans Year-Round Campaign

### Socialists to Give Tammany Hard Fight for Up-Town Manhattan District

CONSUMED with a high-pitched optimism born of the results of last Tuesday's election, G. August Gerber is not only thinking of the future of Socialism in 1931, but is ready to begin activities immediately for rounding up votes and new party members.

Gerber's plans call for taking the offensive side in one of the strongest hotbeds of Democracy in the State of New York, that portion of Manhattan Island known to citizens as "Jimmie-Hines' District," beginning at 97th street, from Riverside Drive to Fifth avenue and covering all territory within the aforementioned boundary as far north as 116th street.

Hines originally grasped this important stronghold away from the Republicans who held it firmly until a year after the war. With the acquisition of this territory, almost completely converting it into a Democratic stamping ground, Hines has made for himself an important niche in Tammany Hall, dictating many of the party's policies, setting up candidates and securing a bulk of city jobs to distribute among his constituents which far exceed the favors offered by other local Democratic Clubs throughout the five boroughs, with the exception of only John McCooey's Brooklyn stronghold.

### To Mail New Leader

It is directly within the very center of this bed of Democratic corruption, log-rolling and favoritism, where the claws of the Tammany Tiger are felt most keenly, that Gus Gerber plans to wage his assault against the fortress of Jimmie Hines, Joe Sheelaack and Congressman Sol Bloom. With the knowledge that even the Republican Party has long ago given up hope of winning back the voters from Hines, Gerber is unwavering in his determination to float the banner of Socialism high above the district and by November of next year offer our Party a strong Socialist representation at the polls in support of our candidates.

Gerber's first move will be to place upon the subscription list of the New Leader the name of every voter in the Hines' election districts so that these people, raised beneath the shadow of Democracy, may learn that there is a workers' party in this city, beyond the pale of graft, job bartering and petty corruption, ready twelve months of the year to serve the masses without thought of reciprocity or vote grabbing.

The expense involved in placing these names upon the New Leader's list will be borne through private donations.

Another of Gerber's plans is to hold a Sunday morning open forum throughout the year at some theatre or hall within the confines of the 11th Assembly District. Here all neighborhood people will be asked to gather irrespective of party affiliations. Prominent Socialists and Educationalists will be called upon to address them, discussing important economic problems and above all, to acquaint the average layman with exactly what their representatives are doing for them at each session of the Senate, Congress, the State Legislature and at the meetings of the Board of Aldermen.

### To Watch Washington

It is Gerber's belief that if we Socialists can intelligently and faithfully portray to the public what is being done, bill by bill in every corridor of legal legislation within the State and in Washington while we do not hold office, the fact will be telegraphed to these people that they can expect Socialists in office to develop above all else, as faithful watchdogs for the public, blocking corruption, illicit legislation and crooked log-rolling before these acts can be made into laws.

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## Broun to Speak at Nuovo Mondo Banquet

The fifth anniversary of Il Nuovo Mondo, the only Italian labor and anti-Fascist daily in the United States will be celebrated on November 16. Heywood Broun, Charles E. Russell, Dr. Charles Fama, David Dubinsky, Jacob Potofsky, Jacob Panken, Abraham Miller and other representative men of the labor and liberal world will participate in the banquet at Irving Plaza Hall on November 16.

Il Nuovo Mondo has been published at 81 East 10th street through many difficulties. In addition to hard times the daily had to contend with underhand activities of Fascist agents. Several times they damaged the machinery and other property of the newspaper. These activities on the part of the enemies of Italian workers were added proof for the need of Il Nuovo Mondo.

In addition to being a daily newspaper Il Nuovo Mondo also serves as a defender of Italian workers in the United States. Many an Italian in danger of deportation or unjustly imprisoned appeals to this paper for legal and other assistance.

## Socialist N.E.C. Meets in Newark, New Jersey

(Continued from Page One)

that faces the committee is finances. The present dues system and general financing of party activities are not satisfactory and this is especially true of the finances of the national office. The various party divisions are less affected by this problem although they also are not satisfied. The extent to which the party can take advantage of its new opportunities is bound up with this problem of more effective financing.

During the two days the committee will be in session members of the committee will speak at a number of mass meetings in Newark and a few nearby cities. National Secretary Clarence G. Senior and Morris Hillquit will speak in the Labor Lyceum in Bayonne Saturday evening. Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee will speak in Trenton, and James H. Maurer, recent Socialist candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania, in Elizabeth.

### Newark Plans Reception

Final plans for a reception to the members of the committee have been completed by the Newark Socialists.

On Sunday at 6:15 p.m., a supper will be served at the Workmen's Circle Institute, 190 Belmont Ave. The price per plate is 75 cents. Then the members of the committee will speak to the assembled guests. All indications point to a big attendance. Applications for reservations continue to come into the party office at 105 Springfield Ave., Newark. Reservations may also be made by telephone, Mitchell 2-3873. It is expected that when Morris Hillquit, Mayor Hoan, Lillith Wilson, James Maurer, James O'Neal and the other members of the committee rise to speak they will have an inspiring audience.

Some party members are taking tickets in blocks of ten and arranging special tables for their friends. Those who wish to make this arrangement should immediately telephone Frank J. Manning, Mitchell 2-3873. A great effort is being made to attract scores of non-party members to the reception.

## ARE YOU TEMPORARILY UNEMPLOYED?

WOULD \$1.50 A DAY FOR AN HOUR OR TWO HELP TIDE YOU OVER?  
Sell copies of THE NEW LEADER during lunch hours or after working hours to the crowds going in and out of office buildings. Fifty copies sold will net you \$1.50. See Goldine Hillson immediately at the office of THE NEW LEADER, 7 E. 15th St., 6th floor.

## UNION HEALTH CENTER

LABOR'S HEALTH DEPARTMENT  
Medical Department  
131 E. 17th Street  
Tel. STUYVESANT 7063  
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Dental Department  
222 Fourth Avenue  
Tel. ALGONQUIN 4188  
Open daily, 10 A. M. to 7 P. M.

When your doctor sends you to a trust maker for a trust bandage or stocking, go there and see what you can buy for your money.



## W. Va. Miners Fight Under New Leaders

Strike of 800 Ward Coalminers Revives Best Traditions of Coal Union

By Richard Glover  
WARD, W. Va.—The entire Kanawha Valley is seething with unionism!

The spirit that seemed to have been crushed by desertion on the part of John L. Lewis and his West Virginia representatives has been revived, and hardy mountaineer miners are looking to a new leadership to lead them from the mire of poverty, starvation wages and long hours.

Pinning their faith on Frank Keeney and Fred Mooney, appointed as president and secretary-treasurer of the West Virginia district by the Howat faction of the United Mine Workers, more than 800 Ward miners employed by the Kelly's Creek Collieries Company have been on strike for several months. They walked out when the coal company proposed a scale which would have brought their wages down, in some instances, to as low as \$3 per day.

Despite opposition of the Lewis flunkies, the state police and the coal company they are grimly determined to win this fight, which they believe will determine whether or not a campaign of wage cutting is to be launched in West Virginia.

**Mine Guards Reappear**

The "mine guard" system has been revived. More than 25 mine "thugs" guard the mine operators and the company bunkhouses, where are housed the strikebreakers, brought in train-lots from the Pittsburgh field. However, of the approximately 600 sent to Ward with the assurance "there is no trouble at the mine" all but slightly more than 100 have been persuaded to leave by the strikers.

The time worn trick of ousting the miners from their homes by "eviction notices" was blocked when Keeney and his organization posted appeal bonds. They also placed "deposits" for the gas meters, when the coal company threatened to "jerk" them and freeze out the strikers.

State "cossacks" who at first pretended friendliness toward the strikers are working openly with the company to break the strike. This week they arrested four strikers on some trumped up charge or other. Otto Bailey and Clarence Dart, both of Ward were bundled into state police cars and hurried to the Charleston jail. "Possession of high-powered rifles," was the charge. It is a crime in West Virginia for miners to have more than "light arms" in their shacks, although the coal company thugs are privileged to brandish anything from a "foty-foty" to an army machine gun.

As the battle for unionism rages along Kelly's Creek, miners from famous Paint Creek and Cabin Creek are asking to "get in the fight."

**The "Pluck Me" System**

Deplorable conditions and the company's "pluck me" system complete coal company rule of the coal camps dotting the hollows of the Kanawha Valley has brought articulate protest against coal corporation exploitation.

The company owns the houses, the doctors, the stores, the hospitals and even the churches. The money that the miner ekes out in the mines is checked off for these. Some of the Ward miners have not seen "real money" for months.

Just now the miners, their wives and children are being fed from a "commissary" established down the hollow by Keeney and other officers of the Howat United Mine Workers.

The miners here are especially bitter against John L. Lewis, and his "personal" union, whom they claim agreed with the coal company to enforce the reduction by withdrawing their support from the strike.

The women and kids, although some of them are suffering, are just as enthusiastic in this fight for civilized standards as are the men who toil in the slopes.

There is a need for shoes and clothing. Some 30 Ward children cannot attend school because they have no shoes or proper clothing.

**MISCELLANEOUS WANT ADS**

Wanted to purchase, second hand, 1 pair of curtains for window, and 1 pair for portieres in same room. Also pattern preferred, or something similar. A. J. care of THE NEW LEADER, 7 East 13th Street.

A correspondence club has been organized, calling to people of intellectual interests desiring friends. Write: Post Office Box 10, Christie Ave., River Edge, N. J.

## "But Capital Takes All the Risks"



Wives and Families of Victims of the Mine Disaster at Millfield, Ohio, which Brought Death to 200 Workers.

## N. Y. Painters Vote Down Referendum Calling For An Equal Division of Work

**Employers' Association Approves "Staggering" Available Jobs in Industry**

By Louis Stanley

THE New York painters have missed a splendid opportunity to help establish a vital labor principle and practice. Presented by their District Council with a proposal to introduce equal division of work during the present depression the membership by referendum vote rejected the proposition. The employers' association on the other hand recommended to its members the staggering of employment so that if the rotation of jobs is introduced in the trade it will be irrespective of union control.

District Council No. 9 with jurisdiction over union painters in the Bronx and Manhattan passed a resolution several weeks ago which stated:

"That beginning December 1, 1930 and until March 31, 1931, no member of the Brotherhood will be in the jurisdiction covered by our Agreement shall be permitted to work more than an average of 20 hours out of every forty, inclusive of emergency overtime in the course of the four months mentioned. . . ."

There are about 10,000 house painters who belong to the local affiliated with the District Council. One quarter of them constitute what may be said to be the permanent forces employed by their employers. The master painters keep a certain number of workers on hand upon whom they can rely. Under the scheme proposed by the District Council of limiting the amount of work done by any individual to one half of full time, the numbers of the "nuclei" upon which employers would count would be doubled. Instead of 2,500 assured of jobs, 5,000 would find work, while the remaining 5,000 would benefit from whatever labor turnover there might occur.

**Working Conditions Poor**

The conditions among the organized painters are distressing. Ordinarily the season begins in mid-summer and continues until Thanksgiving. This year the season started in September and wound up early in October and there was unemployment during this period when there is usually a shortage of labor. Perhaps fifty per cent of the union painters are not working at present. By December this figure will have risen considerably. Of course, under such conditions men are tempted to offer their labor at wages below those fixed by the scale specified in the agreement with the employers. If the workers can be confident of receiving some income, they are more likely to work half a week at full wages than to accept positions at sub-standard rates.

The problem of division of work has always been of vital concern to the New York painters. The "rush" season centering around October 1 has usually been responsible for the employment of every union member. Frequently at such a time workers received more than the union scale of wages. During the winter of 1914, Henry Bruere, then City Chamberlain under Mayor Mitchell, the reformer, urged the employers to inaugurate a system of equal division of work but nothing came of the proposal. Union members have always discussed the question. Last winter with the cooperation of some employers a little rotation of jobs was instituted unofficially. In the spring of this year the sight of some members being employed while others had nothing to do, caused some tumultuous scenes, at the painters' headquarters.

The proposal of the District Council to divide work has met

with favor among the officials and many of the prominent members of the Association of Master Painters and Decorators. The smaller contractors and employers independent of the Association would rather not have a half time working week in order to be in a better strategic position to bargain down wages with workers desperately in need of jobs. The agitation of the Hoover administration to stagger employment has given impetus to the equal division of work movement among the "boss" painters. The attitude of the Federal government will silence any resentment that might be voiced by the Building Trades Employers' Association. Finally, the New York Building Congress consisting of representatives of owners, bankers, architects, engineers, contractors, labor and other branches of the industry has thru its Executive Committee advised its members to endeavor to rotate jobs.

There are two difficulties in establishing a system of equal division of work in the building trades: first, there is no establishment as in manufacturing, commerce or mining where a more or less permanent group of workers is employed, and secondly, the employer has the absolute right to hire and fire, so that rotation of jobs is essentially in the hands of the "boss." In the case of the painters the scattered and unstandardized character of the alteration work on the old buildings and the existence of a large body of unorganized workers who do this work even at half of the union scale of \$13.20 per day make matters worse. The union, however, is the only one in the building trades that has had the foresight during the various wage negotiations in the past to make a gesture at least of demanding some control of hiring and firing.

To overcome the obstacles in the way of establishing equal division of work District Council No. 9 had the Labor Bureau, Inc., prepare a plan that could be put into effect with the least trouble. There were two practical methods: (1) registration of unemployed workers, and (2) reports from employers and shop stewards, expensive and probably ineffective. It would have meant that the union would have to be in the forefront of the places with high overhead and laborious work. The unemployed would have to suffer the burden, if not the indignity of reporting daily. It would be easy for those who were disposed to do so to evade checking up.

The second plan, which was recommended, required each employer to report to the union each week the names and card numbers of all his employees together with the number of hours (straight and overtime) worked by each, and each shop steward to furnish similar information weekly for the job on which he was serving. These reports were to be checked in the central office and the data transferred to individual cards for each member. Cases showing discrepancies or requiring investigation were to be referred to the union officials for action. To finance this work the Labor Bureau recommended a small assessment on the membership.

The opposition to equal division of work within the union's ranks is discouraging. Those who are certain of work during the hard times ahead are not anxious to share their opportunities with anybody else. Others say that if the union administers the scheme it will be used by leaders to advance their own interests and to the employers have anything to do with it it will be used by them to their own advantage. Philip Zausner, secretary of District Council No. 9, has expressed his regret at the outcome of the referendum vote.

## Dr. Lathrop Declares for Job Insurance

Prefers "Dole" to Starvation, Leading Churchman Tells L. I. D. Luncheon

The Rev. Charles W. Lathrop, executive secretary of the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, this week denounced unemployment as "an outrage, an injustice and a disgrace." Referring to the British system of unemployment relief, Dr. Lathrop declared:

"If I had to choose between the dole and the dolorous condition of our country, I would choose the dole every time. It is better than starvation."

Dr. Lathrop was one of the speakers at a luncheon-discussion on unemployment held by the New York chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy today at the Hotel Woodstock, 127 West 43rd Street. Paul Blanshard presided. Other speakers were Edward C. Rybicki, head of the City Employment Bureau, Heywood Brown, Harry W. Laidler, executive director of the League; William Hodson, executive director of the Welfare Council; and Darwin J. Meserole, president of the National Unemployment League.

**Calls U. S. System "Dole"**

While he declared he would prefer a dole to starvation, Dr. Lathrop asserted that as a matter of fact the British system is not a dole system but a scientific system of unemployment insurance which might well be copied in the United States. The current practice of aiding unemployed Americans rather than by governmental agencies comes much nearer being a charity dole than the British system, the churchman declared.

"As a matter of fact," Dr. Lathrop declared, "we have nothing but the dole. As soon as a man is out of employment, he and his family have got to be taken care of by charity. All these sums of money that our country, our states, our cities are raising—what are they but a dole? I wish that it might in some way be possible to explode the hypocrisy that talks about the innate independence, sometimes in good faith, of our American people and shows hostility to any organized pay to the unemployed lest it sap the integrity and force of our people. We can get neither integrity nor force when we permit masses of our people, several millions of them to be in a situation where they don't get enough to eat! It is somewhat irritating to think of a man sitting in his comfortable office, or in his study in his palatial apartment, writing about the possibility of sapping the integrity and force of people who cannot pay their rent and who are unable to buy meat and shoes for their children."

**Urges Labor Take Action**

Dr. Lathrop declared any corrective measures will have to be instituted by labor. If the two major parties refuse to grant relief, labor will have to join with progressive and liberal-minded men and women to organize a party of its own, he urged.

Dr. Laidler urged unemployment insurance as a means of avoiding the American "dole." He said:

"The only way to avoid the recurrence of the private dole in the United States with all of its demoralizing influences is to adopt some form of unemployment insurance. Compulsory unemployment insurance is now in operation in ten countries, covering over 45,000,000 workers. Unemployment insurance is insurance not a dole. Under the British plan, adopted in 1911, contributions are made to it by employers, workers and the state. Despite criticisms regarding the detailed working of the plan, practically every student of the subject has come to the conclusion that such insurance is a permanent feature of social legislation in that country. 'Nobody has suggested that the unemployed be left to their fate,' declared the Blanesburgh Committee, made up of employers, workers and social workers appointed by the conservative Baldwin government, 'that the principle of unemployment insurance should be abandoned.' The system has been endorsed by the National Federation of Employers' Organizations, speaking for practically all of the employers' groups of the country, and by all other investigating committees."

Dr. Laidler declared that, even when the present period of depression is over, the unemployment situation will not have been solved. He declared that, from 1920 to 1927, the number of unemployed varied from a minimum of 1,400,000 to 4,200,000.

"Unemployment is steadily increasing in the United States," Dr. Laidler declared. "The increasingly rapid technical changes in industry, the development of mergers and trusts, the refusal of large corporations to take on workers above 45 or 50 years of age, and the inability of the masses to buy the goods that are being produced with such lightning rapidity in our machine civilization are all leading to increased insecurity. Those who are being thrown on the scrap heap must depend either on private charity or on a scientifically planned system of unemployment insurance."

Dr. Laidler discussed the various plans proposed. He declared that a national system of insurance was preferable to state insurance, but

## Heads British Labor



Stanley Hirst, above, succeeds Miss Susan Lawrence, M. P., as chairman of the British Labor Party.

## Social Welfare Board Praises Health Center

IT is customary for the New York State Board of Social Welfare, when it grants a charter to an institution such as the Union Health Center, to keep an eye on it, so to speak. They send an investigator to see whether the conduct of the institution is ethical and proper; whether it has the right kind of equipment; whether the personnel—doctors, nurses and registrars—are the right persons for the right position, etc. Such a report has just been submitted to the State Board in which the Union Health Center and its services are very favorably commented upon. The report includes a summary of the work done both in the medical as well as in the dental department and the charges for such work. The report states that both departments are well equipped and that the standard of work is highly satisfactory. This brief summary of the report should please all those union people who have helped to secure the charter.

Six additional sessions have been added to the nose, throat and ear, eye, and the women's departments. This will improve the services of the institution. Patients who cannot come to one department on one day, may come on another and find a specialist for his or her particular ailment.

As the problem of the cost of medical care becomes more acute among the wage-earners the need for the Union Health Center becomes more apparent. The following unions have been added to the list: New York Stereotypers' Union, No. 1; National Federation of Federal Employees; Women's International Union Label League; Women's Trade Union League; Building Service Employees; Post Office Clerks of Brooklyn.

The Dental Department announces that its hours are now from ten in the morning until seven in the evening.

## L. I. D. Unemployment Prize Contest Extended To November 20, 1930

By special request and in order to give the many students and the general public who are interested in this contest a chance to participate, the Unemployment Prize Contest conducted by the League for Industrial Democracy has been extended for two weeks, to November 20. Letters and essays submitted to the Unemployment Contest Committee by 5 o'clock p. m. on November 20, will be eligible for prizes.

This contest calls for short letters or essays, not exceeding 500 words, on the subject of "Unemployment," stating its main causes and which of the major political parties—the Republican, Democratic or Socialist—offers the best permanent solution thereto.

This contest has attracted widespread interest, and essays are coming in from students and laymen from all over the state of New York and representing a cross-section of public opinion of people of all walks of life. Some of them are trying hard to defend the Republican platform of unemployment, and there are numerous masterpieces of Socialist thought. Get busy and submit your opinion on this vital issue of the day. You may have the right solution. For any information on this contest apply to Unemployment Prize Contest Committee, League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

## Watson-Nearing Debate

"What will follow Capitalism?" will be discussed in a debate between Scott Nearing and Harry Watson Friday evening, Nov. 14, at 8:15 p. m., at the Community Church, 34th Street and Park Avenue. The debaters have been long identified with Socialist and Communist movements.

that such a system might be regarded as unconstitutional. In which case, the nation should be asked to give a subsidy to those states developing an adequate state system. He favored in general the British plan with worker, employer and state contributing and a benefit to the unemployed who were genuinely seeking work of at least two dollars a day.

The pale pathetic people still pined through hoodwinkings to light-

## Hillquit To Begin Course at Rand School

Other News of Classes at N. Y. Socialist School—Students Active

MORRIS HILQUIT who has recently returned from Europe is to give a course at the Rand School on Wednesday nights at 8:30, on "Problems of World Socialism." In the five lectures which Mr. Hillquit will give he will outline some of the special problems which concern the Socialist movement, and survey the field under the following heads:

1. Immediate Post-War Problems: Social Legislation and Socialization of Industries; Socialists in the Governments—Germany, Austria, Russia; 2. Democracy or Dictatorship: The Crisis in Parliamentary Government—Fascism and Communism; 3. Socialist Administration of the Capitalist State: All Socialist Minority Governments, Coalition, Socialist Government of Liberal Ministries—Denmark, Sweden, France, Germany, and Great Britain; 4. Colonial Administration and Problems of Imperialism in a Labor Government—India, Egypt, Palestine; 5. The League of Nations and the Problems of Disarmament, Security and International Arbitration. This course is one which every Party member should not fail to attend. A small fee will be charged.

**Classen's Course**

August Classen is also starting a new course on "Nature and Nurture." This series of lectures embodies an array of startling information on the absorbing topic of Human Nature and its possibilities. In non-technical language and with abundant illustration, Comrade Classen will present the latest theories and conclusions of biologists, psychologists, and sociologists, under these titles:

1. Our Natural Heritage: Biological Fact and Theory; 2. Our Natural Environment and How We May Master It; 3. Our Socialistic Environment and How It Affects Us; 4. Our Social Heritage: Acceleration of Intellectual Progress; 5. Controlling Social Evolution; Summary and Forecast. These lectures will be held on Thursdays at 8:30 p. m., and continue to December 18th.

Alan Porter, formerly associated with "The London Spectator," and recently a lecturer at the New School of Social Research, will give a series of five lectures on "The Modern State."

Felix Spier, lecturer of New York University, will give a series of lectures on "Twentieth Century Drama." Significant changes in world-drama will be traced and outlined.

The Saturday Forums on Current Events will begin this Saturday at 2 o'clock, with Charles Edward Russell, noted Washington Correspondent, winner Pulitzer Prize, and author of many books. His latest book is that of the Revolutionary Leader, "The Life of Haim Salomon." Mr. Russell has selected as his subject "Dictators and the Dictated," a very provocative topic.

On Monday, November 17th, Professor Rexford G. Tugwell, Professor of Economics, Columbia University, will speak on "Technological Unemployment." This is the fifth lecture of the series on "American Civilization Today" at which Stuart Chase, Leo Wolman, Louis Waldman and Norman Thomas have spoken.

**Student Activities**

On Friday night, November 7th, a very successful general meeting of the students of the School was held in the Studio and the Auditorium of the School. The earnestness evoked about the organization was manifested by the fact that the students immediately organized themselves into groups for various activities.

A Dramatic Group, a Debating Society, a Current Events Discussion Group, a Book Review Group, and a Chorus were organized. The groups got into action immediately. The Dramatic Group has already been invited to produce a small skit as soon as it is prepared to do so, and the Debating Group has already been challenged by New York University. Herman Epstein spoke on the value of a Chorus, August Classen with reference to the Debating Society, and Sadie Shapiro about the Book Review Group. These and other groups that may later be formed are open only to members of the student organization, to which present and former registered students are eligible. Applications for membership are to be left in the Rand School office. An organization committee elected at the meeting last Friday will report at a second general meeting on Friday, November 28th.

The Womens Committee of the Rand School is running a Theatre Party for the benefit of the Scholarship Fund of the School. The play is "This One Man" with Paul Muni (Muni Weisenfreund) in the leading role. The night is Friday, November 21st, at the Morocco Theatre. Party members should help make this affair a success by purchasing tickets as early as possible at the office of the Rand School. The Rand School wishes to acknowledge with many thanks receipt of some very splendid office equipment: a table, chair, desk and typewriter donated to the School by our good friend and comrade, Mrs. Mina Weinstein.

## No ambition? Don't ignore this warning...

When you are absorbing poisons from food wastes held too long in the system, ambition dies quickly. Get rid of unhealthy wastes with Ex-Lax—safely and pleasantly. Ex-Lax is composed of a high-grade chocolate, combined with a scientific laxative ingredient that has been prescribed by physicians for over a quarter of a century. It is pleasant to take, does not gripe, does not disturb digestion, does not embarrass—its action is prompt and dependable—yet natural.

Keep "regular" with **EX-LAX** The Chocolate Laxative

FRIDAY EVENING, NOV. 14th, at 8:15 P. M.  
**DEBATE** "SOCIALISM and COMMUNISM will follow the collapse of capitalism!"  
**Scott Nearing** **Harry Waton**  
Author of "Twilight of Empire" Says Noted Author Y. E. S. and Lecturer  
Chairman, ROGER N. BALDWIN  
COMMUNITY CHURCH 34th Street and Park Avenue  
Tickets \$1.00, BALCONY 50c  
Auxiliary, Workers Educational Institute

**DEBATE**  
"RESOLVED: THAT SPECIAL LEGISLATION FOR WOMEN WORKERS IS DESIRABLE AS A SOCIAL POLICY."  
**For the Affirmative** **For the Negative**  
**PAULINE HEYWOOD**  
**Newman Brown**  
Noted Trade Unionist Famous Columnist  
Chairman, AUGUST CLAESSENS  
DEBS AUDITORIUM, 7 East 15th Street  
Friday, November 28th, at 8:30 P. M.  
Auxiliary: SOCIALIST PARTY  
Admission: 50 cents  
Tickets can be obtained in Room 601, 7 East 15th Street, N. Y. C.

The Outstanding Debate of the Year!  
LEE KEEDICK presents  
**GILBERT K. CHESTERTON vs. COSMO HAMILTON**  
Says "NO" Says "YES"  
On a Question of Unfailing Interest  
"Is DIVORCE A SOCIAL ASSET?"  
Alexander Woolcott, Chairman  
MECCA TEMPLE 53th St., bet. 6th & 7th Aves.  
Sun., Nov. 23, at 8:30 P. M.  
Tickets \$1 to \$3 Now on Sale at Box Off. or Office of LEE KEEDICK, 475 Fifth Ave.

**DEBATE: IS RELIGION NECESSARY?**  
THIS SATURDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 15th, at 8:30 P. M.  
**DARROW vs. KRASS**  
Wm. Norman Guthrie, Chairman  
MECCA TEMPLE 53th Street 7th Avenue  
Tickets, \$1 to \$3; ON SALE AT BOX OFFICE

SATURDAY, NOV. 15—A FRIENDSHIP TOUR TO **INDIA** IN NEW YORK  
Join us for an afternoon. Let us meet our Hindoo neighbors! They will tell us of present political, economic and social conditions in India; they will tell us of a vedanta service, an explanation of their philosophy and an exhibition of their art and industry.  
Meet at 1 p. m. in the Ceylon-India Inn, 148 W. 49th St.  
Expense—Trip 75c and fare Lunch 65c and tip. TRIANGLE 0500  
FRIENDSHIP TOURS 66 COURT ST., BELLYN.

**THE COMMUNITY FORUM** Park Ave. at 34th St.  
8 P. M.—"THE NEW NEGRO," a Symposium by  
RICHARD B. HARRISON, Star of "Green Pastures"  
DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS, Editor of "The Crisis"  
MARY WHITE OVINGTON, Chairman, N. A. A. C. P.  
Admission Free  
11 A. M.—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES "IF I WERE A JEW!" All Welcome

**THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE**  
At Cooper Union  
Eighth Street and Astor Place  
at 8 o'clock  
Friday Evening, Nov. 14th  
DR. EVERETT DEAN MARTIN  
"The Structure of All Things: The Humanists in Ancient Civilization"  
Sunday Evening, Nov. 16th  
PROFESSOR EARL BARNES  
"Our Continuous Need for New Ideas"  
Tuesday Evening, Nov. 18th  
PROFESSOR W. A. LYNCH  
"Current Electricity"

At Muhlenberg Library  
209 W. 23rd Street  
at 8:30 o'clock  
Monday Evening, Nov. 17th  
MR. B. H. HAGGIN  
"Musical Procedures: (1) Reptition"  
Wednesday Evening, Nov. 19th  
PROFESSOR ROBERT VAN NARDROFF  
"Kinematics: Euclidean Space and Time"  
Thursday Evening, Nov. 20th  
DR. E. G. SPALLING  
"Transcendence and Perfection: Plato"

Saturday Evening, Nov. 22nd  
DR. RICHARD MCKEON  
"Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas: Grace and Good Work"  
**THE BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP**  
Avenue Masonic Temple, 1291 Boston Rd. (Near East 127th Street, Bronx)  
Sunday, Nov. 16th, 1930  
8 P. M. Leon Rasser Land on "Individual Saints and Social Sins"  
9 P. M. Joseph Ernest McAffee on "Personal Maladjustments: What shall we do about them?"  
Music. Admission Free.

**DISCUSSION**  
**THE GROUP**  
A Clearing House of Opinion, meets at Auditorium—129 West 45th St.  
Tuesday evening, November 18, at 8:30  
PROF. SCOTT NEARING will speak on "REVOLT OF LABOR"  
Sunday Afternoon Discussion Group  
Nov. 23rd, at 4:30—ELLAS TARTAN, on "What We Don't Know About Russian Literature"  
Tea will be served. Subscription 50c (Weekly notices mailed on request)

**Free Thinkers of America**  
Guild Hall 111 W. 57th Street  
Sunday, November 16th, 8:30 P. M.  
DR. HARRY HIRSCHMAN will lecture on "THE UNBELIEVER IN COURT"  
Admission Free  
Questions and Discussion

**Brooklyn Ethical Culture Society**  
Academy of Music (Atlantic Ave. Sta.)  
Sunday at 11 A. M.  
DR. HENRY NEUMANN  
"Do Justice: Love Mercy: Walk Humbly."  
**LABOR TEMPLE**  
14th St. and Second Ave.  
Sunday, Nov. 16th.  
5 P. M.—DR. G. F. BECK  
"Omni Khayyam"  
7:45 P. M.—DR. EDMUND B. CHAFFEE  
"Unemployment—Necessity or Hope?" Organ recital by Stanley A. Day  
We think the way to "change the system" is to BUILD A NEW ONE.  
**BROTHERHOOD HOUSE**  
is a beginning. A cooperative work home. For men and women. Different, comfortable, cheap. 301 Pleasant Ave., (same as Ave A at 117th St.) New York City.

**LlanoCo-Op Colony, New Llano, La.**  
Owned and operated by the workers. For information about daily activities and cooperatives, read  
**THE LLANO COLONIST**  
\$1.50 per year (\$1 with this ad). Weekly 5 cents per copy at the Rand Book Store.  
Consent to sending you surplus machinery, tools, household goods, clothing, books, etc.



# New York's Slums and the Unemployed Crisis

By Henry J. Rosner

THE State of New York has a long record of close to one hundred years of agitation and legislative efforts to eliminate the slum and provide good housing for its wage-earners. Despite this record, Benjamin Parker, able English architect and town planner, eminently qualified to discuss the housing problem had the following to say after a visit to the tenement areas of New York City:

"The duty has devolved upon me to get to know Portuguese and Brazilian slums as few know them. I also know the notorious slums of Dublin and on its being asserted that Liverpool had the worst slums in Great Britain, I entered those who made this assertion to show me Liverpool slums. I have spent many midnights and other hours in the slums of Edinburgh with those who well know all their intricacies and ramifications. I have been taken to the worst slums in Berlin, I know Italian, Belgian, Dutch and Norwegian slums and the conditions of life in any slum I have ever seen are bet-

ter than they are in the slums of New York."

Many people believe that sub-standard housing is peculiar to New York City, and that it is unknown in the smaller up-state cities. This impression is not founded on fact. Some smaller up-state communities suffer from worse housing conditions than New York City. Evidence to this effect is to be seen in the 1929 report of the New York State Housing Board whose function it is to advise the Governor and the State Legislature on matters pertaining to housing. An exhaustive survey of housing conditions throughout the state by the board showed that in all cities and first class villages investigated were occupied dwellings in such condition as to make them unfit for human habitation. Three and four story wooden tenements without fire-escapes, and with wooden hallways and stairs, perfect fire-traps for their inhabitants, were common. Unsanitary conditions were met everywhere.

Yard toilets were found in great abundance. Every part of the state had its quota of dark and dingy flats. Rear and alley tenements were to be seen everywhere.

## I.—The Reform Movement

It is worth while to analyze the reasons for the failure of all previous efforts to solve the problem. Such an analysis serves to demonstrate what is needed to correct the situation.

The first great victory of the housing reformers was the New York City Tenement House Law of 1901. When the Tenement House Law of 1901 was enacted, neither the members of the commission responsible for the act nor housing authorities accepted the law as being satisfactory except in a comparative sense. It was bitterly fought by the realty interests who were making money from the misery of the poor. These have always exerted a preponderant influence in New York City politics. In view of the weakness of reformers and the strength of the landlords, it

was undoubtedly the highest standard then obtainable. It accepted the old law tenement, that is to say, those tenements which had been built prior to the Tenement House Law of 1901, requiring only certain alterations with respect to fire, light, ventilation and sanitary conditions. The Tenement House Commission of 1909, however, called attention to many buildings which could never be altered sufficiently to provide decent living conditions. For instance, most of these houses used for building purposes approximately 90 per cent of the lot. The best contemporary practice utilizes in the neighborhood of 50 per cent of the lot for building. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Housing Development in Astoria which is an attempt to furnish housing in accord with modern standards at a rental which the average workman can afford employs this standard.

Think of the sunlight and fresh air so necessary to health which the inhabitants of old law tenements are being deprived of due to this terrific overcrowding of the land. Yet in 1929, 1,700,000 people in New York City were living in old law tenements. It was hoped in 1901 that ordinary progressive demolition would relieve the city of the worst of the old houses within a few years and that all would be rapidly demolished. Subsequent events show how optimistic the housing reformers were. Reliable estimates indicate that many of these old law tenements will be in use 50 years from now unless the rate of evacuation is materially accelerated.

The Tenement House Law of 1901 also established a comprehensive code to regulate future construction. No new tenement could be rented unless certain standards were previously met. For instance, no more than 70 per cent of the lot could be used for building; a toilet was required for each family and running water in each apartment. It is not necessary to repeat all the details of the law. In

general it provided for modifications which made future tenements better places to live in.

It would be a mistake to suppose that these new tenements were ideal dwelling places. The law did not require such important facilities for sanitation as bathtubs and hot water. As a result there are many workers living in new law tenements whose housing conditions are not very much better than those living in the old law tenements.

Why do human beings continue to live in damp, dark, dingy dwellings which lack not only such conveniences as central heating but also such vital necessities as bathtubs. Is it because they prefer such housing conditions as some conservatives would have us believe? Most emphatically not!

## II—Private "Enterprise" Fails

The explanation is to be sought in the nature of those commercial enterprises which are responsible for the construction of houses in a capitalist economy. The records of the Tenement House Department and the Department of Taxes and Assessments in New York City show that private enterprise in New York City constructed an unprecedented volume of houses from 1920-1929. In this period over 616,328 new apartments were provided in tenement, one-family and two-family dwellings. Approximately 65 per cent of this was in tenement houses. This increased housing facilities 30 per cent. Nevertheless, in 1929 25 per cent of the people in the City of New York were living in old law tenements.

The Commission on Housing and Regional Planning, which was the predecessor of the New York State Housing Board, made a very careful analysis in 1924 of the rentals charged for the new apartments made available that year. They found that of the total number of apartments only 2.63 rented for less than \$12.50 per room per month and only 2.71 per cent rented for more than \$12.50 and less than \$13. per room per month. All the rest rented at a higher figure ranging as high as \$30 and over per room per month. Unfortunately, complete data is not available for subsequent years except for Manhattan. The records compiled by the Tenement House Department show that the amount of construction on Manhattan in 1925 and 1926 which rented for less than \$15 per room per month was approximately one-tenth of one per cent; 90 per cent of it rented at over \$20 per room per month. This sample is fairly indicative of the rents charged for new housing. These rents are much too high for the income of the average New York family.

Available statistics indicate that two-thirds of the families in New York City have incomes of less than \$2,500 a year; approximately one-fourth have incomes between \$2,500 and \$5,000; less than one-tenth have incomes of over \$5,000 a year. The wage-earning population is almost entirely included within the group averaging less than \$2,500 a year. Many students of the housing question believe that not more than one-fifth of the annual income should go for housing, while the maximum should be one-fourth. On this basis families with a \$2,500 annual income should spend between \$500 and \$600 a year for rent. For the thousands of families in New York City whose incomes are much less than \$2,500, their rentals ought to be much lower than \$600. Since 97 per cent of the new apartments constructed in this ten-year period, assuming a four-room apartment, rented at over \$600 a year, it is clear that virtually none of the

new housing could be afforded by working class families. Private enterprise builds homes only for groups in the higher income ranges. When it does construct dwellings for the lower income groups, we get the type of tenement which was condemned by the law of 1901. Corroboration may be seen in the following statement by the Commission of Housing and Regional Planning which was appointed by former Governor Alfred E. Smith to study the housing problems. It said:

"At all times and all places private enterprise has been unable to provide adequate housing to meet the needs of the underlying population."

Private capital cannot earn what it considers sufficient profits by the construction of modern homes at rentals which the working class family can afford.

The worker's family improves his housing conditions only by moving into dwellings which have depreciated and have been deserted by those who are wealthy enough to demand still higher standards in housing. The number thus benefited is so small that present day slum areas will not be abandoned under the existing rate of demolition for more than 50 years. It is disgraceful that the ordinary working man seeking improved housing conditions must depend so largely upon left-overs.

## III—Municipal Housing—The Way Out

The failure of all previous methods points to only one method of solving the problem. If private capital will not construct adequate homes for the workers, the state must do so. This has been the method employed abroad. Socialist Vienna, of course, is the classic example. To enable municipalities to utilize their credit to be employed in building model dwellings to be rented to working men at cost, the state must grant such power to local government.

There is an additional reason for launching such a gigantic program of municipal slum clearance in the immediate future. It will provide the stimulus to American economic life that is so badly needed in these dark days of depression. Post-war prosperity (which of course is a relative thing) is attributable largely to the automobile industry. Its phenomenal development in the last decade, by creating an unprecedented demand for raw materials, and by placing billions of dollars of purchasing power in the hands of workers employed both directly and indirectly as a result of its growth, kept the wheels of industry and commerce humming. The statistics of automobile sales and production show that the present, protracted, economic depression can in a very large measure be traced to the slackening of its activity due to the saturation of the automobile market. Traffic congestion furnishes ample evidence that everyone who can afford a car possesses one.

What is needed, then, is some new industry which will do for our economic life in years to come what the automobile industry has done in the last decade. The building industry is such a one provided it can be mobilized for a war on the slum. Remember that conditions described above are not typical of New York State alone. They are to be found in every industrial center in the United States.

We have seen that private enterprise and initiative cannot be depended upon to wage such a combat. If our public officials could be made to see the light, a decent home and a job could be provided for every worker. In the political field only the Socialist Party stands for this program.

## Swarthmore Liberals Discuss Relations Of Mining To Workers And Consumers

IN order to make possible the cuts in price. At such low cost are they forced to sell that in spite of wage reductions it is often impossible to make the industry pay.

At one time the miners had a fairly strong union, but a recent influx of Chinese and Negro laborers has made it possible for the operator to obtain a large number of non-unionized help at very low wages. In sections where such help was not obtainable the operators abrogated their agreements with the union in order to compete with the other districts. Since it was practically impossible for union members to get work, the membership fell off considerably. The direct result is that the company possesses unlimited power of wage reduction, for the unemployment situation is so severe that the miner must take what he can get. The indirect result of lack of unionization is that the company possesses almost unlimited social power over the miners; their position is no better than that of serfs. They live on land owned by the company, in houses which the company leases to them and from which it can evict them without notice; they go to schools, churches and theaters built and supported by the company. They buy their food and clothes in company stores. Even the law is upheld (supposedly) by the police whom he pays. Thus, an absolute absence of civil liberties exists; there can be no free speech or freedom of the press. Once the miners have lost the strength afforded them by collective bargaining their status is economic slavery.

The present system of mining coal is an outrageous waste of natural resources. Competition is so fierce that the operators find it pays to extract only about 60 percent of the coal in the mine, once a mine is abandoned the remainder is useless, for it is ridiculously expensive to reopen a mine. There is also no attempt to save coal when the need for which it is being used is not worthy of it; when something much easier to

produce could be used in its place. The natural resources of the country are being squandered.

At the basis of this poor coordination of supply and demand, of the feudalistic relationships between employer and employee, of the entire lack of conservation is the system of free competition, characteristic of the present economic organization or rather disorganization. No individual company dares be interested in knowing, if its product is superfluous, whether another product can more cheaply and effectively take its place; it merely wishes to sell it. No company dares to ask a price for coal which will enable it to maintain decent wages and profits and eliminate waste; it would be forced out of business. The most energetic attempts at organization of unions are bound to fail when no provision is made for technological unemployment and jobs are at a premium. To make matters worse—in spite of the great excess of supply in other industries as well as in this and in spite of the great number of men and women who are in great need of what there is too much of and men and women laboring ten and twelve hours a day (at a moderate estimate) while others go unwillingly idle. There is too much coal and people are cold, too many shoes and people are barefoot, too much cotton and people are unclothed, too much food and people are starved. A greater indictment cannot be found for the present disorganized industrial system of

every man for himself and devil take the hindmost—"saave qui peuit." Capitalism is found guilty.

There is a miserable situation; it must be remedied. How! Mr. Raushenbush suggests an immediate remedy for operator; Mr. Ameringer suggests an immediate goal for employee. Mr. Raushenbush gives us a plan which has been successful in the British Isles and in Germany. A central coal board should be set up, consisting of operators, large consumers and coal engineers. Its purpose will be to act as controlling middleman, buying coal at a price which will allow the more efficient mines to operate with decent profit and wages, and selling it at a slight profit which will be used to pay a salary to the members of the board. High cost mines finding it impossible to compete will drop out, thus reducing the surplus capacity. The details of Mr. Raushenbush's plans are only available to those sufficiently versed in a knowledge of economics.

For the miner Mr. Ameringer suggests a widespread union organized on the plan of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The government's assistance will be needed in making illegal "yellow dog contracts" (a promise extracted from an employee that he will not join a union on pain of losing his job.) Company and union will have to unite in arranging some form of unemployment insurance. There is much immediate alleviation to be found in these plans, but Norman Thomas reminds us that we must look forward to an

eventual social reorganization. A reorganization which will provide for the equal interest in an industry of producer, consumer and laborer, a reorganization which will focus endeavor on efficiency so that the item which is cheapest to produce, which is least wasteful of natural resources and most accessible will take the place of that which is sold below cost and advertised to the point of the ridiculous, a reorganization which will provide unemployment insurance, employment exchanges, reduction in hours of work in order to avoid technological unemployment. Such a reorganization must eventually, in order to make possible maximum efficiency, be international. The immediate step toward this reorganization is the denial of the right of private ownership of public resources.

Peter Nehemkis was chairman of the committee of Swarthmore students who planned the conference. The chairman and speakers were:

Dr. E. M. Patterson, President, American Academy of Political Sciences; Professor Joseph Willets, University of Pennsylvania; Alan H. Willett, National Coal Association; Van A. Bittner, United Mine Workers of America; Jacob Billikopf, Arbitration Chairman, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Roger N. Baldwin, Director, American Civil Liberties Union; W. J. Clothier, a coal operator; John A. Fitch, New York School for Social Work; Arthur Garfield Hays, Counsel, American Civil Liberties Union; H. S. Person, managing director, Taylor Society; Professor Carter Goodrich, University of Michigan; Henry N. Taylor, President, Sheridan Wyoming Coal Co.; Oscar Ameringer, Editor, Illinois Miner; George G. Anderson, President, Consolidation Coal Co.; Professor H. S. Raushenbush, Author of "Power Control"; Norman Thomas, director, League for Industrial Democracy.

The Conference was attended by members of a number of Eastern Colleges and Universities, including Vassar, Bryn Mawr, Smith, John Hopkins and many others.

## Training the Future Youth

If you are a young man or young woman in college or in a profession and if you believe that the present competitive social order needs to be changed to a social order that will give each man and woman, economic security and equal opportunity to develop freely and fully.

You are the person whose attention we desire to enlist. In addition to the political and industrial activities, labor and radical organizations are attempting by means of clubs and classes to enlist the sympathetic understanding of boys and girls.

In order to achieve effective results, these clubs need to be directed by leaders who are acquainted with the best methods of education as well as the aims of the labor movement. These leaders must understand the problems involved in dealing with groups of adolescent boys and girls.

It is in an effort to meet this need for skilled guidance that the Rand School in cooperation with the Young Circle League will conduct a course in Youth Leadership on Saturdays 5 p.m. Fee \$2.00.

The aim of the course is to discover by means of conference and discussion the best methods and technique involved in directing group experiences, constructing club programs, leading discussions, motivating social-mindedness, and inspiring socially-minded activities.

J. L. Afros director of the Young Circle League will direct the class and will be assisted by leaders of radical youth groups. Experts on the various topics will be called in. Free Scholarships to members of labor organizations.

## Literature Distribution Brings 479 Kans. Votes

(By a New Leader Correspondent) MANHATTAN, Kansas.—The Socialist vote in this county for Secretary of State was 479; the lowest, Reeves of Wichita, was 162. The New Leader correspondent distributed 700 platforms and 100 leaflets in the county.

The Socialist vote in the county two years ago was practically nothing. Your front page article, "Hoover's Broken Promises," was a hummer. It was passed around from voter to voter till it was worn out. A leaflet of that kind would be fine for the next two years. Upton Sinclair's article was also fine. It reached the laborers and common people and helped to do the work.

## Thomas Appeals For Funds To Aid Coal, Mill Strikers

A widespread appeal for relief for the textile strikers at Danville, Virginia, and the striking coal miners at Kelly's Creek, West Virginia, was sent out this week by Norman Thomas, chairman of the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, at 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

The Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, Mr. Thomas describes as an "industrial Red Cross in time of strike." The committee has functioned in the past during the coal strikes of 1927, the southern textile strikes of 1929 at Marion, Elizabethton and Greenville, and the Boston shoe strike of a year ago, and others.

The committee is composed of over seventy prominent men and women from all sections of the United States. Among those on the committee are Morris L. Ernst, Bishop F. J. McConnell, H. S. Raushenbush, Bertha Poole Weyl, Susan Brandeis, Stuart Chase, Frederick V. Field, Arthur Garfield Hays, John Haynes Holmes, Paul U. Kellogg, Corliss Lamont, Amos Pinchot, Samuel Untermyer, George D. Pratt, Jr., Oswald Garrison Villard and Elizabeth Glendower Evans.

## C. P. L. A. Conference Called for Dec. 6 and 7

Another conference is called by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action for Saturday and Sunday, December 6 and 7, at the Labor Temple, 14th street and Second avenue.

One feature is the general tone of the conference which takes up the most important question confronting us today. What can progressives do to advance progressive thought and action during this period of depression.

The other item is the dinner session on Saturday evening, December 6, at the Teutonia Hall, 158 Third avenue (between 15th and 16th streets). Walter White, one of the most eloquent of Negro speakers, secretary of the fighting National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, will show what this depression means to the Negro workers and suggest ways of dealing with the problem. Another noted speaker who will be announced later, will deal with the World Depression and its Lessons.

The first meeting of this season by the New York Branch of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action will be held on Friday, Nov. 14, at the Labor Temple, 14th street and Second avenue, at 8 p. m. Louis E. Budez, in charge of the unemployment insurance campaign and organization activities of the conference, will report. A discussion of the past election as they relate to the building of a labor party will take place under the leadership of A. J. Muste.

## Socialists Poll 1,000 Votes For Coolidge In New Bedford

(By a New Leader Correspondent) NEW BEDFORD, Mass.—The Socialist Party vote in this city made notable by strikes in the textile industry shows substantial average gains. Albert S. Coolidge, Socialist candidate for Governor, received 1,000 votes. Two years ago the highest Socialist vote polled in New Bedford was 700.

## On WEVD

230.6-WEVD—New York City—1,500 KC

### SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 16

11:00—Triangle Serenaders  
11:15—Tux-Tile Orchestra  
11:30—Radio Serenaders  
11:45—Piedpiper's Home Beautiful  
12:00—Millwagons  
12:15—B. & B. Collegians  
12:30—Dr. Lunsfeld, Talk  
12:45—Schneider's Travelers  
1:00—Mr. and Mrs. Chatterbox  
1:15—Rappoport, Jap and Lac  
1:30—Shinnocks  
1:45—Broadway Vacuum  
2:00—Schneider's Travelers  
2:15—Suzanne Style Hints  
2:30—Hovey Duo  
2:45—Marquette, Lida Minuet, Soprano;  
Gilda D'Alcamo, Mezzo  
3:00—Palmer Laughlin, Baritone  
3:15—Mrs. Phillips Elliott, "Social Gospel"  
3:30—Belfort Program  
4:00—Jewish Hour

### MONDAY, NOVEMBER 17

9:00—Rise and Shine  
9:15—Shelias and Chesnut  
9:30—Rappoport and Elzer  
9:45—Natural Bridge—Arch Program

### TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 18

9:15—Shelias and Chesnut  
9:30—Suzanne Style Hints  
9:45—Natural Bridge—Arch Program  
10:00—Jane Barry "Household Hints"  
10:15—Sally Gold, Piano  
10:30—Ann C. Beysbrook, Astrologer  
10:45—Ida Schwartz, Songs and Song  
11:00—Deutsch Bros. Hour  
11:15—Tea for Two  
11:30—Dance Program  
11:45—Freedom Serenaders  
12:00—Weather Reports

### WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 19

9:15—Shelias and Chesnut  
9:30—Rappoport and Elzer  
9:45—Natural Bridge—Arch Program  
10:00—Lunch for Two  
10:15—Dr. Lunsfeld, Talk  
10:30—Mrs. F. Long, Baritone  
10:45—Ida Schwartz, Songs and Song  
11:00—Deutsch Bros. Hour  
11:15—Tea for Two  
11:30—Dance Program  
11:45—Freedom Serenaders  
12:00—Weather Reports

### THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 20

9:15—Shelias and Chesnut  
9:30—Suzanne Style Hints  
9:45—Natural Bridge—Arch Program  
10:00—Loretta Yates, Soprano  
10:15—Raidam Musicians  
10:30—Shaw's "Guide for Intelligent Woman"  
10:45—Bess Levick, Soprano  
11:00—Deutsch Bros. Hour  
11:15—Tea for Two  
11:30—Dance Program  
11:45—Freedom Serenaders  
12:00—Weather Reports

### FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 21

9:00—Studio Music  
9:15—Shelias and Chesnut  
9:30—Rappoport and Elzer  
9:45—Natural Bridge—Arch Program  
10:00—Suzanne House Party  
10:15—Jamaica Royalties  
11:00—Jamaica Royalties

### SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 22

9:15—Shelias and Chesnut  
9:30—Suzanne Style Hints  
9:45—Natural Bridge—Arch Program  
10:00—Evan's School  
10:15—Neil Laughlin, Musical Saw  
10:30—Kris Kringle Korner  
10:45—Madeline Meyer, Song cycle  
11:00—Leder Geist-Sports  
11:15—Schneider's Sparklers  
11:30—New Talent Players  
11:45—National Theatre  
12:00—National Theatre

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By JAMES ONEAL

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## About All Sorts Of Things

WE have nothing but the deepest respect for the Austrian Socialists and our hearts and hands go across the seas to them in their hour of victory. To be sure, there is the possibility that the extremists of the Right may not abide by the decision at the polls, but a whole lot of strut has been taken out of the Austrian Fascists. It now remains to be seen whether the resort to force which the wild men are always yelling about will be made. We doubt it. People who are forever hollering "Fight," are usually running for the nearest shelter when anything like a real fight starts. Note our American Communists with their battalions of screaming women and children in the front ranks.

They have been talking about the reorganization of the coal industry at a conference at Swarthmore. And many wise things were said there by men who know their coal mines. But while both operators and union officials and their experts seem agreed that the industry is in shocking chaos, it is very much like talking about the weather which, as Mark Twain once remarked, is an interesting enough occupation but nothing seems to be done about it.

Nor, in our opinion, will there be any real reorganization of the mines until the little expensive mines are shut down and the government takes over the big ones and runs them as a nationalized industry. At present dog is eating dog all through the fields and as usual the working diggers are getting the worst of it.

We have our tragic spectacle of breadlines in the big cities as an outstanding argument for Socialism. If anyone can visit some of the once prosperous coal camps, now such appallingly deserted villages, and think of the waste of men and materials which these camps symbolize and not return a convinced Socialist he ought to go out and have his head examined.

We are interested to discover the economic philosophy back of the new so-called Progressive coalitions that are being forced every five minutes or so by the political writers for the capitalist press. If the Democrats are serious in their offer to sit in with the Hooverites in a program for unemployment relief, what are they receiving in return for giving up the advantages won in the last election? Will the Progressives again forsake their militancy which is so marked just before election day, once they are in office? It may be a mean, low-down thing to suggest, but we have a private hunch that Democracy won't be half as rampant once it gets into the smoke-hung atmosphere of the Congressional committee rooms.

From time to time we have talked privately with Progressives who have just been elected and who were on their way to Washington to raise almighty hell. But with a few honorable exceptions, such as Senator Norris, they turned out to be cooing doves within a remarkably short time. There is not enough decisiveness and punch in a platform of mere Progressivism to carry through in a real row.

We have been called a variety of things in the course of our life, ranging from that most offensive title, "Journalist," to just plain bum writer, but never have we run across one who is so many things all at once as W. Lathrop Meaker, who sends us an invitation to a series of lectures he is giving on Group Psychology. Mr. Meaker is described in his circular as "author, astronomer, biologist, bacteriologist, chemist, economist, engineer, lecturer, mathematician, metaphysician, political economist, poet, pastor, pragmatist, psychologist, prophet, statesman, scientist, Socialist and sociologist." I wonder what he does with his spare time, such as rainy Thursday afternoons. Mr. Meaker should really hook up with Joe Cook, who is the other most versatile man we know.

Now that the shouting and the tumult of the elections have died down may we suggest to you boys and girls, especially you Yipsies, that you buckle down to winning that Jimmie Higgins contest, which as you know gives you a free trip to the Socialist Vienna for the first prize. Write to the Socialist Party of America at 2653 Washington boulevard, Chicago, for full particulars. One way you can boost your stick is to boost The New Leader and the best way to do that is to start hustling in the subs right now.

We expect that we are as faithful to the Rand School bookshops as anyone around these parts. We have had lots of real happiness looking over the new books, sometimes buying one and chewing the rag generally. So we would hate to take any business away from our good friend, Jack Altman. We do want to put in a good word for a new shop that has been opened at 55 Charles street in Greenwich Village under the cheerful auspices of Dean Van who has been mighty shabbily treated by that old hag, Dame Nature, has a world of guts, intelligence and human sympathies. Drop in some time when you are in the Village. There are other things than speakasies in those interesting environs, despite the fact that the casual visitor seeing the natives of Oshkosh, Peoria and points East at play on the crooked streets down there might judge to the contrary.

I wonder how many people who are getting along fairly comfortably realize what it actually means to a white collar man who has made a fair living to go broke and have to panhandle his patient friends for a few lousy dollars. I don't think that there is anything that breaks down a man's morale faster and yet I know of literally hundreds of skilled mechanics, clerks, office workers, and yes, writers and reporters who are just in that situation. They can't dramatize themselves because they are not actually starving but their condition is not much better than that of the poor devil on the bread line who has to beg for a handout. To walk around trying to keep up a good front, without a literal nickel in your pocket, is one of the most humiliating things I know of. And I'm getting to know a lot about it, though for heaven's sake, don't take this as an appeal for the M. Coleman Foundation. I can get by. I just hate to think of those who have been in the financial state I have been in of late who have no friends to go to. And it doesn't help any to tell these folks that if they would only organize they would get somewhere. It's true, but it isn't the most cheering thing to hear when you are wondering where your next meal is coming from.

McAlister Coleman.

**The State and Education**  
We cannot expect much real education from the schools and colleges of a capitalist state. The state is still in the hands of the mighty rich, and its business is to maintain its own ascendancy through the preservation of the existing order. Our schools and colleges are "fief houses" and they cannot be expected to produce potential or actual rebels against the existing order.—Dan Griffiths.

**Rebellion!** The very word is a confession of tyranny, outrage, and oppression.—Benjamin.

# The Unknown Soldier

By Charles A. Wagner

"The Unknown Soldier," Charles A. Wagner's poem which won first award in the contest of the Poetry Magazine last year, is peculiarly appropriate at this time as the world observes Armistice Day. "The Unknown Soldier" is published in "Prize Poems" (A. and C. Boni) and in Mr. Wagner's "Nearer the Bone" (Coward-McCann).

One man's shoulder, and another man's thigh—  
The unknown soldier, here I lie.  
Rest and quiet is all I seek,  
Letting the chambermaid statemen speak,  
Letting the peace that they begot  
Rot in the quick earth as I rot,  
Letting the Peace that they declared  
Fall in the pit my bones have shared,  
Letting the kings and queens go by  
One man's shoulder, another man's thigh.

The unknown soldier, here I lie.  
One man's forehead, another man's eye,  
One man's collar-bone, one man's leg  
By which to lift the world a peg.  
They made of me a handy penny  
Because my bones are made of many;  
But though my limbs are all assorted,  
The brain of me is undistorted,  
Is all alive and full of reason  
And tracking still the trail of treason.

They are not dead. Their brains are steady—  
The millions lying still lie heady.  
Their eyes and fingers gleam and point  
And there are flames from every joint.  
Not one is lost, they all are known,  
They tally, every thread and bone,  
Their sleep is false, disturbed, unsound,  
You hear it in the very ground—

It mutters: "All is not yet over,  
There's more of me than tracks of clover."

One leg's a runner's, fleet and thin;  
He'll bring the early violets in  
And bind them in his sweetheart's hair  
When love has dropped the dress of care.  
One leg's a farmer's badly torn;  
He'll space the even rows with corn  
And call the crows in from the field  
When rust has hammered on the shield.  
He'll have a daughter, tall and fair,  
With purple violets in her hair.

One arm's a thief's arm, long and white;  
He'll rest his head on it all night  
And turn the plow from off the stone  
When men take each their little throne.  
One arm's a poet's, straight and strong,  
For whom I sing this bit of song;  
Continuing his sight of sky  
And from each fingertip there goes  
A want that's ended in a rose.

Unknown, I haunt each palace door,  
I stand upon the judgment floor.  
Unknown, from out my mingled pit  
I leer upon the law, new-writ.  
Aye, and my tomb is made of fire  
Where Heaven and Hell both draw desire:  
A caldron for some God afar  
To lean down and prepare a star;  
A seed, seed fallen in the earth,  
To reassume itself of birth!

One man's shoulder, another man's arm,  
By which to steer the world from harm.  
Unknown, the wind will tell my heart  
And make wild roses spring and start.

Unknown, the tongues of men will turn  
The fiery sentences I burn—  
No mortal names to hush the cry,  
But one man's shoulder, another man's thigh!  
A loss where men would pity give,  
A gain where thought itself may live.

They do not know my mingled thought,  
They who have wreaths and speeches brought,  
And doffed their hats and bowed before  
The "symbol of the end of war."  
My thought is further than they know  
Who mingled me unknowing so:  
My limbs are shattered and unknown,  
Stronger than I would be alone.  
I am not one, but I am all,  
I answer every soldier's call. . . .

My thought runs fire through the ground—  
Each battlefield, from mound to mound,  
Since first man ever learned the thrust  
That made him kin to all the dust,  
My thought is of another war  
With love and life to battle for.  
I shall be gathering by rank  
And halt before Time's outer flank  
About!—and muster all the dead  
Who ever falsely fell and bled.

Unknown, my song shall weave its horn  
Into the ranks of the unborn,  
Unknown, my strength and secret lies  
(One man's shoulder, another man's eyes)  
And until Love walks in the sun  
I shall not lay aside this gun;  
Until the busy streets proclaim  
That life and beauty are the same;  
Until men's voices find the power  
To call each colored weed a flower.

## Scanning the New Books

### Still the Greatest Proletarian Novel

#### "Pelle" Re-Issued

By Lawrence Rogin

NO APOLOGIES need be made for reviewing Pelle the Conqueror by Martin Anderson Nexø (Peter Smith, New York, \$3.50) on its appearance in a new dress of one volume instead of four and at a greatly reduced price, almost compatible with the worker's pocketbook. It was originally translated into English some fifteen years ago and its reissue at present is a sort of commemoration of the author's sixtieth birthday last year.

If a purely proletarian novel can be written, and I believe it can, Pelle is one. It is one in a much greater sense than anything that has ever been written in America. For its whole story is the story of the struggle of the working class as seen through the eyes of a worker. There is no inclusion of the kind-hearted son or wife of a rich man as in *Oil or Boston*. Problems of adjustment of these well-to-do believers in revolutions do not take up any portion of the story. The tale is a simple and powerful one of the life of a worker, from childhood on, told by a man who has lived that life himself and known its struggles and privations.

The most appealing part of the book is that section describing Pelle's childhood working on the farm. The story is not of the usual pastoral type. While the beauties of nature are described, and very well too, emphasis is placed on Pelle's work, in the cowshed, on the manure pile, or in the meadow watching the cows. Hard work it was, too, with the boy getting time for recreation only when he could steal away unnoticed or when he could make part of his work a play. Later Pelle went to the village school where the main interest of the master was in teaching hymns and the only other teaching that was done was what the older pupils taught the younger.

Finally Pelle passed his confirmation examination, by making his ears wiggle, and leaves the farm to make his fortune in the small provincial city. His hopes are quickly dampened when he becomes a shoemaker's apprentice. He sees the struggle of the small business man to make both ends meet and feels the effect of the sudden development of shoe making machinery upon men who have worked for years to obtain the skill necessary to conduct their trade. And so he gives up in disgust and turns to drinking and working just enough to earn enough to drink. Then disgusted with himself he turns back to shoemaking to pull out of the rut into which he has fallen. When he has done so he goes to the capital to try again to make his fortune.

Pelle had always felt that the poor were being oppressed by the rich and he had seen various examples of this oppression in his home city but it was only when he got to the big city that he saw how bad it really was. When he was being ordered around by the boss shoemaker he decided, suddenly, to join the union and so came in contact with what was known vaguely as the "movement." Here was a new life for him, into which he threw himself heart and soul. His union was weak, it was up to him to make it strong and he did so. If a strike was called and it was lost, no time for mourning, time only to work to build the union strong enough to win next time. If the older leaders were too cautious and afraid he must inspire them with some of his fervor and enthusiasm. This phase of Pelle's work climaxes in the "Great Struggle" between the

bosses and the workers. This part of the book is the most realistic picture of a strike it has ever been my pleasure to read. The organization of the workers, the picketing, the fighting against scabs by social ostracism, the suffering of the wives and children are most vividly described. When scabs are brought in from other countries the strikers are at a loss until by a stroke of genius Pelle makes his way into the factory and by a stirring speech brings them out on strike.

Finally the strike is won and the workers prepare for the celebration. When excitement is at its height, during the march of the mass meeting, Pelle produces the forbidden red flag and it flies at the head of the masses, for a few minutes only, that it may not be captured by the police.

Pelle was arrested and sent to prison on a subterfuge. When he comes out he finds that the movement has become respectable and almost satisfied. But he was not satisfied with it because although it was winning elections it was not bringing about the workers' commonwealth and was ignoring the demands of the poorer unskilled laborers and the unemployed. While debating in his own mind what must be done he hits upon the scheme of cooperation and decides to experiment with it. It is with the promise of the success of this experiment that the book closes.

I have sketched out the main details of the story of "Pelle the Conqueror" to show the scope of the work and its essential basis as a story of the struggles of the working class. But the story itself is not as bare as all that. Pelle has his love affairs, gets married and has his own personal worries and the author is concerned greatly with these as he is with the troubles of all he writes about. Pelle is not the only character fully portrayed but it is about him that the story revolves. He lives in a world of real people, all of whom exist and make the book more fascinating. "Pelle" is an international book in the sense that it pictures the struggles of the workers the world over. The situations described can be found in the labor movement of any country and are not at all peculiar to Denmark. I am inclined to think that this is true because the international character of the fight of the workers against the ruling classes requires the use of similar tactics. And so I say that Pelle is not the property of the Danish working masses, alone, although they may have been the inspiration for its writing, but it is the property of the workers the world over.

Those of us who do not take advantage of this opportunity given us by Martin Anderson Nexø to see workers' struggles and problems dramatized so vividly have only ourselves to blame.

#### Books Received

Edward Arlington Robinson—The Glory of the Nightingale; MacMillan.  
William Benet Munro—The Makers of the Unwritten Constitution; MacMillan, \$1.50.  
Anton Reiser—Albert Einstein; A. & C. Boni, \$2.50.  
William H. Herndon—Life of Lincoln; A. & C. Boni, \$2.50 (reprint).  
Claudius Marchionni—King Cotton Is Sick; University of North Carolina Press.  
John Cowper Powys—In Defense of Sensuality; Simon & Schuster.  
Edward Dean Martin—Chicago Surrenders; Vanguard Press, \$2.  
Emanuel H. Levine—The Third Degree; Vanguard Press, \$2.  
The Social and Economic Views of Mr. Justice Brandeis; Vanguard Press, \$4.50.  
Norman Foerster—Towards Standards; Farrar & Rinehart, \$2.50.



From John Vassé's "Contempe" (Putnam)  
THE TABLOIDS: "A writhing, struggling stream of humanity is ground into the rollers of the press."

#### The Theocratic State

MANY people do not know that we have had a union of Church and State in this country and yet this was true of nine of the thirteen colonies. In three colonies, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut the Congregational Church was established by law, while in Virginia, Maryland, North and South Carolina, Georgia and New York the English Church was established, although in New York it was limited to a few counties. In all these colonies the establishment represented a minority.

The studies of Arthur Lyon Cross, Brooks Adams, Susan M. Reed, M. Louise Greene, Richard J. Purcell, Alice M. Baldwin, and others have made us familiar with this phase of American history and to these may be added the important volume by Prof. Jacob C. Meyer (Church and State in Massachusetts from 1740 to 1833. Cleveland: Western Reserve University Press, \$1.50). Miss Reed's monograph had studied this theme for the period from 1690 to 1740 in Massachusetts and Prof. Meyer carries it from the latter year to the year 1833 when the last legal cord between State and Church in that state was severed.

An introductory chapter of 31 pages admirably summarizes the period studied by Miss Reed. Sectarian ideas and divisions, arrogance of the kept clergy, schism within the Congregational Church, new ideas and alignments during the revolutionary period, radicalism of the unprivileged sects, the reaction following the revolution, the rise of Jeffersonian Democracy and its alliance with the dissenting faiths, are all given a place in this interpretation of a phase of American ecclesiastical history that is a closed book to many moderns.

Here and there economic motives and interests emerge in the constitutional, political and clerical debate over the legal monopoly of the Congregational Church but in the end a clergy kept by general

and wealthy merchants. Beneath the religious and political struggle was a class struggle that cut across political and ecclesiastical debate. An interesting phase of this conflict was that during the post-revolutionary reaction towards conservative property some inhabitants had their household goods confiscated to pay the salaries of certain kept clergymen who had been Tory in their sympathies during the revolution! However, the Establishment was made still more objectionable by such injustice.

Most of the Congregational clergy, however, were supporters of the revolution but the revolt was kept in the hands of the upper classes who wanted to rule without the interference of the British Parliament and King. It is because the colonial ruling classes continued to rule after the Revolution that the Established Church survived so long in New England. In Virginia and the few other southern colonies where the English Church was established by law it did not survive the revolutionary period because its clergy sided with God and King. Shays' rebellion of poor farmers, mechanics and debtors in 1786-87 in Massachusetts was aimed at the ecclesiastical as well as the political rule of the upper classes and this lower class rising contributed to the marked conservative reaction which enabled of kept clergy to hold on to many of their state privileges longer than in any other state.

This is a valuable study in American ecclesiastical history. A bibliography of seventeen pages of source material shows how extensive has been the labor of the author in preparing for this valuable work. JAMES ONEAL.

#### PELLE THE CONQUEROR

by Martin Anderson Nexø

4 volumes (Boyhood, Apprenticeship, The Great Struggle, Daybreak) bound in one: 1200 pages. \$3.50

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By all means read PELLE THE CONQUEROR

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## The Chatter Box

### The Night Wind

I wonder where the night wind lives;  
And if I knew, I'd go,  
And ask him in the friendliest way  
Why he whimpers so.

I've heard him cry so many times,  
Among the poplar leaves,  
And make the saddest sort of sounds  
While sitting on the eaves.

Perhaps, he's just a helpless thing,  
Blind and weak and old,  
And tangled up among the twigs  
He shivers in the cold.

And when he gets unloosened there,  
And wants to go to bed,  
He stumbles all around the roof  
Until he bumps his head.

I wish I knew just where he lives,  
I'd go to him today,  
And warn him for his very good  
Not to come over way.

I'll say we did swell in the last election. We built up a vote throughout the country on a shoestring. It will probably mount up to over half a million real votes for our Congressional candidates. Something tells me quite definitely we are on the upward trek to a real bid for power. Something tells me we are in for a tremendous pull in the campaign ahead. All we need is courage, pep and a willingness to work. More Jimmy Higginses, more distributors of literature, more canvassers, more platform committees. I'm still pounding on the theory that we should concentrate less in specific districts, and concentrate more in the spread of Socialism. What use is there in electing a candidate or two in a special section only to find that two years later we must start in doing the same thing over again, because most of the electorate has moved to parts unknown, or the Tammany pirates have gerrymandered the district into an international mine pie.

I'm terribly against having individual comrades being hoisted like singular pennants in the battle, until they themselves are carried away by too much self-exhibition into a thorough loss to the cause. We have contributed to their gradual decline in effectiveness to Socialism by allowing hero-making and worship to spoil and weaken their own good sense of proportion.

I'll even make this statement with allowing for little or no exception. I know how closely I came to becoming a preening prig and strutting big-shot, (in my own self esteem, of course) by being concentrated upon in the Bronx, not so many years ago.

I'm for giving all the new-comers a big share in all the work that is to be done. I'm for hearing them at dinners, indoor meetings, and wherever publicity can come to them. There has been too much of a monopoly on public notice by a charmed circle. Aren't we all Socialists? And isn't the opinion of one or the other of us equally true and equally important in matters of public interest. . . .

Whatever dissension there occurs during the strained days of campaign time, and much of it does crop up, it is all due to clashing between pampered egotists and puffed up personalities.

Socialists are folks. Folks have certain inalienable weaknesses. Vanity is quite an important weakness. Few of us have the brutish strength to destroy it within ourselves. And the results of this flaw in our makeup as Socialists are never very helpful for a cause that demands so much in self-sacrifice and modest deportment.

I'm sure our comrades in Austria haven't done much concentrating in any special districts. I've watched the news carefully, and hardly one name stands out, over and above the millions who voted for Socialism there. The fact is that over there, the people who vote the ticket know what they're voting for.

The men and women whom it has been my pleasure to meet from over there are splendidly equipped with knowledge on basic principles, and above all carry with themselves no ill-concealed sense of self-bigness. I feel comfortable in their presence. I feel that I belong with them in an all-inclusive movement.

Here, we have an old guard that either shouts the young folks into frightened submission, or drives them out into stubborn uselessness. It is appalling at times to listen in on the deportment of some of our political managers toward the Jimmy Higginses. It certainly discourages a great many of us who must work on with them through campaign after campaign. I wish the time does come when these otherwise capable and experienced workers realize that the Socialist Party is no dynastic province in which there is any permanent tenure of prestige and office for anyone.

All these things, I trust, will be taken up in due course at our organization meetings, so that we may be able to remove a great portion of the impediments that retard the smoother working of our organization. . . . I write this so that the many who have complained to me in private will have been encouraged enough to speak up and plainly when the occasion for organized consideration comes on. Yet without this, we have much to congratulate ourselves over in the final summing up of our vote over the land. . . . And we just must keep fighting on.

### Bryant Park

God is one who pines  
With a bag of salted freedom . . .

The rigorous in the park  
Follows lightly the god

Of peasants first  
Of love second.

On the benches  
The unemployed sit hungry.

Hungry even for peanuts . . .  
Perhaps they strangely wonder

If the revolution of stars into garbage  
Or of new planets into paupers

Will somewhere gross rich royalties  
Of a meal for them from the chance hand

Of a god who pines  
With a bag of salted freedom . . .

I have had so many letters and inquiries regarding Comrade Gerber's letter in protest to my article of mutative influences and persons in the party, that I am almost hurried into a reply right here and now. But, I will want my response to be clear and comprehensive. Certain data must be boiled down; certain material must be stripped of cheapness and irrelevant accusation. All this takes time. I will be here soon on that subject; perhaps not soon enough.

A. S. de Witt.

If you have built castles in the air, your work need not be lost; that is where they should be. Now put the foundations under them.—Henry D. Thoreau.

Be sure to put your feet in the right place, then stand firm.—Abraham Lincoln.



# "The Doorway To Hell" At Strands and Beacon

The Stage

The Movies

Music

## The Beautiful French Star in an American Musical Hit



"Princess Charming," the Connolly and Swanstrom musical extravaganza boasts a large and talented cast. Jeanne Aubert, who made a name for herself in Paris, has scored a distinct personal hit in this production.

## Paramount Theatre Celebrates Its Fourth Anniversary This Week

The New York Paramount will celebrate its fourth anniversary the week of Nov. 14-21 with an elaborate show headed by "Laughter," a new Paramount picture which has won unstinted praise at previews for its sparkling dialogue, unique direction and superb acting. The picture will also be shown at the Brooklyn Paramount.

In "Laughter" Nancy Carroll plays the part of an ex-chorine who has married a millionaire, depicted by Frank Morgan. Fredric March is seen as the young composer with whom Miss Carroll was in love before her marriage. Others featured in the cast are Glenn Anders as a suicidally-inclined artist, and Diane Ellis as Morgan's daughter by a previous marriage.

At New York the stage presentation will be Harry Gourfain's new Public production, "O! Man Rhythm," with Block and Sully, Dave White, Ruth Stanley and the Dave Gould Girls, including an extra added attraction George Dewey Washington. Frank Jenks will act as master of ceremonies. Under the direction of Edward Paul the Paramount Orchestra, assisted by a tableau of fifty, the Paramount Vocal Octette and Hans Hanke, concert pianist, will play "Melodies Eternal," a collection of Beethoven compositions. In their first joint organ concert since early last summer, Mr. and Mrs. Jesse Crawford will present "A Birthday Party."

## About Maurice Schwartz and His Yiddish Art Theatre

The rapid growth of the repertory theatre during the last few years has expanded the boundaries of theatrical activity far beyond that glamorous but narrow zone on Broadway north of Thirty-fourth Street, where the discriminating and fastidious theatre-goer is concerned.

Leaving the Gay White Way behind and taxiing down to the lower East Side, through the dark streets of an unpretentious neighborhood is no longer just the prelude to a slumming party, or a sight-seeing trip for tourists. It is now the sign of a progressive, cultural mind whenever one wants to see the best and latest first-rate drama, and becomes increasingly popular with each new season of the Yiddish Art Players who have just returned from a tour of South America to take up their new quarters at Second Avenue and Second Street in the old Kessler Theatre.

When Maurice Schwartz, director and producer, first started his famous company years ago, it was believed that the exclusive use of the Yiddish language by his troupe would limit his audiences to the Jewish members of the population. But Maurice Schwartz and his brilliant cast have grown to hold a unique place not only in Jewish Art but in international culture. They have been enthusiastically acclaimed and praised by the English speaking critic. Their untiring and widely recognized efforts to do away with the "type actor" and to replace the purely sensational play-of-the-hour, by the more abiding masterpieces of the world's greatest playwrights, has brought fame to themselves.

## Gilbert Miller presents The Paris Success

**Marseilles**

By Marcel Pagnol  
(Author of "Topaze")  
Adapted by Sidney Howard

Opens

Monday Eve., Nov. 17

SEAT SALE BEGINS TODAY

Henry Miller's Theatre

124 W. 43 St., Bryant 3970.

Though Benjamin David, who will present an "Affair of State" at Broadway Theatre, November 20th, is a newcomer to the producing field, he has been in the theatrical business for years as an agent and artists' representative. He makes his debut with a comedy that has been "in the air," as the saying is, for a long time.

The cast of "An Affair of State" includes Florence Eldridge, seen here for the first time in three years. Others in the cast are Clifford McLaglen, Margaret Mullen and others.

"For Hennes Skull"

Continues at 5th Ave.

At the Fifth Avenue Playhouse, the Swedish talking picture, "For Hennes Skull" (For Her Sake) featuring Gosta Ekman and Inga Tidblad continues until Wednesday night, November 19th.

BROOKLYN

BIGGEST SHOW IN BROOKLYN

FOX

Flatbush Avenue & Nevins St.

LOIS MORAN in

"The Dancers"

A Fox Movietone Picture

Fanchon & Marco's "ROMANCE"

IDEA—CASTLETON & MACK,

FLO & OLLIE WALTERS, MARY

PRICE, MYRTLE GORDON,

ROBERT CLOY, 3 BRICK TOPS,

MACK BISSETT DANCERS,

BOB WEST

Fox Movietone News

## In Barrie's Famous Play



This Saturday afternoon, the always interesting Civic Repertory will do Barrie's "Peter Pan." Josephine Hutchinson will play the part of Wendy, and Eva Le Gallienne the lovable "Peter Pan."

## Why "Brown Buddies" Discontinued Their Midnight Shows

Now it comes out, the real truth and the whole truth, as to why "Brown Buddies" discontinued their midnight performance. After twelve the troupe is too busy listening to tinpanners to bother with late hour revelers.

Bill Robinson said he could use another song himself, and that statement has attracted the best of song writers to these early morning auditions. It was Bill, whose fame, incidentally, came through tap dancing, who made popular at least two song hits—"Follow the Swallow Back Home" and "Sweeping the Cobwebs Off" something or other.

Therefore when the French librettist with a penchant for Negro torches finished singing his latest, "Since You Let Me Go I Can't Seem to Take Hold of Myself" (a rough idea of the title), a discussion was in order.

"No song for Adelaide," chirped Bill. "Why isn't it?" asked one of the authors.

"Nothing I can dance to," snapped Bill, and that ended that song's chance of being catapulted into "Brown Buddies."

For three hours number after number was unfolded, but nothing happened. Not one tune struck the fancy of the colored assemblage.

"What's the matter with you

folks, anyway?" cried a song-

maker.

"None of the stuff is jiggerish enough," spoke up a voice in the back of the darkened auditorium.

"What do you mean by that?" asked a composer.

"You don't know and I don't know, so there you is," shouted the voice in the dark.

Robert V. Newman presents VINA DELMAR'S

"BAD GIRL"

"A hit, a smacking hit that talks straight out and hasn't a hanky or a lace collar to its uptown name."

—Whitney Bolton, Telegraph.

HUDSON W. 44th St. Evgs. 8:30; Mats. Wed. and Sat.

Best seats reserved by phone, BRANT 0680

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

—Walter Winchell, Daily Mirror.

Morris Green & Lewis Gensler present

JOE COOK

in his

Newest Maddest Musical

FINE and DANDY

ERLANGER'S THEATRE

44th St. W. of B'way, Phone Pen. 7963

Evgs. at 8:30; Mats. Wed. & Sat. (2ND GOOD SEATS AT \$1.00)

Earl Carroll

Vanities

8th Edition

67 Glittering Scenes—1,000 Laughs

HERB WILLIAMS

JIMMY SAVO

JACK BENNY

Cost of 150 and

Most Beautiful Girls in the World

Evgs. Entire Orchestra \$4

plus tax

Wed. Mat. Entire Orch. \$2.00

Good reserved seats every perf. 50c.

NEW AMSTERDAM

Theatre, W. 42nd Street

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Today—Next Sat. (Mat. & Evg.) and Mon. Tues. Wed. Nov. 24, 25, 26.

EDGAR WALLACE'S Sensational Hit!

"ON THE SPOT"

Most Thrilling Play of the Season! "A melodrama among melodramas—tremendously exciting—fast and thrilling—a hair-raiser."

—Robert Garland—Telegram

EDGAR WALLACE'S FORREST THEATRE

40th Street, West of B'way.

Evgs. 8:30; Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

## "The Doorway to Hell" Stays On at Strand; Also At Beacon and B'klyn

Making history in addition to shattering all box-office and attendance records, "The Doorway to Hell," Warner Bros. sensational drama of the underworld, is being held over for a third week at the New York Strand Theatre.

Not only will "The Doorway to Hell," in which Lewis Ayres is starred, play a third week at the Strand, but it will open a run simultaneously at two other theatres also—the Beacon, at Broadway and Seventy-fourth Street, and the Brooklyn Strand, at Fulton Street and Rockwell Place, Brooklyn.

## Dwight Deere Wiman to Open in "The Vinegar Tree" at the Playhouse

Dwight Deere Wiman who has provided with an excellent production and cast, "The Vinegar Tree," will bring it to New York for a premiere at the Playhouse on Monday, November 17th.

This comedy takes place in the country house of a Maryland family, where a few relatives and friends have been gathered for a quiet week-end. The proceedings, however, soon go from gaiety to hilarity as Miss Boland, "the vinegar tree" wife, begins her matronly moods and whimsies.

## "Schoolgirl" to Open at The Ritz Wed., Nov. 19

Henry B. Forbes will present his first play of the season, "Schoolgirl," by A. W. Pezet and Carman Barnes at the Ritz Theatre, Wednesday, Nov. 19. The authors have taken the main character of the novel, "Schoolgirl," written by Miss Barnes and published last fall, and have built a new work around this figure, the adolescent girl, Naomi Bradshaw. The play is not a dramatization of the novel but a new work into which Mr. Pezet has infused many new characters and situations. He has dramatized the character of Naomi rather than the book, "Schoolgirl."

## Theatre Guild Presents Elizabeth The Queen

52nd Street, West of Broadway

Evgs. 8:40; Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:40

## Theatre Guild Presents ROAR CHINA

45th St. W. of 8th Ave.

Evgs. 8:30—Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30

## ONE OF THE IRRESISTIBLE THINGS OF THE THEATRE.

—Percy Hammond, Herald-Tribune.

MR. GOLDEN PRESENTS

Frank Craven

in His Own Play

"That's Gratitude!"

JOHN GOLDEN THEATRE

West 52nd Street

Evenings at 8:40. Matinee Wednesday

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Upstairs Comedy Hit, with

BLANCHE YURKA, ERNEST

TRUAX, CHARLES COBURN,

NYDIA WESTMAN, ERIC

DRESSLER, HOPE EMERSON,

RUTH GARLAND, JEROME

LAWLER, MARY MORRIS,

ETIENNE GIRARDOT, IAN

WOLFE

and 70 others

44th St. Theatre

West of Broadway

Evgs. 8:40; Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40

200 balcony seats \$1 for all

performances

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Talkies

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ITALIAN TALKIE

"Sei tu L'Amore"

IS IT LOVE

8TH ST. PLAYHOUSE

52 WEST EIGHTH STREET

Between 5th and 6th Avenues

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Continuous Noon to Midnight

5th Avenue Playhouse

68-34th Ave., Alg. 7011.

6 SWEDISH TALKIE

2nd Floor

FOR HENNES SKULL

For Her Sake

## A Hit at the Winter Garden



A successful successor to the Goldiggers of Broadway is the "Life of the Party," which remains for a second week at the Winter Garden. Winnie Lightner, who scored her first big success in "Goldiggers" repeats in this gay comedy, and is supported by a fine cast of players.

## Manhattan Symphony Opens Season Sunday

The Manhattan Symphony Orchestra, Henry Hadley conducting, will give its first Sunday Evening Concert of the present series at Carnegie Hall tomorrow. The program is replete with novelties. Luisa Silva the soloist who makes her New York debut at this concert will sing the aria from La Favorita.

Dr. Hadley who has been conducting the Tokyo Symphony Orchestra during the summer returns with a new composition "The

Streets of Peking" which will have its premier performance on this occasion.

There will be ten subscription concerts: four in Carnegie Hall on November 16th, 1930, March 15th and 29th and April 12th, 1931, and six in Mecca Auditorium on November 30th, December 14th, 1930; January 11th and 25th, February 8th and 22nd, 1931.

## Gold diggers of Broadway in Havana—working playful millionaires.

LIFE of the PARTY

Wild Winnie LIGHTNER

Warner Bros. Winter Garden

Continuous—Popular Prices

Midnight Shows

DOORWAY TO HELL

with LEWIS AYRES

Continuous... Popular Prices... N. Y. Strand Midnite Shows Nisely

AT THESE 3 THEATRES

Beacon

B'way at 14th St.

Aaronson's Commanders

3rd Record Breaking WEEK

of the picture. Gangdom dared Hollywood to make!

DOORWAY TO HELL

with LEWIS AYRES

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# NEW LEADER

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

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

Contributing Editors:

Morris Hillquit,  
Abraham Cahan, Al-  
lerton Lee, Harry  
V. Laidler, Norman  
Thomas, Joseph E.  
O'Neil, Jesse Wal-  
lace, E. J. Connelley,  
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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the program of the organized working class. Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of the New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinion consistent with its declared purpose. Contributors are requested not to write on both sides of the paper and not to use lead pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

... SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1930

## Twelve Years After

THE twelfth anniversary of the end of the war for "democracy" greets a sick and prostrate world. The armistice ended the war but it did not bring an end to the trends and forces that brought on the war. Those forces are more rife today than they were in 1914.

It is estimated that, beginning with the wars of Napoleon, all the wars of the nineteenth century heaped up a death toll of 4,449,000. The total deaths from direct causes in the World War were twice that number. It is estimated that the number who died of direct and indirect causes of the World War reached the staggering total of 20,000,000, or five times the number who died in all the wars of the nineteenth century.

The total cost in wealth of the World War was at least 338 billion dollars. The cost in health, the maimed, and hates can never be estimated in terms of money. About a dozen dictatorships and more men under arms than before the outbreak of the war must also be added to the fruits of the struggle. One of the very worst products of the butchery is the insane nationalism it has generated. Europe is a boiling pot of nationalistic intrigues and rivalries, each one believing that it carries a special culture that gives it an eminence above all others. Concealed within each of these nationalistic movements is the itch for power and exploitation by upper class cliques interpreted in terms of religious fervor.

Above all, there are the millions of wretched and jobless men for whom capitalist society cannot guarantee the security of the cave man of ages ago. Had the millions of conscripts who were marched into the bloody pits been able to see this thing issuing out of the war they would have made short shrift of the statesmen and the capitalism that is responsible for it.

## Our Jobless Tragedy

THOSE who have any hope of the statesmen at Washington doing much worth while to help the millions of unemployed workers should tune in on the drive of Colonel Woods, Hoover's generalissimo on unemployment. Will cities and states report what they are doing in extending public works and employers tell what they are doing in expanding their programs? Report this to the Colonel and he will report it back. A few kind words regarding cooperation of all agencies and the Colonel turns to his dinner.

While unemployment increases in this state in October compared with the previous month, the Census Bureau at Washington reports some interesting figures. The value of the products of nearly 200,000 manufacturing establishments in 1929 increased 10.3 per cent in a ten year period while the number of wage workers decreased 5 per cent. Here is what is going on as the result of new machines, technical changes, mergers, and more intense sweating of labor power.

Moreover, the census of the number of unemployed in this country appears to have been made with a conscious intention to conceal the real situation. Six classifications were made. For example, Class A consists of those who have no jobs. Class B consists of those who have jobs but are not working. Will some wise chap please tell us the difference between the two? But there are four other classes listed, including those unable to work and those idle on account of sickness. What is the difference between the two? The other distinctions are equally mysterious.

The press appears to have cooperated in this deception. It generally quotes the figure of 2,508,000 as the total number of the unemployed, or as "about three millions," although this is the number mentioned in Class A alone. The result is an obvious distortion of the facts. A very conservative estimate of the number of the unemployed would be at least 5,000,000. Multiply this by three for the average family and we get 15,-

000,000 human beings who face want in this era of Hooverized capitalism.

The silk hat gentlemen who never miss a good meal, who serve the ruling classes, are unwilling to look into the social pit that yawns at their feet. Meantime the working class itself is disfranchised at Washington. It stands outside the door with cap in hand, a beggar for legislative sops, while our ruling capitalistic and financial nobility further consolidates its power in industry and government. Let us hope that the terrible lesson we are learning will be followed by earnest political and economic action of the masses in the coming years.

## Austrian Socialism

CONGRATULATIONS to the Austrian Socialists who passed through the critical elections last Sunday with increased prestige and power. It was the gravest emergency they have faced in the ten years since they have controlled the great city of Vienna. The week before the election many of their arms were seized, arms which they kept since the end of the war to protect themselves against raids by the Fascist reaction.

Fortunately the Fascist and Clerical gangs were not united in the election. Austrian Fascism (the Heimwehr) is a compound of clericalism, anti-Semitism, and monarchism led by Prince Starhemberg, a young aristocrat possessing thirteen castles, a friend of Hitler, leader of German Fascism, and who looks to Mussolini as a model of reactionary dictatorship. Clericalism is led by Mgr. Seipel, a priest, who has hoped for a bloc of Catholic States. Both Clericalism and Fascism see the ideal state in Mussolini's Italy.

It is to the credit of the Austrian Socialists that they kept their heads under severe provocation. They have gained one seat in Parliament and with 72 seats they are the strongest party. The Clericals have 66 seats, Schober's bloc of Peasant and Pan-German parties 19, while the Fascists have only eight. Schober will probably return to power with the support of the Clericals although the latter ousted him some months before.

Prince Starhemberg cannot count much on aid from Mussolini. All reports indicate that Italian Fascism rests upon a volcano that may blow up at any time. Recent investigations based upon a careful study of Italian sources show that Italian finances and industry are in a bad way and Mussolini's police are kept busy trying to suppress discontent. Austrian Socialists were perhaps aware of this as well as Starhemberg. Although all danger has not passed, we congratulate the Austrian comrades who have the best organized and best informed Socialist movement in Europe.

## Old and New Slaves

ALMOST within the shadow of the White House, declares Laurence Todd, hungry men "plead for help to pay for a meal or a night's lodging. Three blocks away from the big iron gates and the stone posts of the White House front is the tenement where an Italian worker, desperate from months of unemployment, tried to kill himself and his wife."

About one century ago Galusha Grow, later the father of the Homestead Law, walking along the same thoroughfare, "saw a group of slaves, men, women, and children, roped together, driven by a man holding a long whip," say his biographers. "He would now and then snap it over their heads with a report like a pistol shot . . . as he hurried the drove on toward the Capitol."

That whip never caused more terror to shackled slaves than the "rugged individualism" of Mr. Herbert Hoover. The blacks were sold with their labor power while the whites must manage their own sale with no buyers at hand. If the slave traders who drove their human merchandise down Pennsylvania Avenue were to retrace their steps today, what sardonic satisfaction they would enjoy in observing the human tragedy at the very gates of the White House.

## IN A NUTSHELL

The statement of the Democratic leaders regarding the course of their party in Congress does not even contain a promise. Perhaps they decided that they had offered enough before the election to feed the unemployed.

Let us kill hatred. It is the survival of the cave instinct in man which comes out of its hiding places under the name of patriotism and justice.—Sir Philips Gibbs.

President Hoover urges a big enrollment in the Red Cross to take care of casualties that may occur in a national disaster. Perhaps he thinks that the collapse of his "prosperity" does not belong to the same category.

Capitalism organized human beings for material and economic ends. Socialism will organize economic and material resources for human ends.—J. Ramsay MacDonald.

Big bankers and capitalists have congratulated the Democrats for their cooperation with Republicans. Have the two parties ever done anything else?

The best way to prevent war is not to prepare to make war, but to prepare to make war impossible. The common people do not enter into war; they are dragged into it.—J. Keir Hardie.

In two states the Socialist Party obtained 13 legislative fighters while the voters in the rest of the country got—well, what did they get?

Speaking at the banquet of the National Advertisers Association, President Hoover told the diners what constitutes sound advertising. We hope that he mentioned the full page advertisement two years ago of "A Chicken in Every Pot" as an example of what he means.

## Unpublished Letters

AS A contribution to the election discussion, the New York "Evening Sun" of October 28th commented in an editorial on the fact that a proportionately large number of candidates on the Socialist ticket in New York City were foreign born. The Sun concluded that though the Socialist party has "annexed the Thomases, the Browns and the Colemans," it was still a party led by foreign-born. Norman Thomas, McAllister Coleman, and Louis Waldman, sent the editor of The Sun letters which were refused publication. Here are two of the unpublished letters:

"October 29, 1930.  
"Editor, New York Sun,  
"New York City.  
"Sir:

"Your editorial entitled NATIVITY OF SOME SOCIALISTS in last night's issue was not an amiable bit of comment on the birthplace of Socialist candidates. It was a thinly concealed appeal to prejudice against Socialists and Socialism as a foreign importation, a kind of subtle Ku Klux Klanism, not without its own trace of anti-Semitism, at least so far as Russian Jews are concerned.

"I appreciate the fact that it is easier to answer Socialist arguments by talking about the birthplace of Socialists than by reason. Nevertheless I desire to protest against the things you have done and in protesting to record my own pride to be associated with men who have more of the old American feeling for liberty than a great many Americans whose ancestors came a little earlier and from other countries than Russia. It was I think, a great blessing to America that from the ranks of brave men who dared to hate czarism we derived an immigrant strain to whom liberty and freedom were realities worth working for. The truest Americans have often been immigrants from the days of the Mayflower down.

"I might also call your attention to the fact that it is fitting that in a city containing so many of the foreign born their services as citizens should be recognized by the nomination of men who like Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Paine, Karl Schurz and a host of others are immigrants.

"Truly yours,  
"NORMAN THOMAS."

"October 30, 1930.  
"Editor, The Evening Sun:

"Your editorial, 'Nativity of Some Socialists,' hits a new low in its display of snobbish vindictiveness towards everything saving of Socialism.

"Quite evidently there has long since fled your editorial office any decent respect for dissident opinion which was present at any rate as late as 1914 when I left the old 'Sun' after four years service.

The fact that a number of our candidates were born in Russia has about as much to do with their present campaigns as the fact that I was born in a somewhat disheveled brown-stone house on Seventy-third street, New York City has to do with my candidacy for the State Senate. As a matter of historic truth, Socialism in this country has its roots deep down in the radicalism of the Middle West of the late 'Nineties.' Our party was founded by the followers of Debs, railroaders for the most part, who derived their Socialism to a large extent from Bellamy's 'Looking Backward' surely a work free of the Muscovite taint. As Socialism stands today it is at once a philosophy and a political program, critical of the status quo of industrial and agricultural America of 1930, non-dogmatic, realistic and essentially democratic.

"I am proud to be associated with any group of men or women, irrespective of their places of birth, who have the courage and intelligence to go about the necessary task of putting our economic house in order. And I resent, as must every other native-born American who is not blinded by bigotry, your klannish slur of us as high-minded and sincere a group as this nation contains.

"Sincerely yours,  
"MCALLISTER COLEMAN."

**Socialist Vote in Butte**  
BUTTE, Mont. — The Socialist Party vote in Silver Bow County which has 32 local trade unions was as follows: John F. McKay for United States Senator, 240; J. P. Cavanaugh for Congress, 197; Tolly Hardwick for Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, 146; William F. Held for member of the Railway and Public Service Commission, 104; Arthur C. Thomas for State Senator, 321. Thomas was the only Socialist candidate supported by the trade unions.

Farmer-Labor candidates ran for several of these offices. The average total vote for both Socialist and Farmer-Labor candidates was 380.

**The New Llano Colony**  
After an existence of sixteen years, the Llano Colony of New Llano, La., which consists of several hundred workers, boasts of the fact that it has no jail or policeman. The colony now has an ice plant, saw mills, leather goods plant, bakery, printing plant and several other industries. Gifts of machinery, tools, clothing, household goods and books have recently been sent out by those interested in the enterprise. It is announced that contributions of this kind will be appreciated by the New Llano Colony.

# Exposing SOME RADICAL LITERARY RACKETS

By Jacob C. Rich

ONE of the shady tricks of business is to buy up a reputable firm, known for the quality of its merchandise, stock the shelves and counters with all the shoddy and cat-fur obtainable and unload it on an unsuspecting public as the genuine article of the old store.

Another trick of sharp shooters is to acquire a name as near like that of a well known and trusted establishment as will abide with the rather loose requirements of the law, and under that fair name to mislead trustful and undiscriminating souls to buy the spurious firm's assorted junk. The many "Hudson Bay" companies selling dyed alley cats and the innumerable "Goodyears" and "Goodriches" selling crumbly raincoats illustrate what I mean.

This racket is not confined to mercantile business alone. The literary line also has its share of it. It is particularly prevalent in that branch of the literary industry that boasts of a radical or semi-radical bent. I have in mind at least two journals that have taken over the names of honored and well-liked predecessors, that appeal to former readers of these predecessors for support and that dish out material which is spurious and totally different from what the readers have been led to expect.

pect. To me this is a form of fraud just as reprehensible as that of out and out racketeers.

I refer, of course, to the New Masses and the New Freeman. Those who remember the pre-war Masses recall it as a journal of sincere lampooners; high spirited, venturesome, full of the cardonic salt of competent cynics. Thousands bought it and liked it for its tang and full-bodied flavor, and when it was suppressed, they felt the loss keenly. So keenly, indeed, that when the New Masses appeared they rushed to the stands in full confidence that at last they would get at least one thing with the full pre-war content. They were sadly disappointed. What they got was a Volstead brew needled with the ether and wood alcohol of Communist propaganda. Instead of a heady stimulant they got a retching folt in their insides that just left them sick.

In time the New Masses defeated itself. At present it isn't even a good Communist organ. Outside of the occasionally clever grotesqueries of a few cartoons, it just slops over with Salvation Army mud, colored red. Its writing is its sophomore high school and pretty poor specimens of it at that. Labeling it "Proletarian Literature"

doesn't make it any more attractive.

As for the New Freeman, to my mind it practices an even more insidious form of literary fraud. At least the New Masses is openly Communist and patently dull. The New Freeman covers up its Communist bias with a sheen of lady-like respectability, and its dullness with the frost of catty acerbity. Moreover, as long as it lasts, it still tries to parade in the old garment of the original Freeman. The garment, gay and colorful as it once was, is badly worn by this time, but there it is. The very name is misleading. The sponsors insist that it is a new Freeman; in other words a reissue of the old and genuine Freeman. It is nothing of the sort. It is merely a bad imitation of the genuine article.

The New Freeman masthead states in large bold type that its editor is one Suzanne La Follette and the general impression is, I know, that she is a daughter of the late Robert M. La Follette, whose name is revered by many and respected by all. So far as I know, the New Freeman never took any measures to correct this impression. Yet it seems to me important to do so inasmuch as the late Senator La Follette's fam-

ily stands for something distinctive in American thought and politics. The name connotes trenchant, pragmatic progressivism of the mid-western variety. A La Follette deriding progressives, liberals and Socialists would carry more weight than someone by another name would. I myself was misled and puzzled at the Communism by indirection of this Suzanne La Follette. Somehow it didn't jibe with my conception of the real La Follette. After diligent inquiry I finally discovered that just as her journal is Freeman, nly in name, so is she La Follette only in name. She is not a daughter of the late Senator. The daughter is Fola La Follette. Suzanne happens to be a niece or some such relative.

I disclose this not as a great expose but merely as symptomatic of the New Freeman as a whole. Representing itself as a journal of radical-progressive opinion, or progressive-radical, or something equally hazy and sketchy and non-partisan and "respectable," not a week goes by without its quota of Soviet propaganda in the New Freeman. The most ridiculous hyperboles of the paid optimists of the Soviet agencies are spread forth in the New Freeman as gospel truth. If you believe the New Freeman, Stalin has succeeded not only in establishing a paradise on earth, but has even weaned his people of the bourgeois craving for food. According to the New Freeman, the Russians willingly stand in line for a rationed piece of bread and they protest if the ration is too large. Clothing, shoes, meat, milk, butter, fruit, soap and salt are all impediments of a decadent society that the enlightened Russians spurn with disgust. There is no unemployment in Russia, official Soviet statistics to the contrary notwithstanding. Freedom pervades the land. Even the prisons are free except of course for Socialists, disgruntled Communists, educators and trained technicians who are disposed of as befits a disciplined state. Capital punishment has been abolished except, to be sure, for those of loose tongue, for those who "hoard" coins or potatoes, or are religious, or Zionists, or whatever the capital offense happens to be at the moment. It's a grand country and all I can suggest is that its New Freeman discoverers try living there for a year or so.

With this bias in mind, the New Freeman's hostility to Socialists is quite logical. Yet it hasn't the moral stamina to declare its hostility openly. That would too quickly disclose its pretense of impartiality. The New Freeman therefore does its clawing and sniping from the rear. In the recent election campaign it did not attack the Socialist efforts as such. It merely pointed out how truly Marxian the Communists were while the Socialists were indeed only as Heywood Broun, "Four Marxian" comedy Socialists. In a lengthy editorial it emphasized the fact that whereas Heywood Broun was not beaten up when arrested, the Communists were, thus proving something or other. Broun according to the editorial was arrested in a publicity stunt while the Communists were at City Hall out of a desire not for publicity, but to save mankind.

I was naive enough to write the New Freeman my opinion of its tactics and incidentally I gave them my judgment as to the journal as a whole. To my you-don't-know-what regret, the New Freeman failed to print it, but such honest sentiments as mine ought not go lost. Let me therefore repeat them here.

Where is the verve, the sparkle, the mocking good humor of the original Freeman? I asked. To me the genuine Freeman was a piercing rapier with the glint of humor on it. This "just-as-good" Freeman is not even a rusty saw.

It seems to me there ought to be a law, I said. After all there is a law against misrepresentation and false branding even in patent medicines. Why not in journals?

# Footnotes Behind the Headlines

The World Before You Lies and Lies

By Adam Coalidigger

## HOARDING BY WORKERS MUST BE STOPPED, SAYS PROF. DODO, ECONOMIST

"Our temporary economic depression is due almost solely to hoarding on the part of the working classes," declared Prof. Deadduck Dodo, in an interview at Hardshill, Mass., where he is attending the annual conference of the American Association of Economic Wizardry.

Professor Dodo went on to say that he did not object to the workers saving in the form of life insurance, or purchase of a few thousand dollars worth of gilt-edged bonds, nor to ordinary Christmas and holiday saving accounts.

"But hoarding of their money is a vicious practice. The working men of America owe it to the Christian business men of America on whom their very life depends, to spend freely."

Professor Dodo scoffed at the stories of unemployment in America.

"There may be a few malcontents and ne'er-do-wells," he said, "whom no employer would tolerate, but most of the men not working today are simply living upon past savings—rotious and scandalous living in some cases, I should say. But as to actual unemployment, decidedly no; I dare say there isn't a fellow in America who couldn't get a job if he tried."

Dodo, who holds down the chair of Economic Wizardry at Mossback University, read a paper at the conference, entitled: "The Effect of Sun Spots on the Rediscount Rate of the Sixth Federal Reserve District." Since none of his colleagues could understand it, they unanimously voted it the greatest contribution toward economic thought in the century.

The professor, interviewed by a pack of drunken reporters at the time of the convention, attributed his great mentality to the simplicity of his living habits. He lives on skimmed milk, crackers, and raw cauliflower, avoids tea, coffee, tobacco, and alcohol, and adheres strictly to the moral code.

Professor Dodo rides a bicycle for exercise. He saves his money, and puts it in good solid Fort Worth oil stocks. He boasts that he has worn the same suit and overcoat for ten years. History will judge Calvin Coalidigger and Herbert Hoover the greatest of all Americans, he told the reporters.

## DOCTOR BRINKLEY, KANSAS GOAT GLAND MAN, RUNNING STRONG RACE FOR GOVERNOR

Dock Brinkley drew a crowd of 40,000 Kansans at his political speech at Wichita last Sunday. Politicians of both Democratic and Republican parties are seriously alarmed at the Independent's campaign, as this was the biggest political meeting the state ever witnessed. Brinkley has been engaged in a fight with the Kansas Medical Association, which accuses him of questionable practices at his goat gland hospital at Milford. (That one's true! At last, a politician appears who knows what the people really want. To think that whole generations of politicians have sought votes by advocating such trifling things as prosperity, good roads, light wines and beer, and free coinage of silver at the ratio of

sixteen to one. Brinkley's slogan ought to be: "We make Pops out of Grandpops." Ah, Brinkley, you old kiddie!)

## YOUNG ROTHSTEIN MAKES KILLING; OTHER GAMBLERS AMAZED AT BREAKS HE GETS

The gambling fraternity of the town was still talking today about the "cleaning" made by Slats (Rothstein) Toughnut, one of the younger gamblers. Rumor says that the young "Rothstein" is forty grand to the good as a result of an amazingly simple wager he placed yesterday.

Toughnut bet at even money that the first 1,000 automobiles to cross the Eads bridge after 10 o'clock yesterday morning would be Pierce-Arrows with Nevada licenses. Naturally he won, and gamblers were kicking themselves this morning that no one ever thought of such a simple gamble before.

"I gets de idea from me pal, John (Scabby) Lewis of Indianapolis," said Toughnut. "He signs a paper wid de Kentucky operators for de '17 wage scale for de boys in his mob, to stick if all de operators in Kentucky signs up. Dat's gonna be a cinch, I sees, so I gets a hunch and I links up de Pierce-Arrow bet. Me, I bets on de sure t'ing ever time, just like me old pal, Scabby."

## BILLION AND HALF MORE CIGARETS SMOKED THIS YEAR THAN LAST, CLAIM

Tobacco manufacturers were jubilant when the report of their sales for the year was announced, showing that 1,500,000,000 more cigarettes have already been smoked this year than last. They are especially proud of the record, in view of the prevailing depression.

No other economist rising to comment on these figures, it's up to me to explain. One word tells the story—moochers. Times being so hard, some fellows find it harder sledding than others. Chaps who wouldn't think of asking their friends to borrow the flivver, or a pound of bacon, or B. V. D.'s to wear to a strip poker party, will mooch as much as a package of fags a day if they happen to meet 20 men who aren't also mooching. Moochers don't ever buy cigarettes, but hard times steadies their mooching nerve.

If mooching other commodities were as common as mooching cigarettes, wealth would be equalized, the warehouses bursting with goods that people haven't money to buy would be quickly emptied, and we could again thank God for endowing we Americans with the intelligence to maintain prosperity.

Suppose the New York Central let me mooch rides (on the cushions) with all the generosity that the janitor displays when I mooch a cigarette off him.

Suppose Henry Ford said "sure thing, Buddy," when I mooched him for a brand new flivver.

When mooching of the big things gets as common as mooching for a cup of coffee or a cigarette, I freely predict another "era of unprecedented prosperity."

# Build Your Press!

By Charles Solomon

WE must build up our press. No work in our movement is more important. Our press is perhaps the most effective propaganda agency we have. It provides continuous contact. This is something which is denied to even the most effective of our speakers. It's the old story of the power of the printed word. These statements are not academic with me. In the twenty years I have been in the Socialist movement, I have been on its platform and worked on its press.

As between sending one of our papers, say, The New Leader, into the home, or making a first rate Socialist speech to one, I would almost always choose the former. A newspaper like The New Leader is loaded with first rate speeches. Moreover, it usually stays where it is sent. If it isn't read at once, it probably will be later. It is there to meet the mood of the reader. This is not true of the best of our speakers because it is physically as well as financially impossible.

In the days when I did most of my soap-boxing, I always made a special effort to "plug" our literature. As far as The New Leader is concerned, I have tried to do my bit getting subscribers. Most of the Leader subscribers I have added to the subscription list are non-Socialists. I haven't found it difficult to interest the average intelligent person in subscribing for The New Leader.

I have talked to some of them after they had been receiving The New Leader a while. Without exception, they expressed themselves as highly pleased with the paper and determined not to be without it.

Leader circulation should be made an item of first importance at all our meetings.

We must build our press. Against a background of twenty years of active service in our movement, including speaking, campaigning, election to public office, working on our newspapers, I say I know of no party work more important.

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## Trade Union Women Press for Job Insurance

Unemployment was the chief subject of the meeting of the Women's Trade Union League November 10, after the members had dispatched a telegram to President Hoover urging the appointment of Grace Abbott, head of the federal children's bureau, as secretary of labor. At the conference a permanent committee to carry on a long range legislative program for unemployment insurance was formed by the W. T. U. L. and representatives of the city's welfare groups, including such organizations as the Welfare Council Charity Organization Society, Young Women's Christian Association, Salvation Army, League of Women Voters, Consumers League, and Jewish Charities. Secretary Grace Paret of the W. T. U. L. reported that the welfare workers, who bear the chief burden of the American deal, seemed eager for unemployment insurance, voting to form the committee immediately although they were offered the opportunity of returning to their organizations for further consultation.