

A Newspaper Devoted to
the Interests of the Social-
ist and Labor Movement

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

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Eugene V. Debs

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THE COLLAPSE OF 'RUGGED INDIVIDUALISM'—HELP WANTED!

HOOVER

THE UNEMPLOYED

SEVEN AND ONE HALF
MILLION OF THEM.

for Young

Drawn by Art Young.

In the Arms of the Overlord

OUT of their places of employment, into the streets, and into the arms of the top-hat class that rules the nation. This is the plight of American labor.

Art Young was never more accurate in his art than in this cartoon. It is a picture of American workers, helpless, without power, "down and out," and in the arms of a symbol of our ruling Fat Boys.

Hoover is merely the symbol of a class, the wealthiest and most powerful class in the world. Fat, sleek, and satisfied, this class is thankful that Labor is docile in the arms of the overlord.

And yet the overlord is somewhat worried also. He is looking into the future. Will the dejected and helpless creature in his arms be content always to gaze in pathetic despair? Who knows? The future alone can answer.

What if He Should Rise?

THE collapsed workman is stunned because of what has overwhelmed him. He recalls Markham's lines to the stolid ox-like European peasant:

"Down all the stretch of hell to its last gulf there is no shape more terrible than this—
"More tongued with curse of the world's blind greed—
"More filled with signs and portents for the soul—
"More fraught with menace to the universe."

What if the brain of this bewildered workman becomes enlightened with knowledge of the underlying causes of the catastrophe that has come to him? Will docility be his mood and resignation his choice?

What if this victim of wagedom rises to his feet, stands erect, conscious of his wrongs and his power? What if he faces the upper class gentleman, instead of reclining in his arms?

That day will be his emancipation from the utopia of Hoover's "rugged individualism." No longer will the spell of upper class myths restrain his action. He will work for the interests of his class as the Fat Boys have for theirs.

Distress in a Sea of Abundance!

FOR the present, the working masses face industry that is half paralyzed. They are barred from access to plants, machines, and raw materials. Millions in distress need the products of their labor, but plants are idle. Workers are idle.

Why this tragedy in a nation of vast productive powers? The ruling agents of American finance and capital cannot answer. They dare not answer.

That widespread want prevails despite productive powers that exceed the imagination of men fifty years ago is a terrible indictment of our industrial system. There is no satisfactory excuse for this failure.

At one time human beings died like flies because of the failure

of the harvest. For centuries during the Medieval Period millions of laborers and peasants lived in chronic want. Productive powers were low. Somebody had to suffer. The workers suffered.

There was only enough produced to guarantee plenty to the various groups of the aristocracy. They enjoyed life. The masses only knew laborious toil, illiteracy, and poverty. They suffered because there were not enough good things produced to satisfy the wants of all.

We can understand that. Want naturally follows scarcity. But who will give an intelligent reason for want in the midst of abundance? Who will deny that it is inexcusable? Who will assert that it is not evidence of wretched management of our tremendous powers for producing and distributing wealth?

When we recall the advantages we have over the peoples of other times we understand how badly managed are the powers at our disposal.

An Age of Great Production

THE old age of scarcity began to pass when James Watt gazed at his tea kettle. When steam-driven machines came into the world mankind began to measure it in terms of horse-power. Man-power no longer sufficed.

Out of the old order came factories and mills with man-power multiplied again, and again, and again. Hand tools were cast aside. They had been used since the days when Egyptian slaves built the pyramids.

A new era dawned in the world. Division of labor in industry further increased the productive power of the nation. The factories expanded into great plants. More inventions and more ma-

chines again multiplied our producing power.

Then the great plants began to consolidate. Electricity supplemented and, in some cases, displaced steam. More power. More production. More wealth. More consolidation of industries into higher organizations of capital with still more power, production, and wealth.

Then the efficiency experts appeared on the scene and again our productive powers were multiplied. Labor power was studied. Useless motions were eliminated. Old plants and machines were scrapped. New plants and machines were run at full capacity. Result, more power, production, and wealth.

Chemists studied ores and raw materials in their laboratories. Productive power was again and again increased. Plants were established with better relation to raw materials and markets. More production.

Railroads tied the nation into a network of transportation. From the industrial system commodities gushed in such vast quantity that markets were sought all over the world. Workers became regimented and drilled in industry like conscripts under military commanders.

Year after year, decade after decade, since Watt discovered the secret of his tea kettle one hundred and fifty years ago, this wrestling of more productive power from nature, from science, from labor, and from industry has continued without interruption.

Collapse of Rosy Illusions!

THE old medieval age of scarcity has been wiped out. The age of vast productive powers and abundance arrived.

The Wise Men said that jobs and security for all had arrived.

Jobless Sell "The Unemployed," Magazine Issued By L. I. D. In The Interest Of The Out-Of-Work

"THE UNEMPLOYED," a magazine to be devoted to discussion of remedies for unemployment and to be sold by the unemployed themselves, made its appearance on the streets Thursday. The magazine is published by the New York Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th street. The first issue contains articles contributed by Heywood Brown, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, of the Riverside Church, Howard Brubaker, Norman Thomas and others.

"The Unemployed" is edited by Edward Levinson and Mary Fox, who, in an editorial note in the first issue, explain the purpose of the magazine as follows:

"The Unemployed" is published by the League for Industrial Democracy in the interest of constructive discussion of the unem-

ployment problem, and to provide unemployed men and women who sell the magazine some source of income. The magazine is supplied to the unemployed at five cents a copy, which covers the bare printing cost. All contributions, articles and drawings, as well as editorial services, have been given without charge. No profit or income accrues to any individuals or organizations, except the unemployed persons who sell the magazine."

Dr. Fosdick's article was selected by him from a recent sermon delivered at the Riverside Church and is titled by him "The Church Questions Business." In the article Dr. Fosdick declares that responsibility for curing unemployment rests with industry and the owners of industry. Mr. Thomas' article deals with "The Profit Sys-

tem and Unemployment," while Mr. Brown's article, occupying the leading position in the magazine, is called "The Man in the Bread Line and You." Other articles in the first issue of the magazine are by Paul Blanshard, Professor Harry F. Ward, of the Union Theological Seminary, Dr. Harry W. Laidler, co-director with Mr. Thomas of the League for Industrial Democracy; Oscar Ameringer, Howard Brubaker, Abraham Epstein, secretary of the Association for Old Age Security; Sarah Bloch, Henry Neuman, leader of Brooklyn Ethical Culture Society; Morris Ernst, prominent liberal attorney, and the Reverend Charles N. Lathrop.

The magazine is illustrated by some thirty-five cartoons and pictures drawn by Art Young, Frans Masereel, famous continental labor artist; C. R. McCauley, of the

Brooklyn Daily Eagle, Wilfred Jones, Fitzpatrick, of the St. Louis Dispatch; Reginald Marsh, Flambo and Edmund Duffy, of the Baltimore Sun.

The magazine will not be sold at news stands or book stores but will be handled exclusively by unemployed men and women, some three hundred of whom were selling it Thursday and Friday.

The League for Industrial Democracy urges trade unions, Socialist Party branches, liberal or relief groups interested in acting as distributing agents outside of New York City, to communicate with Mary Fox, 112 East 19th street, care of the League. Sample copies and details will be forwarded. Unemployed men and women may obtain copies of the magazine at 5 cents per copy at room 201, 122 East 19th street, during the day.

Many became intoxicated with the prospects. Millionaires became multi-millionaires and multi-millionaires became billionaires.

Then the vast productive machine began to slow up. It functioned badly. It continued to slow up. It became worse. Then came a crisis. It spread like a disease and soon all nations with the capitalist system of production faced a slow paralysis of the whole system of production.

In the United States the Socialist played the part of the advance courier warning against illusions. He was unheeded. The Wise Men had the floor. They were heard. They had their way.

Then the crash came with its hideous realities. Stark want dogged the heels of millions despite our almost magic powers of production and distribution. The age of abundance had reproduced the age of scarcity that was the lot of the medieval peasants!

Stand Up and March to Power!

SO the American workingmen, who had followed the Wise Men, collapsed in their arms. Dazed, stunned, unprepared, the workers were thrust upon the miserable makeshift of the "dole." Private and public alms are the chief sources of relief as they were for the beggars in the Middle Ages.

And now the awakening has come. Capitalism is not the paradise advertised. It is the hell of want, uncertainty, and insecurity. The powers summoned out of Watt's tea kettle threaten us with chronic and universal misery. They serve only the class that owns these powers and the politicians who drug us with honeyed words.

We, the millions who suffer, are the vast majority. It is time that we stood erect as men and women, self reliant, and determined to so organize the industrial system that we can put an end to its mismanagement.

Out of the sufferings of the working class must come the will to organize and fight our way out of the industrial ruin that overwhelms the masses and their families. Capitalism is a failure. It is reaching the Indian Summer of its dominion. Twilight must follow.

The times call for organization and action. The system cannot be reorganized in a day or a year, but it must be eventually abolished. It must be reconstructed on a Socialist basis. It must become cooperative production for use instead of private production for owners' gains.

And meantime, the biggest task is agitation and organization for every legislative measure of relief that can be wrested from reluctant politicians in office. This work of itself will provide experience, education, training and that self reliance that is so essential to a movement that advances inch by inch and day by day to the conquest of power.

Socialists and enlightened members of labor organizations will take up this task with a will. Time passes, conditions are menacing, the emergency is acute, and this work must be done!

Tight Monopoly Is Predicted By Dr. Laidler

Greatest Consolidation Movement Just Completed, Socialist Economist Says

THAT we have just passed through the greatest consolidation movement in our history and that the next period of "normalcy" will carry us still further away from free competition and toward monopolized industry was the contention of Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy, in his address Monday, November 24th, in the American Civilization Today course at the Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

"The period 1921-1929," declared Dr. Laidler, "is the third significant period of consolidation in the history of America. The first took place in the eighties, and saw the emergence of the Standard Oil, the whiskey and other trusts. The second occurred during McKinley's administration and was brought to an end by the big stick of Theodore Roosevelt. From 1919 to 1929, inclusive, no less than 7,249 mergers and acquisitions were recorded. These mergers were especially conspicuous in the electrical and gas and radio industries among public utilities, in entertainment, in food products, in marketing—where chain stores are now doing over one-fifth of the total business and one corporation has a turn over of over a billion dollars a year—and in banking. In 1929 only 22 mergers were recorded in public utilities. In 1926 and 1927 the numbers averaged nearly 1,000.

"As a result of the merger movement of the last generation, we now find, in the words of Professors Jenks and Clark, that 'everywhere, in manufacturing, distributing, retailing, competition has given way to some degree of industrial monopoly.'

"At present, two corporations now own about a half of the iron ore in the United States. Four corporations control a majority of the copper. Eight corporations dominate over eighty per cent of the anthracite field. One great corporate system controls over three-fourths of the telephone service in the United States. Another corporation controls a major part of the telegraph service. Five or six corporations control more than half of the electricity generated in the United States. In steel, in oil, in many other industries, great concentration of industrial control exists.

"In banking billion dollar banking houses have made their appearance, and chain and branch banking has led to increased concentration in financial control. The first 250 banks of the country, constituting but one per cent of the banks, have at present resources of nearly thirty-five billion dollars, nearly one-half of the total resources of the 25,000 banks of the United States. Twenty-four New York banks, or less than one-tenth of one per cent of the total, have combined resources of about 15 per cent of the nation's total, while their capitalization is almost as great as that of the 20,000 banks situated in towns of 10,000 population or less.

"Such private banking houses as J. P. Morgan and Company are greatly extending their control over industry through the development of such investment trusts as the United Corporation and such holding companies as Standard Brands.

"Financial and industrial control is being centralized through interlocking directorates. In 1930, Albert H. Wiggin of the Chase National, was serving on nearly 50 boards of public utility, manufacturing and financial concerns. The name of Samuel Insull appeared on over eighty boards; of Richard Mellon on nearly 50; of William Mellon on 38; P. A. Rockefeller on

68; of Oris P. Van Swearingen on 32; of Patrick E. Crowley on over 70; Sidney Z. Mitchell on 35; and of Charles E. Mitchell on 32. Many are represented by dummies on important industrial boards."

Dr. Laidler declared that the movement toward the revision of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law was constantly increasing in strength. The trust-busting era was nearly over and the coming struggle was likely to be between those who believed that regulation of private monopoly would adequately safeguard the consumer and those who were convinced that we should advance from private monopoly to public monopoly. The speaker was of the latter group. He contended that no effective regulation could be guaranteed unless we employed a great expensive bureaucratic army of regulators. He urged the development of government corporations in which the consumers, technicians and workers were adequately represented.

Hosiery Workers Defy Sheriff's Limitation on Strike Picketing

READING, Pa.—(FP)—Striking hosiery workers of Reading will ignore the sheriff's proclamation limiting the right to picket and will challenge his right to bring state police into Berks County. This has been decided by officials of the Hosiery Workers Federation, after consulting with their own attorneys and the American Civil Liberties Union.

The sheriff has no right, under his proclamation, to decide just how many pickets may be placed about a mill and at what distances, the union contends. It challenges sharply his right to bring state police into Berks County. This has been decided by officials of the Hosiery Workers Federation, after consulting with their own attorneys and the American Civil Liberties Union.

"The union will not accept dictation as to its rights in the present strike from the captain of state police, from the sheriff of Berks County or from local manufacturers," asserted President Emil Rieve of the hosiery workers' federation. "We assert our right to conduct a legal and proper protest against industrial injustice and harmful economic policies."

English Workmen's Circle Branches to Entertain Nov. 30th

An entertainment and mass meeting of the English speaking branches of the Workmen's Circle will be held Sunday afternoon, November 30, in the auditorium of the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street. Two sets of plays will be presented by members of the dramatic club of the Young Circle League. Musical selections will be furnished by the children's orchestra. Norman Thomas, August Claessens and representatives of the national and city committee will address the gathering.

Memorial Meeting for Ellen Hayes to Be Held

WEST PARK, N. Y.—(FP)—A memorial meeting for Ellen Hayes, staunch friend of labor, who died Oct. 27 at the age of 79, will be held at the Vineyard Shore School for women workers at West Park, N. Y., on Nov. 30. Ellen Hayes was until her retirement in 1916 a professor of mathematics and astronomy at Wellesley College, but also ran for secretary of state on the Socialist ticket and was a member of the Socialist national committee in 1913. She was a generous supporter of Federated Press and the Vineyard Shore School. Although she was ill some weeks she did not go to bed until the last.

Rybicki in Sunnyside

Edward C. Rybicki, director of the Municipal Free Employment Agency, will speak for the Sunnyside Branch at the general membership meeting to be held Tuesday evening, in the Monroe Court Community Room, 48th Street, Sunnyside. He will speak on the considerable interest has already been aroused in Queens with the announcement of this lecture. Rybicki is an exceptionally keen and stimulating speaker and distinguished himself over a year ago on the question of unemployment by announcing that the statistical facts were probably four million or more over the estimates featured in the official optimistic statements of the day.

He is an active member of "Big Six" Typographical Union. He has been their representative on the Central Trades and Labor Council and served as chairman of their sanitation Commission.

State Dept. Backs Terror Against Labor

U. S. Ambassador Dearing Gives Military Junta List of "Labor Agitators"

WASHINGTON — (FP)—Discovery that the State Department, through Ambassador Fred Dearing in Peru, furnished to the military junta which now governs that country a "list of the labor agitators" in the region of W. R. Hearst's Cerro de Pasco copper mines, throws light on the general strike declared by the General Federation of Workmen in that republic. The fact that the American ambassador acted as a messenger between Hearst's mine manager and the Lima regime, and that after Dearing had done so the soldiers killed and wounded some 40 of the striking miners, has stirred Peruvian workers to a dangerous temper. In panic, the 350 Americans and British in the Cerro de Pasco district started on special trains for the capital. Railway workers endorsed the strike. Whether they would stop the refugee trains was not known on Nov. 13, when the State Department admitted that the situation was grave.

While it appears that the general strike was ordered because of a dispute between a British cotton mill firm and its employees, in Lima and Callao, this action followed the attack of soldiers on a crowd of marching miners, 125 miles up in the mountains from Lima. News of the massacre, in which one or two Americans and an Austrian were killed when 1,500 miners beat off the small force of soldiers, reached Lima in time to influence the General Federation of Workmen to test the labor attitude of the new government. The reply of the military chiefs was immediate. They issued a decree outlawing the Federation, and pledging deportation of all agitators.

While State Department officials professed to have information that a prominent labor leader was a member of the new government in Peru—and hence the delivery by Ambassador Dearing of a list of labor agitators, prepared by Hearst's manager, to the military junta did not mean a death sentence for these labor organizers—they were worried over the possible consequences of Dearing's interference. The Pan-American Federation of Labor had just had a letter from Peru, reporting that organized labor was not sure that it had any rights which the new regime would respect. Now comes the outlawing of the Federation, and the probable punishment of every worker listed by the Hearst mine boss.

Dearing has been careful to inform Washington of the danger to American property and American lives, in Peru, but he has found no time to investigate the grievances of the miners and other workers who are now fighting against peonage conditions. His report that unemployment was the cause of the unrest at the copper mines, is faced by admission that most of the American mines have had no trouble although they suffer exactly from the same depression as does the Hearst syndicate.

\$1 a Day Price for Lumber Camp Workers

BERKELEY, Cal.—(FP)—Farmers in eastern Washington get 1 cent a pound for sheep. Sawmill workers near the Gulf of Mexico have been cut to \$1 a day. These are some of the hard times items given out here by a keen-eyed traveler, Sept. Baldwin, assistant manager of the Llano Cooperative Colony.

Baldwin, his wife and daughter have been summering with relatives in the northwest, and were on their way back to Louisiana when interviewed. "Times were never so bad on the Washington farms," he declared. "No, not in the early nineties. In those years the farmers at least got 3 cents a pound for old sheep. Now the price is only 1 cent a pound. Only lambs bring 3 cents."

With low prices land has shrunk in value. He told of magnificent wheat land that was held for \$250 an acre several years ago. Now the owner is vainly seeking a purchaser at \$50 an acre. Wheat brings so little that when a housewife buys three large loaves of bread, she exclaims: "There goes the price of a bushel of wheat."

A letter Baldwin received from Louisiana tells of the pitiful plight of the unorganized sawmill workers in the little privately owned mills near the Llano colony. They are trying to live on about \$3 a week.

Wages have just been cut \$1 a day. The wage was only \$2 before the cut. And they get two, three and four days' work a week.

In contrast the socialist colony is a monument of progress. There the standard of living is constantly rising on the 16,000 acres that the group owns. Since Federated Press reporters visited the colony a year ago new homes have been built, new industrial equipment added and additional competent farmers and mechanics have joined the enterprise.

Socialists of Cleve. to Plan For City Fight

Municipal Campaign to Be Discussed at Membership Meeting on Dec. 1st

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

CLEVELAND.—A joint meeting of all members of local Cleveland, Socialist Party, is set for Monday, December 1st, 8 P. M. at 201 Superior Building. At this meeting definite plans for our municipal campaign will be recommended and discussed. The committee is ready to recommend a general distribution of one million pieces of literature. In addition, a plan of out-door meetings in every district will be a part of the general program of the proceedings at the meeting.

The report of the Election Board indicates a greater interest in the Socialist movement than was registered in the last ten years. The increase in the Socialist vote is an inspiration which will contribute courage and strength to the movement and assure happier returns in the city election. It is up to the members of every branch to press further the vital issues and direct the awakened masses to turn in our direction. This can easily be gained by concentrated effort and united action.

At the meeting of December first all plans will be laid before the members, and everyone must be present.

Oakland County, Mich., Socialists Gain Votes

DETROIT.—The Socialist State Legislative candidates ran ahead of the ticket in Oakland County, Michigan.

Oakland County is north of Detroit; the towns of Farmington, Ferndale, Royal Oak, Hazel Park, Royal Oak Township, all border the north edge of Detroit and are all residential, having no industries. Pontiac, which has about 65,000 population, equal to the combined population of the border towns, is an industrial city, having several General Motors plants. The first legislative district is the southern end of the county and the 2nd district is the northern end which includes Pontiac.

Victor J. Baker, who received the highest vote, lives in Pontiac, and is an active member of the bricklayers union. He had no Democrat running against him, which may explain the high vote. Baker's vote was 344.

Comrade Bradshaw also lives in Pontiac, and had no Democrat running against him. Bradshaw received 58 votes.

Comrade Panzer is a former I. W. W. organizer, who has been active in Annexation and Consolidation movements in this end of the county. There is a new branch in this end of the county with a small membership, the only Socialist propaganda ever carried on in this end of the county has been done in the last few months. Panzer received 187 votes which is from one half of the county.

The county vote is as follows: Governor, Geo. Campbell, 157; Lieut-Gov. Ida S. Wilson, 154; Sec. of State, Helen M. Bell, 149; State Treas., Frank Milstein, 138; Auditor Gen., William I. Travnik, 133; U. S. Senator, Milton E. Dewey, 109; Congressman, 6th district, Axel O. Londa, 138; State Senator, Victor J. Baker, 344; Rep. 1st dist., John Panzer, 187; Rep. 2nd dist., Edward Bradshaw, 158; Sheriff, William Taylor, 180; County Clerk, Emma Louise Baker, 190; County Treas., Wellington E. Blynn, 171; Reg. of Deeds, Louis T. 152; County Drain Commissioner, William Healy, 166.

Socialists must remember that the Michigan movement had a very bad set back from the Communist split. It looks like a healthy new growth.

A lie which is all a lie may be met and fought with outright. But a lie which is part a truth is a harder matter to fight. —Tennyson.

Committee to Organize Socialistic Physicians

A committee for the purpose of creating an association of all Socialistic physicians of the United States has been formed. Every physician who believes that the present economic order and class society must be changed to an order in which the socialization of the means of production and distribution will guarantee a classless society is urged to join. No affiliation with any political party is required, only the recognition of this fundamental principle as applied to the future state of social medicine.

"We believe that the time is ripe for such an organization to create public opinion in favor of socialized medicine. There are a number of tasks facing this association: the most important of which we wish to enumerate: 1. To propagate socialization of medicine. To point out that medicine as practiced today is unsatisfactory, wasteful and costly. 2. To offer active support and advocacy of coordination of the already existing nuclei of organized medicine as presented by such organizations as Workers Health Centers, Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Workmen's Circle, etc. 3. To study, propagate knowledge and to emphasize the importance of social hygiene and to popularize the knowledge of prevention of diseases. 4. To study the occupational diseases and propagate their prevention. 5. To emphasize the need for adequate protection of the health of workers in shops and factories. 6. To support the movement of birth-control and to fight for its legal recognition. 7. To fight for compulsory health and accident insurance of all wage-earners. 8. To combat the anarchy present in the drug market as characterized by the exorbitant prices charged for essential drugs and the unscrupulous advertising of absolutely worthless and injurious drugs."

Letters of inquiry and application for admission should be sent to Dr. Jacob Auslander, 520 W. 110th Street, New York City, Secretary of the organization committee.

N. Y. Conference Organizes To Defend Socialist Victims Of Dictatorship in Russia

Yipsel Proposal to Extend Defense to all Political Is Overruled

MEETING in the Pennsylvania Hotel last Sunday about 300 men and women, 227 of whom were delegates of organizations, met in response to the call of Russian Socialists to consider the new terror in Russia and to render aid to the victims and their families. The organizations represented were as follows: Twenty-four Socialist Party branches with 48 delegates; 4 Russian Socialist organizations; 82 Workmen's Circles, 135; 11 local unions, 22; three joint boards, 6; two Paole Zion branches, 4; Jewish National Alliance, 2; Society for Relief of Russian Prisoners, 2. Circle 2, Seniors, of the Y. P. S. L. had two delegates who withdrew because the purpose of the conference was not expanded to include repression in all countries.

Algernon Lee presided and opened the conference with a brief address outlining what is happening in Russia and the purpose of the conference. He read a letter from Norman Thomas who expressed his regret at being unable to attend and approving the proposed work of the conference. Benjamin Schlesinger, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, sent a similar letter.

Lee declared that it was intended to organize a permanent conference of sympathetic organizations and also to raise funds for the relief of those who are suffering from the new outburst of executions in Russia. He then read a resolution which had been prepared for the consideration of the delegates.

Jack Altman of the Yipsels was recognized to read a statement which declared that there were repressions in other countries, including India; that the impression might be made that the conference was not sincere, and that the conference should broaden the scope of its work to include all governments engaged in repression. Unless this was done the two Yipsel delegates would have to withdraw.

Hillquit Denounces Terror

Chairman Lee presented Morris Hillquit as the first speaker. Hillquit declared that he agreed with the Yipsels with some exceptions but to expand the conference as requested would not help the special task for which the conference met. "We do not object to Soviet policies on the same grounds as others," he declared, "and if compelled to choose between the Soviet regime and Czarism or Fascism we would choose the Soviet."

The speaker could not agree with the propaganda of Matthew Wolf, the Fish Committee, or the stupid proposal to bar Russian imports. He was opposed to the heresy hunting of the Fish Committee which is trying to do here what Bolsheviks are doing in Russia.

He pointed out that Soviet terror is referred to as an example of Socialism by our critics whereas it is a caricature of Socialist aims. It is armed rule of the masses by a small minority which permits no freedom of the press, organization, or opinion. The Communist press itself prints long lists of Socialists executed and the terror is directed against our own comrades. "This is as abhorrent to me as war," he declared. "Just because we are closer to Russia, historically, it is our duty to protest."

Litwak of the Jewish Socialist Verband supported the resolution in a Yiddish speech and Dr. Ingemann was introduced as representing the Russian Socialists. He declared his doubts of the five year plan, expressed his aversion for the executions in Russia, and hoped that the voice of the conference would be heard across the Atlantic.

Murray Baron of the Socialist Party supported the Yipsel proposal to expand the purposes of the conference and asked why we had not protested against the imprisonment of Gandhi.

James Oneal was the last speaker. He declared that the Yipsel proposal was unusual in that it had never before been offered in Socialist agitation. No one supposed, he said, that when we gave all our attention to Sacco and Vanzetti a few years ago we were sincere because we did not mention Mooney and Billings, the Centralia cases, and the workers serving long terms of imprisonment in California under the anti-syndicalist law. Nor, the speaker continued, did any one think when the party held Mooney-Billings meetings one night during the campaign that we were hypocritical because we said nothing of other unjust convictions in the United States. He objected to the procedure proposed. The Russian executions were prominent in the news, the conference had been called to act, and this was the matter before us.

Chairman Lee placed the conference resolution before the delegates and it was adopted with only three or four voting in the negative. The resolution follows: "We, delegates of Labor, Socialist, and Progressive organizations in New York City, in conference assembled, voice our indignant protest against the reign of terror which prevails in Soviet Russia and which is at this time becoming yet more cruel.

"The execution of forty-eight scientists and technicians, without even the form of public trial, is but one incident in this new wave of deliberate bloodshed. It has been followed by mass arrests. Another wholesale butchery is threatened. Meanwhile, political executions are of daily occurrence and 166,000 victims lie in prisons and stockades, tortured by hunger, cold, and brutal abuse.

"The assurance that dictatorship was to be only a temporary regime has been belied. After thirteen years of power the Soviet Government relies more completely than ever upon force, espionage, and fear to keep the masses under control. It can no longer be pretended that the dictatorship is a necessary defense against monarchist reaction. On the contrary, it is now admitted that the terror is being used to suppress aspirations toward democracy.

"In its origin the Soviet Government proclaimed itself a government by and for the workers and peasants, and promised to realize the ideals of International Socialism. We brand its settled policy of terroristic repression as a shocking betrayal of these ideals. Socialist workmen are as relentlessly persecuted in Russia today as they were under the Tsars; and the example of government by brute force in Russia strengthens Fascism and militarism nationalism all over Europe.

"We who supported the struggle against Tsarism, who opposed foreign intervention and reactionary attempts in Russia in the years following 1917, we who denounce dictatorship and terrorism in other lands, denounce them in Russia as well. We who demand political and civil liberty and freedom of labor organization in our own country, demand them also for the toiling masses in Russia. We call upon the whole Labor and Socialist movement in the United States, and upon all who desire freedom and peace, to make their voices heard against the growing terrorism in Russia and to join with us in providing means to relieve the sufferings of its heroic victims. And we pledge ourselves to continue our efforts until their object shall be obtained."

With the passing of the resolution the Joint Labor and Socialist Committee for Civil Rights in Russia was constituted. Chairman Lee appointed an Organizing Committee representative of the conference which will meet soon to plan the work. The members of the committee are as follows:

The Forward Association, Meyer Gillis; Socialist Party, James Oneal; Jewish Socialist Verband, S. Levitas; Poale Zion, B. Locker; United Hebrew Trades, M. Feinstein; Workmen's Circle, Joseph Baskin; Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Abraham Miller; International Ladies Garment Workers, Max Danish; Joint Council of the Furriers, M. Begoon; International Pocketbook Workers, Barnet Wolff; Capmakers Union, M. Zaritsky; Y. P. S. L., Abe Belsky; Relief Society for Socialist Prisoners in Soviet Russia, Dr. James James; N. Y. Group Social Democratic Party and Bund in Russia, J. Villazier; Plekhanoff Group, Anatole Brailowski; N. Y. Group of the Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party, N. S. Kalaknikoff; N. Y. Branch of the American Federation of the Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party, H. Slutsky.

Algernon Lee is chairman of the committee and I. Minkoff, secretary.

Before adjourning the conference the chairman called upon Jacob Panken for a few remarks. Panken heartily approved the purpose of the conference.

Butchers Union Urges Strict Enforcement Of The Child Labor Laws

Out of 347 arrests made for violation of child labor laws in New York City but one conviction resulted. Our city magistrates have closed their eyes to flagrant violations of the child labor laws in the belief that employment of minors was a boon to the family in this unemployment crisis. That this is not the fact has been proven by an investigation of these 347 cases conducted by the Department of Education. In only three of these cases it was found that the money earned was turned over to the parents.

"The conditions existing in the meat and poultry shops," says Joseph Belsky, secretary of the Hebrew Butcher Workers Union, "of which we have first hand knowledge, indicates the necessity for strict enforcement of the provisions of the law. There are at least 1,000 youngsters employed in these shops and their work does not end with delivery of orders. Behind the scenes, these youngsters are plucking chickens, and doing the none-too-easy porter work around the shop. The conditions under which they work are often such as to bring to mind the filthy conditions existing in the sweat shops and mines of a decade or two ago. The back rooms, which are their work shops, are often dark, dingy places, with little or no ventilation and infested with vermin and rodents. These boys are actually performing the work of men. The average employer will employ one or two boys to do the rough, unskilled work and will themselves do the cutting and preparation of the meats."

"Especially, in view of the unemployment situation," the Butchers' Union secretary continues, "is this a condition that should be remedied and at once. 'Give a job to father and keep the children in school' is a sound and sensible slogan. Our knowledge of the facts indicate that many of these boys are underpaid and in a number of cases do the porter work and deliveries solely for the pleasure of retaining the gratuities received from customers."

"The assurance that dictatorship was to be only a temporary regime has been belied. After thirteen years of power the Soviet Government relies more completely than ever upon force, espionage, and fear to keep the masses under control. It can no longer be pretended that the dictatorship is a necessary defense against monarchist reaction. On the contrary, it is now admitted that the terror is being used to suppress aspirations toward democracy.

Tagore to Give Only Lecture at Carnegie This Monday Evening

So great was the demand for at least one lecture appearance by Rabindranath Tagore, East Indian philosopher, poet and scholar, that a meeting has been arranged for him at Carnegie Hall on Monday evening, December 1st. Tagore will speak on "The Meeting of the East and the West" and after the lecture will read from his poetry both in English and his native tongue. The proceeds will go to Tagore's International University at Santiniketan.

Henry Morgenthau will preside. This meeting is to be held under the joint auspices of the India Society of America and the Discussion Guild of New York.

The ignorant working man who supports a capitalist party forces his own fetters, and is the unconscious author of his own misery.—E. V. Debs.

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Socialists of Queens Make Notable Gains

Party Increases Vote While Two Old Parties Show Losses

EDWARD P. CLARKE, County Secretary of the Socialist Party in Queens has compiled figures, based on the recent election returns, which indicate that the Socialist party made substantial gains this year over the number of votes its candidate polled in previous years, while both the Democratic and Republican parties showed heavy losses.

"An examination of such election returns as are available reveals some interesting facts," declared Clarke.

"In the Second Congressional District in Queens the Democratic candidate sustained a loss of 20 per cent. over his vote in 1928, while the Republican fell off 42 per cent. in the same period. At the same time the Socialist nominee gained 165 per cent. and his proportion of the total vote jumped from 1.1 per cent. in 1928 to 3.7 per cent. in 1930.

"The comparative figures are striking. How many realized as they read the headlines announcing a Democratic landslide and calling attention to Roosevelt's plurality with the electorate, that the Governor had lost 21 per cent. of the votes he received in 1928 in Queens, a drop of over 40,000? The table tells the story of what really took place in Queens on November 4.

"Vote for Governor in Queens:

1928 1930 Loss or Gain P.C.
Dem. ... 137,214 109,916 27,298 L. 20% L.
Rep. ... 75,556 45,407 30,149 L. 40% L.
Soc. ... 2,317 8,146 5,829 G. 165% G.

"The same tendency is apparent in the New York City vote for Governor as the appended table shows:

"Vote for Governor in New York City:

1928 1930 Loss or Gain P.C.
Dem. ... 201,768 160,043 41,725 L. 21% L.
Rep. ... 124,989 77,034 47,955 L. 39% L.
Soc. ... 48,446 88,339 39,893 G. 82% G.

"The official state election returns will doubtless show the same drift when released."

The official count of the vote cast in the Fourth Assembly District, Queens County, on Nov. 9 gave 2,210 to Adella Kean Zamel, our candidate for Assemblywoman, as against the 1,480 mistakenly credited to her by the police returns. The vote for Louis Waldman for Governor was 2,094.

A beggar to the graveyard hied. And there, "Friend corpse, arise," he cried: "One moment lift my heavy weight Of poverty, for I of late Have grown weary and desire instead Your comfort; you are good and dead."

The corpse was silent. He was sure 'Twas better to be dead than poor. —From the Sanskrit.

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Rail Unions United for 6 Hour Day

Brotherhoods Differ on
Method to Achieve Re-
form

CHICAGO.—(FP)—United on the 6-hour day but at variance on methods to achieve it, 600 system chairmen and general officers of the four railroad brotherhoods and the switchmen have put the problem in the hands of a committee of 35, consisting of seven representatives of each of the five unions, to meet in Cleveland December 5. This committee, it is believed, will recommend adoption of the proposals of the engineers and conductors, the two senior organizations, for a national conference of railroad managers, stockholders and representatives of all the standard railway unions. This conference, if possible, would have the backing of Pres. Hoover and assume the aspect of a national railroad congress to offer some solution for the grave unemployment problem which has displaced 245,000 workers in the past 12 months.

While executives of the firemen, trainmen and switchmen do not hold much hope that such a conference will smooth the way to the 6-hour day or alleviate the unemployment situation very much, they expressed themselves as willing to give the plan a try. If it fails, they will urge all the more strongly that the 6-hour day be sought by meditation or congressional action.

One distinct achievement of the Chicago conference, which lasted 10 days from Nov. 12, was the preservation of a united front by the senior and junior rail organizations. Late in the parley the conductors were ready to break away, to be followed by the engineers. Not only methods of achieving the 6-hour day, but the junior unions' proposals for the 26-day month in road service and 30 days in yard service, proved stumbling blocks.

The engineers and conductors doggedly refused to adopt the division of work proposal, which would have meant a heavy slicing of income for their members on steady runs. The railroad day is 100 miles, and mileage in excess counts as another day's pay, with the result that men on good runs average 35 days pay a month and more. By seniority rights engineers and conductors thrown out of their jobs can slip back into their former jobs as firemen and trainmen, thus piling up the unemployed in the two junior organizations.

The final compromise which provided for a subcommittee of 35 to work out plans for a national rail conference but failed to outline procedure to obtain the 6-hour day and entirely ignored the division of work, was achieved after majority and minority reports had been submitted. The majority report, that of the firemen, trainmen and switchmen, called for immediate action to obtain the 6-hour day without decrease in pay, and for the 26 and 30-day months in yard and road service. The minority report of the senior unions endorsed the 6-hour day but asserted that the time was opportune to institute such a move. Instead it proposed that union officers appeal to Pres. Hoover to call a conference of rail executives, investors, bankers and union representatives in an effort to induce the companies to desist from their unwarranted program of retrenchment and installation of improved machinery.

Unanimously the conference adopted resolutions condemning the encroachment of buses, trucks and pipe lines on railroad traffic.

Porters Ready for Fight on Despotism

Wholly ridiculous is Pullman's defense that it does not use coercion to make porters belong to its company union, asserts President A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The company has filed a sweeping denial of brotherhood charges in an answer to the union's plea for an injunction against the company union in Judge Woodward's federal court in Chicago.

The case promises to be one of the most important of its kind in American labor history, Randolph asserts. The Brotherhood of Railroad Clerks stopped a companion union in Texas through an injunction against the Southern Pacific's efforts to force its clerks to sign up with the fake outfit. The porter's case is similar, the union claiming that Pullman's coercion violates the federal rail labor act permitting workers to choose their own unions without threats or coercion from the company.

Ward Miners Win Fight in West Virginia

Victory Is First Setback
to Bosses' Wage-Cut-
ting Drive in State

WARD, W. Va.—(FP)—The strike of 800 miners of the Kelly's Creek Collieries Co. has been won. The wage cut which caused the walkout has been withdrawn, and no discrimination against union members promised with the employment of all strikers by Dec. 1.

The victory marks the first setback to the constant wage cutting in the West Virginia fields which has torn the miners' scale from \$7.50 a day to \$3.4. The Howat faction of the United Mine Workers led the strike.

Two Splendid Lecturers Available for Forums

The city office of the Socialist Party calls to the attention of forums, branches and educational societies that two very competent and instructive lecturers are available for work in and around New York City for the coming season. The first of these comrades, a new-comer in the Socialist movement in New York City, is Mrs. H. F. Kingsbury, formerly of Australia. Comrade Kingsbury was born in Australia and since her early youth interested herself in the labor movement and all its phases—economic, cooperative and political. Her work as a court stenographer brought her into intimate contact with governmental affairs in Australia and she soon became a member of the Political Labor League out of which developed the Labor Party. She became an organizer and lecturer for the league and she possesses and cherishes a large number of testimonials of high praise and recommendation for the fine work she did in her various capacities. Although she has been in the United States for some time and is rather well informed on conditions here having traveled extensively and being a student of world problems, she has, however, kept in close touch with the progress of the Labor and Socialist movements in Australia and New Zealand. She is willing to lecture before forums, branches, etc.

Arrangements can be made for her services through the city office of the Socialist Party at 7 East 15th street, or directly with Comrade Kingsbury at 411 59th street, Brooklyn. The other lecturer is a well known Socialist speaker, teacher, writer and organizer, Esther Friedman. Comrade Friedman has traveled extensively over the 48 States. She is thoroughly familiar with economic and political conditions in this country, and because of her visits abroad, is also well informed on matters pertaining to our movement in England, France, Germany and Austria. She is an instructor in the Rand School of Social Science, and lecturer for the Workers' Circle at its women's branches. She is prepared to deliver a series of lectures or individual topics covering a range of some 24 subjects. A bulletin describing these lectures will be mailed upon request. For dates, terms, etc., arrangements can be made either through the Socialist Party, city office, 7 East 15th street, or with Comrade Friedman directly at her home address, 1674 McCombs road, Bronx.

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"Road to Freedom" Dance
Old-time camaraderie, dancing until dawn to the strains of a popular orchestra, is the program of the Annual Costume Ball to be given by the "Road to Freedom," Thanksgiving eve, Nov. 26th, in New Webster Manor, 119 East 11th Street. This event is certain to attract the old and young radicals of New York.

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.

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Large double room. Steamheat. Showers. Newly decorated. Reasonable. 130 E. 17th St. Staynesson Sq. section.

Green Pleads Again for Danville Union

A. F. of L. Head De-
clares Mill Strikers in
Urgent Need of Funds

WASHINGTON.—(FP)—Hungry and suffering exist among the thousands of textile workers on strike in the cotton textile mills at Danville, Va., William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, again reminded the country in a plea for assistance for these victims of the labor struggle, issued Nov. 24. He said they were "without food, adequate clothing and shelter," and that this was the sacrifice they are making "for the cause of trade unionism, for decent wages, the exercise of an American right to join a trade union and to bargain collectively."

"Shall they be starved into submission?" Green asked. "Shall children suffer and perhaps die from hunger and lack of clothing? Shall a greedy corporation win this contest because hunger and suffering compel men and women to yield to its unholy and unrighteous demands?"

"What shall be the answer of millions of trade unionists and their millions of friends to this question? Shall the cry for help which comes from these heroic, suffering, hungry strikers and their families fail to reach our ears, our hearts and our minds? Thanksgiving Day is coming and the thanksgiving season is at hand, but what will it mean to these strikers at Danville?"

"The trade unionists of the United States can make Thanksgiving Day a brighter, better day if they respond in a generous way to the cries of these suffering people for assistance. Men and women of labor, let us make Thanksgiving Day real to these poor suffering men, women and children. Let us see to it that each family is assured a Thanksgiving dinner on Thanksgiving Day."

"I am making an appeal for a most worthy cause. I hope it will touch your deepest emotions and that you will respond by making a generous contribution. I am constrained by sentiments of humanity and a sense of justice to plead for help for the Danville strikers. Agony, suffering and sacrifice in Danville are real, apparent and distressing. I appeal to you in the name of the American Federation of Labor, in the name of humanity and in behalf of heroic men, hungry women and underfed, underprivileged children for support."

"Give freely, give fully, give all you can. Send as large a contribution as possible to Frank Morrison, secretary American Federation of Labor, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington."

Pioneer Youth Campers To Hold Fall Reunion at Labor Temple, Nov. 28

Pioneer Youth Campers will assemble for their annual late fall jamboree next Friday afternoon, November 28, at Labor Temple, 242 East 14th street. The annual reunion of Pioneer Youth this year will be featured by a program given exclusively by campers and counselors, mostly campers.

The seniors of Pioneer Youth will give as their contribution a one-act play by Stewart Walker, called "Nevertheless." Sonia Radina, famous actress of the Jewish stage, but better known to friends of Pioneer Youth as the nurse, confidante, and hostess at camp, will sing many Russian and English songs.

Albert Herling, senior at camp, will give a program at the piano. Camp songs will be sung by everybody there. Izzy Glauberman and Walter Perlmuter, the Amos 'n' Andy of the camp, will in their irrepressible intimate way, bitterly satirize the foibles of campers and counselors, especially counselors.

Sammy and Izzy Pearl will put on their famous brother act, Izzy at the piano, and Sammy on the banjo. Judy and Gabby, both of whom are nearly counselors, will sparkle in their spontaneous repertoire. Bobby Moscovitz will play the accordion if it doesn't break down.

And of course, Uncle Alexis Ferm and Walter Ludwig will be there to see to it that campers and counselors express themselves.

Toys made by children of the union strikers will be on sale.

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Scant Hope For Mooney Seen in Rolph

Governor-Elect Not Ex-
pected to Grant Free-
dom to Frame-up Vic-
tims

SAN FRANCISCO.—(FP)—The great question now is, will Gov.-elect Rolph pardon Mooney and Billings? The answer probably is no. "Sunny Jim" is naturally a liberal and tolerant man, and his affiliations are largely with union labor. But like most recent California governors, fired by the example of Hiram Johnson, Rolph has senatorial ambitions—and the governor who will pardon Mooney and Billings is politically dead; the big corporations, particularly the Pacific Gas & Electric Co., will be thumbs down on him. Nobody will be senator from California who is persona non grata with the P. G. & E.

There is also the bare possibility that the question will not come to Rolph at all; that the supreme court, now at work at last on the Billings application, will recommend pardon, and that Gov. Young before leaving office will free both men. But no one who knows Young or who followed closely the supreme court hearings last summer entertains any such hope seriously.

What will probably happen is that the supreme court will again recommend against a pardon for Billings; then Young, and Rolph after him, will have a legitimate excuse to keep the Preparedness Day victims where they are until death releases them. The most that could possibly be hoped for from Rolph would be that he might agree to a commutation of sentence for Mooney, which would free him on some future definite date; as for Billings, the governor's hands are tied without a supreme court recommendation. An attempt will be made at the next legislature to correct the law which makes this condition necessary; but it is not likely to be successful. The best that can be said is that Rolph is a better man than the reactionary Byron Fitts, former lieutenant-governor and now district attorney of Los Angeles, who ran against him in the primary. The outlook on the whole is not entirely dark, but is far from bright.

Meanwhile, Mooney has complicated matters by quarreling with Mary Gallagher, who has been handling the defense since 1928. Ever since Paul Scharenberg, at the California Federation of Labor convention demanded an accounting of funds from the Mooney defense, there has been controversy between Mooney and Miss Gallagher, and unless matters are patched up speedily, the effect on even the most liberal authorities will be bad. Some attempt is being made by both parties to come to an agreement and also to satisfy the labor federation.

Tax Reform Proposals Stir Up Hornet's Nest

The sales tax, proposed by real estate interests to relieve the burden on land, was opposed before the state commission on tax revision by a crowd of witnesses, one of whom pointed out that the sales tax "would burden the poorer classes more heavily than the richer classes." Many witnesses backed increased taxes on large incomes, inheritances, and unearned increment from land, while others favored taxes on gasoline, luxuries, and amusements. In December the commission will begin to draft the new tax measure.

Increased income and inheritance taxes are necessary not only to lift the burdens that now fall heavily on the small home owners and farmers but also to help break up economic dynasties that are assuming formidable proportions. Said a statement issued by Norman Thomas, Socialist leader. State taxes are bound to rise, especially as the state undertakes more and more services for health, sanitation, recreation and security. Thomas continued, but a sales tax would check purchasing power and increase prices. Pointing out that until this year the rise in land values in New York City has equalled or exceeded the huge city budget, he advocated increase in the tax on land values and a steady decrease of taxation on improvements.

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Thursday, Dec. 4, 8:30 p. m. Social Conflicts in American History, William E. Bohn. 8:30 p. m. Nature or Nurture, August Claessens. 8:30 p. m. Twentieth Century Drama, Felix Sper.
Friday, Dec. 5, student activities. Chorus, dramatic group, book review, debating.
Saturday, Dec. 6, 2 p. m., Russia Today, Jerome Davis.
Student Activities
A meeting of the general student body will be held Friday, Nov. 28, at 8 o'clock, at the school. All students are invited to participate.

At the Rand School
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Company Fires Head Of Phone Girls' Union

BOSTON.—(FP)—Because she was a member of a Boston Central Labor Union committee that demanded lower telephone rates, President Margaret I. Connolly of the Boston Telephone Operators Union has been discharged by the New England Telephone & Telegraph Co. She had been an employee of the company for 15 years. The Central Labor Union, of which Miss Connolly is treasurer, has asked the State Department of Labor and Industries to investigate the dismissal. The phone company stated that she was fired for being an "officer of an organization that sponsored an attack on the company."

Pa. Executive Is to Organize Women Group

Keystone State Social-
ists Plan for Intensive
Work in Coal Mining
Areas

Pittsburgh, Pa.—The state executive committee of the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania met Sunday, Nov. 23rd with Darlington Hoopes of Reading and Julius Weisberg, Sidney Stark, Jans Tait of Pittsburgh and Anton Zornik of Herminie the members of the committee present. Others participating were Sarah Limbach, State Sec'y, Arthur G. McDowell and Fred Gendrel State Organizers, and Lilith Wilson, National Executive committee member and newly elected assemblyman from Reading.

Greetings were received from Manuel Switkiss of the Young Peoples Socialist League. The Committee granted charters and sent felicitations to three new branches at Lancaster, Sykesville and Pottsville. The last two named branches were organized by Comrade Fred Cendral between the time of the meeting of the state executive. Sykesville and Pottsville are in Jefferson county are old centers of Socialist strength and constitute strategic points in the heart of what was once District Two of the United Mine Workers. Permission was granted the state secretary to concentrate the activities of the state organizers in such logical sections as the soft coal and textile industrial areas. The Executive committee voted a resolution voicing the solidarity with the striking hosiery workers of Reading in their desperate struggle against the attack on their living standard by the Reading employer-class.

For the purpose of more effectively mobilizing women for the Movement the state committee approved the organization of a Pennsylvania League of Socialist Women with its own state chairman and secretary. The League will be composed both of women who are regular party members and those who are sympathetic enough to thus ally themselves. The Women's league will carry on agitation along specific lines and plan ahead of time organization demanded by such emergencies as strikes.

Editorial Board for State
The state executive committee appointed an Editorial Board to initiate, advise on and supervise the publication of literature. The Board will make recommendations to state and national offices as to new literature and revision of old and all publications issued by locals or branches in the future must have approval of majority of Board's membership. The state committee appointed Raymond Hofes, Darlington Hoopes, Birch Wilson of Reading, Jans Tait of Pittsburgh and Andrew Biemler of Philadelphia.

A finance committee was appointed to care for the raising of the budget of the state office. The Committee consisted of Sidney Stark, chairman and Julius Weisberg of Pittsburgh, George Rhodes and Lilith Wilson of Reading and Maynard Krueger of Philadelphia. The proposal to donate the sum due the state from the national office for foreign federation dues stamp purchases was approved as has been the custom in Pennsylvania in the past.

During the coming session of the Pennsylvania General Assembly the Socialist Party's representatives in that legislature will have the full time services of a press representative at Harrisburg. Arthur G. McDowell at present a State Organizer and the Pittsburgh correspondent of the Federated Press was instructed to take over this work at the convening of the Assembly January 6th.

Allegheny Honors Legislators
Darlington Hoopes and Lilith Wilson of Reading, newly elected Socialist members of the Pennsylvania legislature were honored at a banquet given by Allegheny County comrades Sunday evening. Lilith Wilson refused to accept the sense of honor, pointing out that as far as credit for actual victory was concerned, that credit must go to the Jimmy Higginson who were actually responsible. Comrade Darlington Hoopes outlined the legislative program in working class interest that the insignificant numerical Socialist minority must push as the only course open to two working-class representatives as far as a practical program is

concerned. With a strong unemployment insurance and relief appropriation tied to an enactment of income taxes, heading their program the Socialists will line up for Old Age Pensions, Child Labor elimination, hours reduction for women, repeal of Flynn anti-Sedition Act, abolition of Coal and Iron Police, limiting and weakening of state police and mandatory free speech protection.

War's a game of musical chairs with Death at the piano.—W. L. George.

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Charity Fund For Jobless Lags in N.Y.C.

Some Companies Forc-
ing Workers to Give
Up Part of Salaries

By Horace B. Davis
ALTHOUGH the city of New York has more rich men than most foreign countries, unskilled, casual workers are being virtually forced to contribute to the fund of \$6,000,000 for its unemployed.

The Emergency Employment Committee of bankers and corporation executives, entrusted with raising the fund, has set a quota of one hour's earnings or its equivalent from every man or woman working. Although the committee includes the heads of the largest charitable organizations in the city, it has thrown no safeguards round the method of collection, which is left up to the individual employer. Several large coal-distributing companies announced that every man would have an hour's pay deducted at the end of the week. The business agent of the coal shovellers local of the Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. protested that his men were unskilled and the majority were working only two or three days a week, but the protest was unheeded. Employers and foremen are soliciting their employees directly, and many workers are afraid to refuse.

Most of the unions have made some provision for the relief of unemployed members. Staggering of employment and dividing up the work were introduced two years ago by the longshoremen. In the electrical trade, every man with a full-time job lays off the fifth day and his place is taken by an unemployed member of his local. By this means some earnings are provided for every man as long as unemployment does not run over 20 per cent; if it does, electricians point out, the system can be revised so that no man will work more than three days a week. This system was preferred to that of an assessment, which was voted down by a big majority.

The painters on referendum rejected a proposal that no man should earn more than 20 hours' pay a week. The carpenters have been financing unemployed relief out of their contingent fund, and a proposal has been made to levy an assessment of \$2 a month on all working members, the funds so raised to be administered by the locals. The men's clothing workers have a system of unemployment insurance in which the contributions are shared between employers and unionists.

Opinion is divided in union circles on whether unions which are carrying their own unemployed also contribute to the general fund. "We have enough to do to take care of our own men," said the secretary of the Building Trades Council. But organized labor has developed no policy. The Central Trades and Labor Council has made unemployment a special order of business at its Dec. 4 meeting. By that time, the bankers' collections will have been largely completed. Many union officials are serving on the bankers' sub-committees.

No proposals has been made to include unearned income in the sum on which the quota is calculated. "It is up to the individual's conscience," said an official, who was queried on this point.

A thousand jobless men who stormed the bankers' employment committee headquarters at 40 Wall Street in the mistaken hope that there were jobs there, gave eloquent testimony to the prediction of J. H. Thomas, British secretary for the dominions, speaking of America, that "never in your experience are you going through the hell you will in the next four months." Thomas was addressing the American Chamber of Commerce in London.

"The world must also face the fact," said the former minister for unemployment in the MacDonald Labor cabinet, "that all the economics taught in the past has been falsified. The people are suffering and hungry, and there is want in the land because we have too much wheat, too much copper, too much rubber—because too much is produced," he added ironically.

Teachers Union Dance

An opportunity to join a dance is being offered by the Teachers Union on Friday evening, December 12th, at the ballroom of the Hotel Victoria. This is near Rox's Theatre, at 51st Street and Seventh Avenue, so it will be easy to find the way. You will meet your friends at the dance, and the good music will permit no one to be a wallflower. Old steps and new steps, you may practise them all. Admission through the Teachers Union, 70 Fifth Avenue.

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Out of Sorts? That's Nature's warning

of delayed elimination of food wastes. Ex-Lax, the safe, delicious laxative, thoroughly cleanses

PROFITS AS THE CAUSE OF HARD TIMES

By Alfred Baker Lewis

THE October, 1929, crash in the stock market and the events following it brought down not merely the price of stocks but also the comfortable theory that we in America had worked out of the cycle of prosperity and depression which has been typical of capitalism in all countries practically ever since the beginnings of the capitalist system. For we are now in the midst of a serious business depression with the usual crop of explanations about the cause of these recurring periods of hard times, and why they seem to come in cycles.

The explanation of periodic business depressions which has been urged most persistently is the one which traces these depressions to a general overproduction caused by the position and existence of profits in our industrial life. As crudely stated by the early Socialists, the theory was that the worker did not get the full value of what he produced owing to the fact that rent, interest, dividends, and profits as well as wages and salaries were paid out of the product, and consequently the workers could not buy back all that they produced. It is true enough that wages and salaries total less than the full value of what is produced because the owners of industry take a big chunk of the product in the form of property income. But the answer to the early Socialist argument was promptly given that those who get their income in the form of rent, interest, dividends, and profits, also consumed goods, and the spending of their incomes by the owners of industry would be sufficient to buy back that part of the total product which the wages and salaries of the workers were unable to buy.

Faced with this argument, the Socialists replied that the owners of industry tended to spend a much smaller part and invest a much larger part of their income than did the workers, and it was their saving and investing which tended to cause a deficiency in the purchasing power of the consumer compared with the total product, or in other words, a general overproduction.

The fundamental difficulty with this theory is that saving is simply spending with a different object. Since spending money cannot not very well cause overproduction, there does not seem therefore any good reason for holding saving responsible for overproduction or underconsumption either. The man who saves and invests spends his money, although he spends it for capital equipment, or it may be for durable consumers' goods such as a home, just as truly as the man who spends his money for consumer's goods that will immediately, or at least very quickly be destroyed in the act of consumption. Even when a corporation saves by increasing its capital equipment, it is simply spending its money to pay wages to men working in the industries producing and erecting capital equipment, instead of paying out the money as dividends to stockholders

who in turn would spend the money, indirectly of course, to pay the wages of men working in those industries producing the things which the stockholders decided to buy. Saving, in other words, is simply spending for producers' goods, of which capital equipment may be taken as the type, instead of spending for consumers' goods. The net effect of saving, therefore, is to create a tendency for labor to flow into industries producing capital equipment rather than industries producing consumers' goods.

If a rich man, for example, decided to spend his money he might buy a yacht with part of his income, and this would cause labor to flow into the shipyards producing pleasure yachts. If, instead of buying a yacht, he decided to invest that sum, he might purchase the securities of the International Mercantile Marine Company, and that would cause labor to flow to those shipyards producing freight or passenger vessels rather than pleasure yachts. The only essential difference between saving and

spending is the difference in the direction given to the flow of the country's productive forces, and in any case there is no necessary reduction in the total demand for the output of these productive forces. So it seems clear that the act of increasing capital equipment does not in itself cause any general overproduction or general deficiency in consumers' purchasing power.

If there were a marked increase in saving used to increase capital equipment in one year compared with another, the net effect probably would be to cause some slackening of activity in certain industries producing consumers' goods, accompanied by a relative expansion of activity in the industries producing capital equipment, but that is not the characteristic of recurring periods of hard times. For the dominant characteristic of these periodic business depressions is the fact that all classes of industry suffer a depression below their normal activity, rather than some classes suffering from a

slump while others are enjoying a boom.

There is, however, one fact about the position of profits in our economic life which does make them tend to bring about a general overproduction. It is the peculiar and necessary characteristic of profits in our present economic order that they cannot be paid till after the product from which they are derived has been sold. Profits could not be disbursed before the product from which they are derived has been sold because they are not obtained nor even in existence until then. The same thing of course applies to dividends as well as to profits. For dividends are simply the method of disbursing the profits, and in part the rent and interest, obtained by corporations.

This fact is important because it means that the profits derived from the business of a given year (or a given quarter) cannot be used to buy back that part of the product turned out during the year which the wages paid during the year cannot buy back. In

other words, if the product produced in 1928 goes one half to wages and salaries and one half to profits and dividends, half of it, the profits half, cannot be used to buy the product of 1928 because it is not distributed till 1929.

The reader who knows business practices may object at this point that profits are distributed quarterly and not yearly, as a rule. But the term quarter, or given period of time may be substituted for the term year throughout this exposition without affecting in any way the validity of the argument.

Now the fact that the profits from any year's production cannot be used to buy back that portion of the year's production which the wages paid in that year are insufficient to buy back is not in itself important. For the profits earned in the previous year and distributed the year following that in which they were earned are used for that purpose. In other words the profits of 1927 are not paid out in 1927 but in 1928, and

they are then used to buy back that part of the product of 1928 which the wages paid in 1928 are unable to buy back.

But if the output of 1929 is greater than that of 1928, and the same rate of division of the product between wages and profits or service income and property income, is maintained, then disaster looms ahead because not all the product can be sold.

Let us put it in concrete figures in order better to understand it.

Suppose that the product of 1928 is 50 billions, divided $\frac{1}{2}$ or 25 billions, to labor and $\frac{1}{2}$ as profits and dividends. The whole product will be sold, because, although the 25 billions of profits will not be paid out ready to act as effective demand in the market until 1929, 25 billion dollars earned as profits in 1927, but not paid out till 1928 will make up the difference.

Let us suppose next that there is an increase in production in 1929 so that the product is 60 billions instead of 50 billions, divided as before, $\frac{1}{2}$ to profits and $\frac{1}{2}$ to

wages and salaries. There will then be available to purchase the 60 billions of output in 1929, 30 billions of wages and 25 billions of profits earned in the previous year and distributed in 1929. This leaves unsold an amount of 5 billions.

Let us suppose that the following year, 1930, as the result of the continuing momentum from the previous year's boom, production is again increased to 72 billions, with the same fifty-fifty division between profits and wages. To buy back the 72 billions there will be available in 1930, 36 billions, being $\frac{1}{2}$ of the 72 billions of products, and 30 billions of profits "earned" in 1929 as $\frac{1}{2}$ of that year's production paid out in 1930. This, however, totals only 66 billions, so that there will be an additional unsold amount of product amounting to 6 billions, to be added to the 5 billions unsold and carried over from the previous year.

It is obvious that the amount of unsold stocks of goods will in-

crease this way year by year as long as production keeps on increasing over the previous year. These goods are carried over in the form of increased stock on hand in retailers' stores, and in the hands of warehouses of wholesalers, and increased stocks both of finished product and of raw material in the hands of manufacturers.

Of course finally the result of an increase in the stocks of unsold goods on hand is that retailers cut down their orders to wholesalers, and wholesalers reduce their orders in turn to manufacturers, manufacturers shut down on production, throw their men out of work or put them on short time, and reduce severely their orders to the extractive industries for raw materials.

It is true of course that the policy which manufacturers resort to, of throwing men out of a job or putting them on short time, intensifies and prolongs the depression by reducing buying power as well as production. But even unemployed men eat. Even though out of a job they consume things. They draw on their savings bank accounts and borrow on their life insurance policies and so get money to move goods to some extent at any rate. To a considerable extent, the workers get goods on credit from their neighborhood stores, so that the goods are moved, though no money passes the other way for a considerable time.

Furthermore, some business is carried on during the depression without profit or even at an actual loss, so that the amount of purchasing power disbursed to consumers is greater than the price of that part of the product which is produced under such circumstances. In all these ways the stored-up stocks of goods are gradually reduced, buying, at first in hand-to-mouth form, gains in volume, and industry starts once more to pick up.

It is clear, therefore, that profits and other payments made in the same way as profits, such as dividends, are responsible for the periodic gluts which have been so characteristic of capitalism.

The practical result from this line of reasoning is that any sort of political or industrial program which would tend to decrease the share of industry that goes to dividends and profits and increase the share that is paid as wages and salaries would tend to decrease the severity of our periodic industrial depressions, or lengthen the period of prosperity between them or both. A shift in our tax burden so as to cause more of the burden to fall on profits, or an increase of social services paid out of additional taxes on profits, or rate regulation directed toward decreasing profits, all will tend to reduce unemployment. The same desirable result would come from any strengthening of the powers of labor organizations so as to enable them, by favorable collective wage agreements, to increase somewhat the proportion of the product of industries that are paid in the form of wages, or from any extension of non-profit ways of carrying on industry, such as by producers' or consumers' co-operatives or by government ownership and operation.

DETERMINISM NOT FATALISM

By C. McKay

ACCORDING to the Socialist theory the main factors shaping social evolution are economic. But the idea intended to be expressed by the words "economic determinism" does not imply a belief in fatalism, the doctrine that all things happen by an irresistible necessity which overrules all things. If evolution proceeded on a predetermined course, as the automatic and inevitable result of self-acting forces, entirely independent of the will or actions of men, there would be no need of a labor movement or a workers' political party, with their ceaseless propaganda and ever-growing literature.

Social evolution is the result of the activities of men: the mission of the labor movement is to find a way to consciously control economic development and social evolution so as to assure the increase of well-being of society as a whole. Man differs from the lower animals in that while to some extent he is a creature of his natural environment, he is able to create for himself an artificial environment, an economic environment. And he is continually changing that artificial environment, substituting skyscrapers for thatched huts, silk and woollen clothing for the skins of animals, steam railways for shanks' mare, ocean liners for dugouts. No longer dependent on wild fruits and game, he has domesticated animals and made the earth produce an amazing variety of crops. He draws his food supplies from the four corners of the globe. He takes crude ores and clays and transforms them into great machines for his service. He harnesses natural forces and compels them

to work for him in ways that would appear miraculous to his ancestors if they could revisit the earth.

But while men have created a marvelous artificial or economic environment, most of them are not happy at home therein. They have lacked the wit and the will to use the new forms and forces of production, which science and invention have called into being, to provide each and all with good houses, good foods, good clothes, good books, etc., and a sufficient leisure for the cultivation of the art of living.

Since class divisions appeared, the class on top, the ruling class, has always been keenly class-conscious. The capitalists today may fight among themselves over a juicy privilege or a bit of business; but almost invariably they close their ranks and show a united front when it is a question of resisting or sidetracking some movement of the workers to improve their position. The capitalists manage their affairs very well from the standpoint of their own interests. But as a class they have no idea of managing affairs and controlling evolution in the interests of society as a whole, though their activities, in so far as they make for general progress, redound to some extent to the general advantage.

Some capitalists are getting the idea that if the workers received more wages and had more leisure, they would consume more and thus make it possible for mass production industries to be kept operating at greater capacity. But they are thinking more of the pos-

sibility of thereby making additional profits than of improving the lot of the workers.

Other capitalists are now endeavoring to arrest economic and social progress by seeking to curtail production. They also aim at profits by closing down competing enterprises, and incidentally, at the stabilization of the established order, which gives them wealth and power.

In the past the masses of the people have mostly been kept too busy providing an opulent living for the few to have the time for study and reflection necessary to develop a positive consciousness of their class interests. The majority have accepted the hard conditions of their environment with a stoic sort of fatalism. The smarter, abler, cleverer or less scrupulous, have escaped the workers' environment by rising above it into the better environment of the upper classes.

Other workers have achieved some measure of class consciousness. But mostly their ways of thinking have not looked beyond the control of some particular feature of their economic lives and environment. They have concerned themselves with wages and hours of labor, without challenging the system that condemns them to a position of inferiority. The trade union idea has had a slow and varying development. It could hardly be otherwise.

The Socialist idea of capturing the political power and using it to establish social control of the productive processes in the interest of general well-being appears first in the mind of men as a utopian

hope. It only presents itself as a practical idea, a goal of conscious endeavor, when the organization of industry has reached a stage making social control possible. The Canadian graingrowers have experimented with various forms of cooperation for twenty-five years. Now they are realizing that the control of production is as necessary as pooling wheat for marketing purposes. The problem of regulating production is for farmers more difficult than providing for orderly marketing. But the growth of co-operative movements in other countries is creating the means for a world organization controlling the production as well as the distribution of wheat. The point is that the idea of controlling wheat production now presents itself in the farmers' consciousness as a problem challenging ingenuity and effort to solve it.

The first great industrial revolution was well under way before men began to see the need of trade unions or to develop the Socialist theory. The steam engine made possible the substitution of power machines for hand tools in a wide range of human work. But whereas in the handicrafts era, individual ownership of tools was the rule, under the new regime several men had to combine their resources to acquire the new power machines. The joint stock company was devised as a means of combining small capitals or credits to construct large factories and expensive machines.

The joint stock company was denounced by Adam Smith, the great economist of the period, as a device calculated to facilitate the exploitation and oppression of the masses. But it has had a prodigious development, and if the

results have, unfortunately, been in line with Adam Smith's prediction, at the same time the experiments in co-operation carried on by capitalists have prepared the way for a co-operating commonwealth.

Holding companies and investment trusts, recent extensions of the joint stock company principle, are enabling a few financiers to rapidly extend their control over whole series of industries. With this concentration of control it becomes possible—and more and more necessary—for the people to decide whether they are going to submit to private monopolies under the dictatorship of financial oligarchies, or establish social

monopolies under public management.

The socialization of the countless small, competitive enterprises of the older regime was impracticable, and would not have brought with it any special advantages in any case. But the concentration of the control of all the important industrial enterprises has now reached a stage making possible their socialization without any loss of efficiency, but rather with an increase, as has been the case with the socialization of Canadian railways and Ontario power resources.

The socialization of great industries now appeals to all, except the profit takers, as the only way the mass of the people can be freed from exploitation and enabled to share properly in the benefits of technical progress.

LECTURE CALENDAR

MANHATTAN

Friday, Nov. 28, 8:30 p. m. Debate, Heywood Brown vs. Pauline Newman. Subject: "Resolved that Special Legislation for Women Workers is Desirable as a Social Policy." Debs' Auditorium, 7 East 15th street. Admission is 50 cents, reserved section \$1. Auspices, Socialist Party, Local New York City.

BROOKLYN

Sunday, Nov. 30, 11 a. m. August Claessens, "The Results of the Recent Elections." Hunts Point Palace, 163rd street and South Boulevard. Auspices, Socialist Party, 3, 4, 5th A. D. Bronx branches.

Monday, Dec. 1, 9 p. m. August Claessens, "Selfishness—A Study in Human Nature." Kingsbridge Heights Jewish Center, 124 Eames place, between University and Web streets. Auspices, Socialist Party, Jewish Branch 1.

BROOKLYN

Monday, Dec. 1, 9 p. m. William Karlin, "Lessons of the Recent Elections." 2207 Bedford avenue, near

Church avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party, 21st A. D. Branch.

Monday, Dec. 1, 9 p. m. Bela Low, "Organic and Social Evolution." 3829 Church avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party, 18th A. D. Branch 2.

Monday, Dec. 1, 8:30 p. m. A. I. Shipiloff, "A Summary of Modern Civilization." 167 Tompkins avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party, Williamsburg Branch.

Tuesday, Dec. 2, 9 p. m. August Claessens, topic to be announced. Young Folks Auxiliary, Pride of Judea Orphans Home, Dumont avenue and Linwood street.

Friday, Dec. 5, 9 p. m. August Claessens, "The Results of the Recent Elections." 3068 East 3rd street. Auspices, Socialist Party, Brighton Beach Branch.

Friday, Dec. 5, 9 p. m. Louis Sadoff, topic to be announced. 219 Sacrament street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 23rd A. D. Branch.

In the laboratories of chemists and in aeroplane factories are growing the means of ruining in a week nations and townships fed from overseas.—John Galsworthy.

PROBLEMS OF WORLD SOCIALISM

Hillquit Traces Post-War Changes; Profit and Loss in Russia

UNDER the title, "World Socialism," Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the Socialist Party, is delivering a course of lectures at the Rand School, on Wednesday nights, in which he undertakes to analyze the characteristic features which distinguish the International Socialist movement of our day from the pre-war movement; seeks to trace the causes of the changes which have taken place in its philosophy, psychology and methods and to forecast the possible directions of its future course.

The main differences between the Socialist movement of the two periods, according to the opinion expressed by Mr. Hillquit in his first lecture, springs from the fact that Socialism before 1914 was essentially a minority opposition movement, while it has since attained the status of a government power in numerous countries at different times.

At the outbreak of the war, the parliamentary representation of Socialism ranged from a fractional percentage in the United States to 27.7 per cent in Germany. Nowhere had the Socialist Party been in the government.

Theoretically the Socialist movement was generally based on the Marxian philosophy, in spite of occasional and unimportant divergences to the right and the left.

The Socialist program was simple. It contemplated the eventual "seizure of power" by the Socialist workers representing a majority of the people and the planful introduction of the co-operative commonwealth by the Socialist government.

Organizationally the movement was united in each country and in all countries between themselves. It was thoroughly international.

The war changed the whole situation with one blow. Before they had learned the practical lesson of the world war the Socialists distinguished between wars of ag-

gression and defensive wars. They were utterly opposed to the former, but generally ready to support the latter. The world war was represented as a war of defense in every belligerent country, and in most of these countries the Socialists rallied "to the defense" of their fatherland. A truce was proclaimed in the economic and political class struggles. Socialists entered into coalition war governments.

The end of the war witnessed an undreamed of extension of political democracy. The powerful dynasties of the Romanoffs, Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs were overthrown. All new countries came into life as republics. The suffrage was universally extended.

In numerous cases the new republics made their political debuts under Socialist or semi-Socialist auspices.

Since the conclusion of the war, Socialists were called upon to assume or participate in the governments of the most important countries of Europe at one time or another.

Political parties which assume government responsibilities are generally apt to be more cautious and timid than opposition parties, but the Socialists in the governments of Europe during the post-war period were besides subject to special moderating influences.

Europe was impoverished by the war, and the pitiful struggles for the daily existence of the people were hardly conducive to radical economic changes or experiments.

The rise of communism badly crippled the Socialist forces, particularly in Germany, France, Italy and Czechoslovakia, and the emergence of dictatorships and their destructive effects on the Socialist and labor movements attached them to the principles and institutions of political democracy with a stronger bond than ever before.

They shrank almost equally from the lessons of the Soviet dictatorship and the Fascist dictatorship.

Discussing the lessons of the Soviet government in his second lecture, Mr. Hillquit traced in historical sequence the events between the first Russian revolution in March, 1917 and the seizure of the government by the Bolsheviks. He maintained that the attempt to introduce a Socialist regime in Russia by a series of summary revolutionary decrees was bound to fail, and that the thirteen years of the Communist rule in Russia had proved the failure.

Socialism contemplates a highly developed and concentrated industrial system, capable of unified and planned operation on a nation-wide scale; a predominating industrial working class, trained in production and management as well as in political administration, an organized, experienced and educated working class.

Russia in 1917 was largely a country of illiterate peasants. Her industries were in their infancy. The industrial workers were few in number, untrained in economic management and political life. The country lacked all essential requirements for a Socialist regime.

The Bolshevik rulers of Russia may have had enthusiasm, faith and daring, but they did not and could not have the masses behind them. They set up their rule as the representatives of a small minority and they have remained in the minority.

A government which does not have the active support or at least the voluntary acquiescence of the majority of the people can only maintain itself by force. Hence the "dictatorship," the suppression of all opposition in organization, press and speech, the repeated waves of terrorism, the resort to

jails, exiles and summary executions.

The "dictatorship," which was first represented as a temporary revolutionary measure, has shown no sign of abatement in thirteen years. It has become a permanent institution.

The inappropriateness of a Socialist regime to the unprepared soil of Russia has logically led to the vacillating economic policies of the Soviet government, from democratic workers' control of the factories to their autocratic management; from the "New Economic Policy" of individual enterprise for profit to the full "collectivization" of all industries and even agriculture; and finally to the ambitious "Five-Year Plan," destined to accomplish for Russia in five years what the most advanced industrial countries have achieved through slow growth of a century or more.

Summing up the positive achievements of the Soviet rule they may be found in the destruction of Czarist autocracy and the rule of the land-owning aristocracy; the division of land among the peasants; the moral and cultural improvement of the workers and the equal treatment of national minorities.

As against these achievements, there is the persisting dire poverty of the masses; the political despotism and governmental terror; the creation of a new privileged class side by side with a class of practical outlaws, and the division of the ranks of international Socialism by the Soviet adherents in and out of Russia.

In the following three lectures, which will be held successive Wednesday nights, beginning the 3rd of December, Mr. Hillquit will discuss the origin, causes and effects of Fascism in Italy and other countries; the achievements and shortcomings of Socialist and semi-Socialist governments; the policy of the British Labor government in India, Palestine and Egypt, and the international Socialist attitude towards the League of Nations.

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Let Us Give Thanks

EVERY year at this time we try to tote up the things for which we should be thankful and usually we end up by being thankful that we are alive and letting it go at that.

Herbert Hoover says in his Thanksgiving proclamation that we should all be thankful because a Divine Providence has shown this country special favors and we are not so badly off as some of the European nations which have not been visited by said Divine Providence recently.

Which ought to brighten up the unemployed old man who is standing in a young sleet storm beneath our windows selling apples, his hands and face blue with cold.

I wonder if he has heard as yet of the special privileges which the Divine Providence is showering upon us good Americans, or if that is just a secret between Herbert and God.

I know that the old man would enjoy reading the advertisement of a steamship line which begins, "This winter do nothing but enjoy yourself—"

Of course this Thanksgiving finds me with the customary number of newly-born black kittens to be thankful for, but if this here financial depression keeps up much longer I will have to put them in a box and try to sell them on the streets.

Anyhow, here we all are, boys and girls, miraculously alive. I've been speaking around at some Yipsel and branch meetings lately and I must say that not in a long time have I seen such warm-hearted manifestations of true friendliness and a real comradeship spirit as I have come across at these post-election meetings. And this in spite of the fact that the last election in New York did leave a certain amount of bitterness within our ranks.

Maybe it takes some sort of crisis like the present to remind us that we are most of all in the same economic boat and that we simply have to stick together shoulder to shoulder these days, if, very literally, we are to survive at all.

In these hard-boiled times, when all through the capitalist world they are at one another's throats like wolves, it is a praiseworthy and joyous thing to belong to a movement whose members, particularly the younger members, show that they have a keen sense of the meaning of cooperation and mutual aid.

It was good to see Clarence Senior, our hard-working National Secretary, in these parts again. Clarence's philosophy of life is what we wish our own were like. He takes things calmly, in his stride, and if now and then he gets a sock in the jaw, he doesn't go off and tear his shirt about it, as we all too often do.

Some day soon, we hope to dig out a somewhat mountainous correspondence which has piled up here since before election. We figured, of course, that after the campaign we would go off somewhere and read a good book and answer all our letters. That turned out to be boloney. We have been just as busy with Socialist activities as before election and three times as busy trying to make a living.

The good books we have read include the new biography of Einstein by Anton Reiser, (Published by the Bonis) which we review in The New Leader last week, "Our Business Civilization," by James Truslow Adams, a swell collection of essays, and "The Devil's Brigade," which we will review at length in a forthcoming issue.

And speaking of books, we recently had a word of praise for Dean Van Clute's interesting book-shop at 55 Charles Street, New York City. It may have been our fault, most likely was, but unfortunately it was printed "Dean Van" without the Clute at the end and we want the whole name in this time.

I made my premier appearance for Winter, 30-31 on the bowling alleys recently and after bowling around 120 while a lot of folks were present whom I most especially wanted to impress, I rolled a lovely 165 the moment they had departed. That's life, Ho, ho.

FOR ROGER R.

Child of the hazel eyes,
Be powerful and wise
To lead your people
In the years to come
Out of their dark despair.
Child of the golden hair,
You will not fail our hopes
For you must be
All light and constancy
For that blurred vision
Which we dimly see
And cannot realize
Child of the hazel eyes.

These are the days for sprawling in front of open fires with good comrades and talking long into the night about everything imaginable. But as James Truslow Adams points out in one of his essays which I have referred to above, conversation in America unless it deals with "shop" or the things of modern life, what the fancy writers call "the paraphernalia of living," (motor-cars, radios, houses, etc.), is a lost art. No, not entirely lost, for tomorrow night we are going to have one of its most fascinating interpreters with us. We mean of course, Oscar Ameringer, one of the best conversationalists now treading the American earth, who has the aristocrat's scorn for mere "things" coupled with the true proletarian philosophy—a combination rarely met up with nowadays.

Some of the old boys had it. Jefferson and on occasions, Lincoln. And of course it was the charm of "Gene Debs." But there is no need for comparisons. Oscar is sui generis, which means, as all you bright young Harvard men know, unique. Or in two words, Oscar Ameringer.

McAlister Coleman.

Yours and Mine

Distinguish carefully between these two. This thing is yours, that other thing is mine. You have a shirt, a brimless hat, a shoe, and half a coat. I am the Lord benign Of fifty hundred acres of fat land To which I have a right. You understand?

I have a right because I have, because, Because I have—because I have a right. Now be quite calm and good, obey the laws. Remember your low station, do not fight. Against the good, because you know, it pricks Whenever the uncleanly demos kicks.

I do not envy you your hat, your shoe, Why should you envy me in my small estate? It's fearfully illogical in you To fight with economic force and fate. Moreover, I have got the upper hand. And mean to keep it. Do you understand?

—HILAIRE BELLOC.

From Our Foreign Correspondent

Austria Before the Elections

(Editorial Note:—The result of the Austrian election of Nov. 9 was in line with Comrade Kautsky's predictions in the following article. The Socialists elected 72 Deputies, although their popular vote declined from 1,538,088 in 1927 to 1,517,603. In Vienna the Socialist vote rose from 693,621 to 703,418. The vote of the Christian Social Party and the Schober Block together with 43,766 votes for the independent Agrarians in Upper Austria, 1,796,799, against 1,983,323 in 1927. The "Heimatblock," the political expression of the Heimwehr crowd not supporting the Christian Socialists, polled 228,333 votes. The Communist vote rose from 16,181 to 20,879. The Christian Socialists won 66 seats, the Schober Block 19, and the Heimatblock, 8.)

By Benedikt Kautsky
VIENNA, NOV. 4.

The developments of the last few weeks make it clearer than ever that the Christian Socialists and the Heimwehr men now forming the Government have become aware of the fact that they are going to be defeated at the coming elections. The old Parliament was elected under quite different conditions. At that time the Heimwehr was not an independent party, but was the armed guard of the bourgeoisie and the agrarians. The Christian Socialists went to the polls combined with the Pan-Germans. Their joint list won 85 of the 165 seats, of which 73 went to the Christian Social Party and 12 to the Pan-Germans. The second strongest party in the old Parliament was the Social Democratic, with 71 mandates, while the Agrarian League, with 9, was the smallest.

The present campaign is being fought under entirely different circumstances. The Pan-Germans have separated from the Clericals and have united with the Agrarians in a Bloc headed by Johann Schober, the Chancellor thrown out of office by the Christian Social Party. There is no doubt that Schober is quite popular in bourgeois and petty official circles.

As far as can be judged at present, the sentiment of the people is decidedly hostile to the Government. There is little evidence here of any big shifts, such as occurred in the German elections. Employment and the poor industrial outlook, the masses of the workers are sticking to the Social Democracy. Neither the National Socialists, who are independent of the Heimwehr, nor the Communists have any chance of winning a material number of workers away from the Social Democracy.

On the other hand, there are all sorts of indications that some sections of the population that used

The Austrian Heimwehren (Fascists) with Leader Starhemberg



Standing: 1. Oberlehrer Grohmann, 2. Majest Doopler, 3. General Schenk, 4. "Baron" Gablenz, 5. "Prinzessin" Alma von Sachsen-Koburg-Gotha, 6. "Erzherzog" Theodor Salvator, 7. Ing. Hönig, 8. "Prinzessin" Josepha von Sachsen-K-G., 9. "Erbrprinz" von Sachsen-K-G., 10. Major Mayer. Sitting: 1. Landesrat Dirnberger, 2. "Prinzessin" Sibylle von Sachsen-K-G., 3. "Herzog Karl August von Sachsen-K-G., 4. "Prinzessin" Therese von Sachsen-K-G., 5. "Erzherzog" Hubert Salvator, 6. "Herzogin" Viktoria Adelheid von Sachsen-K-G., 7. Landesführer Fürst Starhemberg, 8. "Graf" Clam-Martini.

to vote for the bourgeois candidates are coming over to the Socialist Party. A few days ago the Chambers of Commerce in Austria were elected, with results showing that more than one-third of the independent business men and artisans in Vienna and some of the provinces were Socialists.

The present Government is losing more and more followers among the peasants and, especially, the petty officials as the result of its economic policy. The poor and middle class peasants, who form the bulk of the Agrarian League's followers, are extremely dissatisfied with the present agricultural situation. The pressure on prices and the market crisis which, as all over the world, also weigh heavily upon grain production here, have embittered the farmers against the Christian Social leadership in the Department of Agriculture and the Agrarian League has succeeded in carrying its propaganda into districts always regarded as Christian Social strongholds. This has been made easier by the lack of unity in the Christian Social camp on the agrarian question.

On the other hand, the city bourgeoisie, especially in the lower strata, only sees the heavy burdens imposed upon it in the interest of the farmers, without the latter being benefited. Furthermore, the present Government is fringing upon the legal security of the citizens and—to the great indignation of the petty officials—

is promoting corruption in the state administration. Since the new Government, headed by Chancellor Vaugoin, has been in office, Socialist, Communist and bourgeois newspapers are being confiscated right and left without any reason, something that had never occurred before since the days of the revolution.

The appointment of Dr. Straßella as General Manager of the State Railroads, without waiting for the decision on the appeal from the judgment of the lower court in his case of libel which had noted that his methods of doing business had been shady and incorrect, is taken by the civil service men as a grievous insult to them. And the way the most important posts in the State Railroad administration have been filled with dependable Christian Socialists, so that politics and not ability is the deciding factor, has also embittered the mass of petty officials.

Minister of the Interior Starhemberg has put the capshen up on all this by removing the former administrative officers from the police service and replacing them with the most reactionary Heimwehr men and monarchists. Dr. Schober is on leave of absence from his post as Police President during the campaign. In his place was Vice President Pamer, a follower of Schober and, consequently, persona non grata to Starhemberg. So one day, without any previous understanding with Schober,

he was removed from his post and replaced by one of the most reactionary police officials, a man who some years ago had to be transferred from the political section of the police to a less exposed post because his methods were too much in contradiction with those of Schober and, above all, with the requirements of a democratic policy. But his appointment was merely the beginning of a general "shake-up" involving all the important posts, not only in the Vienna police, but also in the gendarmerie. This also indicates that Schober hardly will return to his old post as Police President of Vienna unless there is a material change in the political situation.

All these happenings show that the present Government has a feeling of insecurity and is looking around for ways and means to "correct" its election chances artificially. But, as is usually the case, these attempts work just the opposite way.

The Government is becoming gradually aware of its weakness and, while the "Heimatblock" originally talked in fantastic figures about its expected mandates, it has calmed down a great deal and we may assume that the Heimwehr crowd itself would not be very much surprised if it didn't win a single seat. But their lust for non-parliamentary experiments is becoming all the stronger.

In truth, it is very difficult to be sure just what Starhemberg

says in his speeches, because the publication of these speeches in the Heimwehr press is always followed by official corrections by the Government. But, judging by the whole make-up of the Minister of the Interior, it is to be assumed that the Heimwehr papers in close touch with him give the real contents of his talks and that the dements given out by the Government are merely for the purpose of calming Austrian, and particularly foreign opinion in order to avoid disturbing the State's credit.

No matter how thoughtless and tactless these expressions may be—once he declared that Vienna would only be liberated when the head of the Asiatic Breitner (Hugo Breitner, the Socialist Finance Commissioner of Vienna, has won the especial hatred of the native and foreign bourgeoisie by his efficient way of collecting luxury taxes for the support of the city's welfare work) rolled in the sand—nevertheless they reflect the views of those circles which, through the Christian Socialists' disastorous decision to put them in a place of power, have attained considerable influence. Under these circumstances special significance may be attached to Starhemberg's declaration at a recent public meeting to the effect that the Heimwehr men would not give up their position of power, even if they were defeated at the polls.

Therefore, it may be assumed that the real decision in Austrian politics won't be made at the polls, but only after the election. If, as is to be expected, the allied Christian Socialists and the Heimwehr crowd are beaten, the decision will be up to Schober, whose party probably will hold the balance of power in the new Parliament. He will be in a position, either to guide Austria further along the road of democracy by joining with the Social Democracy in disarming the partisan armies, or to support the Austrian reaction by lining up with the Christian Socialists against the Socialists. Finally, there is also a possibility that the Clericals will scorn his help and will try to rule Austria in a dictatorial way with the aid of the Heimwehr.

Which of these possibilities will become a reality cannot be foretold today. Only one thing is certain—that democratic evolution is safeguarded only through the Austrian Social Democracy and that not only the political, but also the economic, well-being of the country is linked inseparably with the fate of democracy. Any attempt to set up a dictatorship would mean CIVIL WAR, which would certainly wreck Austrian industry completely. But the mere continuance of the Fascist menace carries with it so much unrest and uncertainty that the industries in this poor country cannot recover. Consequently, a victory for the Social Democracy would bring to the country not only peace and freedom, but also an improvement in its economic situation.

Scanning the New Books

The American Method of Solving Crime

The Police Truth Detector

By Leon Svirsky

IT IS characteristic of the public's cynicism with regard to government and the instruments of government in New York City that "The Third Degree," by Emanuel H. Lavine, published by The Vanguard Press, should arouse no general indignation. Perhaps the wonder is that the book was written at all; that a twenty-five-year police reporter should stir himself to record the commonplace, albeit barbaric, activities of the police.

The tale is no less horrible for all that. You will find there accounts of prisoners being beaten with billies and nightsticks until the arms of the police are weary, of police feet stamping on bleeding bodies, of one prisoner being clubbed over the throat until blood spurled from his mouth across the room, of another being bound in a dentist's chair to have a sound tooth ground down with a coarse burr.

It will avail you little to harden your heart and find excuse for this cruel punishment in the fact that the tortured men—and women, too—have been arrested for various crimes, some of them brutal. For you will discover that many of the prisoners to whom the third degree is applied are later found to be innocent, and that in any case it is the inexperienced criminal, the one without money or politically influential friends, who is given "the works." The really bad criminal, the man who makes a business of crime, takes the precaution to hire a political protector to make himself useful to Tammany Hall, thereby insuring himself of immunity from the third degree, to say nothing of conviction in the courts.

Mr. Lavine has hob-nobbed with the police for twenty-five years, the last twelve at Police Headquarters as reporter for the New York American. He finds the av-

erage cop as honest and as fearless as he can be, under the circumstances. That is, of course, not very honest nor very courageous. In instance after instance, Lavine shows, honesty and courage have been penalized. The cop who does not "lay off" a criminal with political influence is banished to a hard beat, forfeits promotion, sometimes places his life in danger.

How politics works in protecting criminals who are careless enough to be caught redhanded and indicted is told in detail by Lavine, from the perfunctory prosecution by an incompetent or corrupted district attorney to dismissal of the case by bought magistrates or higher judges or by bribery of a juror. One incident indicates the calibre of judges. During the selection of a jury to try a young man for murder, Lavine saw a general sessions judge industriously make notes as he sat on the bench. Lavine edged close and found the judge was doping winners on a racing sheet.

In view of the widespread political interference in criminal cases, Lavine finds the ferocity of the police third degree understandable. The policeman's job is not only to make arrests but to collect evidence for convictions and his record depends on his percentage of convictions. Seventy per cent. of these convictions, says Lavine, are obtained by means of evidence gained through the third degree.

The net result, Lavine finds, is that "the only place where no protection can be guaranteed to him (the free-born American citizen) is in the police station."

This situation prevails throughout the United States. It is unknown in England. It cannot be regarded otherwise than as a blasting indictment of American civilization. Governmental author-

ities in the United States have failed in the two first essentials of a civilized state, the preservation of order and the protection of the civil liberties of the individual. Confronted with widespread lawlessness, the police, in panic, resort to lawlessness. Forced to deal with lawless public officials and the even more criminal "invisible government," honest citizens must stoop to bribery.

No thoughtful person can contemplate this vicious circle without grave misgivings. None can fail to be alarmed by the capacity of the American electorate to fly into a profound state of calm in the face of such revelations as are contained in "The Third Degree," which was published before the recent elections.

Why Men Fight

It has long been recognized by Socialists the world over that the causes of war are economic, and even bourgeois economists have admitted that the economic causes of war are the major ones. So it does not surprise one at all to find the well known English economist, R. H. Hawtrey, analyzing the causes of war and deciding that the desire for power, economic power, is the major and oftentimes the sole cause of war. His latest book, "The Economic Aspects of Sovereignty," Longmans, Green and Company, (\$2.75) is based on a series of lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute at Boston during the winter of 1929 and concerns itself mainly with the theory of the economic problems faced by a government in extending its sovereignty or in maintaining the sovereignty it already has.

By far the most interesting sections of the book are those dealing with economic power and with the economic causes of war. Hawtrey analyzes the bases of economic power and finds them in the quantity and mobility of the cap-

ital wealth of a country; in the extent of the so-called "heavy industry;" extent of natural resources; man power; and foreign trade. All of these go to build up the economic power in terms of which Mr. Hawtrey says that the aims of war are measured. The advantages and disadvantages of various types of national economic systems are compared as to their relative strength and weakness and those of each type are noted. It is especially interesting for Americans to note that the possibility of the protective tariff defeating its own ends is pointed out.

While Mr. Hawtrey shows that the desire for economic power is the cause of war and shows how wars for national or religious ideas are only a phase of the same problem he fails to say who it is in the nation that desires this economic power, and the purposes for which it is desired. Mr. Hawtrey admits that the economic power is not desired for prestige alone but rather prestige is desired for the additional power it affords. I do not think that the spirit of nationalism is so strong in the ruling class of a country that it desires power for power's sake alone. When the dispute over whether the United States or Japan should get the island of Yap was going on and the jingoist press was doing its utmost to excite the people it was even then admitted that Yap was needed to increase what Mr. Hawtrey would call our economic power and that this power was needed to protect our Far Eastern trade. So I feel that the author does not take the final and obvious step of pointing out that this economic power is desired by the capitalists of each country in order to protect their interests abroad, that is, their profits. Capitalist economy rather than any principle of nationalism causes this struggle for economic power.

LAWRENCE ROGIN.

Books Received

John Masfield, The Wanderer of Liverpool; MacMillan & Co., \$3.50.
Devere Allen, The Fight for Peace; MacMillan & Co., \$5.00.
Jane Addams, Second Twenty Years at Hull House; MacMillan & Co., \$4.00.
Margaret Sperry, Sun Way; Paper Books \$5.00.
Andre Maurois, Conversations; E. P. Dutton.
Nathalia Crane, Pochantos; E. P. Dutton, \$2.50.
Christian Gauss, Life in College; Charles Scribners, \$2.50.

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The Chatter Box

Fairy Tales

If I were a giant
Bigger than a tree,
Stronger than a thunderbolt
Or anything could be,
I wouldn't frighten children
Or princesses and such;
Nor would I live in castles
And eat so very much.
I'd make an iron ladder
To reach my garden walk,
So all the little boys like Jack
Needn't climb a stalk.
I'd lock up all the witches
Till they promised to be good
To lovely girls like Snow White
And sweet Red Riding Hood.
I'd never use my magic
To do a person harm...
I'd build a great big fire
And keep the match girl warm.

THERE should have been two or three more verses to the little song above, so that it might have a definite form and finish. I choose to stop at the thought of the little match girl. The tears I shed over her sad fate have never dried completely. I suppose I'm persisting in the Socialist cause because of a tale out of the Gebrüder Grimm.

My own business has not been affected in normal ratio. My personal affairs have not altered much. Selfishly, I could go tripping along with hardly more care than I have managed to carry in gayer time. Even now as I type these words, before a bright lamp, in a warm room of a fine house, I have the uncomfortable sense of wearing a heavy fur coat, while all about me stand folks who shiver in shoddy and tatters. A poet has said, and this poor poet may repeat, that no pain is as keen as when one feels another's pain.

Campaigning this year outside of the four concentrates brought with it many trials some compensating experiences. I came upon comrades like Jacob Axelrad who were doing real pioneering in the hinterlands.

Jacob and I covered three or four short meetings one evening somewhere near Gerritsen Beach and the horizon. We had some opportunity for discussion while the Non-Partisan League for Norman Thomas helped out through a chairman.

Unemployment seemed as close to Axelrad's thoughts then as it was to mine. How to dramatize that issue and yet remain nice, decent, parliamentary Socialists made up a sweet dilemma. It was there that Jacob popped out in heartening fashion... I say heartening, because I did not hear nor see any further indignation among the Socialist orators during the rest of the campaign... He said... "Whatever we may think of these damned Communists, however we may detest them for their stupid slanders, and their unscrupulous tactics, toward us, this much they have done, and which we have utterly failed to do... they have succeeded in putting the unemployment question on the front page of the newspapers..."

I had been so busy ridiculing them for their outlandish and awkward gestures, that it never occurred to me to consider what effect their stubborn persistence was actually having on the common enemy.

Of course, we can say, and quite justifiably, that a great deal of their noise and bluster was window dressing for Moscow... was insincere... was just plain hooliganism. Of course, we can point out with sanity and mature judgment, that fighting cops, biting their fingers and pricking the flanks of police horses were better sport on the campus of some small town college, in a melee between adolescent freshmen and asinine sophomores. And in a sense of self-consolation we can point out with some sort of dubious triumph, that none of us has had his skull cracked or his ribs stove in by exasperated guardians of the peace.

But if that be to our credit, what then can we say that we have done, save the offering of a few carefully worded proclamations on the subject of unemployment insurance, and the starting of vast public works to relieve the situation. I am afraid that neither our thunder nor our thunderbolts hardly hurt the progressive Democrats when they seized on both and offered them forth to the press as their very own.

Then, we got busy with water power, Tammany, and kosher meat. While all the time, the inarticulate, leaderless and headless torchbearers plunged blindly, madly onward... right up to the face of Hizzoner the Mayor himself, and as blindly and as madly launched forth against the ensconced dignity of City Hall with gutter snarl and verbal sputum.

I daresay, Jimmy did not come out of the encounter with much glory. It was a negative sort of victory... for the Communists. It got on the front page. And brought along the question of the unemployed. And the lad who took his beating in the cellar of the City Hall for having insulted "our Jimmy" has earned for himself a dumb sort of heroism.

Now we are smart folks, we Socialists. We have leadership, ingenuity, brains, learning, judgment, culture and manners. We have the most articulate talent in the land. Our orators are inferior to none. And we have grown respectable in the mind of most people. Why did we not plot and plan to make drama out of this pestilence of idleness?

If some of our leaders would worry less about their opinions on Russia, and use some of their intensity on problems right to home, we might have increased our upstate vote, and perhaps built up a fighting strength everywhere. Instead, we have a disgruntled comradeship, an appalling deficit in the state, and four deficits in the city districts, and an indignation meeting by the Russian Socialist group on which to build.

I think, most of us are just too comfortable, and we hate to put ourselves out beyond a gesture. We have lost our sense of indignation. We simply cannot get up a real mad about anything outside of our own little jobs and things. If that be the case, then it is time we did some taking of inventory. Either we are Socialists, or we just are not.

If unemployment is the disease of the moment, we ought to be busy as the deuce, mass-meeting, petitioning, demonstrating, annoying the smug charity boys, annoying them cleverly, getting in under their skin, without having to call them names out of Ghetto training. We are smart. We have the best writers, and the finest paragraph painters in the land. And we have the wisest orators. That is our job now. Maybe if we keep at it persistently enough, we will succeed in putting our ideas on the front page without police riots and all that.

It means hard work, true. Some of it won't be very dignified work either. At least not the kind you would want to boast about to Ramsey MacDonald, and Otto Bauer when you get to Europe next year. But it will be real Socialist work. And that is all that will ever matter.

S. A. deWitt.

"The Vinegar Tree": A Fine Fruity Farce

The Stage

The Movies

Music

Moves to the Beacon Theatre



"Old English" with George Arliss will be the feature attraction at the Beacon Theatre beginning Friday—Will Osborne will replace Irving Aaronson on the Beacon Stage.

The Week On The Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

"PICKLED FRUIT"

"THE VINEGAR TREE." By Paul Osborn. At the Playhouse.

QUITE the brightest farce character of the season is in the hands of the dearest portrayer of fond, foolish females, when Laura Merrick is played by Mary Boland, in "The Vinegar Tree." Paul Osborn's penetrating lines and neat delineation combine with excellent playing to make the part more than a caricature, a universal capture of one element of woman. Not that such women are frequent in life, any more than the misers of Marlowe and Moliere, any more than the parlor-maids forever tipped behind doors; but in every woman (and man) there are impulses to the sort of thing here captured and fully shown—and thoroughly enjoyed.

Laura, however, is but the richest figure in a plot well rounded; and Mary Boland's but the greatest opportunity given the splendid cast. Warren William is always as sure as he is suave; Katherine Wilson and Helen Brooks are more than mere foils to the star; and the fire of Allen Vincent as the youth is balanced by the cold compression of H. Reeves-Smith as the old husband. The play is oddly twisted from the usual triangle. Max and Winifred, seeking a retreat for a week's loving, select the sister Winifred has not seen in fifteen years. Since Winifred is married, they have to seem strangers; and it happens that Laura falls unsuspecting into the scheme, by identifying Max with her first sweetheart, whom she hasn't seen in over a score of years. Meantime she has developed a daughter, who learns at college (not in the regular course) that a virgin these days is too naive to hope for happiness in marriage;

Philharmonic Symphony

STOKOWSKI Guest Conductor

METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE

Sunday Afternoon, Nov. 30, at 3:00

RACHMANINOV (Soloist: Sclafano Guidi and Alfred Wallenstein)

Carnegie Hall, Thurs. Eve., Dec. 4, at 8:45

Friday Afternoon, Dec. 5, at 2:30

Carnegie Hall, Sat. Eve., Dec. 6, at 8:45

Sunday Afternoon, Dec. 7, at 2:30

Symphony: "With The Horn Signal," Haydn; "Horatius," Shubert; "Fanny," Mendelssohn; "The Sea," Debussy. (Dir. Adella F. Hughes)

Met. Richard Copley Steinway Piano

CARNEGIE HALL

Tues. Eve., Dec. 2d.

Cleveland Orchestra

NICOLAI SOKOLOFF

Conductor

Symphony: "With The Horn Signal," Haydn; "Horatius," Shubert; "Fanny," Mendelssohn; "The Sea," Debussy. (Dir. Adella F. Hughes)

Met. Richard Copley Steinway Piano

CARNEGIE HALL

Fri. Eve., Dec. 5, at 8:30

Levitzki

Mgt. NBC Artists Service

(Steinway Piano)

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RUGGIERO RICCI

will play BEETHOVEN'S VIOLIN CONCERTO

LOUIS PERSINGER, Conducting

Henry Hadley's MANHATTAN SYMPHONY

VALINTINA AKSAROVA, Soprano, will sing JOAN D'ARC

Tchaikovsky

MECCA AUDITORIUM, Sun., Nov. 30, at 9 p.m.

The orchestra will play MASON'S Overture "CHANTICLEER" and

Schoenkwitz Symphony, Dr. Hadley Conducting

Seats 50c to \$2.50 at Box Office, 10 A. M. to 10 P. M.

No Phone Reservations. No Mail Orders

Concert Management Chas. K. Davis, 119 W. 57th St.

"Oh, for a Man," With Jeanette MacDonald, at The Fox Brooklyn; Also Big Bill on the Stage

The Fox Theatre at Flatbush Avenue and Nevins Street has a perfectly delightful program this week on both stage and screen.

The Fox Movietone, "Oh, For a Man," promises to keep Brooklyn audiences in the best of humor during the current week. Jeanette MacDonald, who rose to cinema fame as co-star with Chevalier in "The Love Parade" is co-featured this time with Reginald Denny. The story is that of a temperamental prima donna and a most successful one who is courted by all men but has no time for any of them. She has her own ideas of the sort of a man she could love and never does find her ideal until a burglar enters her apartment in the dead of night to rob her of her jewels. The man's physique attracts her; she engages him in conversation; learns that he has ambitions to become a singer; engages a teacher for him and eventually abandons her own successful career to marry him.

Authors of "Smiles" At the Ziegfeld Theatre Experts in Their Crafts

It is a tribute to the genius of Florenz Ziegfeld that through the march of the years signalized by his theatrical activities he has always surrounded himself with the best available talent in the field of musical comedy from a technical and histrionic standpoint. Joseph Urban, celebrated scenic artist, has borne the Ziegfeld imprimatur for years. John Harkider, artistic director, is another whose talent is annually utilized. Sammy Lee, probably the best of the dance ensemble contrivers, marks the third member of the glorious triumvirate.

Although Ziegfeld has given close attention to every department of his vast organization, the writers he has employed from time to time have come closest under his scrutiny. In "Smiles," his new musical comedy which stars Marilyn Miller and Fred and Adele Astaire, and which is now at the Ziegfeld Theatre, Ziegfeld introduces one of the most successful librettists in the country and the peer of American composers, William Anthony McGuire and Vincent Youmans are the librettist and composer respectively.

Of equal interest are the lyricists who invented the rhymes. Clifford Grey, who collaborated with Harold Adamson, is a veteran in the business and one of the best. The most famous of the lyricists is Ring Lardner, celebrated humorist, who contributed two comedy poems to "Smiles."

That German mFil at 55th St. Playhouse

"Zwei Herzen in 1/2 Takt." Eighth week at the 55th Street Playhouse.

The secret of the success of "Two Hearts in 1/2 Takt," which is breaking all records at the 55th Street Playhouse, is not hard to discover. The story is as simple as most musical comedies possess: two librettists hide their sister from the composer of their operas, as he is a notorious Don Juan; but the new opera lacks its waltz, for want of inspiration—until the sister appears, alone, uninvited, when Toni had expected a big party instead. He composes; she sings, and disappears. The composer cannot remember the tune; but lo! at dress rehearsal the girl appears again, sings the song, the excellent waltz of "Two Hearts in 1/2 Takt," and wins success and the composer's heart. What more?

The value of the operetta consists largely in the music, and the skill in which that music is made to come out of the story itself, and out of the film; so that—strange as it may seem—the music is pleasant both to hear and to watch. The photography is effective, as most German film-work has been for its day; but the music of Robert Stolz (on sale in the lobby as at a stage operetta) is as alluring as the fair actress whose singing carries the title-song on.

BROOKLYN

BIGGEST SHOW IN BROOKLYN

Flatbush Avenue & Nevins St.

FOX

"OH, FOR A MAN"

Fox Movietone unconventional

romance

with JEANETTE MACDONALD

Reginald Denny, Marjorie White

—ON THE STAGE—

FANTHOM & MARCO present the

"HOLLYWOOD COLLEGIANS"

DOROTHY CROOKER, GUY

BUCK

Sing a Song with

BOB WEST

FOX MOVIE TONE NEWS

In New Hit at the Playhouse



Mary Boland is back on Broadway in "The Vinegar Tree" a new and gay comedy which has been received royally by the critics. Dwight Deere Wiman is the producer.

Roorich Museum to Be Scene of Debate Sponsored By the New History Society

The New History Society, sponsored by Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Stuyvesant Chanler, has arranged a debate for Friday, Nov. 28, at 8 p. m. at the Roorich Museum, 310 Riverside Drive. The subject to be debated is—"Resolved, That Oriental Civilization is Superior to Western Civilization." The affirmative will be taken by Maurice Falk, the negative by Abraham I. Horn, and the chairman will be Elias Gartner. Those participating are all members of the New York Bar, as well as members of the New History Society.

Adele T. Katz to Give Her Sixth Lecture on Music

The exquisite symbolism of Debussy's "Pelleas et Melisande," will be interpreted in the sixth lecture of a series presented by Adele T. Katz, musicologist, in the Corcoran of the Barbizon Hotel, at 3 o'clock, Dec. 1.

An explanatory piano recital by Herman Kurzwil will accompany Miss Katz's lecture, illustrating the more difficult themes of this celebrated opera.

Robert V. Newman presents VINA DELMAR'S

"BAD GIRL"

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

—Viney Bolton, Telegraph.

HUDSON W. 44th St. Eves. 8:30;

Mats. Wed. and Sat.

Best seats reserved by phone, BRVANT 6080

APOLLO THEATRE

WEST 42nd STREET, Eves. 8:30

Mats. Wed. and Sat. \$1 to \$3.85

George White

Presents The Ace of Musical Comedies

Flying High

with Bert Lahr—Oscar Shaw

GOOD SEATS AT BOX-OFFICE

Eves. \$1.50 to \$5.50

Wed. & Sat. Mats. \$1 to 3.

MAJESTIC THEATRE

Thurs. 44th W. of Broadway

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

NEW MUSICAL HIT

NINA ROSA

By Harbach-Romberg-Casner

with ETHELIND

GUY Robertson Terry

Armida Leonard Ceeley

AND 100 OTHERS

350 Mex. Seats \$3 to \$4.40;

45c to \$1 to \$2.50

EDGAR WALLACE'S

Sensational Hit!

"ON THE SPOT"

Most Thrilling Play of the Season!

"A melodrama among melodramas—

tremendously exciting—tasteful and thrilling—

a hair-raiser."

—Robert Garland—Telegram

EDGAR WALLACE'S

FORREST THEATRE

40th STREET, WEST OF B'WAY.

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

WISCONSIN 6000

Manhattan Symphony Concert at St. George Church

Sunday evening last inaugurated the second season of free symphony concerts at St. George's Church by the Manhattan Symphony Orchestra, Dr. Henry Hadley conducting. The concert opened with two movements of Schumann's Symphony in B flat, and was followed by Brahms' Piano Concerto No. 2 beautifully played by Constance McGlinchey.

The church environment formed a perfect background for the presentation of this classic composition and its acoustic perfection aided the artist materially in her splendidly shaded nuances. Kamol Ostrow by Rubinstein was given a noteworthy performance under Dr. Hadley's baton with George W. Kemmer officiating at the organ. The concert concluded with a brilliant performance of Weber's overture "Der Freischutz." C. K. D.

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

—Walter Winchell, Daily Mirror.

Morris Green & Lewis Gensler present

JOE COOK

in his

NEWEST MADDEST MUSICAL

FINE and DANDY

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44th St. W. of B'way, Phone Pen. 7063

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(328 GOOD SEATS at \$1.00)

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67 Glittering Scenes—1,000 Laughs

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takes pleasure in announcing

Maurice

Moscovitch

in his famous interpretation of

"SHYLOCK" in SHAKESPEARE'S

"THE MERCHANT OF VENICE"

TIMES SQ. THEATRE

12nd Street West of B'way.

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14th St., 8th Ave. Eves. 8:30 50c, \$1, \$1.50

Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2:30

Tomorrow Eve. "ALISON'S HOUSE"

Premiere by Susan Glaspell

Tuesday Evening "SIEGRIED"

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Thursday Mats. "PETER PAN"

Friday Eve. "ROMEO AND JULIET"

Saturday Mats. "ROMEO AND JULIET"

Sunday Eve. "HEDDA GABLER"

Monday Eve. Dec. 8. "ALISON'S HOUSE"

Seats 4 Weeks adv. at Box Office and Town Hall, 113 W. 43 St.

Europe Keen for News Reels, Says Truman H. Talley of Fox-Hearst

"Great Britain and Continental Europe are away ahead of the United States in their appreciation of sound newsreels," said Truman H. Talley, general manager of Fox Hearst Corporation, on his arrival in New York yesterday, from a three month stay in Europe.

Explaining his remark Mr. Talley cited a number of incidents which he considers conclusive proof that the average Britisher and Continental take as much interest in screen newsreel presentations as they do in screen drama. He said:

"When we inaugurated Fox Tonende Wochenschau, (German Movietone News) we naturally had great hopes for its success. But, in our most optimistic moments, we underestimated the reception accorded it a hundred per cent. The Germans went for it with an enthusiasm I've never seen equaled. The Berlin press exceeded itself in showering praise upon us. As a result, in sixty days, Fox Tonende Wochenschau was booked in ninety per cent of the wired houses in Germany. In Paris we produce another continental reel called Actualites Fox Movietone, established about eight months ago. British Movietone News, which we started about a year ago, has won itself a firm place in the affection of the hard-to-please British public.

"Newsreel enterprise is appreciated by public, the press and the theatre owners abroad. The theatre owners of Britain and Continental Europe play up their newsreels in all their advertising; almost as much as they do their feature attractions. They realize, what American theatrical men cannot seem to get into their heads—that the newsreel appeals intensely to many people who are otherwise only mildly interested in screen presentations. Of course, it's a European characteristic to go after every penny and the appreciation is based on sound theatre economics."

Theatre Guild

Presents

Elizabeth The Queen

Guild Theatre

52nd Street, West of Broadway

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

Theatre Guild

Presents

ROAR CHINA

Martin Beck Theatre

45th St. W. of 8th Ave.

Eves. 8:30—Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:50

LYSISTRATA

Uproarious Comedy Hit, with

FAY BLANCHE ERNEST

Bainter Yurka Truex

Eric Dressler—Lon Hascall—Ruth

Gardner—Jerome Lawler—Jan Wolfe

—Glady Harbut—Thompson-Weid-

man Dancers and Seventy Others.

44th St. Theatre

West of Broadway

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

Mon. to Fri. Eves. \$3.50 to \$10.00;

Wed. Mats. \$2.50 to \$10.00; Sat. Mats.

\$3.50 to \$10.00

Sat. Eve. \$1 to \$1

"Viennese Nights"

(ARE MADE FOR LOVE)

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Eddie Quillan—James Gleason

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Directed by LEO ZOMKOVY

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23 WEST EIGHTH STREET

Between 3th and 5th Avenue

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Continuous Noon to Midnight

Heard Again in Piano Recital



Harold Bauer will be heard again in Town Hall on Saturday afternoon, December 6th, in a piano recital.

Ruggiero Ricci to Play At Second Concert of the Manhattan Symphony Sunday

The second subscription concert of the Manhattan Symphony Orchestra, Dr. Henry Hadley conducting, will take place at Mecca Auditorium on Sunday evening, at 9 p. m. The program will contain a Symphony by Dimitri Szostakowicz played for the first time in New York, and an overture "Chanticleer" by

NEW LEADER

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 Assistant Editor Edw. Levinson
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 Shipley, Louis Stan-
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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggle of the organized working class. It is a newspaper of opinion, not a newspaper of news. It is a newspaper of the people, not a newspaper of the elite. It is a newspaper of the future, not a newspaper of the past. It is a newspaper of the present, not a newspaper of the future. It is a newspaper of the people, not a newspaper of the elite. It is a newspaper of the future, not a newspaper of the past. It is a newspaper of the present, not a newspaper of the future.

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1930

Einstein vs. Babbitts

ANTICIPATING his visit to the United States, Albert Einstein has been receiving some interesting letters from American capitalists which have shocked the great scientist. Because of this he is seriously thinking of not leaving the Belgenland when it arrives in New York but remain abroad till it sails for Cuba.

Einstein has been offered tens of thousands of dollars by proprietors of haberdashery, disinfectants, toilet waters and other commodities for the use of his name in testifying to the virtues of these articles. "Is it not a sad commentary upon the commercialism and, I must add, the corruption of our time that business firms make these offers with no thought of wanting to insult me?" the scientist asked.

In that question he probes the "culture" of our ruling vulgarians. They do not have the slightest conception that in making these offers they offer an insult to a man of honor and integrity. They are so accustomed to dollarize everything they touch that they act on the theory that anything they want is for sale and that the only question involved is a cash consideration.

Our vulgarians talk of "American ideals" and are quick to resent the charge made by Marx decades ago and repeated by Socialists that our modern ruling classes have "resolved personal worth into exchange value" and that they have "left no other nexus between man and man than naked self interest, than callous cash payment." If the Einstein incident were exceptional one could pass it by but it accords with so much evidence that it merely confirms a general impression known to those who have made a study of American capitalism.

Einstein is entitled to our thanks for his rebuke. It is a dash of cold water in the faces of our smug Babbitts.

Party Politics

SENATORS Borah and Shipstead agree that party voting was abandoned by millions of voters in the recent elections. In a radio address the Minnesota Senator ridiculed the practice of voting for a party, and quoted Washington against the baneful influence of party.

These opinions could only become current in the United States where the two upper parties are alike. The logic is faulty and the proposed action is futile.

In the first place, Washington's opinion has no application to modern conditions. When he lived the majority of the masses were not enfranchised. What Washington had in mind was bitter disagreement among aristocratic gentlemen. Like many of the old English gentry, he did not like to see perfect gentlemen engage in vulgar dispute over place and power. It did not harmonize with aristocratic traditions. The modern party organization did not exist when Washington wrote.

Shipstead's advice amounts to this. There is no difference between the two capitalist parties and your only choice is to vote for the "best men" nominated by both. That may be good advice for the upper class gentlemen who own both party organizations, but it does not serve the working masses. Even the "good men" of these parties accept the general ideas underlying these parties and those ideas do not have their origin in the workers.

In all other countries even the smallest parties represent some definite views and a clear program. No intelligent person thinks of urging support of "good men," regardless of programs. Here this advice is evidence of the fact that there is nothing at stake between our two ancient parties.

The Socialist Party has a philosophy and a program. You may disagree with it, but the reader will agree that it is different. So far as the parties of capitalism are concerned the voter may vote for one or the other, or vote for "good men" in both, or stay away from the polls, and the results are the same.

The Jobless Problem

GENERAL unemployment offers an unusual opportunity for presenting a fundamental criticism of the industrial system as well as working for unemployment insurance. It is rare that such an immediate measure of relief can be so correlated with a fundamental program of reorganization of capitalism on a Socialist basis.

In the first place the most that can be done for the millions of the unemployed is to find places for a fraction of them by reducing the hours of labor and extending public works. The first measure largely depends upon powerful unions willing to fight for it and we have few. The second depends upon public agencies and they are in the hands of conservatives and reactionaries.

Public employment bureaus are helpful only if they displace the private agencies many of which prey upon the distress of the unemployed. However, they do not create new jobs. They only help the jobless men to locate jobs that are available.

Then there is unemployment insurance, the most important measure of all. We shall fight for this measure without stint but if this legislation is enacted in all the states it is still far from what is desirable. It would simply insure that workers who are thrust into the streets due to no fault of their own would receive some measure of relief. That is worth while, but even that relief would enable them to merely vegetate, not live. All of these measures together would not prevent unemployment, industrial disasters, from occurring from time to time.

In other words, unemployment is so deeply rooted in the system of capitalist production for the gains of the owners that there is no final and satisfactory solution of the problem short of reorganization of the system on a basis of production for use and welfare, that is Socialism. This being so, we should say so on every occasion when fighting the battles of the outcasts of American capitalism.

Sewage Politics

THE latest disclosure in the ruling politics of New York City sinks the magistrates courts a little lower in filth. Enough has been told to warrant belief that under the noses of some magistrates scoundrels have engaged in a revolting traffic, the pawns in this commerce being unfortunates of the underworld. A former process server in the District Attorney's office and for nine years playing the part of an assistant in that office admits having received a total of \$20,000 in bribes from bondsmen, lawyers and policemen. Some 600 vice cases involving 900 defendants were affected by this traffic. The details as disclosed in Tuesday morning papers are not likely to be laughed off by the holy office of Tammany Hall.

This revolting traffic also involves exploitation of unfortunate drug addicts, inmates of brothels, and other victims of the underworld. They become the prey of dirty scoundrels who are able to associate with decent human beings. A situation like this is certain to become common knowledge among criminals who in time come to believe that they are no worse than the criminals who ply their trade within the "courts of justice."

The situation in New York is like a sewer whose outlet has been clogged. The sewage backs up and flows into other channels, the seepage contaminating everything it touches. The overflow has found an outlet through magistrates courts for years where scavengers gather to make merchandise of the human driftwood that floats by.

IN A NUTSHELL

The estate of the late Thomas Fortune Ryan has increased over four and a half millions of dollars since his death. Isn't it marvelous how the "brains and initiative" of American capitalists still function after they are in their graves?

Idleness is the worst expression of waste, whether the idle people are rich or poor.—J. R. Clynes.

A headline declares that a "Golden Opportunity Faces Democrats at Present Time." The Tammany yeggs would make it read "all the time."

War to many women is a form of excitement, in which the primitive worship of the warrior destroys their power of reason.—Arthur Ponsonby.

Ludendorff has fixed the date of the next war for the year 1932 and declares that the enemies of the dear fatherland are Jews, Jesuits and Freemasons. We hope that the general will be given a padded cell and toy soldiers to play with.

One murder makes a villain, millions a hero. Princes are privileged to kill, and numbers sanctify the crime.—Bishop Porteous.

Pilsudski is doing much to Americanize his beloved country. Taking a leaf out of the sacred book of Tammany, he has carried the elections with the aid of his thugs. Will the National Civic Federation please celebrate?

We see farthest into the future—and that is not far—when we most carefully consider the facts of the present.—Dr. Jowett.

In my riotous but idealistic life I have always seen the "lost cause" win, the "crank" to be right, the "rebel" to be justified, and contemporary public opinion invariably wrong.—C. R. W. Nevins.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has formulated a program of work that will keep every branch busy. Get your forces in shape for a drive all along the line.

Yes, We Have No Dole

By Adam Coaldigger

SOMEWHERE in the Bible it is written that charity shall cover a multitude of sins, and this being Community Fund drive week in the town where I happen to be at the moment, it looks like St. Peter or whoever it was said it, was saying a mouthful.

Today every third man you meet on the street wears a little white button on which are the words, "Have a heart." Posters in the Main Street windows shout in red letters three inches high, "Give Till It Hurts." Young white-collared chaps in squads of threes and fours, go from office to office, from department to department, pleading in the name of sweet charity for money to care for the maimed, the blind and the halt—for widow and orphan, hop-head, drunk, and Magdalen. They generally get it, for in this free American city last evening, a thousand or more straw bosses made firm but gentle hints that the slaves were to be kicked through. Even dime store blondes, who have to live on cokes and lettuce sandwiches to keep body and soul together, have been warned that the boss expects them to be generous. In some of the more automatically-managed firms, no solicitation was necessary, for here the check-off was put to a new and noble use.

At the end of the week, the solicitors, notified by a 30-foot sign at the principal downtown intersection that the drive has gone "over the top," will foregather at the Venetian room of the Hotel Astor-Ritz for the victory banquet—and over caviar, planked veal steak, and salads that look like they don't taste, put themselves on the back and commiserate over the plight of the poor, "whom we always have with us." Thus fortified with self-righteousness, they may for one year more look at, without seeing, the ragged and hungry who shuffle aimlessly up and down the streets; and thank God that all's well with America.

Two months hence, when January winds whistle through the shafts and hovels down in the bottoms, the pleas of the unfortunate will be heard, the reels of red tape will begin to turn, and the machine of organized charity will be in motion. Some of the unfortunates will be fed and clothed.

Gaunt and frightened women will fill out application blanks in the offices of the girls in the social service game (which strangely seem to attract a type that no man would ever make a pass at except out of sheer politeness); the crabbed old girls will hear the pitiful stories and their sisters will investigate to weed out the unfortunate who are lying.

A few days later, Job Hardluck will have an overcoat which first went over the counter in war days and is exactly four sizes too large, to keep him warm while he resumes his weary search for a job. Lady Luck and God being with him, he might even draw a derby hat. The old lady can cook up a mass of potatoes, and have some apple butter to spread on the stale bread. The kids may return to school resplendent in the cast-off garments of Park avenue.

And yet they say America shall not have the dole! No, we haven't got the dole. We don't have "lifts" in this country; we have "elevators." It isn't a "guard" who takes our tickets on the train in this country; it's a "conductor." We

don't burn "petrol" in our flivvers; we fill 'er up with "gas." But what's the use, or as the wise man remarked, "Doesn't a skunk smell just as sweet if you call him a kitten?"

Yes, they say America hasn't a dole! The following are items taken from the grist of one day's news:

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—For the first time in the history of the Volunteers of America, a charity organization, tenant farmers have appealed for assistance. Five hundred Missouri renters need clothing for their children, officials were told. All previous appeals have come from city dwellers.

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—The list of persons who have taken their lives as a result of unemployment was increased by one here when Alvin Mat-tusch, 39 years old, hanged himself in the basement of his home located in a substantial working-class residential section. His body was found by his wife, Mary, on returning home shortly after noon.

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—The St. Louis Provident Association has three times as many applications from needy families as a year ago. Administrators say that men who have previously earned support for their families are now accepting any handout.

LAS VEGAS, N. M.—This town has discovered one way to solve the unemployment problem. When the jobless become too numerous on the streets the city hires a truck, loads the men into it, and sends them off to Los Angeles or Salt Lake City.

NEW YORK CITY.—Seventy-four girls were arrested in one day on charges of shop-lifting in local stores. They gave as their reason their inability to find work. Hundreds of others are being forced into prostitution, social workers fear.

NEW YORK CITY.—Men stand in line here for hours at the Church of St. Francis of Assisi, where Father Gabriel has been handing out nickels, to the unemployed. During one day, 2,409 men received this small gift made possible by contributions to Father Gabriel in his work.

TOLEDO, Ohio.—Scores of Toledo families are facing cold and starvation at the Bay View camp grounds on the edge of the city in a forlorn tent colony. Most of them are workers who have been evicted from their homes for non-payment of rent.

That's enough. For every case of this sort which comes to light, remember there are thousands that we never hear about.

As things go now, I guess organized charity, as we know it, is necessary. But what a wasteful, inefficient, archaic, hit-or-miss (and hypocritical) method! The European dole, which is so much worse than the foreign brand that there is actually no comparison. But I fear my advice won't be taken. As long as we call a first-class panic a "temporary readjustment," or the non-union shop an "open-shop," there seems little chance that we shall call the American dole by its proper name.

THE NEW LEADER MAIL-BAG

QUESTIONS COMRADE HILLQUIT

Editor, The New Leader:

Morris Hillquit delivered a lecture at the East Side School on Wednesday, Nov. 19, in which he treated of the historical and contemporary phases of the Soviet State. Since Comrade Hillquit enjoys the reputation of being a leading American and International Socialist his views on any political, economic or social problem must be critically examined and evaluated. The American Socialist movement has been greatly influenced by Hillquit's brilliant, incisive, and comprehensive understanding of domestic and foreign affairs. The ultimate failure or success of the Soviet experiment is of vital concern to the entire world and especially to the Socialist and Labor movement. It is the profound interest of both lecturers and subjects which prompts me to take issue with Comrade Hillquit.

The earlier part of the lecture was characterized by an objective and factual recital of the history of the Russian revolution, the Russian Civil War, and the eventual establishment of the dictatorship. It was a dispassionate and uncolored review, logically developed and highly authoritative. For the latter part of the lecture Comrade Hillquit's objectivity and detachment was replaced by an unfair and illogical treatment of the five-year plan and other recent developments in Soviet Russia.

Comrade Hillquit stated that 13 years was time enough to enable us to judge some of the aspects of Soviet Russia. He proceeded to draw up a balance sheet wherein he listed the debit and credit items. With an air of condescension Hillquit conceded that the Russian masses made some progress culturally, educationally, and morally, with the qualification that it is conjectural since one can't measure these intangible achievements in quantitative terms. For good measure Hillquit admitted that in ridding the peasant of the incubus of the landowning nobility some permanent progress was made. But he maintained that the Soviet Union was not progressing economically throughout the 13 years. Certainly when Hillquit condemns the Soviet experiment as an economic failure he is not evaluating some of the aspects but the very basis of the Soviet system, which is primarily an economic state. Hillquit offered no authorities or statistics to substantiate his statement. Unconvincing and unfair.

2. In further derogation of the Soviet Comrade Hillquit charged that after 13 years there are class distinctions existent: 1. c. favoritism for and by Communist party members; discrimination against the bourgeoisie and their children—conflict between peasant and industrial workers, etc. Can Comrade Hillquit suggest what other regime would have dissolved these classes in 13 years?

3. The next contention was—that the capitalist nations enjoyed a measure of prosperity since the war the Soviet population has enjoyed no such good fortune. If this is so what are the reasons for it?

4. In dealing with the five-year plan Comrade Hillquit adjudged it a failure. The tempo of the plan was too fast and ambitious, the schemes for socialization and collectivization of agriculture are unsuited to the psychological and circumstantial character of the stolid peasant, besides, agronomists and economists are not as yet convinced that large-scale methods as applied to farming and plantings are economically desirable. Furthermore, without the benefit of foreign credits the industrial program is fantastic and suicidal. Finally the five-year plan is an utter failure. All

THIS UNSUPPORTED BY FACT OR AUTHORITY!

In response to an interrogator from the audience, who maintained that it was incongruous to witness H. R. Knickerbocker of the reactionary New York Post and Duranty of the New York Times affirm the success of the five-year plan while Comrade Hillquit proclaimed its failure, Comrade Hillquit answered that he had no faith in the respective correspondents since they had just come from Russia. Upon being pressed by another questioner to mention observers of Soviet conditions whom he deemed reliable, Comrade Hillquit named a French Communist who fled the Soviet authorities and divulged the innermost secrets of the Soviet government, and a German journalist whose name escaped Hillquit for the moment. When it is generally agreed that the five-year plan is successful thus far, Hillquit's batteries of adverse authority are indeed unimposing.

Why is it more logical to accept statements of the kind just mentioned also just returned from Russia than those of a journalist representing a hide-bound reactionary newspaper?

Comrade Hillquit has done an injustice to his usual devotion to logic and impartiality in choice of fact and authority which was completely lacking.

Certainly when I suspect a deep-set prejudice against the Soviets and all they do, I am no more unfair than was Comrade Hillquit towards Russia.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

The above criticisms are made in relation to a course of lectures being given by Comrade Hillquit, which, when finished, will be published. Only two of the lectures have been delivered and others are to come. It would be well to consider the complete course before considering views which, as yet, have not been fully presented.—Editor.

Editor, The New Leader:

In your issue of November 15, 1930, there appeared a statement inspired by me to the effect that it was my hope and intention that a Socialist Party branch organized several years ago as part of the Upper West Side Branch and this branch is responsible for the work carried on in the district.

True, as all this may be, it is specifically because the Upper West Side Branch abandoned this territory and did not fulfill that which was expected of it in the work of campaign organization, that many earnest comrades and sympathizers resident in the Eleventh Assembly District came to me, their erstwhile candidate for Congress from the Nineteenth Congressional District which includes all of the Eleventh Assembly District, and discussed the advisability, desirability and feasibility of cutting in a functioning and significant Socialist Party organization in the district.

The results of such conversations were first manifest in the announcement of plans—which announcement was made upon my sole responsibility and personal opinion; and as an ex-

pression of my own hopes and willingness in the matter.

I am happy to notice a sort of Columbian spirit of discovery and that there seems to be an appreciation among, at least, some of the Upper West Side comrades, that the Eleventh Assembly District is a charge upon their party activity.

If our statement of November 15 had anything to do with this, it is in itself quite an accomplishment, and we do feel gratified.

It cannot be said that we do not speak with some experience and authority in this matter.

I am a member of both the city and state executive committees; and in each instance, chairman of the respective sub-committees on propaganda, organization and political affairs.

The organization of branches covering large areas of the boroughs of the city was in the nature of an emergency measure against such time when the public and active support should be sufficient to recreate the assembly district branches.

That time seems now close at hand. It is the duty of every Socialist and every party sympathizer to swing into the work.

Already the Harlem and Morning-side groups, including elements from the Eleventh Assembly District, have arranged two theatre benefits to be held at the Biltmore Theatre on December 21 and January 4. It is contemplated that this activity may be carried on into the spring.

The holding of such activities will be devoted to the giving of unemployment relief, the creation of a free employment exchange and a free legal aid bureau. If the proper headquarters can be secured, a free dental clinic is also projected.

Active Socialist elements in the 11th, 13th, 17th and 19th Assembly Districts, of Manhattan, are determined that the Socialist Party shall become an integral part of the life in their community.

At the first possible moment, applications for at least three new branch charters will be submitted to the city executive committee.

Our plans are progressing even better than was anticipated by our most sanguine hopes.

May we express the hope that the Upper West Side Branch's apprehensions will be resolved by party loyalty and that they will heartily cooperate in the building of up an active and significant branch of the Socialist Party in the Eleventh Assembly District.

It is not my intention to now burden you with a discussion of theory and tactic. There is work enough to do and glory enough to be shared, with a heaping measure of each to be distributed to everyone.

We do not need and want the cooperation of all Socialists and sympathizers in this section of New York.

G. AUGUST GERBER.

New York City.

PARTY DISCUSSION

Editor, The New Leader:

Proof that the Socialist Party has sanity and punch, may be seen in the differences of opinion expressed by correspondents in their letters to The New Leader. This is not only in keeping with the tradition that the most helpful criticism comes from within the Socialist Party, itself, but is also a healthy indication of the independence of opinion and judgment of Socialists. "The New Leader Mail Bag" is an excellent feature of our paper.

BEN BLUMENBERG.

New York City.

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

The Moscow Treason Trial—The Labor Government and India—Unemployment Insurance—Amend the Constitution—The Duty of Congress—Hoover's Child Conference

SUBSIDIZING REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA

PROFESSOR LEONID RANZINIS testimony at his trial for treason in Moscow is of enormous importance. It does not establish a direct plot for open war by the capitalist nations on Russia. It is proof of a willingness on the part of the French government secretly to subsidize and encourage revolution in Russia and to use Poland and Roumania as pawns in an attack on Russia. Apparently the French got cold feet on pushing this plot and whatever degree of complicity the English had in the matter according to Ranzinis' statement was before the Labor government came to power. It is very important to hear what the governments concerned will say.

Meanwhile, it is the business of Socialist and labor forces the world over to make it plain that whatever criticism they have of Communist tactics in or out of Russia, the open or furtive encouragement of armed revolution or war against Russia on the part of Western governments is treason against the interests of humanity and against world peace. Professor Ranzinis' testimony makes what I had thought was Russia's excessive fear of attack far more reasonable and largely justifies her in emphasizing the military elements of the five year plan. Since suspicion on both sides the Russian boundary makes war more likely we must do what we can to allay suspicion. A general embargo against Russia is not only bad economics but increases fear and suspicion. It is bad that Matthew Woll and others cannot see the difference between the Russian plan and serf labor. The Soviets do not conscript the workers and do seek to build up industry in the interest of the workers.

REPRESSION IN INDIA

IF WE Socialists are going to take the position—as I think we should—that we have a right and duty to protest against terrorism and ruthless repression wherever they are found, we cannot consistently say: "everywhere except India." There has been ruthless repression in India even if the Labor government has tried to use a restraint in India that the English Tories would not have used. Perhaps good will come out of the Round Table conference in which the India delegates have shown a surprising and encouraging unanimity. Unquestionable the Labor government wants a solution. Unquestionably it has not a free hand in getting a solution. It does not, however, have to stay in office in order to enforce an Indian policy in which it does not believe.

The very greatness of the difficulties the Labor government faces will make its success in overcoming them the more remarkable contribution to world friendship and world peace.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE A SOCIAL CHARGE

WHEN we talk of "unemployment insurance" what we want to establish is the responsibility of society to take care of those workers whom it cannot employ. An insurance fund for this purpose is good. But unemployment insurance differs from some other types of insurance. It is far harder to lay down an exact actuarial basis for it. The responsibility of the individual worker for unemployment, unless he is a chronic loafer, is virtually nil. It is less than his responsibility for preserving and insuring his own health. In other words, under a system where the workers collectively get back in individual and social income less than what they produce, which means that wages are too low, the wage workers have nothing like the same moral responsibility to insure against unemployment as rests upon industry and upon the state.

It is for this reason that I think that unemployment insurance should be provided by premiums on industry and by a contribution from the state, which latter contribution should be paid out of the proceeds of an income tax laid on great incomes derived from profit and rent. I do not think there should be a contribution from the workers out of their already low wages. The case for such a contribution rests solely on the practical ground that it may be easier to pass a bill based on contributions from labor or on the psychological ground that some small direct contribution from the workers may increase their feeling of responsibility for the fund. As a matter of fact the workers both as producers and consumers are likely to pay some part of industry's contribution for which the employers will sign the checks. For the employers wherever they can will pass on their contribution in increased prices or try to take it out of workers in a lower wage scale.

Some authorities on unemployment insurance want to see the employers and the workers jointly set up the insurance fund, leaving to the state and federal governments the duty of providing those extra funds which will be necessary in any great emergency of unemployment. It does not think this principle sound, not only for the reasons I have already given but also because I do not like to see a sharp distinction between unemployment insurance relief provided by a fund and charity relief provided by the state. I repeat that it is the duty of society until such time as it can eliminate unemployment to provide for those unemployed who are not deliberate loafers. And this not as a matter of charity but of justice.

FEDERAL ASPECTS OF JOBLESS INSURANCE

LAST week I urged that unemployment insurance be on a satisfactory basis must be nationwide. Probably this will require a constitutional amendment. Such an amendment should be so drawn that it will give Congress the right to pass not only unemployment insurance bills but whatever legislation is necessary to further the interests of workers in a country where industrial and labor problems are nationwide and state's rights are a convenient stronghold of predatory capital which has proved itself stronger than most of the states.

Pending the passage of this amendment we must go ahead with state legislation. I think there is much to be said for federal aid to state old age and unemployment pensions plans. Such aid would come out of income taxes and to this extent those who advocate unemployment insurance based on contributions from the workers and industry or solely from industry, supplemented by federal aid, can reply that they are not letting the income receivers go wholly unscathed. I want, however, to see the responsibility of income receivers recognized in the state laws. I am glad to learn that the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, to which we owe thanks for stimulating discussion by getting out a concrete bill, is now swinging to the principle of state contributions.

DIRECT UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF URGENT

IN DISCUSSING unemployment insurance we must not forget one thing. That is, that it is already too late to trust to insurance to meet this crisis. The situation calls for direct relief. It should be the business of Congress to consult whatever authorities it can find on the amount needed for adequate relief and then to appropriate money, perhaps on the principle of matching dollar for dollar the sums raised by municipalities and states, up to the minimum amount which has been fixed as necessary. This is as much our duty in the war against the suffering of unemployment as any patriot would think it our duty to appropriate money in a war against a foreign enemy.

A SENTIMENTAL CONFERENCE

PRESIDENT HOOVER'S conference about the children turned out to be a nice sentimental Sunday school affair in which everybody agreed that we ought to take good care of the children who are our chief asset. Nothing was done to push the still unratified child labor amendment. Little or nothing was done to bring the country face to face with the situation in which the environment and education of millions of our children make them natural material for recruiting the gangs of the racketeers.