

## Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

British Labor's Change On Palestine—Pilsudski's "Triumph"—The Present Scene in Russia—Unemployment Insurance: What Kind For the United States

### MAKING AMENDS ON PALESTINE

SOME light in the prevailing gloom comes from London this week. The debate in the House of Commons, and particularly Ramsay MacDonald's speech, went far to counteract the somewhat querulous tone, the summary manner and the drastic prohibitions of Lord Passfield's famous white paper on Palestine. The very difficult task of providing a homeland for two people in a country no larger than some American counties remains. It ought not to be an insoluble task given patience, wisdom and the genuine idealism with which the Jewish workers in Palestine have approached the problem. It is, at any rate, a task which Britain definitely assumed in the Balfour declaration. That declaration was not, I think, born of any idealism at all but only of Britain's need of Jewish support in winning the war and the peace. But whatever the motive, the declaration was accepted and got international as well as British sanction. The hope of the situation lies not in two bourgeois homelands, one Jewish and more advanced, the other Arab and more primitive, but rather in the success of the Jewish workers in building up their idealistic cooperative civilization which will serve as an example to the rest of the world and will in time leave even Arab life and make for a real friendship of workers across national lines. Palestinian policy ought to be shaped to the encouragement of this type of solution. In the long run nothing else will do. A Jewish nationalist homeland resting permanently on bayonets is no real homeland at all and is an additional menace to world peace.

Norman Thomas

### POLAND'S FARCICAL ELECTION

NO LIGHT at all broke through the dark skies over Poland at the last election. The election itself was a farce. Pilsudski got his majority by wholesale arrests and by military intimidation. Poland under him remains an unhappy country and a potential menace to peace.

### RUSSIA: SOCIALIST DUTY AND RESPONSIBILITY

SOVIET Russia's charge of a European plot against her has not been supported by evidence. It seems improbable on the face of it in view of Franco-Italian controversies and other quarrels between the capitalist nations. Moreover, ever since Napoleon's retreat from Moscow the French have had a wholesome fear of actual invasion of Russia. Finally most European nations know that war against Russia may invite revolution at home. These plot stories are, I think, born of an oversimplification of the logic of conflict between the capitalist nations, and Soviet Russia united with the nervous strain of the desperate struggle to put through the five year plan in four years. To do this means a tightening of the belt and a degree of privation which is likely to have emotional consequences.

Nevertheless while I think it is fantastic to believe that there is a definite plot against Russia in which the statesmen of Western Europe have participated, there is enough mutual suspicion and illwill to make it all too likely that the nations can blunder or stumble into war. This danger is greater when Russia's chief western neighbor is Pilsudski's Poland. Pilsudski is just the sort of a swashbuckling romantic patriot who would take very little encouragement to blunder into some sort of war with Russia to make his own people forget his failures at home. Hence the need of restraint. We cannot afford to be stampeded either by Communist or anti-Communist propaganda.

This does not mean that we have not a right and a duty to protest against a fresh intensification of terrorism in Russia. All protests, however, must be on the basis of evidence, they must be made for the same reason that we protest against terrorism in Italy or Poland, and they must not be complicated by general criticisms of Russian economics. This statement applies very definitely to the tone Americans should take in response to the Russian Socialist request for protest on recent executions and arrests in Russia. It is entirely possible to condemn terrorism and still to believe that Russia is carrying on an experiment of immense value which contains much hope along two lines in which Socialists are deeply interested: (1) They are showing that men will work and work hard for other than the profit motive; (2) they are also showing that a planned national economy is possible. These things are worth while even if mistakes are made in the speed of the five year plan. The Socialist task in Western countries is to get men working for other than the profit motive on a planned economy without dictatorship or terrorism. In fulfillment of that task we have to oppose Communist tactics in America sharply. We should speak out against tyranny everywhere but we should not be swept off our feet so that we seem to countenance capitalist or monarchist propaganda against Russia.

### WHAT TYPE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE?

SO DESPERATE is the need of unemployment insurance in America that almost any law is better than no law. It will be a profound misfortune if differences of opinion between friends of unemployment insurance should defeat a hopeful beginning of constructive legislation. Nevertheless it is possible that we may get unemployment insurance of so bad or so inadequate a type that it will delay rather than hasten the coming of better legislation. No harm is ever done by stating the ideal principles of sound legislation. For that reason it is important for us to examine more carefully than we have the kind of unemployment legislation we want. A splendid basis for such examination has been laid by Harry W. Laidler in the November issue of the L.L.D. Monthly. I should like to take a little space to state my own point of view which I confess is subject to modification in the light of further discussion.

1. Socialists should advance a bill in line with Socialist principles. It should not be open to the criticism that it is fantastically impossible of passage in any legislative body. On the other hand it is not our business to pare down our demands to what we think we can get. We shall always get less than we ask. The introduction of our own bill does not necessarily mean that after its discussion Socialists may not get behind some other bill with a better chance of immediate passage.

2. Our own plan should emphasize the fact that unemployment is a national problem and unemployment insurance should be nationwide. States' rights in this matter are workers' wrongs. No state will get a really decent unemployment insurance bill until unemployment insurance is general in the United States. When the capitalist press appeals to states' rights and the popular dislike of the 18th amendment it is deliberately using a faulty analogy in order to confuse the issue. Industry in America is national; labor's problems are national. Ideally therefore we should have a national unemployment insurance law.

The practical disadvantage is the doubt whether such a law would be constitutional. If it is not so much the more reason for amending the constitution so that Congress can do what is for the economic advantage of the workers. Meanwhile unquestionably we shall have to go on as a practical matter to try to get unemployment insurance in states where it is possible. Later on these state schemes can be linked up to, or made part of, a national scheme. Socialists, however, cannot afford to allow friends of unemployment insurance to forget that there can be no satisfactory unemployment insurance law in Massachusetts or New York so long as there is no law that applies to Georgia and Alabama.

3. I can see no sound argument for making unemployment insurance solely a charge on industry on the analogy of workmen's compensation. The analogy is misleading. Workmen's compensation was a substitute for a prior liability of employers to damages. Unemployment insurance imposes a brand new liability on industry. It is absurd to suppose that just because the employers will write out the checks for unemployment insurance under this plan they will actually bear the burden of it. On the contrary, unemployment insurance on industry will be a charge to be taken out before profits are computed. Unless workers are well organized and vigilant many employers will try to take the costs of this unemployment insurance out of wages. Wherever possible they will seek to add what they say are costs of unemployment insurance to the price of their goods. To be sure, they may not always succeed in thus passing on the burden but they will try. Again a great many workers will never get any benefit from unemployment insurance if the cost is levied wholly on industry. This is true because these workers are employed by small corporations or individuals who cannot easily be brought into a scheme of insurance solely by industry. Some industries are so weak that they might not support

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## Danville Mill Striker Gets 60 Days in Jail

Morale of Virginia Mill  
Workers Is Strong—  
Chiefs Visit Washing-  
ton

By John W. Edelman  
DANVILLE, Va.—(FP)—In the first Danville strike case to come before a jury in corporation court, Roscoe Pell, 19, cotton mill striker, was sentenced to 60 days in jail and \$50 fine for hitting an aged scab in the chest, on the word of two mill bosses as opposed to seven witnesses who said Pell did not do it. The strike-breaker himself did not know Pell and only swore out the warrant when his employer told him his assailant's name next day. His testimony was confused and uncertain. But Prosecutor John W. Carter, rated the most brilliant in Virginia, worked as local people say he has never done even in a murder case to bring about conviction.

It appears that the authorities have decided to bear down with all their weight from now on in order to waste the time and money of the union leaders in the courts, and spread publicity about alleged disorders which may counteract the sympathy the strikers have won by their remarkable self-restraint. Another group of strike cases is scheduled to follow this. Even so, the number of arrests is almost ridiculously small considering that 4,000 people are on strike. The union has retained an able and respected local attorney. Unfortunately he is too busy to work up the cases fully.

In behalf of the old strike-breaker, Prosecutor Carter made one of the most elaborate arguments for the rights of individuals ever presented in a court of law, dilating for two hours on the aggravated nature of this assault, because it attacked the right to scab. He constantly declared he had absolutely no interest in the strike—which involves more than half the inhabitants of the town—but it was evident to the whole courtroom that something tremendously important to Carter was at stake in this case. The company's lawyer simply sat on the sidelines watching.

The sentence was voted by a jury of clerks and business people, despite the testimony of one boy entirely unconnected with the strike who said he was with Pell elsewhere, the whole evening the attack was alleged. Imposition of the sentence has been postponed by union counsel's claim of irregularities in the conduct of the case.

### Gun-Toting Scab Fined

Other recent cases show the bias of the law. A woman striker was arrested for calling two girl scabs "skunks," but had to be acquitted when the girls could not identify her. A striker was fined \$25 after scabs had told a strange tale of how he had waved at them with a billiard cue in a crowded street, although a large number of witnesses stated they saw nothing of the kind occur. A scab, however, who shot off a gun toward a group of union women standing some distance from his home, throwing up the dust around their feet, was let off with a \$5 fine because he said it was accidental.

The county prosecutor held one striker in jail 48 hours by insisting on \$10,000 bail—an unheard-of amount in this region—on a charge of beating up a scab. Atty. Williams for the union had to fight hard to get bail down to \$1,300, itself an unprecedented figure for the offense.

Everybody with experience in strikes agrees that this is the most law-abiding group of people they have ever encountered, on strike or off. It is a real test case for those who preach passive resistance. The papers have been hard pressed for the usual violence stories. Two alleged tire-slashing that got wide publicity some time ago were later admitted by local papers to be on a unionist's car.

### Morale Stays High

More scabs went into the mill this Monday than late last week, but not so many as last Monday. A couple of union people quit the strikers, but came out of the mill later, greatly heartened by what they saw. They told a most convincing story of utter disruption. There are not two dozen skilled people in the whole mill, they said—mostly the scourings of the countryside, children, and green farmers. Some 600 go in daily but most of these are bossmen and non-productive workers, such as firemen and engineers. There are not 300 productive workers of any kind on the job.

The morale of the workers is splendid, despite the fact that the

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### "RED TALK"

Busick Opposes War; Must  
Be Socialist, Los Angeles  
Cop Decides

LOS ANGELES—(FP)—Said Officer McGinty: "This man (William Busick, Socialist organizer) was shouting at the top of his voice in favor of Socialism but to me it appeared to be of a red nature—in as much as he was complaining about our children being taken out of school and compelled to fight bloody wars and so forth." Busick was fingerprinted and released under \$25 bond. He was freed later on a technicality in the traffic obstruction ordinance.

## W.Va. Strikers' Homes Raided; Six Arrested

Men and Families Need  
Food and Clothing to  
Continue Fight Against  
Ward Mine

By Richard Glover  
WARD, W. Va.—(FP)—What started as a battle between a coal corporation and its employees' resistance against a drastic wage-cut has now developed into a bitter three-cornered fight. State "cossacks" who at first pretended friendliness toward Ward's 800 striking miners have joined hands with the Kelly's Creek Coaleries Co. in an effort to break the strike which has raged for 11 weeks.

The arrest of Otto Bailey and Clarence Dart, strikers, brought the state police arrests for the week up to six. Both miners were taken to the Charleston county jail without formality of warrants after their homes had been ransacked under the pretense of searching for "high-power" rifles. Mrs. Dart, a cripple, was roughly brushed aside by the uniformed police when they burst in the door of the house. Later they held back the crippled wife and aged mother of Dart while they snapped out questions at a 6-year-old son with the hope they might force from the youngster a confession that he had seen his daddy "packing" a big gun.

In the meantime, grim mountaineer coal diggers, under the leadership of Frank Keeney, district president, representing the Howat faction of the United Mine Workers of America are more than ever determined to beat back the coal company's move to cut wages, already at a starvation level. Recently they formed a mile-long parade and marched three miles up the "hollow" to hear Keeney. At the head of the weaving line of West Virginia's "fight-in" stock" waved the flag that went up Cabin Creek with Mother Jones in the famous strike of 1912. The Ward miners are seeing with their strike a revival of the mine-thug system, almost wiped out in this part of West Virginia as a culmination of an armed march of 20,000 miners in 1922. More than 30 armed guards have been imported to guard the strike-breakers.

Along historic Cabin Creek and Paint Creek guards are still being used but they are venerated with the high-sounding title of watchmen. In McDowell, Mingo and Logan counties where the boast is made "no dam union organized can get out of these here hills alive," sawed-off shotguns and 30-30's in the hands of an army of the coal companies private guards menace anyone approaching the mine properties.

### Food, Clothes Needed

Just now the Ward miners await anxiously the outcome of the "house cases" to be heard before

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## Broun-Pauline Newman Debate Stirring Up Interest

CONSIDERABLE interest has been aroused in the debate between Heywood Broun and Pauline Newman to be held in the Debs' auditorium, 7 East 15th St., Friday evening, Nov. 28, at 8:30 p.m. This interest is not only directed towards the debaters, but also to the subject to be discussed, "Resolved: that special legislation for women workers is desirable as a social policy."

There has been considerable discussion on this question in the last number of years both by the proponents of the equal rights amendment, who have been agitating continually before various women's clubs, etc., presenting the extreme feminist position, and by trade unionists who feel the movement endangers such special leg-

# National Socialist Conference To Meet May 29, N.E.C. Decides; Big Propaganda Drive Planned

## Dabbling Drolidge Says:

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EASTHAMPTON, November 22.—There are quite a number of unemployed selling apples in New York. This is an indication of the speedy restoration of the prosperity which marked the first years of the Republican administration under you know who. Selling apples keeps the unemployed out in the good fresh air. It is good for a man to sell apples. It also helps the apple market. Anything that helps the unemployed and the apple market at once is an indication of the sound health of our industrial body. This is merely a temporary depression. It will pass. Everything passes. Even dividends pass. Even I may pass. But let us not be discouraged. I am not discouraged. Few of my business acquaintances are discouraged. All things work together for good. This is the best of all possible worlds. The man who can keep a stiff upper lip will win in the long run. When you are absorbing poisons from food wastes held too long in the system, ambition dies quickly. But that is merely temporary. It will pass. Let us have faith in ourselves.

DABBLING DROLIDGE.

## U. S. Children's N. Y. Socialists Bureau Under Found Guilty Fire in Wash. In P'ghkeepsie

Report to White House  
Conference Seen as  
Cloak to Fight Wel-  
fare Bureau

By Laurence Todd  
WASHINGTON—(FP)—Two thousand scientists have been assembled in the capital by the administration, after many months of preliminary publicity, to discuss, in a babel of opinions, the "care and protection" of 45,000,000 American children. The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, as this enterprise is called, is under the general supervision of Secretary of the Interior Wilbur. Secretary of Labor Davis is vice-chairman, but as he is about to become a senator his part in the affair will be slight. Having neglected the Children's Bureau for more than nine years, he now discovers it, and, like the vote-catcher he is, gives the starveling a pat on the head.

But the National Women's Trade Union League of which Elisabeth Christman is secretary, has taken pains to read the preliminary reports of 120 committees of the conference—just issued in a big volume—to discover why the conference has been promoted. Having done so, it has raised an alarm, to which the National League of Women Voters has promptly responded. The conference appears to be a vehicle for just another attack on the Children's Bureau!

Battle over this administration maneuver to reduce the importance of the Children's Bureau, as built up in the past 18 years by Julia Lathrop and Grace Abbott, is likely to be the main feature of news in the Conference. The Children's Bureau has persisted in investigating and reporting the relation of industrial wages, home poverty, child poverty and child illness and child deathrate. Its studies are a continual indictment of low-wage industry, non-union industrial centers, yellow-dog-contract blight areas, and of the condition of industrial misery which has kept step with mechanization.

Big employers would like to knife the Children's Bureau.

Herling and Coroneel  
Given Suspended Sen-  
tences in Free Speech  
Fight—Appeal Possible

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.—John Herling and Jean Jacques Coroneel, the two Socialists whose meeting was broken up Oct. 20 by Poughkeepsie police, were found guilty Wednesday of violating a city ordinance which forbids the placing of a box in the street. Arthur Garfield Hays, chief counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union, was attorney for the Socialists. Judge Harcourt of the City Court suspended sentence.

From the start Mr. Hays contended that the Socialists were discriminated against in this case. A former mayor of Poughkeepsie and the under-sheriff of Dutchess County testified that they had seen many meetings, political, as well as the usual weekly Salvation Army assemblies, on the very spot where the Socialist meeting was almost held.

Judge Harcourt, who intervened in the city's defense whenever the defense seemed to have scored a point, declared that the meeting was being held at a dangerous corner, with great possibility of accident.

Coroneel and Herling, on the stand, brought out the following facts that the meeting was held about 25 feet from the corner so that turning autos could not possibly sideswipe an audience; that the box had been placed within sufficiently far from the corner to a vacant parking lane marked out prevent a parked car from being hit.

About 25 Vassar students, many of whom are members of the Vassar Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy, attended the trial. Several were ready to testify as to what had happened the night the meeting was broken up. Mr. Hays brought out in examination of the detectives who made the arrest that at that time they had no knowledge of the ordinance which Herling and Coroneel were accused of violating. Detective Leadbitter's first words to Herling were: "Take the box out of the street." They were: "You've said enough. Come on down or I'll pull you down." The detective arrested Herling and Coroneel, Mr. Hays contended, for making a speech and not for talking from a box.

After the trial, Herling declared that he was going to make a speech from the curb instead of using a soap-box. That seemed to be legal since the presence of the box against the curb that had aroused the aesthetic ire of the Poughkeepsie police. Judge Harcourt said that it would be better if Herling didn't. He didn't. An appeal from the decision of the court may be made. No appeal action was made at the time the New Leader goes to press.

Oakland, Calif., Socialists  
Aided Thomas Congress Fight

The Norman Thomas for Congress Campaign Committee wishes publicly to acknowledge receipt of \$38 contributed by Socialists of Oakland, California, through Ira W. Payton. In an earlier issue of The New Leader, the contribution was mistakenly credited to Socialists in Canada.

## National Committee to Hold First Meeting in Con- nection With Conference—Mass Meetings to Further Peace Efforts—Model Job Insurance Bill to Be Reported—Senior Reports Advances

By James Oneal

CONCLUDING a two days' session in Newark, N. J., last Sunday night, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party mapped out an ambitious program of propaganda and organization for the coming year. A detailed survey of the party's work, its problems and opportunities, was submitted in the report of National Executive Secretary Clarence Senior of Chicago which also contained many proposals for strengthening the party.

Among the leading decisions of the committee were the following: That a national conference of the party be held in some Middle West city beginning on May 29 next year.

That the members of the National Committee shall meet with the conference and hold a session of their own when the conference adjourns.

That a drive for funds be made as soon as possible, the proceeds to be divided between the national office and the state organizations. That mass meetings be held throughout the country on the last Saturday and Sunday in January in conjunction with Child Labor Day.

To Join in Peace Moves  
That special agitation be undertaken in behalf of the unemployed, this to include the framing of old age pension and unemployed insurance bills for introduction in as many states as possible.

That this agitation include propaganda for anti-injunction legislation, for outlawing "yellow dog" contracts in industry, and holding peace meetings in cooperation with peace organizations that share the Socialist point of view against war.

In reviewing the work and experience of the National Office in the recent campaign, Executive Secretary Senior declared: "In point of contacts made, publicity received, literature distributed, speeches made, and general all-round educational campaign, this was one of the best. It remains to be seen whether or not the party is capable of turning these advantages gained in the election contests to good ends by cashing in on them organizationally."

Of the more fraternal relations of the party with labor organizations Senior listed the support of Socialist candidates in Wisconsin and Pennsylvania. Other localities where Socialist candidates were supported by local labor bodies were Butte and Missoula, Montana; Chicago, Los Angeles, Buffalo and Niagara Falls. Considerable help was also received by Socialist candidates in a number of states from the League for Independent Political Action.

Membership Dues 1,900  
The complicated dues system which varies from state to state still makes it difficult to estimate the number of party members throughout the state, and yet solely on this basis there is a net gain of 1,600 members in the period covered by the entire year of 1929 and nine months of 1930. Senior estimated that there are twice as many persons who consider themselves members as dues figures show, because the depression has made stamp sales slow.

The leading states in the order of membership for the nine months' period of this year are as follows: New York, 2,377; Pennsylvania, 1,203; Wisconsin, 1,168; Massachusetts, 1,004. There are party locals in all but three or four of the states but in all there are members at large. The national conference in May of next year is not a national convention. It is more of an educational and organization conference. The National Committee is composed of one member from each state which has additional representation according to the Socialist vote cast in the state. While about 25 members of this committee have been elected it has hardly functioned and it is hoped that by having its members meet at the same time as the conference it will be stimulated to become an active body. Most of the members of the committee will likely be delegates to the conference and the members of the committee will have an opportunity to

The program arranged for the coming months will test the willingness of the members to "cash in" on the party's recent campaign by increasing the membership, establishing more fraternal contacts with organizations of the workers, and expanding the organization into unorganized sections and communities.

Of the four assembly districts in Los Angeles in which we had candidates running (there are fourteen assembly districts in the city) we polled a total vote of over 15,000. In the sixty-first district Bill Busick gave the Republican a scare by polling 40 per cent of the total vote cast.

The campaign showed that the Socialist Party in California is back to its prewar voting strength and is prepared to grow rapidly from now on. We have finished the campaign with an increased vote, maintained our standing as a legal political party, which enables us to go on the ballot without petitions and hundreds of thousands received the message of Socialism, and though they did not all vote the Socialist ticket this time, a better understanding of Socialism prevails and we have an increased sentiment that will bear fruit in the future.

Dozens of street corner meetings were held in Los Angeles, which attracted large audiences. Many indoor meetings were also held by the various branches in the city.

One of the outstanding surprises in the campaign was the Socialist Election Rally held in Trinity Auditorium. The Republicans found it impossible all during the campaign to get over a hundred and fifty people to attend their widely advertised rally, though they offered free admission and plenty of free food. Despite the hard times, the Socialists were able to pack Trinity Auditorium with 2,000 people at 25 and 50 cents admission, and took up a large voluntary collection on the inside besides. The size, earnestness and enthusiasm of the audience pepped up the whole movement and showed that the spirit of the Socialists was stronger.



hold the first session and consider the work.

An invitation will be sent to friendly organizations to send fraternal delegates. On the second day of the conference it is planned to have these fraternal delegates assist in discussion of plans for peace and relief of the jobless.

**Conference City Undecided**  
In preparation for the May gathering the members of the National Executive Committee were divided into sub-committees on finance, organization, and propaganda. These committees will work out proposals for the conference and for the work of agitation in the coming months. The conference proposals will be sent to all local organizations and they in turn will be invited to formulate their proposals for the conference agenda.

The committees are, Finance, Morris Hillquit, chairman; James H. Maurer and Alfred Baker Lewis, organization, James O'Neal, chairman; Meta L. Berger and Jasper McLevy, propaganda, Daniel W. Hoan, chairman; Joseph W. Sharts and Lilith Wilson.

Considering that the May conference will be held in the year of the thirtieth anniversary celebration of the organization of the Socialist Party the celebration will be a celebration of this event as well as an educational and organizational conference. It is hoped that many members and friends will be able to attend and participate in the celebration. The local organization in the city where the conference is held will cooperate with the National Office in working out an anniversary program which will make the conference one of the most notable in the party's history. Every Socialist and sympathizer who may be able to go to the conference by automobile or otherwise will make a record of the date.

The financial drive is planned with the view of helping every division of the organization to carry on its work. The unique opportunities for organization and propaganda require the most adequate financing of the National Office and the state organizations that is possible. Moreover, the drive will help the various states to finance their delegates to the conference.

**Finance Drive Mapped Out**  
The drive for finances will be conducted from the National Office and is in charge of Executive Secretary Senior who will obtain competent help in organizing it throughout the country. It is expected that before the end of December the drive will be on and it will continue until every Socialist, sympathizer and sympathetic organization has been reached. The funds will be divided on a basis of 50 per cent to the National Office and 50 per cent to the state, the latter to agree upon the division with the local organizations.

The Child Labor Day mass meetings the last Saturday and Sunday in January not only correlate with the Socialist opposition to exploitation of children but also with the program of unemployment relief. There are almost 2,000,000 gainfully employed children who should be in school and it is a crime that this should be when there are millions of adult workers unable to obtain jobs.

The fact that in the United States charity does are the chief source of relief for the jobless millions provides an opportunity to agitate in all the states for old age pensions and unemployed insurance. The tragedy facing the unemployed advertises the lack of adequate social legislation in this country and in all cities the Socialist organizations will be urged to take the initiative in organizing for unemployment relief. Mass meetings and publicity will focus attention on this work and the cooperation of sympathetic organizations should be solicited.

**To Draft Job Insurance Bill**  
In many cities through cooperation with trade unions and other organizations delegations can be sent to city councils and even larger delegations representing various cities in a state can be sent to the legislature to urge enactment of unemployment insurance.

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## Socialist Vote Rises 100% in Cleveland

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CLEVELAND — According to the official election results, the Socialist Party of Cuyahoga County, where Cleveland is located, scored an important success. The vote for leading Socialist candidates for the State Legislature increased 100 per cent. While this increase cannot as yet make Socialists strong contenders for places in Legislature, nevertheless, it makes the party a real factor in the municipal elections, because the greatest increase in vote was achieved by two former Socialist candidates for the city council, who were already among the runners up in the previous elections. Joseph Martinek increased his vote from 1,994 to 4,112 and Comrade John G. Willert from 1,982 to 3,742. This increased vote was cast mainly in the two districts where they ran last fall for the city council, which makes the prospects bright for the Socialist Party in the municipal campaign in 1931.

The official count for all Socialist candidates in Cuyahoga County follows:  
State Legislature: Martinek, 4,112; Willert, 3,742; Kunez, 3,083; Hastings, 3,004; Malin, 3,818; Brezina, 2,623; Wuffie, 2,545; Rihmaki, 2,511. State Senate: Epstein, 2,386; Weintraub, 2,303; Jauch, 2,258. County offices: Harvey (Auditor), 2,161; Mandelkorn (Commissioner), 1,804; Schreiber (Sheriff), 1,748; Yellen (Treasurer), 1,602 and Benjamin (Prosecutor), 1,605.

legislation. A sub-committee of the N. E. C. consisting of Morris Hillquit, Norman Thomas, Harry W. Laidler, Alfred Baker, Lewis and James O'Neal will draft a model unemployment insurance bill for use in this campaign. Speakers' notes which will provide information and arguments in behalf of this bill will also be sent to the local organizations. James H. Maurer, Darlington Hoopes and Lilith Wilson will also draft a model old age pension bill.

Supplementing this large program of education and agitation will be agitation for legislative relief from the injunction abominations in labor disputes and against "yellow dog" contracts in industry. Labor organizations face a dark future if these bludgeons of the possessing classes are not wrested from them and work for this legislation should enlist the support of any labor organization that has a fighting spirit.

Nor is this all. World peace is today almost as insecure as in 1914 when capitalism and imperialism dragged millions of workers into the trenches. The economic distress all over the world, the problems of debts, reparations and armaments, and the menace of Fascism and nationalism in Europe, make peace agitation more essential than ever. Demonstrations against the militarist spirit, for disarmament, against jingoism and military training in the schools, and other phases of the war mania will contribute something to a saner attitude and party organizations will be urged to carry on the fight for maintenance of the peace. Wherever the National Office can arrange for joint action with peace societies in this work cooperation will be arranged.

**Laidler on Colonial Commission**  
One handicap which Executive Secretary Senior has faced in getting cooperation of locals in the states is the failure of many to provide him with a list of the names and addresses of their members. The National Executive Committee joins the secretary in urging all locals to supply this list without delay so that the work of the office will not be hampered in the work that has been mapped out.

In international matters the committee elected Henry W. Laidler as the American member of the Colonial Commission of the Labor and Socialist International. Secretary Senior reported obtaining the addresses of Labor and Socialist organizations in quite a number of Latin-American nations and Morris Hillquit will seek more information regarding the possibility of a conference of Socialist organizations in the Americas and what such a conference could do.

Anatole Brailowsky appeared before the committee to present a statement of the executions of Socialists in Russia in the name of four New York Russian Socialist organizations. They also cited the joint resolution of the Executive Committee of the Trade Union International and the Bureau of

## Party Building Is Planned on The East Side

Permanent Organization in 8th Assembly District Is Projected

WITH an increase in the straight Socialist vote of approximately 50 per cent, and an increase in the vote of the Socialist candidate for Congress of over 400 per cent, Socialists of the 14th Congressional district, where former Judge Jacob Panken made a strong race for election to Congress, are tightening their lines and preparing for the next battle.

Following informal conferences of active party members in that district, it has been agreed that immediate steps should be taken to build a branch in the 8th Assembly district, the only district in the congressional district which has no Socialist branch, and to organize a congressional campaign committee with representatives on it of the three branches.

A preliminary meeting to organize the 8th Assembly district branch was held last Friday evening at the former campaign headquarters, 133 Second Avenue, which the Cap Makers Union has agreed to place at the disposal of the branch without charge, just as they did for the Panken campaign. More than 20 attended the initial meeting, despite the rain which must have kept many from attending.

A provisional committee to direct the formation of the branch was elected, with Nathan Reisel of the Bonnaz Embroidery Workers Union, as temporary organizer, and Benjamin Kaufman as temporary secretary. Application for a charter will be made. In the meantime funds are being raised for the establishment of a permanent headquarters in the city.

As soon as the branch is organized, delegates will be elected by this and the other branches to the joint congressional campaign committee. Arrangements are also being made by Marx Lewis, who managed the congressional campaign, to have a get-together for all those who were actively identified with the campaign. It is believed that some new members and active branch workers will be gotten at this get-together, the date and place of which will be decided upon within the next few days.

While the immediate effect of the election was to cause a disappointment at the failure of Panken to win, a complete examination of the figures has caused a change, since they indicate that Panken and the other Socialists made a phenomenal showing in the face of the Tammany landslide. It is this feeling which has inspired the decision to begin building a stronger Socialist organization in the district.

the Labor and Socialist International which called "the attention of the workers of all countries to the executions without trial and the mass extermination of the intellectuals in Soviet Russia." The resolution further appealed "to the civilized world to do all within their power to save the lives of the innocent victims from the hands of the Bolshevik hangers-on."

**Protest on Russia**  
James O'Neal and Joseph Sharts were instructed to bring in a resolution expressing the protest of American Socialists against the present regime of terror in Russia. The resolution reads:

"The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party joins the Labor and Socialist movements of the world in protesting against the latest acts of terror in Soviet Russia; and, particularly, against the brutal extermination of Socialists and other workers, many of whom have spent years in exile and in the prisons of the Romanoff autocracy.

"Because the Soviet Republic claims to be a working-class government, this barbarous reign of intolerance and terrorism is peculiarly a betrayal of liberty and working class ideals.

"We pledge our support to the Labor and Socialist International, the Trade Union International, and their affiliated organizations in their efforts to revive the free expression of opinion in Russia.

"We extend our sympathies to our Russian comrades who are struggling against tremendous odds to win freedom and civil rights for the masses of the Russian people."

Newark Dines Committee

The committee gave its approval to the organization of the proposed Victor L. Berger foundation and decided to hold its next meeting on February 28.

State and local organizations will soon receive information regarding the ambitious program that has been mapped out for months ahead.

Sunday evening the committee attended a supper provided by Newark comrades. About 250 party members and friends attended. Andrew P. Wittel presided. Besides the members of the committee, Frank Manning and Henry Jager were among the speakers. It was an enjoyable gathering and a substantial sum was contributed by the diners.

## Brown to Speak in Phila. Nov. 29th on Job Crisis

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Heywood Brown will speak in Philadelphia Saturday, November 29, under the auspices of the local chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy, at a symposium on unemployment with Karl de Schweinitz, chairman of the Community Council of Philadelphia, and A. J. Muste, chairman of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and dean of Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y. They will address members of the league and others interested at the first luncheon of the series planned by the league and others interested at Bothy's Restaurant at 13th street, below Chestnut street. Reservations may be made through the L. I. D., 413 South Carlisle street.

Andrew J. Biemiller of the University of Pennsylvania faculty is executive secretary of the league. He is aided by a committee including Ray H. Abrams, Dr. William H. Fendler, Emily Dawson, Eugene M. Kaufman Jr., Mary Kelsey, Maynard C. Krueger, Mrs. I. Albert Liverwright, Hannah P. Morris Jr., James M. Mullan, Anna Owers, Caroline A. K. Scholz, Joseph Schwartz, George Simpson, Agnes L. Tierney and Mrs. Maurice N. Weyl.

## Danville Striker Gets Sixty Day Sentence

(Continued from Page One)

shelves of the commissary have been emptied twice this week and the credit on kerosene, the prevalent cooking fuel, was cut off. I tried to find some kickers but couldn't. These fighters deserve the solid support of the movement.

WASHINGTON — (FP)—Vice-President William F. Kelly of the United Textile Workers of America, representing the cotton textile strikers at Danville, Va., and William Smith, president of the Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers, affiliated with the U. T. W. A., were again in Washington, Nov. 17 and 18, urging Secretary of Labor Davis and Secretary of Commerce Lamont to come to the aid of the Danville strikers on the one hand and the 12,000 hosiery workers forced on strike at Reading, Pa., on the other.

They filed with Lamont a brief reciting that the textile industry had received the benefit of the highest protective tariff rates ever granted that industry, in return for which government aid it had cut wages, created vast suffering through unemployment, and left the industry in chaos. Hosiery workers' wages have been cut as much as 60 per cent.

"Textile workers in the Philadelphia district, in all branches, and through the international union, helped to secure this protective tariff for the employers," Kelly said, after Davis and Lamont had failed to make any definite promise of help. "Our spokesmen testified before the House Ways and Means Committee the Senate Finance Committee when the tariff law was being framed.

"Now we find that vicious sectional competition within the United States has created wage differentials of 25 to 60 per cent and hour differentials of 15 to 20 per cent. These sectional variations are the cause of periodical, 24-hour operation in some sections; over-development of machine equipment, adoption of improved methods, are other factors in the over-production. The jobbers and wholesalers are able to dictate prices when there is too great production. To reduce manufacturing costs, the machines are run 24 hours and wages are cut, although wages have become so small an item of total cost that they do not affect prices either way."

## W. Va. Strikers' Homes Raided; Six Arrested

(Continued from Page One)

Judge Owen in common pleas court at Charleston. Here will be finally decided whether or not the coal company can oust the strikers and their families from the flimsy company shacks. If the cases are lost it means the fight must be continued from a tent colony.

But even the prospect of facing winter under thin canvas apparently hasn't dampened their enthusiasm. The women are just as lusty in shouting for a union as are the men who toil in the mine slopes.

There is some hunger and a deplorable lack of shoes and clothing, a situation the Howat union is trying to meet with appeals to relief organizations.

Twenty miles down the Kanawha River across the entrance to West Virginia's new capital building swings a 40-foot sign: Mountaineers Are Always Free.

## Braslaw Concert Dec. 15th For B'klyn Ethical School

The Parents and Teachers Association of the Brooklyn Ethical Culture School is working on the benefit concert to be given at Carnegie Hall, December 15, with Sophie Braslaw as the artist. Proceeds of the concert will be devoted to the scholarship fund of the school. The Brooklyn Ethical Culture School, one of the leading progressive schools of the country maintains tuition scholarships for 25 per cent of the pupils.

## Plan Campaign To Organize Spanish Branch

Franklyn, Novelist, Proposes Permanent Club House, Employment Agency

REALIZING the necessity of a separate branch and year-around club house for the Spanish and Latin American citizenry who make up a large portion of the voting population of the 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th Assembly Districts, Manhattan, Irwin R. Franklyn, member of the Morningside Heights Branch, will commence activities immediately to organize these voters under the Socialist banner.

A permanent branch headquarters will be opened within the next two weeks within the vicinity of Lexington avenue and 110th street where an earnest drive will begin to line up a strong neighborhood voting membership.

The districts in which Franklyn intends to concentrate upon begins at East 89th street between Lexington and Third avenues and continues as far north as 134th street, gradually embracing all territory from the East side of Park avenue to the East River.

Within these districts, strongly populated by Spaniards, Porto Ricans, Haitians, Cubans and Latin Americans, are sections inhabited by German, Jewish, Italian and Irish families who will likewise be solicited and canvassed with a view of inducing them to join the new branch.

Old Parties Nip and Tuck

The votes, as matters now stand, are almost equally divided between the Democratic and Republican candidates, with the Spanish and Latin American population leaning toward any liberal candidate. Because of the ruthless legislation and imperialism of national Republicans regarding the future of the West Indies and Central America, and the local corruption of Democrats, it will not be at all difficult to align these factions with the Socialist Party provided that the right sort of a year-around organization is formed to properly canvass the district and enlighten the voters.

There was a time when the 18th, 19th and 20th Assembly Districts were especially strong Socialist sections, and Comrade Franklyn believes that there is no reason why these voters cannot be induced to return to the fold of the only honest workers' party.

Franklyn's campaign includes placing the name of these voters on the subscription list of the New Leader free of charge to the prospects so that they will be thoroughly acquainted with the principles and activities of our party throughout the year. He also intends to appoint a captain and two aides for each election district who will begin at once to canvass the voters. These captains and their aides will serve as watchers at the next election in the districts they have previously canvassed, thus assuring us of a fair return, a knowledge of the voters' political beliefs and assurance that the practice of the older parties in bringing floating voters into the districts will be either entirely dispensed with or at least minimized to a trivial degree.

Sunday Forum Planned

Franklyn also plans a series of weekly Sunday morning forums at a neighborhood theatre where prominent Socialists and authorities on international affairs will address the gatherings, acquainting them with what is going on in both national and state legislation halls and eventually inducing them to join up with the work being carried on in their neighborhoods.

A weekly broadcast over Station WEVD commencing next week and a twice weekly broadcast over Stations WFCH and WMCA beginning the first week in December and continuing right up to the 1931 election, is another branch innovation planned by Franklyn who, besides himself, will offer a different guest speaker each week, prominent in both local Socialist and international politics.

Literature will be distributed through the mails over the entire four assembly districts at least once a week, and a program of school and outdoor meetings will be held four times or more (as the occasion arises) a month.

The local headquarters, besides being the center of Socialist activities for the four districts, will also inaugurate a strong social schedule. A free employment bureau, monthly dances, theatre parties and semi-yearly dinners will be a part of the general program to win over the support of the voting population.

Franklyn, who is the author of the novels, "Flight," "Song of Love," "Take-Off," "Hurricane" and "Knights of the Cockpit," and at the present time under contract to the Dial Press, Inc., has secured the promise of his publishers and other important figures in the book business to help defray the costs of the new branch and its program of social, political and welfare work. The remaining portion of the overhead will be borne by Comrade Franklyn himself and popular subscription.

Job Bureau Planned

Already a staff of workers are out lining up prospective jobs which will keep the Free Employment Bureau of the branch functioning for some time to come.

## War Resisters Honor Heroes Who Against War As Well As Those Who Fought in It

Young Men of 15 Nations Take Oath to Oppose All Conflicts

UNIQUE among city-wide services to commemorate the close of the great war was the stirring "Dedication Office" held Monday afternoon, November 10, by the War Resisters' League on the steps of International House. In the gathering dusk of Armistice Eve, above the dark calm of the Hudson and the wide spaces of Riverside drive, the Rev. Edmund B. Chaffee, of the Labor Temple Presbyterian, bade those gathered there their heads in silence in honor of two types of soldiers—those who gave their lives in the great war, believing it the war to end war, and of those other heroes who suffered, and in some instances died, because their consciences forbade them to fight their fellow-men. "These men too were soldiers," declared Mr. Chaffee, "soldiers in the liberation-war of humanity."

Taps sounded by a cornet marked the solemnity of the moment. Mr. Chaffee spoke of the fittingness for such a service of International House. He pointed to the words above its portals, "That Brotherhood May Prevail."

Rabbi Sidney Goldstein of the Free Synagogue, followed with a plea to members of his own race. "Beat your swords into plowshares, your spears into pruning hooks!" he cried, adding, "Isaiah saw the vision. And today in the drafting of the Briand-Kellogg peace treaty, statesmen have at last written that vision down into the law of nations." He then read impressively Articles 1 and 2 of the Multilateral Treaty. And having first called upon citizens of the United States to renounce, as our government has already renounced, war as a means of settlement in international disputes, he named the foreign signatories to the pact, and called upon any nationals who might be present to reaffirm their countries' outlawry of war.

"Refuse to Fight"

"War will never cease," he said, "until men themselves refuse to fight."

A colorful note was struck by a group of foreign-born students. At the question, "Do you likewise renounce and outlaw war?" they stepped out from the crowd. Flags of fifteen nations, including those of China, Japan, Belgium, Italy, Germany, Turkey, Greece, Great Britain, fluttered in the breeze, as

The Fox Neighborhood Theatres and the Public Corporation have promised to place the hiring of all their ushers and cashiers in the hands of this bureau.

Comrades living in the vicinity of 86th Street to 135th Street, from Fifth Avenue to the East River, who are interested in joining this branch or at least helping in the great amount of work and detail Comrade Franklyn and his aides are assuming, are urgently requested to drop a line to Irwin R. Franklyn, 520 West 124th Street, New York City.

Though the new branch will be a separate and distinct organization, functioning upon its own initiative, it will work hand in hand with the Morningside Heights Branch in canvassing, membership enrollment, the Free Employment Bureau and campaigning.

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the young men and women in ringing voices declared "We do so renounce and outlaw."

The culminating point in the evening ritual was the dedication of the War Resisters by the well known minister of the Park Avenue Presbyterian Church, the Rev. Dr. Albert Parker Fitch. Dr. Fitch declared: "Not waiting for parliaments and kings, the people of the world are pledging themselves to resist war. In their own persons, in forty countries today, young men are making good the high words of the Paris Peace Pact. They are refusing compulsory military service. As we stand here tonight, young idealists behind prison bars in Europe, are straining to catch the beams of the new light. Yes, truly, they themselves, the war resisters of the world, are lighting the new light of human brotherhood. It is to catch flame from their fire that we are met tonight."

A Pledge of Peace.

At this point four young men approached the speaker. They carried torches to symbolize the new spirit arising in the four quarters of the globe. Taking the torches from their hands, and making one impressive torch from the four, Dr. Fitch then called upon all the young men and women in the crowd who had made up their minds to renounce war, to lay their hands upon the torch he held, and publicly reaffirm their intention to take part in no future war, civil or international.

From every quarter, the War Resisters came forward, mounted the steps, and placed their right hands upon the torch. When they had presented the torch to International House as a memorial of the occasion, Dr. Fitch dismissed the audience.

Those participating in the ceremony were recruited from the Union Theological Seminary, General Theological Seminary, the University section of the Y. M. C. A., the foreign-born section of the Y. W. C. A., Teachers College, together with members and friends of the War Resisters' League.

The American War Resisters' League is affiliated with the War Resisters' International, an organization with forty branches. Hon. Runham Brown, M.P., of Enfield, England, is the secretary. John Haynes Holmes is the League's chairman. On its council are Heywood Brown, William Floyd, Frank Olmstead, Truda Weil, Evelyn Huggan, Dr. Henry Neumann, Rev. Leon R. Rand, Kathleen Sayre, Clarence Senior and others.

## English W. C. Branches To Hold Mass Meeting

A mass meeting and social of all the English speaking branches of the Workmen's Circle will be held Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m., November 30, in the Rand School. The Young Circle branches of the Workmen's Circle are preparing two small playlets to be staged at this meeting. Among the prominent members of the Socialist Party who have promised to address the meeting are August Claessens, Heywood Brown, Norman Thomas and Louis Waldman. Members of the city committee and national executive will also address the meeting in the name of their respective committees.

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## Many Unions In A. F. of L. for Job Insurance

About Half of Membership on Record for Governmental Aid as Against Charity

FEW events seem more certain in the labor union world than that the American Federation of Labor will record itself in favor of unemployment insurance. While this action is improbable at the Vancouver convention in the fall of 1931, it cannot be long delayed, in view of the increasing sentiment for insurance, as contrasted with the humiliating charity dole system. While the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, with upward of 100,000 members, is the first big international union to record itself for insurance, that plan for alleviating distress among the unemployed has gained great headway among labor unions and those interested in labor legislation.

A computation of the membership of organizations which have endorsed insurance shows nearly 1,500,000 or about half the A. F. of L., as on record for insurance. The New York, Rhode Island, Wisconsin and Utah labor movements, representing well over a million members, have endorsed the plan. The teachers, lithographers, pocketbook workers and railway clerks are among international unions taking that action, while the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, representing all A. F. of L. members in Canada, and the United Hebrew Trades, representing a quarter of a million New York Jewish workers, have gone on record for insurance. In addition, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, independent, favor this self-respecting, non-charitable plan. Sentiment is favorable among the independent railroad brotherhoods as well as the rail organizations generally, as reflected in the recent statements of the chiefs of the standard rail unions in prophesying insurance. In important union journals such as the Machinists and Electrical Workers, the Minnesota Union Advocate, Tacoma Labor Advocate, Chicago Federation News and Nebraska Craftsman, insurance has been advocated against the charity dole system.

When the Federation itself adopts insurance, it will be a bitter pill for Matthew Woll, who has led the fight energetically and practically single-handed against the system. He felt his position in opposition to social insurance so insecure at the recent Boston convention that he expressed his opinions as questions rather than statements of fact. As for the A. F. of L. itself, as Editor Phil Ziegler of the Railway Clerk points out editorially, "it has been too often in the rear of the fight for social legislation. But just as surely as the Federation came to see the necessity of social insurance against industrial accidents and poverty in old age, so will it come to see the necessity of social insurance against unemployment."

### Coleman on Coal

McAlister Coleman, contributing editor to The New Leader, will talk on "Coal and Coal Miners" Tuesday evening, Nov. 25th, at a meeting of the 22nd and 23rd A. D. Manhattan, Branch of the Socialist Party. The meeting will be held in room 10, at 600 West 181st street. Important party business will precede the lecture.

If you have a room to rent or you want to rent a room in congenial surroundings, you will find The New Leader an ideal advertising medium. If you have anything to sell or exchange, you will meet with a response from our army of loyal readers. The special rate for ads of the kind mentioned is 25 cents per line, minimum charge, 75 cents.

Wanted to purchase, second hand, 1 pair of curtains for window, and 1 pair for portieres in same room. Janis pattern preferred, or something cheerful. A. J. C. of THE NEW LEADER, 7 East 15th Street.

A CORRESPONDENCE CLUB has now been organized, catering to people of intellectual interests desiring friends similarly inclined. For particulars write: Pictorial Family Club, 76 Christie Ave., River Edge, N. J.

CHRISTMAS CARDS—Comrades thinking of buying Christmas cards are urged to get in touch with Comrade William Lamb at the Party office, 7 East 15th Street, N. Y. C.

## Bonnaz Embroiderers Union To Celebrate Victory Anniversary

Local Union Has Surmounted Trying Difficulties in Last 15 Years

By Louis Stanley  
DESPITE the economic depression the New York City Bonnaz Embroidery Workers' Union, Local No. 66 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union could not resist the opportunity to celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of the great strike that brought collective bargaining into the industry. To the members of the union the occasion is one of great joy for it commemorates the establishment of the union as an effective agent in protecting and advancing the interests of the workers. They are showing their genuine enthusiasm by actively participating in the preparations for the dinner, entertainment and dance at Beethoven Hall which will take place the evening of November 21.

The Bonnaz Embroidery Workers' Union is of particular interest because it operates in an industry where great skill is required and where the workers had to be made to understand that under modern industrial conditions they are primarily wage-earners, part of the working class, and not artists associated with professionals. It is performed on a machine which is named after its inventor, Bonnaz. There is also Swiss or Schiffl embroidery which is done on long machines eight or nine yards long. Then, of course, there is hand embroidery much of which is home work.

A. N. Y. Industry  
Bonnaz embroidery is the most important branch of the industry. In 1927, according to the United States census of Manufacturers there were 1,134 Schiffl machines in operation and 119 idle. At the same time there were 2,749 Bonnaz machines active and 1,167 not in use. The heart of the industry is located in New York City and the nearby New Jersey territory with the Bonnaz work concentrated in the former and the Swiss in the latter.

The embroidery craft has hardly changed in the last twenty or thirty years. A few new stitches have been introduced but in the main the skill required of the worker is neither more nor less than what it was at the beginning of this century. This skill consists of several elements. After the design is marked on the cloth the operator has to be careful about several things. With his feet he must control the treader in order to secure that speed which will enable him to obtain the best possible results on the job before him. With his hands he manages the rest of the machine. He must be careful about the colors he is using. He must be able to set the machine such as raising the needle in one case and lowering it in another, to produce the best effects. He must know when to exchange parts to meet the requirements of different stitches.

In spite of the skill demanded of the Bonnaz embroidery worker, his fortunes have varied considerably. The industry is the victim of style changes. When embroidery is in fashion, times are good; when simplicity becomes the vogue, as in the last few years, conditions are distressing. Another reason for the difficulties in which the workers find themselves is overproduction. Not much capital is needed to start in the business. Machines may be purchased second-hand or even rented. Workers who have saved some money are frequently tempted to enter business for themselves when a change in style promises some quick or big profits. In the last four or five years the competition has become so keen that many of the large employers have given up their plants and gone into other industries, leaving the field to the little fellows to fight it out among themselves. To make matters worse, shops that formerly did an exclusively pleating, hemstitching and tucking business have undertaken Bonnaz work. Finally, the general decline in the needle trades has affected embroidery, which after all is but one of the auxiliary occupations.

Clubs, Nucleus of Union  
These economic problems have created difficulties with which the union has tried to cope from the beginning. Before 1907 only clubs existed among the workers. Most of those employed at the trade were women, usually native born,

who came to work from their homes in the suburbs around New York City. Men chiefly from Russia, Poland and Rumania, began to come into the industry, around this time because the fashion for braiding jackets gave them an opportunity to enter the shops and contribute to quantity rather than quality production. The men gave the impetus to union organization.

In October 1907 a number of operators talking over matters in the "burr" or "pig market," as the corner of Green and Eighth Streets was popularly known, decided to call a meeting and form a union. This was done. The organization they founded maintained an independent existence. When the slack season came around, enthusiasm died down again. In 1908 it was decided to call a strike to enforce the one o'clock Saturday closing hour all year round instead of only during June, July and August. The workers would have won their demands, had they not been cajoled by their employers to call a mass meeting where the "bosses" through speeches induced them to accept three o'clock as closing time on Saturdays. After the season was over the employers took advantage of the surplus of labor to violate the understanding that had been reached. The union began to languish. In 1910 the organization was chartered as Local 54 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. A depression in the industry worked havoc with the union and Local 54 passed out of existence.

Present Charter Granted  
A number of old timers met in January 1913 and decided to begin all over again. A reorganization meeting was held on February 28, 1913, and on April 13 a charter was granted to Bonnaz, Singer Hand Embroiderers' Union, Local 66, I. L. G. W. Union strikes were called from time to time until the union felt strong enough to have a general walk-out. In July 1915 the time seemed opportune.

Demands were made upon the employers: the fifty hour week, a minimum scale of wages for first class operators of twenty-five dollars per week and of second class operators of twenty dollars per week, pay for ten legal holidays, equal distribution of work, and recognition of the union. A general strike was called for August 24, 1915. The employers did not take the call seriously until they discovered that their shops were completely tied up at the commencement of the season. They quickly signed up. Since then there have been other strikes but it is this council struggle of 1915 which is most prominent in the history of the union.

Local 66 at present has agreements with the Bonnaz Manufacturers' Association and the American Millinery Embroiderers' Association. It is at present conducting negotiations with the Pleaters' Association whose members have been entering the embroidery field, as we have seen. Pleaters, Hemstitchers and Tuckers' Local 41, I. L. G. W. U., has recently taken on a new life and, therefore, not yet obtained the best terms from the "bosses." These employers insist that Local 66 accept the same conditions.

As a result of last year's general strike under the leadership of Leon Hattab, manager; Z. L. Friedman, president; and Nathan Riesel, secretary-treasurer, Bonnaz embroidery workers have improved their lot considerably. They now enjoy the forty-hour work week and increased wages. The legal holidays are now eight in number due to a loss sustained in 1927, when the Communists were in control of the union. Since 1915, too, the embroidery workers have been fortunate enough to run a labor bureau through which employers must obtain all employees. Their relationship with other unions while has been in contact has been encouraging too. The dressmakers have a clause in their agreement forbidding embroidery work by non-union workers, while the millinery workers, who are in another international union, have voluntarily given their assistance to the embroidery workers in enforcing union conditions. The intelligent leadership of the Bonnaz Embroidery Workers' Union and the alert and loyal rank and file augurs well for many happy anniversaries to come.

Labor Nosed Out  
In Edmonton, Alta. (AP)—Conservatives nosed out Labor candidates by narrow majorities in the city council and school board elections in Edmonton. Labor lost three seats in the council, re-electing only C. L. Gibbs. Only one Labor man gained the school board. The city council is now split, seven Conservatives and three Labor and the school board five Conservatives and two Labor. The Communist candidate got 1,001 votes.

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## Solomon Urges Abolition of Death Penalty

Socialist Debates Capital Punishment Over Station WOR—Calls It "Class Penalty"

THE abolition of the death penalty was urged by Charles Solomon, lawyer, and former Socialist assemblyman, in a debate over station WOR—Calls It "Class Penalty."

"The roots of the causes of crime," contended Solomon, "are far deeper than mere punishment can reach. The remedy lies in understanding the individual and social causes which make criminals and attacking them intelligently and fearlessly," Solomon said. Among these causes were listed adverse social circumstances, such as unsavory homes, evil neighborhood conditions, and all the handicaps embraced in the conception of poverty; and such personal deficiencies as unfortunate heredity, emotional instability, inadequate education, a warped moral sense.

Capital punishment is a class penalty, said Solomon, "since the rich man, with friends and resources and the best talent, is not in the same position, facing a charge of murder in the first degree, as the poor, friendless individual. How many rich men have gone to the chair in this State?" "Punishment is not a deterrent," Solomon continued. "The real problem is not the murderer but murder, not the criminal but crime. You cannot cure murder with murder. When the state, under its own definition of murder, kills the individual murderer, it acknowledges and punishes its own failure."

"Time was when, in England, 240 offenses were capital crimes. Executions were public. Did crimes decrease? No. The very offenses for which executions were most frequent, increased. Scores of offenses were once punished capitally in our own country. Advancing civilization has reduced the number of these to two and 'humanized,' if I may use the word, the methods of inflicting the penalty."

"If capital punishment deters, why surround the act with so much secrecy? Let us get the maximum of alleged deterrence out of it by not only making our executions public but restoring the most shocking and horrendous methods of the past in legally taking human life."

"There was a time when we punished the insane. That was when we knew no better. With the coming of science, penalties went and therapeutics took their place. We shall have to take the same course, even now taking the same course, with respect to crime. Clean up the social swamps and cesspools which breed anti-social manifestations."

Solomon argued murder was not always regarded as the most

grievous of crimes. "Heresy once was, and was punished in the most extreme way. Witness the Inquisition with its tortures. But it did not stamp out heresy."

"At the present time," said Mr. Jacobs, "we do not know how to treat crime or criminals. We, as a community, are not ready to spend vast sums of money to solve the crime problem for the future."

"I take the position, the crime of murder stands in a class by itself. The only punishment that today will satisfy the hearts and minds and conscience of our people is the execution as forfeiture of the life of the guilty person."

"The fear of death is so overpowering a part of human emotion that if the thought of its infliction on one does not deter, then, in my opinion, no punishment which can be inflicted can be said to be a deterrent."

"If punishment, and capital punishment, do not deter, we must start all over again, change our whole theory and practice of criminal law, and find something else to take the place of what we are doing today. We are not ready for that."

### Upper West Side Branch Will Make Own Plans For 11th Assembly Dis.

Editor, The New Leader:  
We read in the last issue of The New Leader a statement headed, "Gerber Plans Year-Round Campaign," and were amazed to learn that Comrade August Gerber plans "to form a separate branch in the 11th A. D." and invites residents of that district to communicate with him.

The Eleventh Assembly District was organized several years ago as a part of the Upper West Side Branch, and this Branch is responsible for the work carried on in the district. We are informed by the Executive Committee of Local New York that Comrade Gerber's statement is absolutely unauthorized.

Local New York is a Socialist organization, and it is the duty of the organization to support the organization of the 11th A. D. branch in the 11th A. D. We earnestly request that you publish this week, in The New Leader, a correction of this report.

The Upper West Side Branch,  
LEON GILSON,  
Organizer.

### Little Help for Jobless In Ohio Steel Center

WARREN, O.—(AP)—General Warren offers nothing to the destitute this winter but more destitution. Voters turned down the 1-mill levy, the Community Fund has exhausted its entire budget of \$22,161 and \$14,000 set aside by the city. By October a special \$25,000 fund built up through the years by a fund had also been exhausted.

The state treasurer forbids an emergency bond issue, stating that it can be issued only in emergencies such as flood or epidemic. The only source left for the charity funds is the workers' wages. They are being forced to give through threat of the loss of their jobs.

The best things come as a general thing from the talents that are members of a group—Henry James.

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

From Comrade Christensen of the new Racine circle comes a request for application blanks, dues stamps and literature.

The Chicago and New York members are busy collecting signatures on the petitions for unemployment relief which the national office sent out at a party on Saturday, Nov. 20, at 8 p. m. in the Community room of Monroe Court, 43-13 47th street, Sunnyside, L. I.

The topic for our next meeting, Sunday, Nov. 23, 7:30 p. m., will be Bernard Shaw's book, "An Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism." We meet at the above address. Come and give us your opinion.

Circle Twelve, Sr. Kings: At our last meeting McAlister Coleman spoke about the election and its results, and suggested plans for the future. A long and interesting discussion ensued, which made Comrade Coleman consider his time well spent. A spirit of real comradeship pervaded the entire meeting. At our next meeting, Arthur Lapham, will speak on "Unemployment: A World Problem," at 1466 Pitkin avenue, near Howard avenue, Brooklyn.

Circle Nine, Sr. Kings: The circle will make a special drive to collect clothes for the striking miners of West Virginia. Last week's meeting was well attended and a fine discussion was had on the adoption of the circle's constitution and by-laws. Next week Comrade Breslow, the director, will continue his lectures on "The Fundamentals of Socialism." The next issue of the circle monthly paper will be ready soon.

Circle Six, Jr. Kings: The circle is now ready to continue its activity and at its last meeting drew up the following program: Nov. 21, Alex Retzkin, Child Labor; Nov. 28, Thanksgiving Day party; Dec. 5, Sam Lamstein, Hann Brown and American Youth; Dec. 12, Rhoda Kantor, Review of "Pelle, the Conqueror"; Dec. 19, Max Eagle, Review of "Singing Jailbirds"; Dec. 26, Emanuel Donow, The Lesson of Italian Fascism; Jan. 2, Rose Insel, Review of Sinclair's "Hell"; Jan. 9, Harry Katsky, Story of the British Labor Party; Jan. 16, Leon Scott, Five-Day Week in the Labor Movement; Jan. 23, Circle Symposium; Jan. 30, Rae Farber, Labor Movement Here and Abroad.

Socialist Study Group

The first meeting of the new study group on the Elements of Socialism will be held on Sunday, Nov. 23, at 11 a. m. Enrollment is open to all. Y. P. S. L. membership is not a requirement. Further information may be secured at 1161 Boston road, Bronx.

## Volunteer Workers for Broun Plan Year-Round Activity; Many Join Party

In spite of heavy rain and a notice sent only two days in advance, a meeting held on Friday evening, Nov. 14, of volunteer helpers in the Heywood Broun campaign, was a splendid success. Seventy-five enthusiasts turned out, eager to help in the organizing of an active permanent group on the Upper West Side. The meeting was arranged primarily so that the Upper West Side Branch would keep in contact with these sympathizers until a suitable permanent headquarters has been obtained, and educational work plus social activity will begin.

The audience expressed its desire to begin work at once by forming a committee of twelve to work on the building of a forum or lecture group to meet at regular intervals. The speakers, August Claessens and Louis Waldman, and the Chairman, Simon Berlin, thanked the audience for its splendid work in the campaign, and made such effective Socialist speeches that fifteen people joined the Party before the meeting was brought to a close. These fifteen new members round out a total of sixty-one who joined the Branch since the campaign began, making a branch membership of one hundred and seventy-one, with over one hundred members in good standing. Needless to say, the Upper West Side Branch is on its toes, anxious to plunge headlong into a busy year of activity.

## Camden, N. J., Socialist Vote Increases 50 P. C.

(By a New Leader Correspondent)  
CAMDEN, N. J.—The Camden County Socialist vote had an increase of nearly 50 per cent over last year's result. Camden County Socialist election results: For U. S. Senator (long term) Henry Jager, 702 votes; for U. S. Senator (short term) Henry Jager, 760 votes; for Congress (1st District, N. J.) Herman F. Niesmer, 871 votes; for General Assembly, Charles Sherlock, Jr., 856 votes; Edward E. Thompson, 838 votes; Fred Hartmeyer, 831 votes; for County Clerk George M. Frink, 860 votes; Register of Deeds, Bernhard Petchler, 841 votes; Coroner, Morris Stempa, 862 votes.

The Socialist Labor Party had only one candidate up, and that was for U. S. Senator (long term). His name was Kudlick. He polled 46 votes. The Communists put up Graham for U. S. Senate. He received 52 votes for long term, and 90 votes for short term. Their Candidate for Congress, W. Hartman, polled 84 votes.

### Ghose on India

"India in Revolt," will be the subject of an address by Sallendra Ghose, Friday evening, Dec. 5th, at 8 p. m., in Tara Hall, Broadway and 66th Street, (entrance through Loew Theatre). Mr. Ghose, who is president of the Indian National Congress of America, will speak under the auspices of the Irish-American Friends of India's Independence.

### At Muhlenberg Library

209 W. 23rd Street at 8:30 o'clock  
Monday Evening, Nov. 24th  
MR. B. H. HAGGINS  
Musical Proceedings: (5) Change

### Wednesday Evening, Nov. 26th

PROFESSOR ROBERT VAN SARDOFF  
Mass and Force: Newton and His Later-Day Critics

### Thursday Evening, Nov. 27th

No Meeting

### Saturday Evening, Nov. 29th

DR. RICHARD MCKEON  
Splinters: The Passions and the Intellect

### "INDIA IN REVOLT"

Lecture Extraordinary by Sallendra Nath Ghose President of the Indian National Congress of America

### ON FRIDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 5, at 8 p.m.

At TARA HALLS, Broadway and 66th Street (Entrance through Loew Theatre)

Auspices of the Irish-American Friends of India's Independence

31 Union Square—Room 608

Questions and Discussion

ADMISSION FIFTY CENTS

### DISCUSSION

### THE GROUP

A Clearing House of Opinion, meets at Auditorium—109 West 83rd St. Tuesday, November 25th, at 8:30 P.M. CRANNING POLLOCK (Distinguished Dramatist) will speak on "CAN LAW MAKE US GOOD?"

Dec. 2nd—JUDGE BEN B. LINDSEY, on "Marriage, Present and Future"

Sunday Afternoon Discussion Group Nov. 30th, at 4:30—SEYMOUR A. SELIGSON, on "In Defense of Sensuality"

Fee will be served. Subscription \$6 (Weekly services mailed on request)

### LLANO Co-Op Colony, New Llano, La.

Owned and operated by the workers. For information about daily activities and cooperatives, read THE LLANO COLONIST

\$7.50 per year (with this ad). Weekly 5 cents per copy at the Road Book Store.

Cooperate by sending us your surplus machinery, tools, household goods, clothing, books, etc.

## Bad breath is a warning—

Poisonous food wastes held too long in the digestive system cause bad breath. Ex-Lax rids the body of these wastes promptly. Better for you than vile, violent cathartics.

Important Note! There's nothing else like Ex-Lax. Its scientific laxative ingredient is made more effective through chocoalating by the exclusive Ex-Lax process. Ask for Ex-Lax by name and refuse imitations.

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

## CAMP TAMIMENT REUNION at New York

GRAND BALLROOM  
Pennsylvania Hotel

Thirty-third Street and Seventh Avenue (33rd Street Entrance)

Sunday Afternoon, November 23rd, Two to Six

Subscription - - - One Dollar

Seven East Fifteenth Street, New York City

## ROAD TO FREEDOM ANNUAL BALL COSTUME Thanksgiving Eve

Wednesday, Evening, November 26, 1930

WEBSTER MANOR

119 East 11th Street

ADMISSION \$1.00

## SATURDAY, NOV. 29—A FRIENDSHIP TOUR TO JAPAN IN NEW YORK

Let us meet our Japanese neighbors! They will tell us of their economic and cultural life. They invite us to their exclusive club, an art exhibition, a Buddhist service and a dinner of Sukiyaki.

Meet at 3 P. M. in the Nippon Club, 161 W. 93rd St.

Expense—Trip 75c and fare. Japanese Dinner \$1.00 and tip

For information concerning future tours, discussions etc., address FRIENDSHIP TOURS 66 COURT ST. B'KLYN. TRIANGLE 0509

## THE COMMUNITY FORUM

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 23

8 P. M.—DR. KIRBY PAGE, Editor, "The World Tomorrow"; "IS MAHATMA GANDHI THE GREATEST MAN IN THE WORLD?"

11 A. M.—John Haynes Holmes: "Is America a Civilized Country?" All Welcome

Admission Free

## THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At Cooper Union

Eighth Street and Astor Place at 8 o'clock

Friday Evening, November 21st

DR. EVERETT DEAN MARTIN

"Human Letters" or Scholasticism: The Educational Issue of the Renaissance

Sunday Evening, Nov. 23rd

DR. NATHAN KRASS

Forging Human Nature

Tuesday Evening, Nov. 25th

PROFESSOR W. A. LYNCH

The Reality of the Electron

At Muhlenberg Library

209 W. 23rd Street at 8:30 o'clock

Monday Evening, Nov. 24th

MR. B. H. HAGGINS

Musical Proceedings: (5) Change

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Mass and Force: Newton and His Later-Day Critics

Thursday Evening, Nov. 27th

No Meeting

Saturday Evening, Nov. 29th

DR. RICHARD MCKEON

Splinters: The Passions and the Intellect

Next Sunday: 25th Anniversary

DR. FELIX ADLER

## DEBATE AND LUNCHEON

Free thinkers of America

Sunday, Nov. 24th, at 1 P. M. Sharp

Hobart, Broadway, bet. 32nd and 33rd Sts.—Free only

"CHRISTIANITY VS. FREEDOM"

Rev. D. Wesley Soper

Send reservations at once to 150 W. 44th St. Columbus 3576

## THE BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP

Assure Masonic Temple, 1201 Boston Rd. (Near East 172nd Street, Bronx)

Sunday, Nov. 23, 1930

5 P. M. Percy Gardner on "A Layman's View of Religion"

7 P. M. Dr. E. Boyd Barrett (Ex-Jesuit Priest) on "The Religious Outlook of American Catholics"

Music—Admission Free



# Unemployment Insurance For The United States

Legality of a Federal System; The British Scheme Compared  
With The Proposals of Prof. John R. Commons

By Harry W. Laidler

DECLARING that "it will be only a few years before the movement for unemployment insurance in the United States shall have gained genuine momentum," a survey of unemployment insurance proposals published Monday by the League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th Street, N. Y. C., upholds the constitutionality of the reform. The survey, prepared by Dr. Harry W. Laidler, executive director of the League, with the assistance of Mrs. Mina Weisenberg, argues the advisability of adoption of a plan modeled on the British scheme, which calls for contributions by workers, employers and the state, as against the John R. Commons plan which proposes that employers shall be the sole contributors to mutual insurance funds.

Though the strongest constitutional objections are leveled against a Federal scheme as contrasted with state unemployment insurance funds, Dr. Laidler finds a Federal law would by far be more advisable. The causes of unemployment are rarely local, he argues; "the essence of sound insurance is the distribution of risks over as large and varied a field as possible;" and "a successful working of unemployment insurance necessitates its integration with a national system of employment exchanges to help in the efficient placement of labor."

## The Constitutional Aspects

Of the constitutional questions involved in a national scheme, Dr. Laidler declares:

"It is when we come to the constitutional aspects of unemployment insurance that we find the greatest objections to a national system. In the child labor decision, the United States Supreme Court held that the power given to Congress to 'regulate commerce among the several states' and to lay and collect taxes was not broad enough to include the right to legislate against child labor, while minimum wage legislation was condemned as a violation of the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment. Similar constitutional objections might be urged against an unemployment insurance law."

"On the other hand, many defenders of a national system argue that, under any proper interpretation of the Constitution, an unemployment insurance act should come clearly within the 'promote

the general welfare' provision found in the Preamble to the Federal Constitution and in Article I, Section 8. Further, the question of unemployment is a question affecting purchasing power, and thus, indirectly, interstate commerce. Unemployment insurance should thus come within the Congressional power 'to regulate commerce among the several states.'

"In the third place, much remedial legislation has been declared constitutional when sufficient evidence has been adduced to prove that it is based upon public necessity. If a Congressional committee finds that such necessity exists, constitutional objections frequently vanish. Moreover, the passage of a law by Congress is often assumed to warrant the conclusion that such an act is necessary for the general welfare. If the act passed specifically states the necessity for the legislation and embodies the reasons why, in the opinion of the legislators, a genuine need exists, the court frequently upholds the law. The decisions of the courts in several recent law cases are illustrative of this practice."

"Other upholders of the constitutionality of such a measure argue that an unemployment insurance act imposes a tax which, in the final analysis, must be paid by the consumer, as it is generally added to the cost of production. As such, it comes within the taxing power of Congress. Finally, it is of course true that the interpretation of the Constitution, despite the conservatism of many Supreme Court Judges, has changed in the past and undoubtedly will change in the future. Accident compensation laws were once regarded as unconstitutional. Later, under different economic conditions and as a result of increasing social pressure, they were given the benediction of the Federal courts."

"In pursuance of the belief that federal action should be taken, the late Socialist Congressman, Meyer London, introduced a resolution for a hearing on the subject in 1916. Twelve years later, Congressman Victor L. Berger sponsored a bill for the organization of a Bureau of Unemployment Insurance and for payment of benefits to the unemployed at a rate of 50 per cent. of their average weekly wage earned during six months preceding such unemployment. The benefits to be available for not more than a six months' period in any one year. The measure, unfortunately, was referred to the Judiciary Committee of the House and was there buried."

"Many advocates of unemployment insurance, however, have taken the point of view that, because of the possible legal objections to a federal insurance fund, the best immediate strategy would be federal subsidy of those states establishing their own unemployment insurance funds, and for the rest, concentration on state legislation. From 1916, when a bill was introduced in the Massachusetts legislature to the present time some fifteen state measures have been proposed in Connecticut, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New York, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, although not a single measure has as yet been adopted."

**Contrasts British and Commons' Plans**  
Dr. Laidler's survey then turns to a comparison of the pros and cons on the two outstanding systems of unemployment insurance. Summarizing the arguments in favor of the British plan, he declares:

"Proponents of the first plan present a number of telling arguments in its behalf. Workers, they claim, should be contributors to the unemployment fund for various reasons: Their contributions to it would greatly increase their interest in the efficient working of the scheme, and make them more vigilant in detecting abuses; would guarantee their presence on unemployment insurance boards; would make it possible for them to demand more adequate benefits than otherwise, and would render it somewhat easier to meet the specious argument that unemployment insurance is a 'dole'."

"The employers, they insist, should contribute, because industrial and structural changes, should bear directly part, at least, of the burden. It might also be possible to grade contributions as to give the employers an incentive to stabilize their business and to help in the elimination of the unemployed."

"The state should contribute, as the responsibility for unemployment is that of society as a whole. The coming in of the state would help give stability and permanence to the fund and would make it possible to grant to the unemployed additional contributions when, as a result of severe periods of depression or of chronic unemployment, the unemployment fund had been exhausted. By bringing the state in, it would furthermore, be possible to coordinate unemployment insurance with other forms of insurance—old age pensions, health insurance, accident insurance, etc.—and gradually to shift to the shoulders of the community the function of insurance in general."

The first bills, presented in Massachusetts, in 1916, and in New York, in 1921, followed in general the British plan, but subsequent measures shifted toward the scheme of Prof. Commons. This bill was introduced in the Wisconsin legislature in 1921. Dr. Laidler summarizes Prof. Commons' arguments in favor of his proposals: "It starts on the idea (declared Professor Commons) that the modern business man is in a strategic position and has the managerial ability to prevent unemployment. In other words, the system proposed is exactly like that of the workmen's accident compensation law. A mutual insurance company is created, operated and managed solely by the employers. The employers establish their own premiums, supervised by the state insurance board; they pay out the benefits to the workmen exactly as they pay out the benefits under the accident compensation law. The only difference is that instead of the doctor who cures the man of accidents, the bill provides an employment officer who finds a man a job. The system avoids what might be called the socialist and paternalistic schemes of Europe. It is a capitalist scheme. It avoids the socialist scheme, in that the state does not go into the insurance business; it avoids the paternalistic scheme in not paying out relief for an inevitable

accident. It induces the business man to make a profit or avoid a loss of efficient labor management. It places the compensation so low that the workman has no expectation of more than enough to pay his rent."

Dr. Laidler declares Prof. Commons' description of European plans as "socialistic" and "paternalistic" cannot "be taken too seriously." His own bill did not fail to meet the opposition of Wisconsin manufacturers, the survey adds. Dr. Laidler further denies that unemployment insurance follows closely the principle and practice of workmen's compensation. Arguing against placing responsibility for unemployment against individual employers, Dr. Laidler continues with his criticism of the Commons plan:

**On Stabilizing Employment**  
"But much of the unemployment in the country is beyond the control of the individual corporation. It is due to lack of social control of investment; to the reaction from foolhardy expansion of business in general; to the lack of purchasing power on the part of the masses; to sudden shifts in style; to changes in the flow of gold and price levels; to combinations of capital; to financial speculations and speculations; to new discoveries and inventions; to the drift of industry to other industrial centers; to tariffs, embargoes, droughts, wars; to the influx of new workers in overcrowded industries and to changes in the economic situation in other lands. In other words, anxious as the individual employer may be to 'solve' the question of employment, individually he can go only so far. The problem is a social problem and must be dealt with as such."

Nor would the Commons plan be likely to help stabilize employment:

"Past experience seems to give little ground for the belief that, if the contributions were paid by the employer alone, and were graded according to the proportion of unemployment, the unemployment problem would virtually be solved. Some students of the subject also wonder whether employers in 'sick' industries under Professor Commons' Plan would not seek to reduce the benefits given by those industries to a minimum, thus indirectly decreasing the benefits paid by industry as a whole. And, they ask, would there not be constant danger, where funds were segregated by industries, of the insolventy of the funds in the less stabilized industries? Would it not be difficult, under the Commons' scheme, moreover, to include in the general plan of unemployment insurance many workers who were outside of the ranks of specified employing groups?"

**Costs of System**  
Dr. Laidler's survey closes with a discussion of the costs of unemployment insurance and of actuarial problems involved. Under this head, the survey says:

"Some upholders of Prof. Commons' plan advocate it not on the ground of its 'capitalistic' nature, but because the worker is relieved of any need of contributing toward the fund. It is, however, doubtful whether such a contribution would make much difference in the worker's real wages. In a number of instances, where employees were organized, they would probably be able to secure an increase sufficient to cover the extra contribution. In which case the employer would probably strive to pass the additional expense on to the consumer. But even though one-third of the insurance fund came out of the pockets of the workers, the latter would probably reap a more than compensating benefit through their participation in the control of the fund and their increased ability to ask for higher unemployment benefits."

"The question has often arisen as to who would ultimately have to pay the benefits contributed by the state. The answer to this question, in the nature of the case, depends on the system of taxation adopted by the state for the purpose of supporting its share of the fund. Should the additional taxation needed be derived from increased income and inheritance taxes on the higher income levels and from land values taxation, the burden would be borne by the owning class. Other forms of taxation would probably bear more directly on the consumer."

"The question also is bound to arise in the United States as to whether insurance should be the same for all wage-classes, as in England, or whether the benefits should vary according to the wage group to which the worker belongs. To those who believe social insurance, extending to as wide a group as possible, should be enacted, it would seem reasonable to work for legislation based on some simple wage group classification, dividing the workers, say into three or four wage classes. As time passed and society increasingly realized the beneficial effects of such insurance, it would be a simple matter to add higher wage and salaried classes, or supplementary contributions. Graded benefits, while more complicated than the one rate benefit, would likewise have the advantage of preventing the skilled and higher paid salaried worker from having to accept such definitely lower living standards as under the state benefit system."

"Unemployment insurance involves a number of knotty actuarial problems difficult to solve, but not insoluble. We haven't as yet an adequate basis in fact for much of our calculations regarding the difference between the cost of insurance and the cost of the private 'dole' which America is constantly being called upon to give. Professor Paul H. Douglas estimates that our percentage of non-agricultural unemployment in the years 1889 to 1927 averaged 10.2 per cent., and in the period 1920-1927, 12.2. The average of insured people in Great Britain unemployed from 1921 to 1927 is estimated at about 11 to 12 per cent. An unemployment insurance act based on estimates of 15 per cent. unemployed would give a reasonable chance for accumulation of a reserve large enough to take care of the years of exceptional depression."

## NEW LEADER MAIL BAG

### POLISH ATROCITIES

Editor, The New Leader:  
The Massachusetts Guardian (England) probably the most famous liberal newspaper in the world, publishes the following account of "legendary Polish atrocities in the Ukraine":  
"On the night of Sept. 14, a cavalry detachment at Stary and Nowy Jorjow thrashed some thirty of the villagers with their riding crops."  
"On the 16th, some Polish cavalrymen arrived in the village of Gaidyn near Lemberg. On the way there they had caught some peasants who were going to work in the fields and beat them unmercifully."  
"They commandeered a large quantity of food stores. They caught a number of peasants, men, women and children and beat each one in turn, until the victim lay unconscious."  
"Cold water was then thrown over him, and the beating was continued until the victim was unconscious returned."  
"Twelve Romygyn and his son and daughter were so beaten so that they were left in a dreadful condition, and so were the children of the mayor of the village."  
"Doman Prus was so roughly handled that his leg was broken."  
"The cooperative store was demolished by the Poles, and the storekeeper, a woman, flogged. The windows of the village reading room were smashed. Similar things were done at Poterebnice, near Lemberg, on the same day."

"The cooperative store was looted and many of the villagers were beaten. Peter Subela, a mere boy, was so beaten that his life was in danger. If you think the above account portrays an unusual or exceptional state of affairs, you will be interested to learn through the Literary Digest from so authoritative a source as His Excellency Tytus Filipowicz, Ambassador of Poland at Washington, that the Ukrainian people in the Polish Ukraine have been accorded 'the same liberal treatment Poland extends to other minorities.'"

HERMAN KOBBE.

### NOTE

Owing to the unusual demands upon our space for campaign material during the last few weeks of the campaign, a few letters printed below have been in type for two months. Others received in that period obviously cannot be used now. The election is now history and we hope to give space to letters from our readers from week to week.—Editor.

### INTERPRETING THE RETURNS

Editor, The New Leader:  
I see by the New Leader and the daily papers that Comrade Waldman "interpreted" the Socialist vote. I remember a time when no Socialist leader deemed an interpretation necessary, but that's neither here nor there. What worries me is that the party may miss some of the more important lessons to be found in the vote at the last election. For instance, with a tremendous expenditure of money and an intensely personal campaign, Comrade Viadach about tripled the vote of two years ago. Norman Thomas did the same. In each case the Socialist candidate polled about 20 percent of the total vote cast. With very little expenditure and on a strictly Socialist campaign in which I never mentioned the fact that I was the candidate, my vote for congress doubled that of two years ago, and 13.6 percent of the total vote cast (in the Bronx part

of the district). I received no endorsement of the League for Independent Political Action or other party organizations with which the modern Socialist Party seems so eager to curry favor, and yet my vote was greater than Comrade Orr's who had such endorsement and polled only 12.1 percent of the vote.

The sort of campaign I waged does not add to my prestige downtown among the boisterous big-wigs of the party and I do not enjoy the distinction of being invited to very special exclusive luncheons, nor receive any notice from The New Leader, but I do have the confidence and affection of the membership of the Party in the Bronx, and my refusal to bow to the cheap political expedients which some of the members used in their desperate efforts to get votes, tends to preserve the only real asset which the Socialist Party has, its tradition of social idealism and devotion to the principles of Socialism. That is all we have with which to hold our people together. When a cheap campaign is waged, the morale of the membership is broken; they don't know exactly why they drop out of activity but somehow they are not enthused. The campaign leaves them blank.

It is my idea, therefore, that we must stop glorifying individuals and begin again to glorify our ideals and principles; our campaign managers should not forget either, that every dollar garnered for the campaign fund was wrung from hard working comrades and is not to be carelessly spent. We pile up campaign deficits with no thought to what it means to those who accept the heavier responsibility of keeping the organization together between elections.

LOUIS WEIL.

The implication that The New Leader discriminated against Comrade Weil has no basis. He sent no complaint to the editor during the campaign and if he did not get the publicity desired the fault lies with those in charge of his campaign.—Editor.

### A FARMERS INSURANCE ACT

Editor, The New Leader:  
The active support of New York Socialists and The New Leader for various forms of social insurance prompts me to suggest another for the benefit of the American farmer which might supplement or supplant the present efforts of the Federal Farm Board.

I suggest the Board set a price on farm commodities each year at ten per cent above the market price average for the preceding ten years. This price is the purpose of computation only, as each year a farmer will bring his market receipts to an agent of the Federal Board and receive a check for one-half the difference between his returns and the price set by the Federal Farm Board. This expense would be borne by a tax on the industry but as it would be twice the interest of each farmer to get his money from the market instead of from the Federal Board these expenses would be kept at a minimum and the farmer would still be interested in the production of first class marketable produce.

The aim is to stabilize yearly returns as nearly as may be done, prevent false optimism resulting in over-production, and prevent ruin to

individual farmers through a sudden fall in prices just as much suffering comes to the homes of laboring men during periods of unemployment.

GEORGE CHRISTENSEN.

### QUESTIONS TRADE UNIONISTS

Editor, The New Leader:  
About two months ago I attended a meeting of the United Hebrew Trades at which time that body, representing some 200,000 trade-unionists in this city, endorsed the Socialist Party candidates in the recent election.

Many of the local bodies affiliated with the United Hebrew Trades are also affiliated with the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York. Among these are a good many locals that endorsed the Socialist candidates at their own meetings.

Will you, or some reader, inform me or rather explain the peculiar phenomenon of the Central Trades and Labor Council, on Oct. 24, endorsing Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz and candidates of the Democratic Party, in some cases ignoring even trade union officials who were Socialist candidates for political office and only the voices of Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz and myself raised in opposition?

Where were our trade union officials who are members of the Socialist party, many of which are delegates to the Council? The great mass of these absent delegates abandoning the field to the Tammany henchmen, and those few who were present sat in silence.

For daring to voice my opinion I may have to face possible censure by my union, withdrawal from the Council or perhaps even worse. But with Delegate Lefkowitz speaking for independent political action, it remains that I fought a lone battle for the candidates and the platform of the party. Where is the fighting spirit of the others? Where was their sense of duty?

HERMAN WOSKOW.

### RUSSIA

Editor, The New Leader:  
On page three of the November 8th issue of The New Leader there appears under the heading "Russia Socialists Protest New Soviet Terror" a news item on a proposed "labor and socialist" conference sponsored by interested persons and extensive excerpts from a statement issued by the Foreign Delegation of the Russian Social Democratic Party in Berlin. Story and statement are issued and printed by you without signature or comment.

May I here vigorously protest the policy of printing the highly emotional appeal issued by Mr. Abramovitch in such a way as to indicate that you seriously recommend the matter to your readers in the form given. Sweeping and terrible indictments are made without one direct piece of evidence or fact being adduced. Vague but horrifying prophecies are made as to the future with a similar enthusiastic dismissal of the need of facts. The Five Year Industrialization program is described as fantastic economic plans in the hands of the capitalist breakdown and some comparative Soviet success have led to some move of a very definite character toward an organized anti-Soviet program on the part of the world's capitalist rulership, may well be questioned. However, I confine myself to a protest against the irresponsible journalism involved, entirely too reminiscent of American Communist tactics, and request that you print this letter in the current New Leader.

ARTHUR G. McDOWELL.

### Pittsburgh, Pa.

Editor, The New Leader:  
"Buy Now" is the slogan of the day. It borders on insanity to tell people to "buy now" when dollars are as scarce as news about Russia in The New Leader, and other Socialist papers.

"Business Revival Seen" by the Hoovers and Kahns and the like almost as often as "the collapse of the fantastic economic plans (in Russia) become more evident" in The New Leader.

Certainly it is not pleasant for me to admit to comrades and outsiders that the only favorable news about Russia, and the gigantic experiment, are to be found in the capitalist press, whereas our press apparently has made it a policy to print only unfavorable news.

Civil liberties is a vital and important problem. But one should not forget that above all is the building of the Socialist state important; and during the transition period, harsh measures to safeguard the coming state are under certain circumstances justifiable.

It therefore seems unfair to me that our press should force people, and almost any living being is interested in Russia, to rely upon the capitalist press for favorable news from that country. I sincerely hope

that it as yet has not become a rigid policy with The New Leader. I would furthermore like to see an explanation as to where The New Leader stands on this.

FRED GENDRAL.

### Lucerne, Pa.

These letters are typical of the views of several comrades. Another one writes that he was disappointed because The New Leader had carried an article or editorial on "the recent disclosure of the plot of some European countries against Soviet Russia." Comrade McDowell objects to the "highly objectionable appeal" issued by Mr. Abramovitch, and so on.

All of which indicates that many American Socialists are still isolated from the European Labor and Socialist movement. In view of all this it is well to restate the attitude of the Trade Union International, the Labor and Socialist International, and their affiliated organizations with respect to the organized powers against Russia. When White Generals are subsidized by capitalist powers in a war against Soviet Russia the whole Labor and Socialist Internationalists are opposed to Romanoff generals and the capitalist powers against Russia. When White Generals are subsidized by capitalist powers in a war against Soviet Russia the whole Labor and Socialist Internationalists are opposed to Romanoff generals and the capitalist powers against Russia.

There is no doubt about this terror. Communists never deny it as a policy. On the contrary, they glorify in it. It has even been turned into a dissenting Communist in Russia. Trotsky was too big a man to be executed. He was deported. Other Communists have been turned into prisoners. Rykoff and Bucharin may any day be the next victims.

If the Communist dictatorship is so ruthless in dealing with the slightest difference of opinion within the Communist Party, it is not surprising that it will have even less consideration for Socialists? And shall the whole Labor and Socialist world become accomplices in this terror, share in the executions by remaining silent and expectant victims send a plea to the workers of the world? Certainly not.

Strangely enough, the comrades who object to this plot of the victims even being heard accept the Communist view of the terror despite the unanimous view of the Trade Union and Socialist Internationalists. Our international organizations are certainly not prompted by malice or a desire to falsify the facts. On the contrary, the facts are only too obvious. They are obtained from Soviet and Communist sources and from documents and letters sent from Russia by workers who have given a life of service to the revolutionary movement.

Another question arises. Are Socialists to give less credence to the information regarding Russia from our own international than to the stories that appear in the capitalist press? Comrade Gendral seems to think so. We do not. Long experience has taught us to suspect bourgeois sources of information. For years it was a tissue of falsehoods against Russia. As various capitalist groups obtain rich Russian contracts the tendency is the other way. The humorous change of opinion correlating with receipt of such contracts is illustrated in recent years by Ivy Lee and former Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall.

Moreover, Comrade Abramovitch is the Russia member of the Bureau of the International and a member of its Executive. He does not make the Soviet system an issue. He supports the policy of Socialist revolution in the Soviet armies against Wrangel and his kind. He has an international reputation as a Socialist scholar. He gave years of devoted service to the Russian revolution and the cause of the Russian revolutionaries. Is this representative of the Socialist movement to be ignored and Communist and capitalist sources to be accepted in this case? In that case not European workers ignore Morris Hillquit and acknowledge American Communist and capitalist sources of information regarding the Socialists movement in the United States?

One other question is raised, the Russian Five Year Plan. Our critics again decline to consider Socialist opinion and are favorable to Communist opinion. We cannot reconcile this attitude with facts and the Socialist point of view.

For example: In recent weeks the press of the world has been filled with Moscow stories of a world plot of the capitalist governments against Russia. Comrade McDowell refers to this alleged plot as "some move of a very definite character." He appears to accept this plot as genuine despite its origin. From that same source have also come frequent denunciations of the Labor and Socialist parties of the world as "agents of the

bourgeoisie." Despite Premier MacDonald's long service in trying to bring the capitalist governments to a more reasonable attitude toward Russia he is singled out in the Moscow stories as one of the leaders in the world plot against Russia! MacDonald is definitely linked with Briand and the czarist general Lukomsky in this "plot." To us this appears absurd on its face.

It is important for our comrades to know that in recent years the internal factional fight in Russian Communist ranks is accompanied by similar propaganda. As the dictating the Stalin faction has the advantage. It can easily charge the opposition with policies that correlate with world capitalist opposition. A world capitalist "plot" serves to strengthen the Stalin group before the party members.

This is what is happening now and the alleged plot is a blow struck at Rykoff and Bucharin over the shoulders of the capitalist statesmen. It is not certain that the Five Year Plan is the promising success of our comrades think it is. We wish it were for the sake of the suffering Russian masses, but there is plenty of reason to believe that by the export of vital foodstuffs to help pay for the promotion of heavy industries, the capitalist is facing the masses. This brings discontent into the party. Rykoff, Bucharin and their supporters are strengthened in their criticisms.

The invention of a world "plot" by Stalin in such a party crisis is good party strategy against the opposition but Socialists should be more careful in considering all the factors before accepting the version that comes through censored stories from Russia. Our Socialist comrades, who certainly have no desire to promote reaction in Russia or to turn Russia into a more conservative state in such matters than some of our own members have given them.—Editor.

There is a great deal of difference between laughing at religion and laughing at those who profane it by their extravagant opinions.—Pascal.

Until women are perfectly organized, both politically and industrially, there is not much chance of the victory of the ground lost since the war.—Miss Julia Varley.

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## The Man of The Hour

WHY are they throwing ticker-tape out the window, Mama?"

"A great hero is coming up the avenue, my dear."

"Yeah, and what has he done?"

"Why, you poor, little dumb sap, he is The Man of the Hour."

"How come?"

"Listen stupid, the man who is coming up the avenue amid all these cheers and confusion is the Man Who Bought 'Til It Hurt. He is the bird who went over the buying top with his check book in his teeth and drove on through the poison gases of pessimism, past the barbed-wire of despond straight into the selling trenches. Hand me that telephone book. I want to sling it at him."

"But, Mama, what did he do?"

"For the love of heaven, nit-wit, he is the man who fell for those signs, 'Buy Now and Help Restore Prosperity.'"

"But what did he use for money, Mama?"

"He borrowed on his life insurance and bought a ping-pong set, a subscription to 'Vanity Fair' magazine, a pair of solid silver sandwich tongs, a bronze cuspidor and a Hartz Mountain canary."

"Hooray for our hero. Let me throw something at him, too, Mama."

The memory of a concert given this week by Jan Smeterlin, the Polish pianist, is with me as I write. Listening to a simple, unaffected artist producing noble sounds from a noble instrument affords a blessed interlude in days of confusion, hate and fear. Then there is accomplished that healing integration of dreams and desires, that subtle transference of harmony from the creator to the listener which is in the long run the most precious thing in life.

How blind are those who think that because Socialists and other hectors seem constantly to talk of things economic, they have no concern with those areas and activities having to do with the creative arts. It is precisely because they would leave the soul of man free from the galling economic chains that they are so insistent upon organizing the bread and butter things of life in such shrewd and forethoughtful manner as to make them secondary in the scheme of life.

There was discussion of this the other night at an exciting house meeting of the Yipsels over in Balfour place, Brooklyn. Someone raised the point which, of course, has been raised many times before, as to whether or not if the New Capitalism put through the program which its advocates claim is its goal, there would be any further use for Socialism. In other words if, by some miracle, capitalism, foreseeing inevitable disaster, should suddenly decide to balance production and consumption by providing for the workers the high wages and ample leisure necessary for labor to buy back what it makes, would thereupon usher in such an economic Utopia as to make the Socialist ideal superfluous.

This, of course, is the dream of those heralds and messengers of the New Capitalism, many of them "tired radicals," many of them sincere in their belief that capitalism may yet be found "somehow good."

To be sure, their voices have been stilled of late. They have not been nearly articulate this past hard-boiled year. Somehow the prosperity which they hailed so gleefully in the fat days of 1923 refuses stubbornly to perpetuate itself. It was a sterile god they set up, or so it now seems.

But let's assume that the New Capitalism or whatever grandiose named profit system takes its place, does decide on partial surrender. Let's assume an era of genuinely adequate wages far beyond that miserable pittance of \$1,500 a year which was the average wage of the American worker at a time of peak "prosperity." And with the wages, a greater leisure. Is this then, all that we cantankerous Socialists want?

Loud cries of "No." It is not our idea of a good world, this vision of fat and contented workers riding around on Saturday afternoons in new Buicks with their tonsils exposed. Socialism implies a lot more than that. It is nothing short of an entirely new way of life. It is a philosophy as well as a political program. It is a liberating force which thunders at the very foundations of all our present social values. It is the courageous and intelligent integration of politics, economics, and the arts which makes life meaningful and fills its empty days with significance. If a far-flung and exalted Social Welfare Utopia were all that is wanted, then it is true that it might be left to the "best brains" of capitalism to devise. We would have no further function to perform. But we will be here long after the last of the personnel workers of the New Capitalism has folded up his tents and taken the way of the Arabs.

Here and there are evidences of an uneasiness among the Fat Boys, slight hints of a perception that there may be after all something rotten in the capitalist Denmark. For instance, look at this from "The Business Week":

"This depression is more than a passing circumstance in our history; it is a crucial turning point in industrial civilization. . . . It is not too much to say the philosophy of individual and organized private initiative upon which our business system is founded and operated under the leadership of business men, economists and engineers who have replaced the kings and statesmen of the past, is definitely on trial today, more decisively than it has ever been before."

Most of the above is darned tootin' true, always excepting the fact that engineers per se have about as much to say about running the "business system" as we have about the management of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. Engineers are office boys and most of them are lucky to drag down an office boy's pay. There was a time when we got lathered up over Veblen's idea of an engineers' revolution in this country. The technical or keymen of industry could tie up the whole works any time they wanted to. But having met a peck of engineers of late, we are convinced that they are just about the least socially-minded folks on earth and that if a real revolution of either of ballots or bullets ever did come off here, the engineers would be hanging for dear life onto the coattails of their beloved bosses.

A Professor of History in the Western Reserve University has written a book called, "Responsible Drinking." Just like a professor to come along and take all the joy out of the damned thing. Who wants to mix responsibility with his Scotch? The whole point of business is to forget responsibility as swiftly and completely as possible. Can one envisage a gloomier picture than a group of history professors sitting responsibly above their high-balls discussing the responsibility for the war in the back room of a responsible speakeasy?

McAlister Coleman.

Let me make the superstitions of a nation and care not who makes its laws or its songs, either.

—Mark Twain.

## Our Weekly Foreign Letters

# "Where Is France Going?"

By Pietro Nenni

PARIS, OCT. 25th.

THE French Parliament will meet on November 14th. What surprise is it reserving for us?

It appears obvious that the present Government, presided over by M. Tardieu and supported by the Right, is condemned. It is faced by two redoubtable oppositions:

1. The noisy opposition shown by its extreme right wing to the foreign policy of M. Briand;

2. The Radical-Socialist and Socialist opposition in the Chamber and the Senate.

Let us analyze these two oppositions in relation to the problem of foreign policy.

Following upon the German elections the French Right let loose a veritable campaign of panic which has profoundly disturbed public opinion. The man in the street asks himself with anguish whether war is not at the gates. The newspapers, the posters, and the orators of the Right attempt to persuade him that the renaissance of the nationalist and revengeful spirit in Germany is the ransom of the "policy of abandonment" of M. Briand. The Foreign Minister is treated like a "mad dog." In a general manner, play is made on the parallelism between the evacuation of the Rhineland and the black elections in Germany in order to line up public opinion against the Left.

The whole of this thesis does not resist criticism for a moment. It is obvious that if the policy of Franco-German conciliation pursued by M. Briand has not

## Briand Faces Menace From Chauvinist Right And Radical-Socialist, Socialist Left

given the results which might have been hoped for, it is precisely because its author, the prisoner of a Cabinet of the Right, has lacked the spirit of consistency. One cannot do things by half without running the risk of being disagreeable to God and his enemies. This is what has happened to M. Briand, whose greatest fault perhaps is that he is too clever.

But the press of the Right has carefully concealed from public opinion that during the elections of September 14 in Germany, home politics took the lead by a long way over foreign politics. The anti-Socialist motives of Hitlerism and German Nationalism have had no interest whatever for the French national bourgeoisie, whose attention is only aroused by the measured tread of the demonstrators in Coblenz.

"Down with Briand!" "Down with the capitalists!" Such has been the reply of the French patriot to the German patriot's cry of "Wake Up, Germany!"

The Right, the interpreters of this state of mind, lay down a strengthened policy of prestige, hegemony, and peace which is more and more armed.

Threatened by its right wing in the sphere of foreign policy, the Tardieu Ministry is also threatened by the Radical-Socialist and Socialist opposition of the Chamber and Senate. It appears that the Senate desires in a peculiar fashion the advent to power of a Cab-

inet of concentration with the participation of the Radical-Socialists. But the latter were enemies of the concentration until yesterday. Their conference in Grenoble, which ended last week, marked a change in their policy. There is no longer any doubt in the declaration of the Party regarding the cartel or the alliance with the Socialists. From this fact, the concentration becomes possible and even very probable in a very short time.

It is sufficient to set out objectively, as I have just done, the two possible causes of crisis, in order to see that there is no connection between them, and that the solutions laid down, according as the crisis will be provoked by the Right or by the Left, are even in absolute contradiction. For the Right, it is a question of overthrowing the political system followed by M. Briand. Does the Radical Left desire on the other hand to strengthen this system? It says so. But this is not certain.

This is the great question. Whatever may happen to be the pretext for a crisis in effect, the latter will be dominated by preoccupations of international policy. France also is at the cross roads. According to the road which she takes, Europe will draw near to peace or to war.

At the present moment France is the most armed country. She is also the country which is sheltered from the great economic crisis

which is shaking the rest of the world. There are no unemployed in France; there is no misery. Nevertheless, an important section of public opinion, exploiting the incidents of the German elections, loudly demands armaments, more armaments, and still more armaments.

Our Socialist comrades are the only ones who have taken an energetic position against the policy of madness laid down by the partisans of armed peace. They are also alone in having made conspicuous the fact that the German elections are above all a demonstration of the general discontent determined by the economic crisis which is raging on the other side of the Rhine.

The others, including the Radical-Socialists, have shown a hesitation, even a perceptible drawing back. Certain of the people belonging to the Left are talking like Poincaré; others wrap up their thoughts in vague formulae, from which the following conclusion emerges: that France can only stop on the road of organizing an armed peace on condition that she obtains international guarantees of security.

This, at bottom, is what France has not ceased from saying since 1919, without however, anyone ever having been able to obtain a definition of security. To such a degree, that there is reason to fear that in the present state of public opinion, not even the proposal made by our Comrade Paul-

Boncour (for a convention for a cessation of armaments and the presentation to the coming meeting of the Disarmament Commission of the two dependent plans for a serious reduction of armaments and an organization of international security) has any chance of success.

It is bad! It must be said and said again, because it is the truth; in order to pull Europe out of the bad position in which it finds itself, courage is necessary, concrete thinking and the will to realization. This is no longer the time for pacifist literature, warm appeal to friendship between the peoples, and plans. It is the hour for action. If there is not a cessation and afterwards a reduction of armaments, if there is not a serious effort to remedy the present disorder of European production and economy, the twin menaces of Fascism and war will only become aggravated.

But, in conclusion, when the impartial observer of French politics asks himself the question: "Where is France going?" he is forced to reply that she is marking time, and that if her governing class sometimes exaggerates the small incidents of political life in Italy and Germany, it has not yet understood the gravity of the European situation and still lingers too readily to contemplate its present power, without taking account of the reactions which are being produced in Europe.

And this is the negative aspect of the crisis of the old Contin-

## The Chatter Box

### Ballade of the Unemployed

THE hungry men are passing by . . .  
Each blind is drawn in shuddery fright.  
With every dragging step, a sigh;  
The poor, that murmur for the right  
To live, to ease a breadless plight,  
At every door are turned away.  
Are turned away without a mile . . .  
And not a word, a word to say.

Graybeard and youth, with downturned eye,  
Bravely or slender, strong or slight,  
Blank-browed or eager-lipped, apply  
For work to carry on the fight.  
For life demands the will to smite  
And not to cover and to pray.  
Yet men are walking, deathly white,  
And not a word, a word to say.

From every town we hear the cry:  
The darkness roars, "Unite! Unite!"  
Surely, each branding hand shall die;  
The day shall come which shall requite  
Your wrongs . . . though still how far from right!  
But hunger pangs will not delay;  
Like ghosts they pass a restless flight . . .  
And not a word, a word to say.

Democracy, hold high the light!  
See! Like dead leaves when fall turns gray,  
The shivering thousands pass tonight . . .  
And not a word, a word to say!

IGNACE M. INGIANNI

Comrade Charles A. Wagner will pardon the column because his splendid poem "Bryant Park" that appeared anonymously in last week's "Chatterbox" was incorrectly ascribed to me. There is something wrong with the linotype who gets this space to fill each week. If it weren't for the unemployment situation, I'd report him to his union and have him disciplined. I wish to announce again that Charles A. Wagner was the distinguished author of "Bryant Park."

Pierre di Nio, old time campaigner writes in from Hancock, N. Y., to explain that our poor showing up-state has been due to just the things outlined in last week's remarks sent the election. I am pleased with his praise, but certainly unhappy about his statement that he will not work hard for the cause until we've cleaned house.

On the contrary, Pierre, the time to work hardest is when there is so much work to do. Don't quit now. We're on the upward grade in spite of our failings. How much better will be the going when our own domestic obstacles are removed . . .

If any more letters like di Nio's come in, I shall start a new department in this column, entitled, . . . "Advice to the Worklorn."

### More Sonnets to a Dark Lady

Whenever, and so often, thoughts impel  
The useless sum of living all my years,  
When promised heaven is a hopeless hell,  
And there is grief too horrible for tears,

I have an imaged goddess all my own:  
There is a temple somewhere in my brain,  
Where I can lay upon the voice stone  
The proper tribute for release from pain.

And so with pagan attitude I stand  
Intoning all my bitterness to prayer;  
And lo! I sense the passing of a hand  
Above my head; and softer than the air

Of summer nights, I feel your blessed breath  
Against my cheek, and I am done with death.

### Words for a Violin

Love will not whimper  
On the slender strings . . .  
She will not whisper  
Or do furtive things.  
Free as the wind's whim,  
Full as the sky,  
Open as sunshine,  
She need not lie.

Love does no summing  
On the beaded strings,  
Years have no measure  
In her reckonings.  
Ageless as laughter,  
Clear as the truth,  
Love is the fountain  
And fluid of youth.

Say to the wise man,  
"You are cold and dead,  
If your heart cannot sing  
What need for your head . . ."

So that the linotype gets things straight this time will please refrain from accusing anybody else for the above poetical perpetrations. They are exclusively the work of

A. S. de Witt.

### The Arts of Death

On the arts of life man invents nothing; but in the arts of death he outdoes nature herself, and produces by machinery all the slaughter of plague, pestilence, and famine.

The peasant today eats and drinks what was eaten and drank by the peasants of ten thousand years ago, and the house he lives in has not altered so much in a thousand centuries as the fashion of a lady's bonnet in a score of weeks. But when he goes out to slay he carries a marvel of mechanism that lets loose at the touch of his finger all the hidden molecular energies, and leaves the javelin, the blow-pipe of his fathers, far behind.

In the arts of peace man is a bungler. I have seen his cotton factories and the like, with machinery that a greasy dog could have invented if it had wanted money instead of food. I know his clumsy typewriters and bungling locomotives, tedious bicycles, and autos; they are toys compared to the Maxim gun, the submarine torpedo boat.

There is nothing in man's industrial machinery but his greed and sloth; his heart is in his weapons. This marvelous force of life of which you boast is a force of Death; Man measures his strength by his destructiveness. What is his religion? An excuse for hating me. What is his morality? An excuse for consuming without producing. What is his art? An excuse for gloating over pictures. What are his politics? Either the worship of a despot, because a despot can kill, or parliamentary cock-fighting.

—George Bernard Shaw, in "Man and Superman."

### Apostates

We hear much of martyrs—of those who were slain by the sword or consumed in the fire; but we know little of that still larger number who by the mere threat of persecution have been driven into an outward abandonment of their real opinions, and who, thus forced into an apostasy the heart abhors, have passed the remainder of their life in the practice of a constant and humiliating hypocrisy.

—Thomas Henry Buck

## Scanning the New Books

# Who And What Decides How Americans Think

## Breaking Down Stereotypes

By James Oneal

TWENTY-FIVE years ago the "muckraker" was abroad in the land. Through newspaper, magazine and books he was kicking the props from under our ruling gentry. Specimens were exhibited to show the "initiative" and piety of Coolidge folklore and of Hoover "individualism" simply were masks for users and plain scoundrels. Roosevelt became alarmed and denounced the muckrakers. The users took courage, bought into the leading magazines, strangled a few that held out, and then cultivated the "success" bunk which has transformed the users and scoundrels into saints.

All this comes back to us when reading Peter Odegard's book, "The American Public Mind." (New York: Columbia University Press, \$2.50). His study probes the intellectual diseases which capitalist overlords have produced in the United States and reveals "the powers and invisible hands that pull the strings which make the puppet public dance," to quote the publishers' announcement.

The first chapter is devoted to a presentation of the various modern theories of psychology and the second one considers social behavior in the holy land of Coolidge, Mellon, Smith, Elder Hays, Hoover, and "Scarface" Al Capone, to mention only a few of our conspicuous Americans. Other chapters consider the family, church, education, the press, politics and parties, propaganda, religion, Nordic nonsense, the movies, the arts, radio, censorship, the Devil, Hell, and Arthur Brisbane.

Of the books of this character in recent years this one is one of the very best in the presentation and analysis of our bourgeois affliction. Although not a part of the thesis of such studies, the careful reader gets the impression of unseen hands behind the curtain that direct, control, and shape opinions, myths and prejudices for their own purposes. Excellent as this book is one gets the impression that an unseen force also restrains the author in any attempt at a thorough analysis of the powers behind the curtain. There are hints here and there but it is not made the theme of the book nor is any chapter devoted to it.

Why is it that so many studies of this kind do not probe fundamentals but are confined to what has happened or is happening? Two historical analogies supply the answer. We know that feudal property shaped the thought, prejudices and institutions of the feudal age. We know that slave property did the same thing for the ruling class in the old regime of the South. Now it is capitalist property that is supreme but scholars who study its intellectual vagaries hesitate to correlate them with the dominion of capital. That would be to invite the fate that happened to the "muckrakers" a quarter century ago.

So the student of contemporary capitalism must be less frank in writing of its superstructure of myths and bunk than the student of feudal and slave property. These two forms of property belong to the past and the subtle coercion exercised by their owners does not survive as a restraining influence. Capitalist property not only survives but its possessors rule Am-

erican life. They can make or break the men or publications that pillory them as a ruling class. So the student of American capitalism must be wary of invading the holy of holies. He may make fun of the various phases of Babbitology, reveal its absurdities, but he must not draw aside the curtain. A peep behind it may be permitted now and then but to reveal the whole mechanism of class rule and bring its significance to the attention of the working masses who are victims of the deceit requires more daring than we can expect of the average writer.

Socialists can carry the analysis into this forbidden field and they do. The professional student can not follow their example till capitalist property is as remote as feudal and slave property is now. The fact that modern scholarship labors under this restraint shows the enormous coercive power of the class interests behind the curtain. No other nation is so enslaved as ours is by this subtle and ever present power of a ruling class. Mr. Odegard has given us an excellent book, one of the very best of its kind, but it is limited in its range like others of its kind and for the reasons stated.

## Letters From India

"Disillusioned India" (Dhan Gopal Mukerji, Dutton, \$2.50), might, from its title, be expected to present the position of the Indian Nationalist movement. It does not, except incidentally. Mr. Mukerji gives rather, an impressionistic, and, it seems to me, a somewhat sketchy account of his visit to India, in the form of a series of letters. Unfortunately, his viewpoint appears to be that of the expatriate esthete (he lives in this country), and his judgments as to the present state of India are, in consequence, essentially personal, and hardly a very trustworthy guide. Thus, his comment on the new spirit of independence which has emerged among Indian women as a result of the Nationalist movement, is, "Friend, if you like to destroy the boys of India by starting the revolution, do so. But why do you destroy our women, second to none in the whole world?" (p. 34) Or again, "All these years that I have lived in America, I have held the belief that the Indian women can never lose the calm of their soul. Now facts belie my belief. Alas, one must give up one's illusions. This evening I had pinned my hopes on the wives of the factory workers. I felt that those who were so poor could not bother to be troubled by anything. I hoped to find in them the age-old serenity of India."

"The funny part of it was that the men whose dominion they resented were slaving nine hours a day in the narrow rooms of the offices to earn twenty-seven dollars, out of which nine went to pay a month's rent. Well, these women were fruitfully vociferous and restless. Most appalling. Then their eyes! They were so restless. Our ancient poet spoke of women's bee-black eyes as calm as jungle depths. They are no more calm; they are full of stinging assertiveness. If they knew what precious things are being sacrificed by them, our women would pause awhile." (pp. 40-41).

There is, however, in spite of the generally unsatisfactory nature of the book, much material of value in it, albeit of a rather elementary type. Thus, the letter on "Political Disillusion" presents the Nationalist point of view as expressed by Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress at the time of its declaration of India's independence. Lord Irwin's pronouncement, quoted in Letter VIII, also makes rather interesting reading, although it possesses no very great intrinsic importance. The picture of Punjabi Mottal Nehru given in Letter X, "The Two Nehrus," is, also, I think, distinctly worthwhile. Not only does it deal with one of the outstanding figures of Indian Nationalism, but it presents, perhaps more than any other part of the book, a view of the fundamental changes which the Nationalist Movement is effecting in Indian life. It seems to me a question what Mr. Mukerji means when he says that the statements by Lord Rothmere contained in Letter XI are inserted "in order to be fair." There is also a certain amount of interest in the description of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, leader of the Liberals, or Moderates, as they were originally called, and in the account of a visit to the peasantry. Those who do not make a practice of reading the daily papers may also profit by reading Letter XVIII on "Breakers of the Salt Law." All in all, I think it is a book worth borrowing, if one skips the proper parts.

MAURICE GOLDBLOOM.

## Discoverer of A New World

High in a tower room overlooking Berlin sits a man, his massive head covered with a great shock of gray hair, bending over scraps of paper on which are written mathematical formulae as revolutionary in their implications as any manifestos of any professional political revolutionists.

This is Albert Einstein and we are given our first satisfactory introduction to the scientist as a most lovable human being in a new biography ("Albert Einstein," A Biographical Portrait by Anton Reiser, Published by Albert and Charles Boni, New York City, Price \$2.50).

"The man who has discovered an idea which allows us to penetrate to whatever slight degree a little more deeply the eternal arcana of Nature, has been granted a great favor. If, in addition, he experiences the best help, sympathy and recognition of his time, he attains almost more happiness than one man can bear."

These words of Einstein quoted at the beginning of Reiser's book denote the essential humility of probably the greatest figure of our times. Throughout this biography, over and over again, sometimes to the point of wearisomeness, the author underscores Einstein's otherworldliness, his sweetly child-like spirit, his love for humanity which convinces him that, according to Reiser, "Socialism seems to him to show the highest ethical desire to remove the appalling chasm between the classes and to produce a more just economic sys-

tem. Certainly, evolution is tending towards a new non-capitalistic economic system. Organization and collectivism regulate our life more and more. The fate of the individual is increasingly subordinated to that of the community. Industry cannot remain on the outside, it cannot be left in an anarchical condition; industry, too, must be organized; capitalism of the Manchester type has no future." And yet Einstein, whose dearest friend is Friedrich Adler, the Socialist, physicist and philosopher, is a member of no political party. The anti-Semites, among them many physicists jealous of Einstein's fame, have frequently accused him of being a Bolshevik, as ridiculous as the charge that his relativity theory destroys all the findings of science prior to 1915, that eventual ending of the decade in which Einstein erected the architecture of his new physical world view.

Of course the biography is essentially taken up with Einstein the scientist rather than the philosopher and the story of his most magnificent research into the "eternal Arcana of Nature" makes most exciting reading even for the layman unacquainted with higher mathematics.

In the long run, however, the value of this biography lies not so much in its interpretation and exposition of Einstein's amazing theories as in the picture it leaves with us of a man moving modestly through a world the conception of which he has so momentously changed.

McALISTER COLEMAN.

The Labor movement is the greatest in the world. It is the best organized, the most powerful, and the most unified body that has ever existed to forward the cause of democracy and justice.—Ernest Bevin.

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# Just Imagine'—A Tuneful Fantasy at Fox B'klyn

The Stage

The Movies

Music

## In Dance Recital



At the Guild Theatre on December 7th, Pauline Koner, the beautiful Russian dancer will appear in a solo program.

## In New Musical Soon to Reach Broadway



Roger Lehr will soon be seen in "Love Thieves" which is due on Broadway late in December.

## "Just Imagine" and Bright Stage Bill At Fox Brooklyn

Continuing its new policy of showing first-run pictures in Brooklyn simultaneous with their New York premieres, the Fox Theatre offers this week the new De Sylva, Brown and Henderson Fox Movietone, "Just Imagine" as a successor to "Sunny Side Up."

"Just Imagine" is spectacularly original in theme and treatment and is superlative entertainment. It is laid in a 1980 setting when the world has changed materially in virtually every element except romance. The story of the love of the "Lindbergh of 1980" in the person of John Garrick and Maureen O'Sullivan is beset with traditional difficulties, but, of course, true love conquers in the end. El Brendel, the miraculously funny Swedish comedian, has the principal role, providing a generous portion of comedy. He is assisted by the vivacious Marjorie White and Frank Albertson.

Twenty-two of the most talented twins on the stage comprise the talent for Fanchon & Marco's novel "Seeing Double" Idea, the current stage attraction at the Fox. Eight sets are girls and three are boys. This large and unusually talented group will be headed by Clarence and Claude Stroud, and includes the Miller, Elica, St. John, Clute, Falla, Nolay, Holly, Parker and Malby Twins.

A continuous flow of song is maintained during Bob West's organ solo.

## Manhattan Symphony's 2d Season Inaugurated Last Sunday Evening

Carnegie Hall was the scene of a gala concert on Sunday evening, November 16th, when Dr. Henry Hadley stepped on the rostrum and wielded his baton over his orchestra for the first time this year. The improvement of the ensemble was immediately revealed in the opening bars of the Humperdinck overture "Königslied". The balance of tone, the dynamic nuances and the phrasing of the strings all showed the result of the maestro's careful training of this body of musicians.

Madame Silva was heard in Donizetti's aria "La Favorita" which served well to exhibit the remarkable quality of this artist's voice. The novelty of the evening was Hadley's own composition "Streets of Peking" written during the composer's visit this summer to the Orient. Its performance aroused great enthusiasm among the audience who were not satisfied until the last movement was repeated.

The next concert will take place at Mecca Auditorium on Sunday evening November 30th, at which Ruggiero Ricci will play the Beethoven Violin Concerto, his teacher, Louis Persinger, conducting.

## Evelyn MacNevin In Song Recital

Evelyn MacNevin, the young American contralto of the German Grand Opera Company, has arranged an unusual program of French, German and English compositions for her recital at the Guild Theatre on Sunday afternoon, November 30th.

Four songs by George R. Dyer, Jr., will be presented for the first time on any concert stage. The two arias from Handel's "Rinaldo" and "Agrippina," a group of lieder by Hugo Wolf, an aria from Meyerbeer's "Le Prophète" and a group of Scotch Folk Songs will comprise the balance of the program.

## Gilbert Miller presents

**Marseilles**

By Marcel Pagnol (Author of "Topaze")

Adapted by Sidney Howard

Henry Miller's Theatre

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Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2.30

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"SEEING DOUBLE IDEA"

A Sensationally Different Novelty Stage Show

BOB WEST

Monarch of the Mighty Organ

FOX MOVIE TONE NEWS

## A Great Picture at the Little Carnegie



"All Quiet on the Western Front," which has been chosen as the finest picture of the year is now on view at the Little Carnegie Playhouse. This interesting cinema on West 57th street will also show "Africa Speaks," another unusual picture. Because of these interesting and well chosen cinema offerings time after time, the Little Carnegie has become one of the favorite places to go for fine film fare.

## Joe Leblang Show Banker; Millions Come to Him for Theatre Tickets

This is a story of a banker who loans money without charging any interest whatsoever. This chap, er, er, banker, not only loans money without interest, but on a security that would cause many a nightmare in legitimate banking circles.

Joe Leblang who operates the Joe Leblang's Central Ticket Agency in New York is a banker in more ways than one. Unlike most cold-eyed bankers you have met, Mr. Leblang couples a spirit of brotherly love with his financial activities. He deals in character as well as in amusement attractions—shows—theatres, and most everything else that the average financier considers a terrific risk. But Joe Leblang must surely know his business because he has built up an organization that he started with 1,000 and today he is rated one of the biggest figures in the show world.

The people who purchase theatre tickets from Joe Leblang are virtually the depositors in what could be called the Leblang bank. They buy their tickets because Leblang can supply them to the shows they want to see. He loans his money, to help out the producer, without interest, in order that he will be able to supply his patron depositors with seats in these shows—seats at a price that his patron depositors can afford to pay.

As an example, a producer playing on the road prior to his New York opening, might find himself particularly tight for funds to bring the show on Broadway. It is to Joe Leblang that he turns to get the necessary funds to carry

## Angna Enters Should Delight at the Comedy With Her Repertoire

On Sunday night Angna Enters will appear at the Comedy Theatre where through the entire Thanksgiving week including next Sunday evening she will give her "Episodes and Compositions in dance form."

There are twelve (12) new numbers added to her already extensive repertoire, and for this engagement she will offer 5 changes of program.

On Monday evening Miss Enters will present for the first time: Oh-The Pain of It; Shaking of the Sheets; "Daunce We, Praunce We"; Plumb-Like; Ornament; and Narcissism; and will revive "Tis Pity She's a—". On Tuesday evening, Wednesday matinee, and Wednesday evening she will give for the first time: Romance Country; Olivette and Contre Danse-Invention; and will revive Prome-nade; Heptameron; Black Magic; Antique in the English Manner; Rosetti, Ltd.; Aphrodisiac; Green Hour; Odalisque-Haremlik; and En Garde, or The Red Heart. On Thursday and Friday nights for the first time there will be: Webs, Pique-Nique, and Court of Love—16th Century Racket, and a revival of Saturnalia, and Inquisition Virgin. At the Saturday matinee and evening performances Miss Enters will offer selections from the compositions first presented during the week.

## "One Night at Susie's," With Billie Dove and Fairbanks Jr. at Beacon

"One Night at Susie's," a melodrama of the underworld in which Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., and Billie Dove are teamed for the first time in pictures, will have its New York premiere at Warner Bros. Beacon Theatre, Friday Nov. 21.

This is a First National and Vitaphone production and was directed by John Francis Dillon. The cast, in addition to the two principals, includes Helen Ware, veteran stage actress; Tully Marshall, James Crane, John Loder and Claude Fleming.

## Theatre Guild Presents Elizabeth The Queen

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Inclusive

## Standing Them Up, at the Rivoli



In "Morocco," which seems to be a tremendous hit at the Rivoli, Marlene Dietrich is seen for the first time in an American made production. Morocco was directed by Joseph Von Sternberg who gave us some excellent pictures like "The Last Command," "Underworld," etc. Gary Cooper and Adolphe Menjou are the other two stars in the picture.

## George Arliss in "Old English" at the Strand; First Pop Price Run

"Old English," starring George Arliss in the role which this veteran actor himself picks as his best, will come into the New York Strand Theatre Friday, Nov. 22, for a first-time-at-popular-prices showing. The picture originally had a \$2 run at Warner Bros. Theatre.

Alfred E. Green, voted America's best director, produced "Old English," for Warner Bros. Green also directed Mr. Arliss in "Disraeli" and "The Green Goddess." In the supporting cast of "Old

English" appear Doris Lloyd, Ivan Simpson, Betty Lawford, Leon Janney and Reginald Sheffield.

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## The Week On The Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

## GRAND THEATRE

"GRAND HOTEL." From the German of Vickie Baum by William A. Drake. At the National.

Swift-spinning lobby door, fast-switching phone lights, rapid passing to and fro of hotel guests—lives apart, self-centered, lives interlocking, lives intertwined: at a speedy pace these are glimpsed or revealed in "Grand Hotel." Tricky staging is needed for the swift effects, especially of the 'phone-booths at the start; but the play is so well directed that it moves smoothly through the character scenes to the sudden melodrama and the muted close. Eugene Leon-tovich plays with grace and deft delicacy the role of the dancer whom love restores; and Siegfried Rumann builds his reputation higher, with his playing of the business man; but chief interest goes to the figures of less social prominence, to Hortense Alden as the stenographer who sells more than her pencil, for happiness, for ease, and especially to Sam Jaffe, whose portrait of the bookkeeper Kringlein, out to discover life before death takes him, is etched with fine discrimination.

The melodrama required to give a central story to "Grand Hotel"—the penniless Baron whom need takes into the dancer's room and love keeps there, whose pride leads him, rather than take her money, to the burglar that brings his death—the melodrama is less obtrusive, less mechanical, than that in "Street Scene"; the general surge of the hotel life is suggested by such matters as an inspection of pages, a night-maid fixing a room, a hotel clerk expecting a baby; and the characters of several hotel guests are well exposed. The Baron and the dancer are, perhaps, arranged for the plot. Prying the big business man, however, is shown at a critical moment, when the honest manufacturer and loyal husband succumbs to the forces of lucre and lust—pathetically clumsy despite his high standing. The stenographer's role is no more than a sketch, given life and stature by the breathless joy of Hortense Alden. It is the part of Kringlein that offers most; and Sam Jaffe makes the most of this clerk about to die, who has gathered his funds and come to the Grand Hotel to enjoy his last moments. Somehow—largely through Sam Jaffe's capture of a naive wonder, continuously surprised at the revelation of life's rich dower—this clerk about to die becomes, not merely a human being, but the most vital, the most fully alive, of all of those in the hotel. Not to mention his growth into a symbol, the representative of the oppressed groups reaching-out of the distorting blindness their poverty imposes—toward the joy and fullness all by right should have. "Grand Hotel," by virtue of its direction, its performance, its implications, and its tale, is an engrossing triumph of the season.

**SOCIALISM ON THE STAGE**  
Although the translation of Edward Fleg's "The Merchant of Paris" lasted but a week on Broadway (despite the individual excellence of Edward G. Robinson), there should be brief note of its introduction of Socialism. Here, as a sincere aspect of the play's development, a young woman Socialist party organizer is introduced, who plays upon the active intellect of the shrewd Jewish business man, and partly influences him. True,

she characterizes the unemployment insurance he introduces, as benevolent capitalism; but the ideas are seeping through, and soon more than Bernard Shaw will make good Socialist doctrine part of the development of a good drama, as it did in the recent "Mr. Samuels."

## In American Debut



Nastia Poliakova, considered the World's greatest Gypsy soprano, will make her American debut at the Bijou Theatre Sunday evening, Nov. 30.

## NEAR-DIVORCE

"AS GOOD AS NEW." By Thompson Buchanan. At the Times Square.

Many an older thing is better, it may be; yet the present idea is an untried novelty. Matrimonial tangles have been at the core of the theatre since Adam hid Lilith so effectively that she is not mentioned in the authorized editions of the Bible—though it reveals enough scandals of the sons of Israel to wash out Walter Winchell.

But Dorothy Libaire puts her little feet down hard, so papa and mama must not get that divorce—despite the insidious appeal of Vivienne Osborne as co-respondent. It seems strange that such severance of family ties should loom with the significance the daughter attaches to it, these days of increasing statistics. But perhaps, even outside of England, there are still circles where it is more "respectable" for an ill-mated couple to stay together in anguish and quarrels, instead of parting in good sense and good spirits. Of artificial, patched reconciliations such as this, as of the simpler close, it can be said that "the comedy ends with the marriage, because that's where the tragedy begins." But Otto Kruger plays well, as do some others, and the trifle, though a trifle, is an entertaining one.

"Mediterranean Cruise" the Cradle of Europe will begin a week's run at the intimate little 5th Avenue Playhouse. This is said to be an interesting and beautiful picture.

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

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

100 SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1930

## The Party Program

PARTY members will take an interest in the decisions of the National Executive Committee reported on another page. Here is a program of work that correlates with the problems of a sick capitalism and the opportunities for Socialist education and organization. This work cannot be executed by the National Office or the Executive Committee alone. To realize it requires the assembling of the party forces in every state and cooperation with the National Office as the program unfolds.

Readers will note that the plans contemplate strengthening every division of the organization, financially and otherwise. State, local, and branch organizations are not asked to raise funds for the National Office alone. The larger the funds raised the larger is the sum that will be available for each organization division of the party. This provides an incentive for every member to be as generous as possible in his or her contribution and for each branch and local to exhaust every source of finances for their work.

But this aspect of the program is not the main consideration, important as it is. It would be futile to raise funds and not make the money serve a useful purpose. The accumulation of funds in local treasuries without engaging in work of organization and education such as is outlined in the program would be to veto the purpose for which the money is raised.

Moreover, we owe a solemn duty to the working masses in the hour of their distress. That duty requires devoted work in forging their claims to legislative relief into a power that will be heard in the cities and states. We must awaken the fighting spirit of the masses, encourage them not to be satisfied with charity "doles" and the soothing words of politicians and their upper class backers. With present conditions in this country intelligent initiative and organization by Socialists in every community will get a response. We must do our duty and do it well.

## "Civilization"

ONE day's news reveals the sorry plight of a capitalism that fails to function. For the second time in three weeks municipal trucks of food fail to reach hundreds waiting in the bread-line. Westpoint and Annapolis football teams agree to play for the relief of the jobless. A Chicago food station is financed by one of the city's most distinguished citizens, Al Capone. Hundreds of pathetic appeals to the *New York World* beg for coal to heat heatless rooms. Bishop Manning kindly offers a prayer for the unemployed. The Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics reports more than 1 per cent fewer workers in October while payrolls shrink 8 per cent. Chicago is the scene of a drive for a fund of \$5,000,000 to feed the hungry.

We turn to the financial page of the *New York Times* of last Sunday and read the following headline: "Big Increase Shown in Dividend Yields. Some Up Several Hundred Per Cent as Result of Drop in Market Values." Speaking at a nourishing dinner at the Hotel Roosevelt a banker offered the following comforting words: "With the dynamic potentialities of the United States, we realize that adverse conditions cannot remain long and we can face the future with hope, optimism and confidence, realizing that beyond the horizon await better times." The American Federation of Labor, without a program, through President Green, advises the unions to cooperate with local committees. Through these committees, the union members will be introduced to the "dole" which is so hated by the Federation chiefs.

Day after day something like this is a photo of the American scene. Capitalism cannot guarantee even the human status of the Negro bondman of an earlier day. Brains appear to be paralyzed, professional optimists talk drive!

the New York banker, we object to the "dole," then turn to it in millions, and the economic disease continues with little relief. If the Man from Mars were to pay us a call he would approve the judgment of Bernard Shaw that our Earth is an asylum for the rest of the planets.

## Hearstism

WE suspect anything that appears in the *Daily Worker* but an exception appears in a story it carries regarding the Hearst newspapers. This is supplemented with a photo reproduction of an order by the Hearst management in Los Angeles to managing editors of all Hearst papers to follow a special course in reporting news relating to aliens and naturalized citizens.

Nothing in American journalism compares with this revolting order. It is a deliberate attempt to color news against aliens and naturalized citizens. Managing editors are instructed to state that when a criminal figure in the news they are to "state conspicuously if he is not an American citizen, while if he is, state when naturalized." The malice is evident in the further instruction that the news should state whether "he is an illiterate or victim of drugs."

Obviously, if the criminal is native born, editors are not to report "conspicuously" whether he is an illiterate or uses drugs. This policy is to give readers of the Hearst organs the impression that aliens and naturalized citizens have criminal tendencies, are illiterates and drug addicts. The news policy will certainly shape the editorial policy of these papers.

It is this gentleman who is credited with having wired one of his correspondents in Cuba more than thirty years ago to supply stories of atrocities in the island while Hearst would supply the war. Such filthy journalism as is now proposed is a fit companion to that capitalist jingoism and nationalist mania that threaten to bring on another war. It is on a plane with a half-wit who scatters cholera germs.

## Changing Capitalism

BENEATH the consolidation of capital into mergers and holding companies, the expansion of chain systems in the retail trade, and the slower experiments with farming on the basis of factoryized and more intensive machine production, is the break up of certain economic classes. The decline of the intermediate classes in production and distribution is apparent. The small producer and merchant become less important as the giant organizations of capital take over their functions.

Already in many cities there is a struggle on the part of small merchants and bankers against extinction. This conflict often assumes the character of a recognized class struggle with the little fellows agitating in terms of the Populist radicalism of forty years ago. They are as much frightened by the invasion of the great plutocracy as the Belgians were when the mighty German war machine marched across the country, occupying cities and villages and regimenting the population into vassals compelled to obey.

The wage working class faces no better future. In organization it has been defeated in the great mass industries where a feudalism has risen to leer at the dull wits who advertise "American democracy." The labor generals appear to be stunned. They cannot work out a program for their own members who have been hurled out of industry, who are broke, have no jobs, and face acute distress.

Post war society in the United States offers an interesting study in the shifting of classes. Much is being done in assembling the facts but a Socialist interpretation is still to be made. One thing is sure. The economic structure of a Socialist society is more complete here than in any other nation and yet we are less intellectually prepared for a Socialist transformation than any other modern nation.

## IN A NUTSHELL

Illinois Democrats are reported to be in a hot fight over spoils. And here we have been thinking that they were only interested in serving the dear "peepul."

Let liars fear, let cowards shrink,  
Let traitors turn away,  
Whatever we have dared to think  
That dare we also say.

—James Russell Lowell.

Kansas is reported as having never cast such a mixed vote as in the November election. About 200,000 voted for a goat gland doctor for Governor. Perhaps these voters think that a goat specialist is needed in Kansas.

Will Rogers suggests that in addition to Apple Week we should have a "Don't Blame Your Congressman Week." The trouble is that we have no Congressman. He is a brokerage agent for others.

Education means the ability or power to use knowledge. The purpose of knowledge is to do. An educated person always uses his knowledge—that is, he does something with what he knows. The final test of possession is expression.—Dan Griffiths.

If all the ballots cast by the workers in the recent election represented power in their hands they could use that power for themselves instead of standing in the breadlines.

Heroism, alas, is becoming a hateful word, for in war it has come to mean the coin in which the rank and file liquidate the insolvency of thought in their leaders, political and military.—Manchester Guardian.

Why it's just ez clear ez figgers,  
Clear ez one an' one make two;  
Chaps that make black slaves o' niggers  
Want to make white slaves o' you.

—James Russell Lowell.

## Against Fascism And Unemployment

A resolution adopted by the Joint Unemployment Commission of the Labor-Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions.

ITALIAN Fascism, which has destroyed all intellectual freedom, is being extolled more and more openly as an example by the most reactionary groups in all countries, although it is driving the Italian economic system towards catastrophe, and has become a center of war dangers. The method of violating the will of the people and adopting the cynical coup d'etat as the best means of carrying on political struggles, is being imitated more and more. A wave of reaction is passing over Europe, and democracy is being openly challenged to a fight.

The elections in Finland have shown that in spite of all the terrorism of the Lapua movement the great majority of the people is disposed to adhere to democratic parliamentarism. This clear demonstration of the will of the people was answered by the Fascists by the forcible kidnapping of the former Liberal president of the state. The miscarriage of this outrage exposed a great conspiracy, and the plan of a coup d'etat against the democratic constitution was revealed.

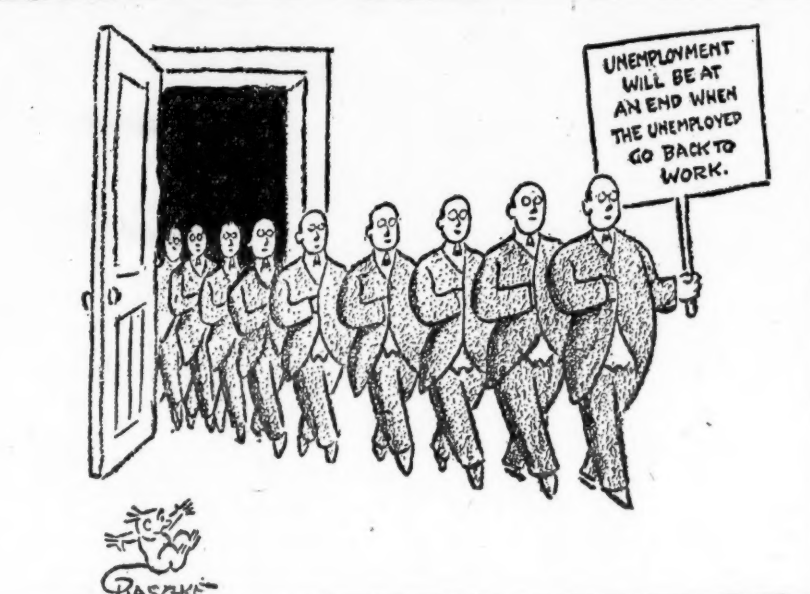
Pilsudski, who for years past has revealed himself to everybody by the contemptible methods which he has used in his opposition to parliamentary institutions and representatives, is now expressing himself in unprecedented acts of terrorism against the indisputable majority of the Polish people. Sixty-eight deputies, a full quarter of all the opposition parties in the last parliament, have been thrown into prison. There is a desire to prevent them from taking part in the election campaign, and attempts are being made to extort declarations from them renouncing their candidatures for parliament. They are completely cut off from the outer world; their fate is unknown; it is not even known whether all of them are still alive. Their fate is shared by thousands of other prisoners, including the best known, most trusted representatives of the workers, such as Kwapiński, the president of the Federation of Trade Unions. Untroubled by the condemnation of the world, Pilsudski, does not shrink from any acts of violence. The infamous "Galician elections" under the Habsburg regime are put into the shade by what is happening in Poland at the present time. The denial of freedom, as under the Romanoffs, electoral fraud, as under the Habsburgs, such is the synthesis which Pilsudski has realized, and by means of which he hopes to falsify the expression of the will of the people in the elections. The defeat of Pilsudski by Polish democracy would signify the restoration of an independent Poland, which the international labor movement has always supported as a member of democratic Europe.

In the reactionary minority government in Austria the Christian-Social leaders, Seipel and Vaugin, have introduced two leaders of the Heimwehr, a party which up to the present has no representation whatever in Parliament. They have handed over to them the ministries of the interior and justice. The first declaration of "Prince" Starhemberg, the new minister of the interior, was that this minority government is determined to remain in office, even if the elections decide against them. In the meanwhile, all leading official positions are being filled with reliable Fascist elements. The entry into office of the new director-general of the Federal Railways, and the simultaneous illegal abolition of the parliamentary commissioners for army affairs, had created a wave of the deepest uneasiness. Hardly had the explanation in the sub-commission of the National Council reassured public opinion to a certain extent that a reactionary putsch was not immediately contemplated than Starhemberg, the Heimwehr minister, began to replace the official staff of the police president by elements which are ready for all reactionary atrocities.

The declaration of the coming-of-age of Otto Habsburg which is to take place in November, warns the workers not only of Hungary but of the whole of Central Europe to exercise the strictest watchfulness. A royal putsch in Hungary, with a view to which intensive preparations are being made by the Legitimists, would mean not only a new attack on the part of reaction in Central Europe, but also the most serious danger of war.

In Germany, the representatives of reactionary demagoguery received a great influx through the elections. Their toying with dictatorship and putsches may confront Germany with serious dangers in the coming months. In this most difficult situation, however, the German Social-Democratic party has up to the present been able to thwart the Fascist attacks. The international labor movement expresses its thanks to them for having, in the highest interests of the working class, consciously and resolutely made the defense of democracy the cornerstone of their tactics during this period of reactionary attacks.

## Extra! Hoover Commission Reports!



From The Louisville (Ky.) Times.

## Dead Trees And Dead Heads

By Adam Coaldigger

If times are hard in Russia, blame it on the Bolsheviks.

If times are hard in China, blame it on the civil war.

If times are hard in England and Germany, blame it on the World War.

If times are hard in South America, blame it on the revolution.

And if times are hard in the United States, just blame it on lunacy.

During the last three months I have visited the wheat belt, the corn belt, the cotton belt, the cattle belt, the coal belt, the oil belt, the clothing belt, the shoe belt, and the brain belt, and everywhere, with the notable exception of the latter, I found a deplorable oversupply of the good things for which they are famous.

The great drought of last season did somewhat reduce the suffering among the farmers. But alas, drought alone, yea, not even such a competent drought as it was, was not sufficiently disastrous to bring the relief the farmers are praying for. Indeed, I have long arrived at the conclusion that the only farm relief possible is the scientific cultivation (under the auspices of our state and national agriculture departments) of chinch-bugs, Hessian flies, army worms, corn-borers, boll weevil, hog cholera germs, and hoof and mouth disease bacilli. The artificial manufacture of hail storms, frost, and floods, by the U. S. Meteorological Department also would contribute greatly to the well-being of American agriculture, and a law should be passed to that effect.

Whether the elimination of some forty-odd per cent of our domestic buying population from the buying market has any effect on sales I am unable to assert with any degree of certainty. But for some reason or other, there seems to be a woeful supply of consumable goods in this country looking for prospective consumers. Looking further into the matter, I find that merchants (unable to sell their stocks) are reluctant to order more goods, and that in consequence thereof, many manufacturers have closed their plants with the result that between three and five million prospective workers are prospecting for work with little prospect of finding it.

The conflict between the various estimates of unemployed, fluctuating as stated, between three and five millions, is due to the fact that many of the unemployed still have jobs, but are not working at them. There is a vast difference between a jobless man and one who has a job and is merely out of work, as the late census has properly differentiated, for the man who has a job and is merely out of work will get his job back as soon as there is work for him, while the jobless man can only get a job after the jobless are back at work. However, as far as the buying power of the two categories is concerned, the difference is purely psychological.

Fortunately, a number of commissions have already been appointed to look into the cause and cure of unemployment. One of them in New York state, the heart of the brain belt, as every body knows, extends from Washington, D. C. to Boston, Mass., suggests an alleviation of unemployment that deserves special attention. The suggestion is to cut down the numerous dead trees that disfigure the fields adjacent to the highways. Cutting down unsightly dead trees, the commission suggests, would not only improve the beauty of the landscape, but give work to the unemployed and fuel to the poor besides.

Now at a conservative estimate, there are not less than fifteen billion dead trees in the vicinity of the hard roads of the United States, each tree an eye-sore that should be removed. The task of cutting down these fifteen billion dead trees would occupy the time of our five million unemployed for 300 days, figuring one dead tree per unemployed per day.

Experienced lumberjacks, of course, can cut down anywhere from 20 to 30 dead trees per day, de-

pending on size and density of the fibre. But by carefully selecting dead-tree cutters whose ordinary calling is foreign to dead-tree cutting, such as unemployed clerks, bookkeepers, fur workers, silversmiths, diamond cutters, bond salesmen, and students of comparative religion, the work undoubtedly could be dragged out for 300 days or better.

The only question in my mind is, who is going to pay the wages, if any, of the dead-tree cutters, for up to date, I have noticed no widespread desire on the part of dead tree owners to facilitate their removal at their own expense. This, however, is a minor detail that another commission on unemployment may solve in the course of time.

A more serious matter than finding somebody willing to pay the wages of the contemplated 5,000,000 dead-tree cutters is contained in the suggestion to give the resulting firewood to the poor for fuel. Many of the poor are single persons who consequently have no stoves of their own to fire. Many others are too weak to carry stoves while standing on the breadlines or chasing around for elusive jobs. Stoves in public parks where many others spend their working and sleeping hours would look out of place, and are moreover frowned upon by the park boards. Worse still, we have already some 300,000 partly and wholly unemployed coal miners in this country, and what the reckless free distribution of firewood would do to these poor devils is too painful to visualize.

Cutting down dead trees is a step in the right direction and should be encouraged by all means, but it is only a step. It does not go far enough, for while there are sufficient dead trees in the country whose cutting would give work to our present unemployed, where will the dead trees come from to alleviate the suffering of future unemployment? There is a limit to dead trees, whereas, even in the best of times there are always more workers than there are jobs. In other words, the supply of labor, while not exactly limitless constantly exceeds the demand for labor, and this in turn is due to the alarming extent with which the prolific productivity of labor is steadily increased by the multiplication of labor-saving devices and the installation of bigger and better plants.

If capital could be induced to invest its surplus earnings in means of enjoyment instead of wasting them in improved labor-saving devices and bigger and better plants, untold numbers of useful workers, both male and female could find employment in non-productive fields by merely catering to the pleasure of the better classes. Imagine, for instance, what a boost the labor market would receive if everyone of our 40,000 millionaires would build his own private temple and maintain a household of 700 wives and 900 concubines as Solomon did.

Financially speaking, Solomon was a piker compared to any one of our minor millionaires. But he knew how to blow in his kale. Instead of investing his shekels breeding more camels, oxen, asses and goats than the market could absorb, thereby ruining the cattle industry and beggaring his shepherds, including himself, and thus bringing Bolshevism to Judea, he blew in his money on the biggest and best tempt and harem in his day and age. So long as Solomon was on the job, everybody had a job—masons, sculptors, goldsmiths, harp-pickers, cymbal-clashers, wine pressers, silk weavers, dancers, and chorus ladies, and if there was even one good looking typist out of work while Solomon was in his glory, I haven't heard of it yet.

Yes, our American industrialists could learn a heap from old Solomon, provided they weren't as dead in their heads as those trees are we are advised to cut down. So some day, when there are no more dead trees to be cut down, a new and unusually large crop of unemployed will cut off a lot of dead heads, unless of course, some future President of this great and intelligent country should appoint the only commission capable of dealing with unemployment—a lunacy commission—to find out why millions of people equipped with all the arms of science should starve in the richest country on earth.

## The Dole System In New York

By Jessie Lloyd

HUNDREDS of hungry New York workers were turned away as Mayor Walker's dole system for the jobless creaked into action Nov. 14 after three weeks of talk. Although cartons containing a week's supply of food for families of four were to be delivered at all police stations at 9 a. m., food was in evidence at only two stations. Elsewhere the hungry waited in vain for hours.

There was a shortage of trucks and the health department insisted on candling the eggs, explained Comm. of Welfare Taylor. The cartons are supposed to contain 20 pounds of potatoes, five pounds of onions, a cabbage, a package of spaghetti, a loaf of bread, half a dozen eggs and a half pound of coffee. This is to last four persons seven days. Deliveries are scheduled to 15,000 families, with another delivery within a week.

Asked about about the 17,000 other families—there are over 32,000 on the mayor's list—the commissioner said he understood the mayor was distributing checks. At the mayor's committee headquarters however it was stated that checks were in payment of rent, medicine bills and other items, not food, "for they are getting that through the police stations."

In the afternoon 42 checks had been given out for a total of \$850, said Margaret Burke, in charge of the mayor's check division. It was expected that 110 cases would be handled by nightfall. "The situation is immeasurably worse than in 1921," said Miss Burke. "Then only the laborers were affected, while now it is the white collar class that is jobless." Comm. Taylor said he did not doubt this is the worst crisis since 1893.

At the Clinton St. police station no food had been given away at 4:30 and the police captain said supplies would be delivered the next day. "We're turning 'em away as fast as they come in," said an old officer at the Elizabeth St. police station. "We're ready to give out the food, but it hasn't come. 442 families have applied for help here. We've investigated 60 and about 20 of these were cut out, not because they're not in need but because they didn't need it quite as much as the others."

As the long lines waited for jobs at the municipal employment agency, a business man, who calls himself Mr. Glad distributed a good will message headed "Cheer up, brother, every cloud has a silver lining." With this he gave each a nickel.

"Things aren't improving a bit," said Director Edward C. Rybicki of the New York City employment agency, when asked if his estimate of 800,000 jobless in the city, made several weeks ago, still holds true. "Between Nov. 7 and Nov. 13 we placed 1845 men in jobs, but they were mostly all temporary. Department store jobs and that sort, but almost none from the industrial plants. In fact the industrial plants just aren't hiring anybody."

"I see no improvement in the near future, even when allowing for the holiday season. All the stores in town could take on workers and still not affect the basic unemployment of hundreds of thousands of industrial workers. We have sent out thousands of letters this week to industrial firms and received hardly any answers, and my 12 field men tell me the same story. Judge for yourself: we had 45,000 men and women listed for jobs this week and placed only 1,845 of them. And most of them will be back in a few days or weeks when their jobs run out."

"We find that great progress is being made by American industry to overcome wide fluctuation in employment," reports the committee on stabilization of industry for the prevention of unemployment to Gov. Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York in the midst of the worst unemployment in 36 years.

Employers are urged by the committee not to lay off men if they can help it, but to put them on short time; to pay dismissal wages to those displaced; and to adopt insurance plans. Increased appropriations are urged for the state employment service, and it is recommended that state licensing and inspection of private employment agencies should supersede municipal control. Communities are urged to set up local unemployment committees. A state planning board is recommended to help frame a long-time program of public works. The committee makes it plain that in its opinion private business is getting its last chance in handling the problem. "If management does not bend itself to the task of stabilizing income, . . . then it seems inevitable that the state will . . . seek relief for the evils of unemployment as they affect the worker . . . The public conscience is not comfortable when good men anxious to work are unable to find employment to support themselves and their families."

TULSA, Okla.—(FP)—A soup line for pupils whose families are without work has been established in Tulsa schools. Investigation showed that many students were coming to school hungry.

It is remarkable how great an influence our parents have on our moral state.—Anatole France.