

## Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

The Outlook for World Peace—A Bleak Prospect—  
Unemployment and International Anarchy—A  
Minimum Plan for Peace—The World  
Court and the League

DESPITE the Kellogg Treaty and the London Naval Pact the outlook for world peace is, I think, worse than at any time since the occupation of the Ruhr.

In the background is worldwide economic depression and unemployment. Unquestionably this has been intensified by the follies of a rampant nationalism never so inadequate to the needs of an interdependent world as now. These follies include rising tariffs and blind insistence on payment of interrelated debts and reparations. This world depression has already been a factor in political revolutions in supposedly stable countries in Latin America. It intensifies economic competition of strong imperial powers. It weakens popular resistance to war. War has fewer terrors for unemployed peoples and war's demands for goods holds out a promise of illusory prosperity.

When we look at specific sore spots we find civil war still smoldering in China, India seething with unrest, and Soviet Russia grimly pushing her five year plan in the expectation of inevitable capitalist attack upon her—an expectation apparently somewhat the more excusable in view of the revelations of a plot whose leaders say they had secret support from political leaders in France and to a less extent in England.

### "THE INTOXICATION OF WAR"

PERHAPS the quarrels of the capitalist states are a make way to fears of attack on Russia. Certainly Italy and France eye each other with suspicion, threaten to terminate their uneasy naval truce and vie with each other for supremacy in the restless Balkans. Pilsudski and other dictators are ready enough to try to make their people forget their failures in peace in the intoxication of war.

Meanwhile, the wrath of government in Russia, India, Italy, Poland, Jugoslavia, Spain, etc., etc., sends more men and women into exile and prison, to death or to the hospital than ever before in times of nominal peace. More men are under arms than five years ago. It is yet to be seen whether the preparatory commission on disarmament will do as much to limit arms as to increase irritation.

### A MINIMUM PEACE PLAN

Against all this is to be set a general realization of the horror of world war, a fear on the part of most European governments of revolution in the event of war, and some gains in the machinery for peace. Nevertheless we shall not drift to peace but far more probably to war. It is a time for constructive action for peace. The United States, which has done far less than its duty for world peace, should adopt as a minimum program something like the following:

1. The United States, as the leading creditor nation of the world, should call a conference to wipe the slate clean of reparations and interrelated debts. Without this move there is small assurance of prosperity or peace. The psychology, even more than the economics, of reparations furnishes the soil in which the dangerous and evil weed of Hitlerism finds its growth in Germany. We stand to gain far more than we seem to lose by this act of generosity.

2. The United States should recognize Soviet Russia as a matter of sound realistic good sense and should set its face against the dangerous attempt of selfish interests and crazy patrioters to put an embargo on Russian goods. Suspicion on both sides of the Russian boundary is bad enough. Hope for peace lies in the relaxation of suspicion and in the growing capacity of the Russian people to raise their standards of living and so absorb a share of the world's goods at least as great as that which they create.

### LEADERSHIP FOR DISARMAMENT

3. The United States should refuse, especially in Latin America, to collect private debts by public force. It should not intervene in Cuba but should withdraw its moral and potential military support from the Machado dictatorship.

4. The United States should relieve the world apprehension by agreeing that it will not insist on its right to sell war materials to a nation which, contrary to the Kellogg Pact, goes to war without using any of the machinery of peace, at least until it has consulted other nations. By no means should the United States go to war to enforce peace or even unconditionally promise a complete boycott of a so-called aggressor nation. It should agree to consult with other nations on the proper procedure to employ.

5. The United States should take a lead in world disarmament. An armament hungry nation now spends four billion dollars. A minimum American world armament should be (a) refusal to build up to a billion dollar parity of navies, which is quite unnecessary on any sound theory of defense; (b) stop militarizing youth by compulsory military training in schools and colleges; and (c) reversal of its stand on budgetary limitation of armaments which merely means a promise not to increase its budget if other nations do not increase their budget. It is a misconception to say that budgetary limitation means more than this.

IDEALLY I should like to see the United States so wise and strong and obviously devoted to peace that it could lead the world by an example of complete disarmament. Such disarmament could not stand alone but would have to be part of a many-sided program for peace.

### JOIN THE WORLD COURT

6. The United States should join the World Court, at least as much for the psychological effect of such action on other nations as for its practical advantages. "The nations have a right to suspect our sincerity while like some international anarchist we stay out of a court agreement."

7. The United States should join the League of Nations on conditions that make it absolutely certain that we will not be drawn into any European war or seek to enforce peace by war. The League is not perfect. This year it has marked time but it is the best expression we have of the fact that there must be an approach to world government in an interdependent world. The League, today, is clearly not the new Holy Alliance or League to enforce a thieves' peace which it might have been had we joined it under circumstances existing in 1919.

Aside from this general program I think it would make for peace for the United States to revise downward a crazy tariff which has hurt our economic interests at home by its effect on our foreign markets. I do not say that tariffs directly cause war, I simply say that a race in tariffs makes it harder to bring about that community of free nations which is the only sure foundation of peace in an interdependent world.

### "Relieving" the Jobless Thousands In the City of Brotherly Love

PHILADELPHIA, Penn. — The Philadelphia Unemployment Committee opened a lodge for the homeless in the old Baldwin Locomotive Works last Sunday night.

One thousand registered on the opening night. Five hundred more showed up the next two days. There is every indication that at least five thousand will be housed before the week is over. The men are given a straw mattress, a cot, and two meals a day.

But on Tuesday the "guests" learned the joker in the situation. They will be required to work four hours daily cleaning the city streets without any compensation whatsoever. This forced labor will unquestionably shove down the wage rates of unskilled labor in the city and eventually force more men out of work thus swelling the

army of the unemployed which has already reached 200,000 here.

Another bit of evidence that the employers will utilize the present unemployment crisis to their own advantage was given when the Philadelphia Textile Manufacturers' Association announced they would provide relief for all unemployed textile operatives. This work will be directed by the notorious C. Marlin Bell, head of the Bell Detective Agency which is one of the most infamous labor spy outfits in the country. Bell will deal out relief only to "loyal" operatives and get a good line on the most docile workers who can be trusted not to cause trouble.

Then when the mills reopen they can recruit their new working force without fear of union agitation.

### RESERVE

Lincoln's Birthday, February 12th, 1931

THE NEW LEADER  
ANNUAL DINNER

# NEW LEADER

With Which  
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by  
Eugene V. Debs

VOL. XL—No. 19

Published Weekly at  
7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1930

Entered as Second Class Matter, January  
19, 1924, at the Post Office at New York,  
New York, under act of March 3, 1879.

Price Five Cents

### SUBSCRIPTION RATES

One Year . . . . . \$2.00  
Three Months . . . . . .75  
Six Months . . . . . 1.00

## Hoover Sponsors False Figures On Jobless Census Results Being Smothered By The U. S.

### Mother Jones Dies Mourned By Labor

Inspirer of American  
Workers Dies in 100th  
Year After Long Ill-  
ness

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, D. C. — At midnight last Sunday Mother Mary Jones, stormy petrel in many labor battles, died in the home of a friend across the line in Maryland.

Born in Ireland in 1830, Mother Jones realized her wish to live to celebrate her one hundredth birthday. She had been jailed many times, especially in strikes of miners who loved her for her years of devoted service to them in their struggles.

Mother Jones had the ability to inspire strikers such as no other woman had in this country. Rough in speech, she was the master of language that moved workers to heroic sacrifice. She lived among her "boys," shared their lot, and her tremendous sincerity in pleading for solidarity gave her a standing among the miners that no organizer ever enjoyed.

Mary (Mother) Jones, once an idolized leader of the United Mine Workers of America, was born in Cork, Ireland, in 1830, according to the autobiography she published in 1925. Her father, Robert Harris, a railroad laborer, who, like his famous daughter, was an agitator for better conditions among working people, migrated to Toronto, Canada, when Mary was 7 years of age.

Mother Jones began her career by teaching in a Michigan convent. She taught later in Memphis, Tenn. There she was married to an iron molder, "a staunch member of the Iron Molders Union." In 1867 the Memphis yellow fever epidemic killed her husband and their four children in one week. She nursed among the stricken until the plague was spent. Then she went to Chicago, where she became a dressmaker.

After the great fire of 1871 had wiped out her business, Mother Jones settled down to what was to be her life work—the betterment of working conditions. Her outstanding activity in the East was at the time of the six weeks' hard-coal strike in September-October, 1900. She was freely used by the miners' organization to exhort the men to stay on strike. She helped to organize marches of miners to collieries for the purpose of closing them down, sometimes marching all night with the men or getting up at 4 a. m. to help dissuade workers from going into the mines. She did not fear armed deputy sheriffs nor the militia. She was usually at the head of the crowd that marched from one town to another.

Sometimes she would talk so fiercely on the differences between capital and labor as privately to meet the disapproval of the more conservative leaders. All capitalists who expressed opposition to union labor were characterized by her as "high-class burglars." It was one of her favorite expressions.

Child labor in the South enlisted her first efforts as a crusader. Once she "abducted" the members of a helpless family to free them from the bondage of a company store to which they were indebted.

In one of her last labor exhortations, on her 100th birthday, May 1, 1930, Mother Jones made as vigorous a speech as she did in her prime. The occasion was a little celebration at the home of her friend Mrs. Walter Burgess, with whom she spent her last days, at Silver Spring, Md.

Dressed in her best black silk, she was carried by devoted friends into the farmyard, where she spoke to an admiring group of labor leaders. Among other things, she again expressed opposition to prohibition, which she had been denouncing since 1920.

One of her last acts evidencing her interest in the coal miners was her gift of \$1,000 to John Walker, former president of the Illinois Federation of Labor, who was leading the fight of the insurgent group to oust John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers.

### Elections Favorable to Pensions, States Epstein

A powerful impetus to the old age pensions movement was given by the recent elections, with a dozen governors, a score of senators and representatives and a host of other candidates swept into office through advocacy of relief for the aged, states Sec. A. Epstein of the Old Age Security Assn., Governors of New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, Michigan, Ohio, Minnesota, Oregon, Wyoming, Oklahoma and Idaho are pledged to pensions, according to Epstein. Minneapolis, St. Paul and Duluth adopted pensions by overwhelming votes, and Baltimore will institute a system.

### Danville, Va., Union Ready For Big Fight

McMahon Thanks  
Thomas Group and  
Others for Financial  
Assistance

FAILURE of Pres. Harry Fitzgerald of the struck mills at Danville, Va., to respond to the peace appeal of retiring Sec. of Labor Davis is no surprise to Pres. Thomas F. McMahon of the United Textile Workers, who states today that the strike will be a fight to the finish.

"The workers know that they have to suffer to win their constitutional right to organize as the employers organize, but they are resolved to stick," he said. "The spirit is fine. Picketing is being continued despite the ban on fires. Relief from our own locals, the A. F. of L. and the Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief headed by Norman Thomas is very gratifying, and we are thankful for the fine appeal sent out in our behalf by the emergency church committee for Danville relief."

Among numerous gifts McMahon mentioned a gift of four carloads of anthracite coal from a friend, several truckloads of food from union members in High Point, N. C. \$1000 from the Pompton Lakes, N. J., local of the U. T. W., \$500 from Philadelphia Local 25 and \$300 from the Salem loom fixers.

McMahon said the sending of troops among peaceful citizens had shown the people the bitterness of their opposition and made them all the more determined not to have industrial slavery choked down their throats with bayonets.

DANVILLE, Va.—(FP)—Rights of picketing have been restored to United Textile Workers Local 1685 by Sheriff C. R. Murphy after a hurried visit to Danville by Gov. Pollard. Since Pollard sent troops to Danville Nov. 26 labor bodies, who helped elect him, have been protesting vigorously. He is the first Virginia governor to send troops to a union labor dispute in 17 years. Although the right to picket has been nominally restored, pickets are forbidden in this cold weather to light their usual fires, through the invocation of a rarely enforced law against fires on state highways.

Col. H. L. Ople, in charge of the regiment of about 800 guardsmen, is an employer. He has indicated he will dismiss four of the 18 companies on the strike scene. Local business men in a mass meeting commanded the banishing of pickets and urged the governor to keep soldiers here until the strike is settled.

### L. I. D. Luncheon to Discuss "Charity and Needs of the Poor"

The N. Y. Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy announces a luncheon discussion at the Hotel Woodstock, 127 West 43rd Street, Saturday, December 13, 1930, at 12:45, on "Charity and the Needs of the Poor."

George A. Hastings, Secretary, State Charities Aid Association; Abraham Epstein, Executive Director, American Association for Old Age Security; Harry F. Ward, Professor at Union Theological Seminary, will be the speakers. Chairman: Reinhold Niebuhr.

### President Continues His Policy of Minimizing the Seriousness of Job Crisis

Adequacy of Relief Proposals Cannot be Tested  
By Reliable Figures—Work of Census Bureau Under Fire for Months But Data Remains Government Secret

By Louis Stanley

WHEN President Hoover in his message to Congress on December 1 very carefully picked his way among the statistical facts and declared that "the number of those wholly out of employment seeking for work was accurately determined by the census last April as about 2,500,000," he was using the cheapest kind of demagogic subterfuge to minimize the extent of unemployment.

He is very well aware, particularly as a former Secretary of Commerce in charge of the Bureau of the Census, that the figure of two and a half million he cites refers to only one kind of unemployed persons. The United States census of population taken in April provided for a questionnaire asking every person usually engaged at some gainful occupation whether he had actually been at work the day before the call of the census enumerator or on the last regular working day. In other words, the working population of the United States was divided into two classes:

(1) Those who had worked on a stated day, and  
(2) Those who had not.

To arrive at a figure stating

accurately how many were unemployed in April, 1930, it is only necessary to give the total of those who had not worked. This the United States government has refused to do. Instead, it has deliberately set out to confuse the mind of the average citizen with half-truths. The statistics for those out of work in April are as easy to compute as any other, they should logically have been announced first since they supply data for totals, and they constitute the most meaningful data now available for determining the true extent of unemployment. The Hoover administration has brazenly adopted a policy of obscuring the facts, at times not even trying hard to be technically correct.

Tricky Questions Asked

The opportunity to publish strictly honest optimistic reports about the unemployment situation was afforded by the type of questions that the census takers had to ask of persons making or trying to make a living. The first trick was turned by asking: Have you a job of any kind now? This divided the working population into two groups cutting across the

(Continued on Page Three)

### N. Y. Breadlines Grow to Fifty; Mission Racket

"Chinatown Rescue"  
Spends Most of \$122,-  
000 on Salaries and  
Overhead

By Harvey O'Connor

THE destitute among New York's 800,000 unemployed settled down after Thanksgiving for another four weeks' interval until Christmas for their next square meal; the bankers' committee boasted that it had placed 10,000 heads of families to work at \$15 a week; and financial weeklies predicted gloomily that the winter would see an intensification of the industrial depression.

That was New York's Thanksgiving. Windy winds whistled down the Bowery and other working class streets, driving the homeless into hundreds of speakeasies which, they say, are more hospitable than missions. Fifteen thousand of the 45,000 families on police rolls as destitute made their Thanksgiving meal out of vegetables, bread and a few other staples given by the mayor's fund. Charities fed another 25,000 single men and women. From now to Christmas there will be only soup, bread and coffee for them.

No added reason for thanksgiving was provided by the newspapers, which featured the expose of conditions in New York's women's court, where a score of police officers, court attendants, stool pigeons and fixers have been named as preying off innocent women dragged into the court, to the tune of hundreds of thousands of dollars. Nor did the answer of the Chinatown Rescue Mission to Salvation Army charges that it is a racket, prove satisfying. According to the mission's own records, it had taken in \$122,000 in 18 months and spent \$25,000 of this sum for all relief and some overhead expenses. A total of \$61,000 was paid out for radio, publicity and advertising. The rest went for salaries and other overhead.

Breadlines Grow to 50

New York now boasts more than 50 breadlines in an industrial crisis caused by "overproduction." They are serving 40,000 handouts a day, described by the Welfare Council as meals. "There is no immediate need," said the council, "for the public to become panicky."

(Continued on Page Three)

### Schenectady Labor Demands Shorter Week

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

SCHENECTADY, N. Y. — The Schenectady Trades Assembly has unanimously concurred in a resolution recently adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor calling upon President Green of the American Federation of Labor to urge upon President Hoover the establishment of a shorter work-day and work-week for Federal employees. The Chicago Federation of Labor argues that 150,000 people would be out to work if such a policy were adopted, and the Schenectady central labor body, in communicating its action to President Green, submitted that the governmental authorities should set the pace in the adoption of the six-hour day just as formerly they made themselves model employers by making the eight-hour day effective before private enterprise made it general.

### Hoover Finds U. S. Richer Than Ever

President Favors Charity  
for Jobless—Says  
Only 2½ Million Are  
Jobless

WASHINGTON (F. P.) — President Hoover's message to Congress has a tone as chill toward the unemployed as the December winds that drive hungry men to shelter in dark doorways. He analyzes the various causes of the depression, rejoices in the thought that "our country is today stronger and richer in resources, in equipment and in skill than ever before in its history," and predicts a return of prosperity. But he disapproves any federal appropriation of money to buy food and shelter for the millions who cannot find work and wages.

"Economic depression," says Hoover, "cannot be cured by legislative action or executive pronouncement. Economic wounds must be healed by the action of the cells of the economic body—the producers and consumers themselves. Recovery can be expedited and its effects mitigated by cooperative action. That cooperation requires that every individual should sustain faith and courage; that each should maintain his self-reliance; that each and every one should search for methods of improving his business or service; that the vast majority whose income is unimpaired should not hoard, out of fear, but should pursue their normal living and recreations; that each should seek to assist his neighbors who may be less fortunate; that each industry should assist its employees; that each community and each state should assume its full responsibilities for organization of employment and relief of distress with that sturdiness and independence which built a great nation."

Stand for Charity

Farther on, he indicates, indirectly, the importance to the millions of unemployed of his passing the responsibility for their relief to the cities and states and to employers and individual citizens. "Some time ago, it became evident," he says, "that unemployment would continue over the winter and would necessarily be added to from seasonal causes and that the savings of working people would be more largely depleted. We have as a nation a definite duty to see that no deserving person in our country suffers from hunger or cold. I therefore set up a more extensive organization to stimulate more effective cooperation throughout the country. . . . The local communities through their voluntary agencies have assumed the duty of relieving individual distress and are being generously supported by the public."

Voluntary agencies," means organized charity. Hoover turns over to organized private charity the support of millions of self-respecting men and women anxious to earn wages.

Minimizes Situation

However, he does not want the country to think that the jobless

(Continued on Page Three)

### Cal. Throws Keys Away On Mooney

Billings' Case Decision  
Dooms Both Victims  
of the San Francisco  
Frame-up

SAN FRANCISCO—(FP)—By a 6 to 1 decision the California supreme court has refused to open the gates of Folsom penitentiary to permit Warren K. Billings, labor organizer, to walk out a free man, although all the world holds that he was convicted by perjury for a crime he did not commit. The court, by the same decision, cut off hope that Tom Mooney, Billings' comrade, held in San Quentin, would be freed by Gov. C. C. Young.

Billings' pardon plea has been before the supreme court several months. Last July it was denied but the case was reopened when John McDonald, key man in the mass of perjury which sent the two men to life sentences in California's penitentiaries, was discovered in Baltimore. McDonald, a nervous wreck, was taken to California to testify to his part of the frameup which tried to link Mooney and Billings with the preparedness day mob explosion in San Francisco in 1916. His testimony failed to change the opinion of six justices, although Justice Langdon still stands out for pardon, as in July.

The most that friends of the two men hoped for was commutation of sentence for Billings, probably to 25 years' imprisonment. This would have left him several years to serve, allowing for good behavior time. Billings' pardon application had to be approved by the court because he has two convictions in minor labor cases against him. Gov. Young had announced that his action on the Mooney pardon would be guided by the court's decision on Billings.

The court decision states that Billings was fairly and constitutionally tried and that the burden of proof of innocence lies on him rather than on the state. The trial judge, nevertheless, has denounced the trial as a framed up case and the jurors have united in asking for a new trial. The defense has proved perjury on the part of all the key witnesses used by the state.

Neither Mooney nor Billings was surprised by the court decision. "What we expected," they said. They have served 14 years now. The Mooney Molders Defense League announced it would not cease to demand the freeing of the labor men.

At least one California justice was able to brush the cobwebs of legal formalism from his eyes and to see the hideous Mooney-Billings frameup in its true light. In his dissenting opinion, Justice William H. Langdon outlined the facts in the world-famous labor case in support of his contention that the court should recommend the pardon of Warren K. Billings to Gov. C. C. Young. As such it will furnish the official basis for the continuation of the fight to free the two labor martyrs. Said Justice Langdon:

"Considered either as an argument of an advocate or as a judicial review of the evidence, the consolidated majority report (of the supreme court) is unsound and indefensible. It is unsound because its conclusions are not founded upon established facts. Suppositions, conjectures, unwarranted inferences, irreconcilable inconsistencies and admitted perjuries are treated as facts."

"It is indefensible because it appeals to passion and prejudice. One fourth of the report is devoted to anarchistic propaganda and the bad character of the petitioners. The trial court properly held that these matters were not admissible. It is manifestly improper to inject them into this inquiry."

"I do not know whether Billings is guilty or innocent of the crime. I do know that there has been a failure of proof to such an extent that there is now not even the semblance of a case against him. Upon the record now before us a recommendation for executive clemency cannot justly be withheld. . . . In that record the indispensable



James is John MacDonald. Irreversible of such influences caused MacDonald to testify as he did in the original trial, his testimony must now be discarded as a factor in the case, for MacDonald is so thoroughly discredited as to be absolutely unworthy of credence. His word is worthless for any purpose. With him discredited, the chain of proof is broken, and the case against the petitioner falls.

"It was this elimination of MacDonald as a credible witness that prompted Capt. of Detectives MacDonnell and former Dist. Atty. Brennan, who prosecuted Billings, to recommend a pardon for him. It was this same reason that such recommendation was made by trial jurors. Their opinions on the effect of MacDonald's testimony are entitled to great weight. I deem their statements of the highest importance, and I cannot understand the failure of the majority to give them their proper consideration."

**Chas MacDonald False**  
Justice Langdon contends that MacDonald's first testimony, given at the time of the trial in 1916, identifying Billings, was clearly false. He asserts that the pictures taken on a rooftop over Market street, showing the Mooneys more than a mile away from the scene of the explosion when it occurred are conclusive evidence tending to the ground from under MacDonald's trial identification which he repudiated in 1921 and again this year.

"The majority opinion," he states, "has absolutely failed, as have all witnesses and officials connected with this case, to reconcile MacDonald's testimony with the evidence of the clocks. It cannot be reconciled, and for this reason MacDonald's testimony cannot be true." As to Estelle Smith, the underworld witness for the prosecution, Justice Langdon adds that "her credibility is as completely destroyed as that of MacDonald."

Referring to the majority report he says: "The requirement of the majority that the petitioner prove his innocence is unreasonable and unwarranted. A perfectly innocent person may be unable to prove an alibi."

"And it is preposterous to demand of the accused that he place his finger upon the real culprit in order to exculpate himself. Although Billings has presented an alibi, it is unnecessary. When the chain of proof is destroyed he needs none."

## Porters' Dance Tonight To Aid Fund to Fight the Yellow Dog Contract

A "real African Prince dressed in the native garb of his country" will appear Friday night, Dec. 5th, at the midnight benefit "Carnival of All Nations," given by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters at Rockland Palace, 153th street and Eighth avenue, according to Ashley L. Totten, General Secretary-Treasurer, in charge of the affair. Prince M. Mokete Monodi, son of the late Chief Monodi, an ex-employee of the Pullman Company, will lead the colorful parade which will include mammoths dressed in native costumes of European nations, the Latin American republics and the United States.

Colonel Hubert Julian, recently of his Majesty Ras Tafari's force of Abyssinians, has promised to wear the uniform of that country, "the first of its kind to be seen in the United States," according to Totten.

Another feature will be the performance of a group of Harlem's most beautiful girls, high stepping, speedy and clever dancers, who are being sent by courtesy of Edwin A. Small, proprietor of Small's Paradise, located at 136th street and Seventh avenue.

The proceeds of the entertainment will be used to aid the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in the legal battle against the Pullman Company yellow dog contract system which compels porters and maids to vote for inhumanly long hours of work, three hour rest period and road doubling, thus adding to the terrible problem of unemployment.

## THE Workmen's Circle

The Largest Radical Workingmen's Fraternal Order in Existence

75,000 MEMBERS  
\$50,000 ASSETS

700 Branches All Over the United States and Canada

Insurance from \$100 to \$3,000  
Risk benefit, 15 weeks per year, at \$8, \$15, \$25 and \$50 per week. Many branches pay additional benefit from \$10 to \$50 per week. Consumption benefit \$400 and \$600 or nine months in our own sanatorium, located in the most beautiful region of the Catalina Mountains—besides the regular weekly benefit.

For information, apply to  
THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE  
125 East Broadway, N. Y. City  
Telephone Orchard 8000

## Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society, Inc.

ESTABLISHED 1872  
Main Office:  
227 EAST 84th STREET, NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

A cooperative fire insurance society for working people, Sixty branches throughout the United States. Membership \$6,000. Assets \$900,000. Insurance in force \$70,000,000.

No Profits or Dividends for Stockholders!  
A yearly assessment of 10c for each \$100 insurance covers all expenses.

A deposit of \$1.00 for every \$100 is required which is refundable in case of removal.  
Workingmen and women, protect your homes in case of fire. Join the insurance society of your own class.  
No members at large admitted. Business transacted only through branches.

For further information apply at 227 East 84th Street

## Model Apartments Renting At \$7.50 Per Room Found Possible For New York City

### City Affairs Committee Finds Present Moment Logical One for Housing Project

THE logical moment has arrived for the launching of a large-scale municipal housing development to provide decent homes for the two million New Yorkers who now live in unsatisfactory dwellings and to provide work for thousands of unemployed workers. An analysis of housing costs made by the executive staff of the City Affairs Committee of New York, shows that municipal housing construction is not only feasible but that it is particularly opportune at the present moment when building costs are low. The City of New York could build modern apartments modeled after the Brooklyn Garden Apartments on Fourth avenue and rent them for as low as \$7.50 per room per month without subsidy provided these apartments were not built in Manhattan. Even in the congested section of the lower East Side the city could build model apartments and rent them on a self-sustaining basis for \$8 per month.

The need for better housing for the poorest wage earners is universally recognized. Thousands of families are now living in cellars and rear tenements on the lower East Side, in Harlem, and on San Juan Hill. It is estimated that low tenements in the city are still occupied by at least 1,500,000 persons. It is impossible for the city authorities to enforce the tenement house laws strictly because the poorest families have no other place to go except the sub-legal tenements.

Almost all new housing constructed in New York in recent years has been for income groups above the low wage-earning level. Apartments which rent for \$15 per room per month and up do nothing to solve the housing problem because the city is already supplied with more apartments than it needs at these levels. The housing needs of the poorer workers require decent apartments renting for \$8 or less per room per month. Only such apartments can fit the earning capacity of the family whose wage is \$32 a week and which requires four rooms. Social agencies are agreed that in a sound working class budget the family rent should not exceed one-fourth of the monthly earnings.

### 1926 Law a Failure

Private capital has not shown sufficient initiative in building cheap apartments under the state housing law. Only one non-cooperative housing project in the city has developed by virtue of the pending law of 1926 which gave to limited dividend corporations tax exemptions for twenty years. That is the Brooklyn Garden Apartment on Fourth avenue, built under the inspiration of Louis H. Pink and financed largely by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. The Amalgamated developments in the Bronx and the lower East Side, and the Farband development in the Bronx are excellent examples of cooperative housing, but they do not meet the need of the poorer workers who have no capital to invest in home ownership.

The best model for New York municipal housing, the committee believes, is the Brooklyn Garden Apartment built by a limited dividend corporation and designed by Andrew J. Thomas. It is of good construction with all modern improvements and located upon a subway line, yet its apartments rent for an average of \$10.74 per room per month. No lease is required of the tenant but he is expected to buy \$100 of stock in the corporation on the installment plan, receiving 6 per cent interest.

Apartments exactly like the Brooklyn Garden Apartments could be constructed by the city on land costing \$3 per square foot to rent at \$7.50 per room per month. Much land is now available in the city at \$3 per square foot. The accompanying table shows the costs of such construction. Secretary George Gove of the State Board of Housing estimates that apartments of the style of the Brooklyn Garden Apartments could be constructed at the present time for thirty-six cents per cubic foot and that land could be procured in outlying boroughs for \$3 a square foot.

### City Financing Cheaper

In building such low-priced apartments the city would have a great advantage in financing over private and limited dividend corporations. The city could borrow money for housing projects by 50-year bonds at a maximum of four and one-quarter per cent, with 9

per cent amortization, whereas even the limited dividend corporations must pay 5 per cent for mortgages, 6 per cent on stock equity, and amortize at the rate of 3 per cent annually. The city also could save appreciable amounts now spent by private companies for insurance, accounting and legal fees. Small savings would be made also by the exemption from taxes of land used for housing purposes by the city but this would not be an important advantage over limited dividend corporations since the latter are already exempted from taxes on building for twenty years. The experience of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company with low-priced apartments in Long Island City indicates that low-priced municipal apartments would not have vacancies.

A general comparison of the Brooklyn Garden type of apartment as built by speculative builders, limited dividend corporations and the city indicates that the minimum rental would be about \$12 per room per month for speculative builders, \$9 for limited dividend companies, and \$7.50 for the city. The main advantage in municipal housing is that the city could actually build houses without depending upon the caprice of private investors. Thus far the limited dividend corporations have done almost nothing to solve the housing problem.

The report of the committee continues: "Even Mayor Walker's project of using the surplus land from the widening of Chrystie street for housing would be feasible if the city built its own houses instead of leasing the land for ninety-nine years to private corporations. The Mayor's scheme was hastily planned and has resulted thus far in nothing but political publicity. No private capitalists have definitely appeared to invest their money in the project, and the city administration has waited and talked. At the present time there is no excuse for further delay. The city should make plans for constructing model houses in the Chrystie street area itself, even though the records indicate that it must pay \$9.43 per square foot for the housing land. This sum is almost twice the maximum cost of land for a practical housing development at low rentals but the city can partially cancel this loss by tax exemption. In that case we estimate that model houses of the Brooklyn Garden type could be built on Chrystie street and rented for \$9.11 per room per month."

### No Subsidy Needed

"No subsidy should be necessary to construct municipal houses and rent them at a price within the reach of the common wage earner. Accordingly the financing of municipal building would not disturb the city's legal debt limit since it could borrow money on housing bonds and pay interest and amortization on those bonds without reference to the present tax rate. A new state law would be necessary allowing the city to create a housing authority with powers similar to those of the Port Authority. The outline of such a law will be presented to the next session of the legislature by this committee."

"We believe that in any intelligent housing program the first preference should be given to tenants who now occupy old law tenements. Only those whose family income is lower than \$3,000 a year should be considered as occupants. Thus the city housing program would be definitely connected with slum clearance. "A war or the slump would be particularly opportune in the present depression. It would provide a badly-needed stimulus to business enterprise. If the City of New York, commencing January 1, 1931, were to launch a five-year program to house decently a million inhabitants of our slums, we estimate that 30,000 now unemployed building trades workers would be sure of regular employment through the year 1936. This would create a tremendous demand for building materials and would place millions of dollars of purchasing power in the hands of these workers which would in turn stimulate the industries that cater to their wants. The beneficial effects would be cumulative and far reaching."

The National Director and the members of the N. E. C. of the Young People's Socialist League going to the Socialist Party conference in May, will speak for the existing groups and an attempt will be made to get new ones started. The Annual National Jamboree and Conference in the summer of 1931 will again be held at the Socialist Picnic Grounds in Reading. The following resolutions were adopted: demanding Mooney and Billings freedom; for unemployment relief; against child labor; against state police brutality in the Reading hosiery strike; for recognition of Russia by the U. S. and for freeing of political prisoners in Russia.

It was reported that the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party pledged themselves to give part of the proceeds of their financial drive to the Yip-sels. An interesting action taken by the committee was the election of Talbot White of Cleveland, a colored comrade as chairman, and the addition of a young lady comrade to the committee, Pearl Greenberg of Chicago.

## Rev. Hahn Broadcasting Weekly From Buffalo

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

BUFFALO, N. Y.—Rev. Herman J. Hahn, pastor of Salem Evangelical Church and President of the Evangelical Ministers Union, is giving a series of radio talks every Sunday morning at 10 a. m. over station WGR on "The Social Implications of Religion." He was the Socialist candidate for Lieutenant Governor of New York in 1928 and is an annual candidate for other offices. New Leader readers within a radius of 400 miles of Buffalo are urged to listen in. They can also assist by arranging radio groups in their home every Sunday morning.

In order to become acquainted with as many of his radio audiences as possible, Rev. Hahn has arranged a special service in Salem Church, Garfield near Tonawanda Streets for Sunday, December 7th, at 4 p. m. He will talk on "Unemployment."

## Switkes Picked To Be Director Of the Y.P.S.L.

Talbot White, Young Negro Socialist, Elected National Chairman by N. E. C.

AT A two day session of the National Executive Committee of the Young People's Socialist League, held at the Labor Lyceum, Reading, Pa., on Saturday and Sunday, Nov. 29th and 30th, constructive organization plans were laid for next year's work. The committee elected their national chairman, Emanuel Switkes.

Reading, Pa., on Saturday and Sunday, Nov. 29th and 30th, constructive organization plans were laid for next year's work. The committee elected their national chairman, Emanuel Switkes.

The national secretary gave a complete report of the activities of the last few months, stating that the membership showed an increase of 500, that the Yip-sels participated actively in the Socialist Party campaign and according to several party officials had a great part in the sowing of the ground for the increase in the party vote. Switkes reported there are 59 circles in 25 cities and 9 states. He urged that a more vigorous effort be made to organize circles in new territory, for this purpose he suggested that the committee adopt the slogan, "A Yip-sel circle wherever a party branch." The Socialist party membership will be urged to help in the formation of new young Socialist groups, the organization of which will be of tremendous help to the party.

A report was given of the Jamboree which was held at Reading, on July 12th and 13th. The secretary recommended that the Jamboree be made an annual institution. It was also reported that the New York, Boston, Chicago and Los Angeles circles were able to get other youth organizations, such as the Young Circle League, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, youth group, the Poole Zion, the League for Industrial Democracy groups to join them in holding conferences and meetings on various joint topics affecting the young worker and student. For the first time in ten years International Youth Day Celebrations were held throughout the country and by the Canadian group. A calendar of events will be made up, suggestions of programs for circle activities and a regular monthly bulletin will be sent to all of the groups.

It is planned to issue a call to the members of the Young People's Socialist League and to other sympathetic youth organizations to join with the National Child Labor Committee and the Socialist Party in holding mass meetings and demonstrations against having almost two million children at work when they should be in schools and play when and about ten to twelve million adult workers are unemployed. Child Labor Day will be held the last Saturday and Sunday in January.

The National Director and the members of the N. E. C. of the Young People's Socialist League going to the Socialist Party conference in May, will speak for the existing groups and an attempt will be made to get new ones started.

The Annual National Jamboree and Conference in the summer of 1931 will again be held at the Socialist Picnic Grounds in Reading. The following resolutions were adopted: demanding Mooney and Billings freedom; for unemployment relief; against child labor; against state police brutality in the Reading hosiery strike; for recognition of Russia by the U. S. and for freeing of political prisoners in Russia.

It was reported that the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party pledged themselves to give part of the proceeds of their financial drive to the Yip-sels. An interesting action taken by the committee was the election of Talbot White of Cleveland, a colored comrade as chairman, and the addition of a young lady comrade to the committee, Pearl Greenberg of Chicago.

## Morningside, Harlem Socialists to Stage Benefit for Jobless

The Morningside Heights Branch of the Socialist Party held its semi-monthly meeting at its new permanent headquarters, 556 West 125th Street, Dec. 2. A motion picture was passed to cooperate with the Harlem Morningside Socialist League in organizing a benefit for the unemployed, under the direction of Comrade Irwin Franklin. The benefit is scheduled for Sunday, Dec. 21, at the Johnson Theatre.

## Election Results Enthuse Socialists of California; Conn. Plans Party Building

Socialists of California Jubilant Over Prospects Of Party in That State

By Stanley Rogers  
State Secretary, Socialist Party of California

THE California State Executive Committee is feeling almost jubilant over the results of the November election. Upon Sinclair, running against a man supposed to be "liberal," a friend of labor and "a proven champion of progress," polled over 50,000 votes and surprised all the political wiseacres. This vote is an increase of 5,000 votes over Sinclair's 1926 vote, and it represents the largest Socialist vote to be cast for Governor since 1914 when Richardson polled 50,806.

More than 20,000 votes for Sinclair were cast in Los Angeles County alone—the largest vote for state office ever cast for any Socialist in the county. This fact caused the metropolitan dailies to comment that Los Angeles politicians would henceforth have to make allowance for the Socialist Party which they admitted had shown unexpected and unsuspected strength.

W. W. Busick, Los Angeles County organizer, polled 6,718 votes for the State Assembly, leaving his Republican opponent in an uncomfortably narrow margin. A significant feature of the contest in his district was not that he nearly carried the district, but that he did carry that part of the district lying within the city limits. Twenty-three of the precincts were actively worked on November 4 and they averaged more than 2 to 1 in favor of the Socialist. Los Angeles Socialists are therefore in a position to carry the 9th Congressional district without shadow of doubt.

**Membership Up 28 Per Cent**  
During the campaign our membership showed a marked increase throughout the state—28 per cent to be exact. We were unable to put on a membership drive as it should be put on because of the demand that the campaign made on our time and energy. But as soon as the 1931 stamps are ready, we are going to make our membership top the 1,000 mark.

We feel much indebted to our friend, Mr. Hoover, for his outstanding success in creating Hoover prosperity. While, of course, the current wave of prosperity has made it more than a little difficult to collect money to use in the campaign and for organization purposes, it has made the people unusually receptive to our propaganda. The response to our radio talks has been most gratifying. Upton Sinclair's talk over KNY brought us letters from all parts of the western half of North America, many of them enclosing money. People on whose doorsteps we throw copies of the New Era write in and tell us that they read the paper and voted their first Socialist ticket and that they will vote nothing else in the future; others send in a dollar for a subscription.

During the month prior to election, we rented a large ground floor hall in the center of the city and held several meetings a day. Leaflets and copies of the New Era were kept on a table beside the sidewalk and passers-by picked them up. In this way we distributed over ten thousand pieces of propaganda.

Each of the mass meetings held this year was attended by crowds which left very few seats in the auditorium (capacity 2,100). It has been many years since crowds of this size have come to Socialist meetings in California. These things show rather conclusively that general sentiment is much more receptive than it was two years ago.

The campaign showed clearly that what is needed is organization. Localities in which we had organizations all showed a big increase in the vote for Sinclair and Shapiro. Organized Assembly districts polled from 17 to over 40 per cent of the total vote. Therefore, we are planning a concentrated effort on organization. A few districts have been chosen and most of our efforts will go into them. In this way we may be able to carry several districts in the next election.

### Paper Issued Bi-weekly

A systematic program of education by radio is being undertaken and the New Era is to be issued bi-weekly and, we hope, before too long, weekly.

The special problems confronting us are distance, lack of good speakers who have time to devote to the party, and a substantial public inertia aggravated by the presence here of many retired people who are living on moderate incomes and who do not want anything or anybody to disturb them. Our gain in membership in the last two years is so great—over 200 per cent—that we feel certain we can build a powerful party here within a relatively short time. Enthusiasm for organization work is now greater than it was just before the election and the various locals over the state are engaging in more activity than they have for some years past.

In order to take advantage of the present wide-spread interest in the party we are considering forming a loose, dues-free, organization consisting of registered Socialists and other interested people who for one reason or another won't join the party. We can keep in touch with them and supply them with news and educational material and ultimately get many of them into the party. A correspondence course in Socialism is being prepared in connection with this plan. We are also considering ways and means of organizing the unemployed, showing them why they are unemployed, and doing something constructive about it.

The Socialist Party will hold a national conference on May 29 next year and the National Committee, composed of members from each organized state, will meet at the same time. It will be an organization and educational conference which will also celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the organization of the Socialist Party. Locals and branches throughout the country will formulate proposals for consideration at the conference and in the meantime The New Leader will present to its readers an interesting survey of the situation and prospects of the party in each state. The first installment of this survey is presented in the following communications. State secretaries who have not contributed to this symposium are urged to send their articles as soon as possible.

forming a loose, dues-free, organization consisting of registered Socialists and other interested people who for one reason or another won't join the party. We can keep in touch with them and supply them with news and educational material and ultimately get many of them into the party. A correspondence course in Socialism is being prepared in connection with this plan. We are also considering ways and means of organizing the unemployed, showing them why they are unemployed, and doing something constructive about it.

## Conn. Socialists Look To Successful Year of Socialist Party Building

By Minnie Cederholm  
State Secretary Socialist Party of Connecticut

THE Socialist Party of Connecticut has come back with an increase of about 50 per cent in the vote cast at this election over 1928. Every town in the state showed an increase with the exception of about five.

The membership in the state has increased and we were able to reorganize locals that did not function in years and since reorganizing they are going steadily ahead increasing their membership and making plans for the future.

My own personal observation is that the men and women at the shop gates and street meetings were very eager for Socialist leaflets and after the meeting was over you could not find any thrown away. It seemed that they would tuck it in their pockets for future reading.

The locals in Connecticut are going to hold a series of meetings this winter and are already laying plans for city elections. Literature is going to play a big part in our next campaign. We are expecting to retain a special organizer in the state to follow up the vote that we received in the unorganized towns and try in this way to organize locals in sections that have not had an organization in years.

There are no special problems in our state as to organizing, the past few years the comrades had lost heart but I am sure that we have all found ourselves again and are going out to win in our next city election.

The prospects were never any brighter than at this time for party building. No deficits face the state organization and with everything looking favorable we are bound to build up and keep going. With the state office furnishing literature free to the locals for distribution at all meetings there will be no excuse for any meeting being held without giving out at least one leaflet which will have the state office address printed on it. Those who wish to join the party will know where to write and get the necessary information.

At our next state executive committee meeting the suggestion of holding an organization convention is to be brought up and I think favorable action will be taken. A convention of this kind is a very fine thing to start our next campaign going as there will be something to do every minute.

The state executive committee through its legislative committee will be active and energetic in participating at the hearings to be held at the state house, being particularly interested in old age pension and out of work insurance.

### By O. A. Kennedy

State Secretary of Utah

THE day before Thanksgiving seems an appropriate time to write up the recent campaign in Utah. The Socialist Party of Utah still lives and that is something. The only state office to be filled this year was that of member of the Supreme Court. We had no lawyers who would consent to run so our state convention nominated a machinist, D. C. Dora of Ogden, whose membership card date back to 1902, the date of the founding of Local Ogden of the Socialist Party. And he was game enough to make the race. But he was not elected.

In the First Congressional District we nominated A. W. Clemons of Duchesne. He is another tried and true veteran of many campaigns and one of the mainstays of the Duchesne County local. But he was not elected.

joining counties, Davis, Utah and Tooele. In that district we selected Otto E. Parsons of Tooele City, a veteran prospector and hard-rock miner. He has also been active in the work of the party in Utah for more than 20 years and his wife is secretary of Local Tooele. But he was not elected.

The comrades of Weber County (Local Ogden) put up a county ticket. In Ogden we cast a little less than 2 per cent of the total vote. In every voting district we had votes, from one to twelve. It was about a 50 per cent increase over 1928. The same held true in the farm districts of the county. But no candidates were elected.

So we came through the campaign with our record unbroken. No successful candidates. Still we can say that our membership is holding firm, that from over the state come hopeful letters and in Ogden, at least, the comrades have lined up to the support of organized labor's effort to capture a place on the local school board at the election on December 2.

Militarists tell us how hard it is to rally defeated troops. Pickett's brigade charged up the hill at Gettysburg three times at enormous loss, but it could not be rallied for a fourth charge. But in 1932 the Socialists of Utah will come back to the attack, stronger, more militant and more hopeful than ever. And just to keep in practice, we may take a whirl at the city elections of 1931.

## Ethical Culture Society

Dr. John L. Elliott, Leader of the Society for Ethical Culture and Director and Founder of Hudson Guild, will speak at the Society Meeting House, Central Park West and 64th Street, Sunday morning at eleven, on "Unemployment." Dr. Elliott is a member of that branch of the Emergency Committee on Unemployment which is working on the placement of men and women in jobs.

## Modern School Dance

One of the dates that radicals, liberals and progressives never overlook is the annual daybreak costume dance given by the Stetson Modern School. This year's affair will be held in Webster Manor, Friday, December 19th. The committee in charge announces that there will be many pleasant surprises in store for those fortunate to attend.

The many still must labor for the one.—Byron

## WORKMEN'S SICK AND DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Organized 1884  
Main Office: 714 SENECA AVENUE  
Telephone Hegeman 4658

Over 60,000 Members in 344 Branches  
Reserves on December 31, 1929: \$2,999,114.44

Benefits paid since its existence:  
Death Benefit: \$4,149,061.77  
Sick Benefit: \$10,125,939.86  
Total: \$14,274,941.63

## WORKERS! PROTECT YOURSELVES!

In Case of Sickness, Accident, or Death!

Death Benefit according to age at time of initiation in one of two classes:  
Class A: 40 cents per month—Death Benefit \$350 at the age of 18 to \$175 at the age of 44.  
Class B: 50 cents per month—Death Benefit \$500 to \$250.

Parents may insure their children in case of death up to the age of 18.  
Death Benefit according to age \$20 to \$200.  
Sick Benefit paid from the first day of filing the doctor's certificate, 50c, 60c, and \$1.00, respectively per week, for the first forty weeks, half of the amount for another forty weeks.

Sick Benefits for women: 50c per week for the first forty weeks; \$4.00 each for another forty weeks.

For further information apply at the Main Office, William Spahr, National Secretary, or to the Financial Secretaries of the Branches.

## Marsala Restaurant

107 East 11th Street  
(near 4th Ave.) Telephone STUY. 9848

## Special Italian Lunch, 60c

Individual Dining Room for Banquets and Parties

Open until midnight  
Strictly home cooked food  
Come and meet your comrades  
"Just West of Webster Hall"

(We Will Serve a Special Dinner for the New Masses Hall, Dec. 5th Open all night)

## Rendezvous Cafeteria

Under new management  
Rand School Building, 7 E. 13th St.  
You will find this an ideal place to eat. The freshest foods at moderate prices and where you will always meet your friends.

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

## Then go to P. WOLF & CO., Inc.

COMPARE GOODS AND PRICES  
1499 Third Ave. 70 Avenue A  
Bet. 84 & 85 Sts. Bet. 4 & 5 Sts.  
(1st floor)  
New York City Open Even, 9 p.m.  
Open Even, 9 p.m.  
SUNDAYS CLOSED  
Special Ladies' Attendants

## Fred Spitz, Inc.

Florist  
Now at  
31 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK CITY  
Telephone Dry Dock 8859-881  
Not connected with any other store in New York

## HERZOG Patent Attorney

520 East 42nd St., New Bldg., Suite 1907  
Evenings and Sundays, 1636 Glover St.  
Brooklyn: Take Lexington Ave. Subway  
Fulton Bay extension, to Zereza Ave.  
Station

## DR. SIMON BERLIN

DENTIST  
210 West 76th St. New York City  
Telephone: Trifalgar 6062

## MAX WOLF

OPTOMETRIST & OPTICIAN  
218 W. 75th St., Bet. 5th & 6th Sts., Manhattan

## Mutual Aid League Theatre Party to See "Overture" Dec. 18

The League for Mutual Aid has been successful in "cornering" the entire balcony of the Longacre Theatre for "Overture," by William Bolitho for Thursday evening, December 18th. This dramatic attraction has all the symptoms of being one of the most distinguished productions of the season. It is heralded from the provinces as a notable event in the theatre. The play is beautifully mounted and directed, and contains an exceptional cast.

"Overture" dealing with a thrilling dramatic event in the uprising in Germany shortly after the war, brings to the theatre all those imaginative, sympathetic and poetic qualities which distinguished Bolitho's beautiful writing in "The New York World" up to his lamentable death.



## Doak's Choice Seen as Slap At A. F. of L.

Green Protests Secretary of Labor Who Doesn't Come From A. F. of L.

By Laurence Todd  
WASHINGTON. (FP)—In naming William N. Doak, legislative representative of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, to be Secretary of Labor, President Hoover seized the occasion to slap the American Federation of Labor, through its president, William Green. Pleased by a statement Green had made after protesting the selection of a new head for the Labor Department from outside the ranks of the Federation, Hoover issued a challenge which will at least remove all doubt as to his having been lying in wait for a chance to spring upon Green and the A. F. of L.

"While President Green has publicly stated that he will oppose Mr. Doak's appointment because Mr. Doak's union is not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor," Hoover told his press conference, "he informs me that he holds Mr. Doak in the highest personal esteem."

"I do not feel that I can consent to the principle of debarment of the railway employees, or other labor unions and associations, or any labor man in the United States, from the opportunity or the aspiration to attain any office in this land."

"I have the highest respect for Mr. Green and the American Federation of Labor, but Mr. Green's enunciation that appointments must come from one organization in fact imposes upon me the duty to maintain the principle of open and equal opportunity and freedom in appointments to public office."

### Green's Protest

This was bunk, in view of the fact that what rankled in the mind of Hoover was the defeat of Judge Parker and the later defeat of Senators Ramsdell, Blaise, Allen, McCulloch and the forced retirement of Goff and others, by the aid of organized labor, plus the fact that Sen. Jim Watson of Indiana, G. O. P. floor leader in the Senate and whose loyalty to Hoover was doubtful had denounced that Doak be appointed. The point against Doak actually made by Federation spokesmen was that the train service brotherhoods had their own separate federal tribunal for handling their industrial disputes, and that their labor statistics are handled in the Interstate Commerce Commission. The brotherhoods have nothing to do with the field of the Department of Labor.

Green, replying to Hoover's ill-tempered attack, made the mistake of saying that the President had "seen fit to select a Secretary of Labor outside the recognized American labor movement." This attempt to put all unions except the A. F. of L. unions outside the recognized labor movement, weakened his further argument: "The officers and members of the Federation believe that the Secretary of Labor sitting in the President's cabinet should be a man who understands the American labor movement, its problems and thought and the mind of American labor. We have always held that the Department of Labor should be the instrumentality through which labor could express its mind and judgment upon economic and industrial problems affecting the well-being of working men and women to the President and his cabinet."

### Hoover's "Revenge"

The answer is simple: This Hoover administration is anti-labor. Nobody who would embarrass its anti-labor policy would have been chosen anyhow. Doak's appointment was insisted upon by Watson, whose help Hoover must have. And if, in pleasing Watson, Hoover could slap the Federation in punishment for its work in defeating his yellow-dog contract injunction judge, Parker, why should the President not take advantage of the opportunity? He thinks, evidently, that he has thereby gained the support of the train service brotherhoods. He does not realize that he may have stirred the Federation to active resentment, which may even become militancy.

As an administrator, Doak is looked upon as far better equipped than Secretary Davis. How far he will assist in developing the Women's Bureau, Children's Bureau and Bureau of Labor Statistics is a test which he has still to meet.

### REGULAR MEETING

The New Leader Publishing Ass'n

at the Rand School  
7 E. 15th Street

Tuesday, December 16th,  
1930, at 8 P. M.

All members of THE NEW LEADER PUBLISHING ASSN. are urged to be present to consider plans for the ensuing year and to elect a new Board of Directors.

## Broun And Miss Newman Debate Special Legislation For Women in Industry

Both Speakers Score With Audience in Verbal Bout at the Rand School

By Elizabeth Stuyvesant

EVERYONE who came to the Broun-Newman debate Friday night Nov. 28 at the Rand School, believing that Broun was perfectly right about special legislation for women, went away feeling that Broun had made the best speech, and everyone who had come convinced that Pauline Newman was absolutely right about women's crying needs in industry left with the conviction that she had given the best performance.

Pauline Newman received signs of approval and nods of confirmation for most of her contentions—that women are forever undercutting men on the job, that they work cheap, long hours, accept bad conditions and are almost unorganizable—they must be protected, like children, in their ignorance and weakness, from exploitation. Likewise for Heywood Broun came the signs and nods when he declared that men work cheap, long hours, under vile conditions and are almost unorganizable.

Miss Newman called upon the audience to uphold special legislation and maintain the standards for which the mass of women in industry would not or could not fight. Broun called upon his hearers to stand shoulder to shoulder with the men and secure the same standards for all, and that women will never gain these standards anyhow until she learns to fight for herself together with men workers.

### The Battle Waxes Hot

Miss Newman declared that there was no avenue now through any labor organization by which women could struggle for relief from unbearable working conditions. Broun answered that there could never be any effective labor movement which separated its workers by special relief to one sex through legislation. Broun stated further that we shall never get proper and adequate labor legislation so long as we confine it to one class—the woman worker. Miss Newman stated that all labor legislation began by indignation and shock over the inhuman treatment of women in industry in the first place.

Miss Newman detailed conditions in industry peculiarly injurious to women. Broun objected to "all women being treated as if about to become mothers." One speaker praised special legislation concerning pregnant women, while the other speaker agreed with the bright addition however that there should be no legislation framed upon the assumption that all women become pregnant or that they are so every minute. One debater described trades and conditions which make it impossible for women to become good or healthy mothers. The negative debater countered that the same conditions prevent men from becoming good fathers.

Broun grew realistic when he described how all the special legislation for women had been instigated not by the working woman themselves but by sentimental settlement workers who did not think it nice for women to be out working like men, and Miss Newman grew caustic by countering that the women who are now trying to wipe off the statute books all protective legislation for women by their "Equal Rights Amendment" are leisure class women theoreticians who never did a day's work in their lives and spend their endless leisure weaving phrases about the equality of the sexes. In keeping with this sentiment the speaker concluded "Oh, if I only had the power to take away from every one of them

their unearned increment and put them to work in a southern cotton mill for three years."

And down in front of both speakers sat large and smiling groups of both of these classes, "settlement," "unearned increment," waiting, some patiently and some not, for their chance to say all the things both speakers had forgotten. For chairman, August Claessens had assured them that all opinions were sought for and valued on this vexed question.

There was of course the lady from the National Woman's Party who made a speech in the form of a question, "Did not the community sit back, its conscience satisfied, when a little piece of sentimental legislation was secured for a child or a woman, leaving nothing done about fundamental evils?"

And there was a legitimate little five minute talk by Freda Miller of the Woman's Bureau of the State Department of Labor which was worth the price of admission, for she gave a startling array of facts, beginning with the earliest labor legislation, initiated by labor unions, masculine altogether. She told interesting things about very definite progress over many years made by all sorts of agitating and fighting by men and women in and out of unions, "settlement," and "Leisure Class," "special legislation" and "general legislation," "compensations," "safe guards," "insurances," "welfare" and so on. "One man near by actually muttered rather loudly, 'That's the stuff I came to hear.'"

Of course the debaters had both eliminated the use of statistics to prove their contentions, Miss Newman dismissing them with "statistics are valuable but dull." Broun wiped them off with "they are unreliable but effective." Nevertheless many unappreciative hearers cried for a lot of bare information such as that given by Miss Miller.

A good time was had by all even if the question was left still unrelated to the Socialist movement, philosophy or party and most of the audience departed without any suggestion that such issues need to be fitted into a sort of five, ten or hundred year plan of Socialist policy.

### Syud Hossain to Debate Churchill Youth on India

The most important debate on India this year is to be held Tuesday, Dec. 9, at 8:15 at the Community Church (34th Street and Park Avenue). Syud Hossain, well known Indian orator will insist that "British Rule in India Should Be Abolished." Randolph Churchill (son of the Tory Chancellor, Winston Churchill) whom Mr. Heywood Broun recently gave a magnificent "spanking" in his daily column, will argue against Indian self-rule. Despite the conspicuous youth of the British contender, the debate promises to be lively and instructive.

### Rybicki in Sunnyside Dec. 9

Announcement in last week's New Leader that Edward C. Rybicki, director of the Municipal Employment Bureau, was to speak in Sunnyside, Tuesday, December 2, under the auspices of the Sunnyside Branch, was an error. The date will be Tuesday, December 9, at 8:30 p. m., and the place will be the Monroe Court Community Room, rear 43-13 47th Street, Sunnyside. All interested in hearing this expert talk on "Unemployment of the whole nation for a solution of the problem of displacing of human workers by machines. He offers no hint as to its solution, beyond saying that 'With every labor-saving machine there should be devised a way of using the worker whose labor is saved, regardless of whether or not he has reached middle life.'"

## Labor, Depression Subject Of CPLA. Conference Today

THE kind of education necessary to workers in order to equip them properly to meet modern conditions will be discussed by Dr. George S. Counts, associate director of the International Institute, Columbia University, when he will speak on "American Education and the Machine Age," at the eastern regional conference to be held by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action at a dinner session on Saturday evening, December 6, at the Teutonia Hall, 158 Third Avenue. Dr. Counts is one of the leading progressive educational authorities in this country as well as authority on education in Russia and other continental countries. The other speaker at the dinner session will be Walter White, acting secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People who will talk on "The Negro Problem." Mr. White is the author of several volumes on Negro life and has traveled extensively on investigations associated with Negro labor policies affecting the South. The price per plate is \$1.25. A. J. Muste will be toastmaster.

The eastern regional conference will open on Saturday afternoon, December 6, at the Labor Temple, 242 East 14th Street, and will continue on Sunday morning and afternoon. The general subject is "Labor in the New Economic Era (Era of Hard Times)." Saturday afternoon the sub-topical to be discussed is "Practical Dilemmas Facing Militant Unions." Sunday morning the subject is "As Women Look at Industry." The conference will conclude with a discussion on Sunday afternoon of "Positive Action for the New Economic Era."

Among the other speakers to appear on the program will be Earl White, assistant business manager of the Hosiery Knitters of Paterson, N. J.; Sam Laderman of the Pocket Book Workers Union; Josephine Kaczor, organizer for the Philadelphia Women's Trade Union League, and young leader in several industrial conflicts; Lucy Garner, Industrial National Y. W. C. A.; A. J. Muste, chairman, and Louis F. Budenz, executive secretary of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

## Davis Wants Deportation Made Easy

Outgoing Labor Secretary Wants Immigration Restricted to "Needed" Workers

WASHINGTON. (FP)—Secretary of Labor Davis, in his 10th and final annual report, urges Congress to so restrict immigration that only workers who are needed in definite industries, and the relatives of immigrants already arrived, shall be admitted to this country. He also recommends that the provisions for deportation of radical aliens be tightened, so that all who favor changes in the government through force and violence may be deported at any time.

Davis' scheme of feeding immigrants into American industries according to demonstrated need on the employers' part, and limitation regardless of the aliens' need for employment here, is thus summed up:

"In the past I have gone no further than to recommend that the law be so amended as to provide that the entry of immigrants for whom there is a demonstrated need in the United States should be expedited by the simple expedient of according them a preference in the issuance of visas. In the light of experience during the past year, however, I am now convinced that no new and unattached immigrants coming for the purpose of seeking employment should be admitted to the country unless it had previously been determined by the Department of Labor that there was an actual need for the kind of service they are qualified to render in this country."

"I would apply this rule to all immigration, whether it is subject to quota-control, as in the case of natives of European countries, or outside such control, as is the case with natives of New World countries. I would exempt from this plan of control immigrants coming to join near relatives already in the United States. I have always advocated liberality in the matter of reuniting families, and my attitude has not changed in this respect."

As to deportation of radicals, Davis says:

"We have already laws for the expulsion of anarchists and members of organizations which seek to overthrow existing government by force and violence. These laws, however, are framed with such infinitely detailed description of offenses concerned that it has been found exceedingly difficult and often impossible to bring some obviously dangerous anarchistic activities within the scope of the law."

"I am firmly convinced that the law relating to the expulsion of extremists ought to be amended to provide that an alien who at any time after entry into the United States becomes affiliated with any organization the purpose of which is to supplant our form of government with a totally different system, or who engages independently in advocating such change, through force and violence and not by the exercise of the peaceful methods provided by the Constitution, should be deported from the United States."

An administration move toward placing Japanese immigration on a quota basis, thereby easing relations with Japan, is seen in the Labor Secretary's suggestion: "I strongly recommend that Congress consider the feasibility of adjusting the quota system so that it will prove an acceptable substitute for the laws and parts of laws that relate only to Chinese and other oriental immigration. Officials who have immediate contact with the administration of these laws assure me that many of them are of no value, and some of them even detrimental from an administrative standpoint."

Summing up the American industrial situation, Davis emphasizes the "tremendous responsibility" of the whole nation for a solution of the problem of displacing of human workers by machines. He offers no hint as to its solution, beyond saying that "With every labor-saving machine there should be devised a way of using the worker whose labor is saved, regardless of whether or not he has reached middle life."

### Forward Ball to be Held In N. Y. on Feb. 21st

Socialist Party branches, trade unions, Workmen's Circle branches and all other organizations of progressive workers are requested to keep February 21, 1931. On that day the annual Forward Ball will take place at the 71st Regiment Armory. Arrangements to make the 1931 Forward Ball the outstanding event of the season, are now being made by a joint committee representing the Forward Association and allied groups.

### Mohegan Colony Dance

A colorful evening is promised to those who attend the Spanish Costume Dance to be given in the Alhambra, 126th Street and 7th Avenue, Friday evening, Dec. 12. The affair is to be given under the auspices of the Mohegan Community Association.

## Hoover Sponsors False Figures on Jobless

(Continued from Page One)  
former classification of who had work and who did not have work. The new division enumerated:

- (1) Those who had jobs, and
  - (2) Those who did not have jobs.
- It was then easy to disregard the first separation of those who had gainful occupations into those who had worked yesterday and those who had not. By publishing the figures giving only the number of those who had no jobs whatsoever the administration was able to conceal the statistics on the number who had jobs but no work and create the impression that it was making known as quickly as possible whatever data on unemployment was available.

This becomes clearer when we analyze the comprehensive set of questions asked of each gainfully employed person:

1. If you have a job—
  - a. How many weeks since you have worked on that job?
  - b. If you were not at work yesterday (or on the last regular working day), state reason.
  - c. Do you lose a day's pay by not being at work?
  - d. How many days did you work last week, (including work on temporary jobs)?
  - e. How many days in a full-time week (in your regular job)?
2. If you have no job of any kind—
  - a. Are you able to work?
  - b. Are you looking for a job?
  - c. For how many weeks have you been without a job?
  - d. Reason for being out of a job (or for losing your last job)?

With the answers to such questions the Federal government now has in its possession highly important data throwing light on many pressing problems concerning unemployment. In its statement on the unemployment census prepared for its enumerators the Bureau of the Census explained the purpose of the count in these words:

"Explaining" The Census  
"While our ignorance of the extent of unemployment is so great, planning for its control is impossible. The Census of Unemployment taken in April will give us a fairly definite measure of its extent if answers to the questions asked are freely and carefully given. It will then be possible to consider plans for the control of the evil of unemployment."

Such plans have been under consideration but information in the government's possession as to the extent of unemployment has been withheld. President Hoover in his annual message to Congress asks for an immediate appropriation of \$100,000,000 to \$150,000,000 for public construction work to relieve unemployment. He speaks of new construction work by governmental agencies and private enterprises, the staggering of employment and coordination of relief measures. He implies that credit is due him and his administration for these undertakings. Yet the basic data for testing the value of these steps are missing. The complete April figures are still being kept a state secret. Only the number of those able and willing to work but entirely without jobs has been made public. This the casual reader has been made to believe indicates the volume of unemployment at the time the census was taken. Mr. Hoover in his Congressional message knowingly fosters the illusion. The number of persons with jobs but without work at those jobs is still being maliciously concealed.

The reprehensible policy of the Hoover administration became evident with the publication from time to time of the partial returns of the unemployment census during the spring of 1930. Matters came to a head when Secretary of Commerce Lamont on June 26 made public estimates purporting to show that the number of unemployed in April was in the "neighborhood of two million." Professor Charles E. Persons, who had been engaged by the Bureau of the Census to handle unemployment statistics and then had resigned in protest against the Hoover policy of hiding the seriousness of the problem, challenged the secretary's figures. In an interview in the New York "World" of August 10, this expert pointed out that Lamont's statistics only referred to persons actually without jobs. There were omitted calculations as to the number of persons with jobs but not working. If figures for the latter were included the total of unemployed would probably reach 5,000,000.

### Figures That Lie

Referring to the estimate of the Secretary of Commerce, Dr. Persons explained indignantly: "This statement of Mr. Lamont caused a mild sensation, but it was soon realized that the result did not properly denote the total unemployed. The figures included only a part of those out of work. It only covered those having no jobs, although able to work and looking for employment. Workmen laid off or working part time—perhaps equally numerous—made no part of the administration report. They have jobs but no employment. The inconvenient part—that the jobs yielded neither work nor incomes at the time of the census enumerator's visit—did not impede the efforts of the administration's statistician to relieve us of concern over unemployment. . . . This is purely a matter of definition," said they (the government's statisticians).

"We can cut the volume of unemployment squarely in half by adopting a properly phrased definition. We need only confine our report to the jobless. These for us shall be the full tale of the unemployed."

Whether we shall ever know how many were out of work in April, 1930, and from that as a basis calculate unemployment figures for the months that have followed cannot be certain. The United States took a census of unemployment in 1880, 1890, 1900 and 1910. Only the results for 1890 and 1900 have ever been published. At the census of 1920 no count at all was taken of the unemployed. If the census officials should decide that the data collected in 1930 were unreliable or not worth the expense of compiling and then publishing, they may, as they have done in other instances, decide not to make public the complete results. At any rate, it may be several years before we shall have the full facts. The need, however, is for immediate information. We should demand that all the statistics on unemployment gathered in April be made public without further delay. Their publication is an emergency measure that will help us to analyze intelligently the unemployment problem in its 1930 garb and to decide upon appropriate lines of action. The Hoover myth that unemployment is only half as bad as it is must be effectively destroyed.

## U. S. Richer Than Ever, Pres. Hoover Declares

(Continued from Page One)

need a great amount of help. He juggles the old figures of 2,500,000 "wholly out of employment seeking for work," and suggests that "The problem from a relief point of view is somewhat less than the published estimates of the number of unemployed would indicate," since some of these people may have found jobs and there are always about 1,000,000 unemployed anyhow. He asserts that the experience of "several cities" is that "the number of families in distress represents from 10 to 20 percent of the number calculated unemployed. This is not said to minimize the very real problem which exists but to weigh its actual proportions."

Finally, the President recites federal construction projects that will involve an expenditure of about \$650,000,000 during the next 12 months, as showing the cooperation of the federal government in furnishing employment during these hard times.

Causes of the hard times, Hoover declares, "lie to some extent within our own borders through a speculative period which diverted capital and energy into speculation rather than constructive enterprise."

But more important than speculation, he finds, were world-wide overproduction of wheat, copper, rubber, coffee, sugar, silver, zinc, and to some extent cotton and other raw materials. Then Asia was in political turmoil, South America had revolutions that interrupted trade, Soviet Russian methods of sale of grain disturbed markets, and the great drought in America helped to deepen the depression.

## Breadlines in N. Y. C. Now Number Fifty

(Continued from Page One)  
about the destitute, homeless man."

In Buffalo unemployment and part time work had increased 250% over November, 1929, according to Frances Perkins, New York state industrial commissioner. One third of the working population in special districts studied were either unemployed or underemployed, the survey showed. One fifth of the unemployed had had no work in a year, one third none in 30 weeks and two thirds had been jobless for 10 weeks or more. The survey covered 14,000 persons.

The Natl. Child Labor Committee has taken advantage of the industrial crisis to urge that the child labor evil be curbed now, in the interests of giving employment to adults, raising the wage level, cutting the industrial accident rate and giving children a better chance at life. Methodist bishops meeting in Philadelphia asked for the shorter work week and workday to relieve unemployment. They said:

"We cannot escape the conclusion that a more equitable distribution of wealth is basic to any genuine and permanent improvement of the welfare of mankind as a whole."

"Especially do we believe that every man is entitled to the full fruits of his own labor and that no man has a right to eat his bread in the sweat of other men's brow."

"Further, we cannot escape the conviction that there is something basically unjust in a system that allows an industry to absorb the surplus earnings of its employees in prosperous periods and to cast them aside for society to care for when their laborers are no longer profitable. Those who receive the benefits of labor in good times should bear their fair share of labor's maintenance in the 'lean' times."

**LABOR TEMPLE**  
14th St. and Second Ave.  
Sundays, Dec. 7th  
S. P. M.—DR. G. F. NECK  
"The Head of Homer"  
7:45 P. M.—DR. EDWARD E. CHAFFEE  
"Is Progress an Illusion?"  
Organ Recital by  
STANLEY A. DAY

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

that elimination is delayed—that you're absorbing intestinal poisons. Ex-Lax acts safely and gently to rid the body of unhealthful wastes. Ex-Lax has been the family laxative for nearly a quarter of a century and its popularity is constantly increasing as the years go by. Ex-Lax is prescribed by numerous physicians and is recommended by millions of users, because it is the most pleasant and the most dependable laxative known to science. It is eagerly taken by children as well as grown-ups.

## Keep "regular" with EX-LAX The Chocolated Laxative

**GET THE FACTS!**  
**Timely and Informative**  
"How America Lives" by Harry W. Laidler.....15 cts.  
"Old Age Security" by Abraham Epstein.....15 cts.  
"Unemployment And Its Remedies" by Harry W. Laidler.....15 cts.  
The League For Industrial Democracy is publishing a series of critical studies of unemployment insurance. Members receive this publication regularly. It will pay you to join our organization.  
**LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY**  
112 E. 19th Street, New York City

**In the December Issue**  
**BIRTH CONTROL REVIEW**  
The Perils of Success, by McAlister Coleman  
Towards a Higher Civilization, by Julian Huxley  
Is Sex Education Overdone? by M. J. Exner, M.D.  
Marriage in the Future, by Frank H. Hankins.  
Also news, book reviews, editorials, letters  
Subscription \$2.00 a year Send for sample copy  
**Birth Control Review**  
152 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK CITY

**THE COMMUNITY FORUM** Park Ave. at 34th St.  
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 7  
**8 P. M.—CLARENCE DARROW**  
"FREE WILL: DOCTRINE OF DESPAIR."  
11 A. M.—WILLIAM LYON PHELPS  
"MEN AND MACHINES"  
Admission Free All Welcome

**"SHOULD BRITISH RULE IN INDIA BE ENDED?"**  
**COMMUNITY CHURCH** TUESDAY, DEC. 9, 1930  
34th Street and Park Avenue at 8:15 P. M.  
SEATS: 50c TO \$2.00. On sale at the Church Office (Ashland 3180), Rand School Bookshop: India Independence League, 150 Nassau St. (Beekman 2190).

## THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At Cooper Union  
Eight Street and Astor Place  
at 8 o'clock

Friday Evening, Dec. 5th  
DR. EVERETT DEAN MARTIN  
The Present Day Attempt to Make a Gospel and a Cult of Humanism

Sunday Evening, Dec. 7th  
DR. HORACE J. BRIDGES  
"Middlewest," America's Hope and America's Menace

Tuesday Evening, Dec. 9th  
PROFESSOR RICHARD MEKON  
The Trivium

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

Monday Evening, Dec. 8th  
DR. MARK VAN DOREN  
Introduction: The Difficulty of Reading Poetry

Wednesday Evening, Dec. 10th  
PROFESSOR ROBERT VAN NARDOFF  
Analytical Mechanics: Generalized Differential Equations and the Laws of Nature

Thursday Evening, Dec. 11th  
DR. E. C. SPAULDING  
Philosophy and Theology: Augustine, Aquinas

Saturday Evening, Dec. 13th  
MR. LOUIS GRUDIN  
Traditional Notions in Aesthetics: An Outline of Fallacies

## A Night in Madrid SPANISH COSTUME DANCE

at the ALHAMBRA  
126th Street and Seventh Avenue  
FRIDAY EVENING, Dec. 12th

Admission in advance, \$1.00  
At the door, 1.50  
for the benefit of MOHEGAN COMMUNITY ASSN.

## COMMONWEALTH CALENDAR for 1931

Issued by the Socialist party of Connecticut  
Beautiful—Artistic  
Price 10 Cents, plus 2 Cents Postage  
Walter E. Davis  
48 Belmont Street, Hamden, Conn.

## LlanoCo-Op Colony, New Llano, La.

Owned and operated by the workers. For information about daily activities and cooperatives, read  
**THE LLANO COLONIST**  
\$1.50 per year (\$1 with this ad). Weekly 3 cents per copy at the Rand Book Store.  
Cooperates by sending us your surplus machinery, tools, household goods, clothing, books, etc.

## Society for Ethical Culture

Central Park West and 64th Street  
Sunday, December 7th, 11 A. M.  
DR. JOHN L. ELLIOTT  
on "UNEMPLOYMENT"

## Brooklyn Ethical Culture Society

Academy of Music (Atlantic Ave. Sta.)  
Sunday, Nov. 30, 11 A. M.  
MR. ALFRED W. MARTIN  
"Our Ultimate Spiritual Needs"

## Free Thinkers of America

Guild Hall, 111 W. 57th Street  
Sunday, December 7th, 3:30 P. M.  
DR. E. BOYD BARRETT  
"The Illusions of Religion"

## THE BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP

Aure Masonic Temple  
1501 Boston Road, Near East 172nd St.  
SUNDAY EVE. DECEMBER 7th, 1930  
8 P. M.—Rev. Leon Roster Land on "A Voice from the Past."

9 P. M.—Dr. William L. Sullivan on "Where Does Einstein and His Relativity Theory Lead Us?"  
MUSIC ADMISSION FREE

## Daybreak Costume Dance

## The Stelton Modern School

WEBSTER MANOR  
119 East Eleventh Street

Friday, December 19  
Tickets .....One Dollar

## The Modern School

Stelton, N. J.  
(Organized and built by wage - earners)  
Established Sixteen Years

A school for boys and girls where they are offered an opportunity for an education free from the deadening routine of the conventional school. Residential department.  
Write to James H. Dick, Principal



# SOCIALIST POLICY AND ACHIEVEMENT IN VIENNA

With this article, Dr. Laidler, co-director with Norman Thomas of the League for Industrial Democracy, begins a series giving the impressions gained by the League for Industrial Democracy group which travelled in Europe last summer. In a previous series Dr. Laidler gave impressions gathered in Russia. This article and two sections to follow will deal with Socialist Vienna.

By Harry W. Laidler

THE League for Industrial Democracy group left Berlin in late July with the feeling of the imposing strength of the following years of effort—the Socialist, labor and cooperative movements of Germany; of their considerable achievements in political and social democracy during the past decades and of the stupendous character of their future struggle in ushering in a cooperative system of industry. Finally, there was a feeling that once a cooperative system were thoroughly installed in Germany, it could be depended on to work with an efficiency and smoothness a joy to behold.

After an all-night journey from

the German capital, we were awakened at Prague, Czechoslovakia, at 6 o'clock and notified that it was time to change cars. At 1 p. m., after a pleasant ride through inviting country, we arrived at Socialist Vienna.

## Giving Social Information

Last year, besides the magnificent municipal housing experiment in that Socialist metropolis, I was deeply impressed, on my visit to the city, with the museum of social and economic statistics which the municipality had sponsored, chiefly for the purpose of educating the people of Vienna in the constructive social efforts of the Socialist administration. The statistics were presented in a manner so vivid that any schoolboy could easily grasp their meaning. Throughout the year at the Rathaus—Vienna's city hall—hundreds of workers and school children would daily visit the museum and there have explained to them the actual facts concerning housing conditions, health, infant mortality, unemployment and industrial activity, as well as facts regarding more remote international

social, political and racial developments.

Every fact was accompanied by an apt illustration. If the statistician wanted to show to the Viennese people how many people were married during the various years before and following the war, he would draw a picture of a bride and groom and explain that every bride and groom thus pictured stood for 10,000 marriages. A quick glance would show the business of getting married fluctuated from year to year. Pictures of priests in typical religious gowns accompanied statistics as to the relative strength of various religious sects, and drawings of typical members of the Caucasian, Mongolian and Negro races vivified information on comparative racial strength.

## The Philosophy of Vienna Socialists

The group visited the workshop of this statistical institute. Its present director is Dr. Neurath, formerly economic adviser of the Bavarian Communist government, now a Socialist enthusiastic about the achievements of the Vienna

comrades.

Dr. Neurath did more than explain the work of the administration. He gave the League for Industrial Democracy group a concept of the principles underlying the Vienna movement. The welfare institutions to which the visitors were taken were not models to be shown to impress the foreigner, he declared, but institutions typical of those appearing all over the city for the service of the working class population. Working class houses are erected in all quarters of the city, fairly evenly distributed through the town. Open air baths, nurseries, etc., are similarly distributed. Vienna Socialists aim to have every one, irrespective of income, enjoy the services furnished by the municipality. The aim is to give these services as a right, not as a charity. Every Viennese mother, for instance, receives linen for her baby, independent of her income. It is sufficient to prove that a child is expected. Open air baths for children are furnished practically gratis for every child. The rents for municipal apartments are made so low that even the unemployed can pay them out of their dole. New houses built in America, on the other hand, are built only for the better paid workers, and their construction but allows people who live in the worst flats to move into the next worst. In Vienna flats costing more than \$5 a month are scarcely built.

"The average income of the Viennese worker," Dr. Neurath continued, "is from \$30 to \$50 a month, and he pays from \$1 to \$3 a month, or from 5 per cent to 10 per cent of his income, for rent. The municipality furnishes a stove for coal and gas and the flats are

supplied with electricity.

"The large municipal apartment houses are built from a special tax on all apartments. This tax is progressive. A small flat pays 1 schilling (14 cents) a month as a house tax. Large, separate houses, with garage attached, may pay approximately 100 schillings. Big Viennese estates might pay as high as \$500 to \$600 a month, the tax dependent both upon area and the quality of the house.

"The municipality, however, can not depend altogether upon this tax for its extensive building program. There are likewise luxury taxes—taxes on motor cars, on servants hired, on restaurants, etc. In addition there are welfare taxes for industrial and artisan enterprises in proportion to the number of workmen, while the municipality receives a portion of the federal taxes."

"In order to get the people to agree with us, as a part of our work it is necessary to furnish the people with adequate information. To help in doing this very thing we organized this Museum of Social and Economic Statistics. Our schools, our workmen's organizations, organize trips to the museum, and learn the facts."

Dr. Neurath declared that the Socialist administration in Vienna aimed to combine centralization in administration with a thoroughgoing consent of the population. It likewise sought the abolition of charity. The building of its houses was under central direction. Yet, in the various large apartment houses, it stimulated the organization of special self-governing committees of tenants, who looked after the property.

"The result," declared the lecturer, "is that we have had to

employ only one municipal inspector to every three or four thousand apartments. All the other work is done by the tenants themselves."

## A Trip to Municipal Houses

Dr. Neurath's address was followed by an inspection of some of the 50,000 apartments thus far erected in the city. To me one of the interesting things about this inspection was that, during the several hours' trip, I saw none of the municipal houses to which I was taken last year—the Vienna Socialists have no models to which they take visitors. They show you the houses most conveniently at hand, and let it go at that. I was as impressed as on my former visit, if not more so, by the beauty of the lines of these municipal apartments, the width of their courts, the lightness of their rooms, all open to the sun, their cleanliness, their utter inexpensiveness.

Particularly impressive was the new Garden City settlement containing 1,100 families, with its large court occupying nearly three times as much space as that allocated to the houses themselves; its model central laundry where the women folk had at their disposal electric washing machines, wringers, mangles and drying rooms; and its invariable beds of flowers—some of the balcony gardens, for the best of which prizes were offered by the municipality, were a delight to behold.

Near the Garden City likewise we visited the individual houses constructed under the direction of cooperative societies, all with large, flourishing gardens. The houses were individually owned, although the land was leased from the society.

## A Talk with the City's Finance Minister

The man more responsible than any other for finding the money for the housing and other social welfare measures was Breitner, the city's able finance minister, the most admired and the most hated man in Vienna. He was formerly a banker, and for years had fought the battle of the common people in financing their various enterprises.

We saw Minister Breitner in his busy office in the Rathaus. He explained to us, with the precision of a successful administrator, the real drive back of the housing movement. Before the war rents were high, taking one-fourth of the earnings of the worker. Following the war, the cost of living increased. Wages were low. If rents remained at the same level, they would take half of the workers' earnings. Workers secured only \$6 to \$7 a week, some from \$11 to \$14. Many women received only \$3 and \$4. The city passed rent restriction laws to make it possible for workers to live. That was not enough. Decent homes must be provided. Private enterprises couldn't provide them. The city found that it could not build houses out of loans and charge rents that the workers could pay. The only alternative was raising the money through taxation, and charging rent that would cover running expenses, but no capital charges.

"Vienna has built along these lines," declared Comrade Breitner. "We have now completed about 51,000 apartments, occupied by about 200,000 people. We are building at the rate of 6,000 apartments a year. It is probable that no other city in the world owns so

large a number of apartments. Of course, the building program has been the most contested point in public policy. It has led to the bitter opposition of the house owner and of the bourgeois class in general. But it must be realized that quite a different set of circumstances governs Vienna than many other cities. The war left Vienna a big city in the midst of a small country. Austria was in great economic difficulties and a system of taxation had to be devised which would press mostly on the rich classes, as little as possible on the workers.

"The question often arises: 'Does the city like the policy which we have pursued?' Before the war, Socialists were discriminated against. They had a large vote, but only 7 representatives in the town council. In 1919, their vote was 368,000. This increased in 1923 to 573,000; in 1927 to 624,000, giving Socialists in the Council only one vote less than a two-thirds majority. In the next election in 1931 we expect continued progress.

"The new tenements haven't all the improvements we would like. For one thing they have no separate baths. But they ought to be compared with the old tenements. In these old apartments, 73 per cent contained but one living room and a kitchen. In 92 per cent of the cases, lavatories were outside the apartments. Nine-tenths of the apartments had no running water. Only 14 per cent had gas and only 7 per cent, electric lights. All of the municipal apartments now have these conveniences."

Minister Breitner was asked what he would do with the New York slums if he had power. "If only one had the money in New York to work with!" he exclaimed, and he left the rest to the group's imagination.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

## A Socialist Christmas Gift

NOT a week passes that The New Leader does not receive letters in praise of it. These letters come from every state in the Union. It is due to the continuous and loyal support of our readers that The New Leader has been able to expand its circulation but there still remains much to be done.

At no time since the founding of The New Leader nearly seven years ago has it been so essential to the Socialist movement. At no other time has its weekly message been so necessary to an interpretation of the capitalist world.

Not so many years ago masses of people were cynical regarding a Socialist movement. Even some of our supporters had their loyalty tested. The retainers of capitalism asserted that the American brand had made a working class movement unnecessary in politics and industry.

Those who were grounded in the fundamentals of Socialist philosophy knew that an awakening was coming. They held the Socialist standard aloft, knowing that the system would be mired in an industrial crisis, shocking the masses into a sense of the perils that confronted them.

That time has arrived. So has the Christmas season. Santa Claus is not the merry old soul he was but the Christmas spirit may be employed to serve The New Leader and the Socialist movement. Here is a suggestion of how Kris Kringle may be employed to serve your Cause and ours.

Why not include as a gift to your friends a yearly subscription to The New Leader? You will be observing the spirit of the holiday and at the same time serving the Socialist Cause. Many weekly and monthly magazines increase their circulation by urging this method of observing the Christmas spirit. Why not make this custom serve the purpose of emancipating friends

from the habit of capitalistic voting and thinking?

Remember, also, that with every new subscription you will receive a copy of "The Workers in American History." This is the de luxe edition of which only 500 copies were printed. Each book is numbered and has the signature of the author.

If you already have a copy of this book you will have another present for a friend. Fill out the coupon below and mail without delay.

COUPON  
(Rates \$2 a Year, \$1 for 6 Months)  
THE NEW LEADER,  
7 East 15th Street, N. Y. C.

Enclosed you will find \$ . . . . . for which you will enter the following subscriptions to your paper.

Name . . . . .  
Address . . . . .  
Name . . . . .  
Address . . . . .  
Name . . . . .  
Address . . . . .

Free Youth is publication of the Young People's Socialist League. It aims to present, in concise form, the latest news and views of the progressive youth. It invites contributions of news and views.

**FREE YOUTH**

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

## Yipsel Convention

THE tenth annual convention of the Young People's Socialist League of Greater New York will open with large mass meeting on Saturday, Dec. 13, at the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th street, at 3:30 p. m. Some of the outstanding Socialists will address the convention. We have secured Norman Thomas, Morris Hillquit, Heywood Brown and Algeron Lee to address the mass meeting on Saturday. We also expect to have Adam Coudigler on Sunday, Dec. 14. The convention will continue on Sunday evening if necessary and reconvene on Sunday morning and afternoon. Twenty-five labor and Socialist organizations will be represented by fraternal delegates.

## Hike to Hunter's Island

Accompanied by Jack Frost and Father Winter, the Y. P. S. L. of Greater New York started a hike destined to be one of the best in the history of the league. On Thanksgiving morning comrades representing four boroughs met at Pelham Bay station, whence they proceeded to Hunter's Island. This hike made history for the Y. P. S. L. was called for 10 a. m. and the hike left the station at 10:30, using the I. R. T. bulletin board to tell the late-comers that they had left. When they arrived, banners were displayed which could be seen for miles. Comrade Asherman, a rugged man from Brownsville, brought a raw steak which Comrade Altman, dean of English chefs, undertook to roast. We ate part of it better known as the cooperative steak. The outstanding feature was a football game played between the Brooklynites and the Bronxites. (We mean Bronxites.) The score was 22-0 in favor of Brooklyn. Special mention must be given to Comrade Belsky, playing the position of drawback for Brooklyn, for his spectacular forward passing. The game ended, we sat around a roaring blaze singing songs as only Yipsels are capable of doing. In the meantime the cold was growing bitter, forcing us to depart from the island leaving our spirit behind.

## Textile Striker Joins Yipsels

Hy Fish, Cleveland Yipsel and now a student at Brookwood, sends us the following:

Sadie Watson of Marion, N. C., one of the original twenty-two who was fired for joining the textile union, joined the Y. P. S. L. at Brookwood College, Katoanah, N. Y., a few days ago. At one of the meetings of the Brookwood students, Comrade Watson said: "I can hardly wait to get back to Marion to organize a circle of the Y. P. S. L. there. I am thinking up plans of organization now so as to be ready when I finish my year at Brookwood."

Montreal Circle One held its semi-annual election. H. Rudolf, E. Laszlo, L. Rosenbloom, G. Schlessberg and A. Goldrich were elected officers. A new circle is being organized by Sol Bernas and Dave Lewis. The growth of the Y. P. S. L. has given

## Impetus to the reorganization of the Montreal Labor Party

### CIRCLING THE CIRCLES

Bronx Boro: Harry W. Laidler, of the League for Industrial Democracy, will address the entire membership of the Bronx on National Control of Industry.

Circle One Sr. Kings: At the last meeting, Nov. 29, the circle had the most interesting session of its short existence. Louis Berlin led the discussion on "Why I am a Socialist." Delegates to the tenth annual Yipsel convention were elected. They are Harry C. Davis and Fanny Adlerstein.

Circle Two Jr. Kings: The circle has organized a basketball team and is now ready to play any junior circle. Circles interested in playing basketball communicate with the athletic director of the circle, Max Ashman, 72 Powell street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Circle Nine Sr. Kings: At the last meeting members were given an opportunity to state why they joined the Y. P. S. L. An interesting time was had. Comrades Barron, Elliot and Hass led the discussion.

Circle Two Sr. Kings: The circle had an interesting meeting last week. The propaganda committee rendered a full report which was accepted and machinery adopted to put the suggestions to work. Members are to distribute pamphlets from house to house once a month. The delegates elected to the convention are Irving Cohen and Harry Lopatin. The circle meets every Sunday evening at 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn.

Junior Weekly  
The Appeal to Youth, official organ of the Junior Y. P. S. L., appears today. Yipsels throughout the city are urged to cooperate by buying this paper in order that it may continue its existence. The Appeal to Youth can be obtained at the city office, Rand Book Store, and at the headquarters of the various circles. Contributions for future issues would be appreciated.

Two Senior Groups Apply for Charters  
Two new senior groups are now ready to be chartered. Circle Two, Manhattan, which meets every Sunday evening at 600 West 131st street, applied with eight members, and Circle Three, Manhattan, which meets every Sunday evening at Capmakers Union headquarters, 133 Second avenue, applied with ten members.

Installation Party  
All members of the Y. P. S. L. and their friends are invited to attend the installation party given by Circle One Senior, Kings. There will be dancing, entertainment and refreshments. The charter will be presented to this newly organized circle by Abe Belsky, executive secretary. Help make this affair a success by your presence and swell the ranks of Yipsedom. The party will be held at their headquarters, 910 Belmont avenue, Brooklyn, on Saturday, Dec. 6, at 8 p. m. Admission free.

Williamsburg Yipsel Circles  
Circle Six Senior initiated its membership drive by a Youth Rally, as

which August Claessens was the principal speaker. Irving Smith and Sid Bloomgarder presented a dramatic skit. Over 100 filled the hall. A series of talks on Socialism was started. Two of these talks, dealing with "Socialism to Marx" and "Marx and Socialism" were already delivered by Phil Heller and Irving Smith respectively. Next week Sid Bloomgarder will speak on the "Revisionist Movement." The circle decided to hold a dance on New Year's Eve at the Rand School in conjunction with the Socialist Sunday School.

Circle Twelve Junior elected the following officers: organizer, Jessie Gellerstein; educational director, I. Kugler; recording secretary, Dave Krinchewsky; financial secretary, Sol Plincus; and social director, I. Kasansky.

Attention Brooklyn Circle!  
Send the names of the delegates to the Borough Councils to the City Office at once.

Resolution on Russian Terror  
The following resolution was presented to the Conference against Russian Terrorism by the Y. P. S. L. of New York:

"Dear Comrades:  
"No intelligent Socialist can disagree with your manifesto concerning the new terror unleashed upon any who stand in the way of the brutal dictatorship of Stalin in the U. S. S. R. At the same time, however, we know that the same conditions exist in Fascist Italy under Mussolini, in Hungary under Horthy, in Poland under Pilsudski, and in various other countries. In our own country, the United States, where Mooney and Billings still languish in jail and where Sacco and Vanzetti were killed in cold blood and where frame ups have caused thousands to be thrown into jail.

"Yet, what grieves us more than the state of affairs in these various countries is the vicious suppression of all political rights of the people of India because that country is at present being ruled by a Socialist government whose helm is MacDonald, a member of the Second Socialist International. We, members of the Young People's Socialist League, would feel hypocritical, denouncing one government when other governments do likewise, and particularly when one of these other governments happen to be one of ours.

"Furthermore, the danger of this conference being linked in the minds of the working class with the Fish Committee is self-evident, because they know that the U. S. S. R. is only one of the examples of that quick remedy called 'dictatorship.' If we attack only Soviet Russia the impression gained will be that our aim is not sincere, which will help defeat the very purpose of this conference.

"Therefore Comrade, we ask and plead that if you care for the cause of liberty, broaden this conference so that it will include all terrors: Fascist, Communist and even Socialist.

"Fraternally submitted,  
"The Young People's Socialist League of Greater New York."

## Class Justice in the United States

By Laurence Rogin

THOSE who have followed the history of the various important labor trials in the United States can be in no wise shocked by the action of the Supreme Court of California in refusing to approve the application of Warren K. Billings for pardon, even though any fair-minded person upon reviewing the evidence put before the court, would have acknowledged that Billings' innocence had been proven. For even a very casual perusal of the records of the important trials, from the case of the Chicago anarchists in 1886 to that of the Communists in Gastonia in 1929, shows the class bias upon which most of the judgments are based. Most of us, however, have forgotten the circumstances surrounding many of these cases. It is worth while to glance at some of the outstanding labor trials in the United States.

It is important to note that I am discussing here criminal cases involving radicals or labor disputes. I am not at all referring to that long list of judicial decisions tying up labor unions with the multifarious conditions surrounding the right to strike, picket, boycott, and organize. The nature and purpose of those decisions are too obvious to require any comment, even though they may be bound up in legal technology and obscure phrases. It is in the criminal trials for murder, however, that the real attitude of the prosecution is brought out and in those cases mainly because there we have an opportunity to compare the treatment of workers with that given to their oppressors.

Resolution on Russian Terror  
The following resolution was presented to the Conference against Russian Terrorism by the Y. P. S. L. of New York:

"Dear Comrades:  
"No intelligent Socialist can disagree with your manifesto concerning the new terror unleashed upon any who stand in the way of the brutal dictatorship of Stalin in the U. S. S. R. At the same time, however, we know that the same conditions exist in Fascist Italy under Mussolini, in Hungary under Horthy, in Poland under Pilsudski, and in various other countries. In our own country, the United States, where Mooney and Billings still languish in jail and where Sacco and Vanzetti were killed in cold blood and where frame ups have caused thousands to be thrown into jail.

"Yet, what grieves us more than the state of affairs in these various countries is the vicious suppression of all political rights of the people of India because that country is at present being ruled by a Socialist government whose helm is MacDonald, a member of the Second Socialist International. We, members of the Young People's Socialist League, would feel hypocritical, denouncing one government when other governments do likewise, and particularly when one of these other governments happen to be one of ours.

"Furthermore, the danger of this conference being linked in the minds of the working class with the Fish Committee is self-evident, because they know that the U. S. S. R. is only one of the examples of that quick remedy called 'dictatorship.' If we attack only Soviet Russia the impression gained will be that our aim is not sincere, which will help defeat the very purpose of this conference.

"Therefore Comrade, we ask and plead that if you care for the cause of liberty, broaden this conference so that it will include all terrors: Fascist, Communist and even Socialist.

"Fraternally submitted,  
"The Young People's Socialist League of Greater New York."

## Mooney-Billings Case Decision Follows Precedent of Many Anti-Labor Cases

cept after their challenges had been exhausted, were of the same general character as the others, and a number of them stated candidly that they were so prejudiced they could not try the case fairly, but each, when examined by the court, was finally induced to say that he believed he could try the case fairly on the evidence that was produced in court alone."

Altgeld also attacked that attitude of the judge during the trial and said of the bombing that "Captain Bonfield (who had led the police) is the man who is responsible for the death of the police officers." Regarding the jurors mentioned above, Henry L. Ryce, bailiff, who selected them said that he was picking them to make positive that "those fellows would hang as sure as death." Spies, Parsons, Fielden, Michael Schwab, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, Louis Lingg and Oscar W. Neebe were found guilty. All but Neebe were sentenced to death. Schwab and Fielden had their sentences

commuted to life imprisonment by the governor, who would do nothing for any of the others. Lingg committed suicide in his cell and the other four were hung on November 11, 1887. Some six years later Governor Altgeld, newly elected, pardoned Fielden and Neebe, which occasioned the remarks concerning the trial mentioned above.

I have gone into such detail about the trial of the Chicago anarchists, because it is a typical example of most trials of workers in similar cases. The other cases are just as important.

There was the Haywood-Moyer-Pettibone case in 1905, when these three mine union officials were arrested for the murder of Governor Steunenberg of Idaho and held in jail without a shred of evidence against them until a private detective confessed the crime. Somewhat later in 1913, Ford and Suhr were convicted for murder. These men had led a revolt against the

terrible conditions in the hop fields of California. A riot was provoked and several officials were killed. The Sacramento Bee commented on their trial thusly: "The methods by which Ford and Suhr were brought to bar were a blot on the county of Yuba, a stain upon the State of California and a blemish upon civilization itself." About the same time occurred the trial of Ettor and Giovannitti on trumped up charges growing out of their I. W. W. activities. They were saved only when the ruling class saw that the case was too raw to be put over and that the workers would not stand for it.

It must be remembered that all these cases occurred before that patriotic fever that was held responsible for the many outrages during the war. And it must be also remembered that while the Mooney-Billings, the Sacco-Vanzetti and the Centralia cases, which were the main cases among the hundreds of that period, may have seemed to arise from the fe-

ver, they lasted many years and the final decisions in each were easily traced to class hatred. The readers of The New Leader do not have to be reminded of the circumstances out of which these trials grew or of those more recent examples of class injustice, the Gastonia, Marion and Imperial Valley cases.

While it may seem that I have over-simplified the problem I think the explanation of this is not that I have ignored any complications that really exist but that these complications exist only when it is desired to confuse the public and to give an air of justice to the proceedings. It must also be recognized that these cases do not indict every judge of being a labor hater and tool of the capitalist class. The important lesson is that Socialists and workers everywhere must recognize that the capitalist class has and in the future will continue to use the machinery of justice to accomplish its own ends and get rid of fighters for the rights of the working class.

"The workers are often proud of that of which they should be ashamed and ashamed of that of which they should be proud."

Those Who Read

## "Workers in American History"

By JAMES ONEAL

will be proud to possess the information contained in this book.

WORKERS IN AMERICAN HISTORY is not a jumbled record of dates, utterances of politicians and "public benefactors."

WORKERS IN AMERICAN HISTORY is a carefully and plainly written book in which the social and industrial forces and the part that the workers have played in the making of history are accurately brought out.

We have a limited number of the beautifully bound, autographed edition of WORKERS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

You may have a copy free with a NEW yearly subscription to The New Leader. If you are a subscriber, order the paper sent to a friend and keep the book for yourself.

USE THIS BLANK

THE NEW LEADER, 7 East 15th Street, N. Y. C.

Enclosed please find \$2.00 for which you will send me post-free a copy of *Workers in American History*, autographed de luxe edition, and a new yearly subscription to The New Leader.

Send the Book to

Send The New Leader to

Name . . . . . Name . . . . .  
Address . . . . . Address . . . . .



## “Them Foreigners Done It”

**S**TICK your fingers in your ears, boys and girls. The President has just sent a message to Congress saying, “The fundamental strength of the nation's economic life is unimpaired.” If the history of recent performances following Presidential pronouncements is to be repeated, all over this roundly strong land of ours there will resound the loud popping of the collapse of those few remaining rugged individuals who had strength enough left to stand on their economic feet.

No wonder the President had Patrick J. Halligan, Reading clerk for the Congress, read the message out loud, instead of delivering it in person. This was obviously a job for the hired help and I wonder that Fat stood the strain as well as he did.

Think of getting up in front of a lot of stuffed shirts and solemnly informing them that things aren't so rotten because after all there are only two and one-half million men and women out of work, whereas in normal times there are a million anyhow. And that, after all, it was the foreigners who done us dirt.

As soon as the President's message arrived in this office I took it out to read to a workless worker who is selling the magazine gotten out by the League for Industrial Democracy, called “The Unemployed.”

“The secret is out, Jake,” said I soothingly. “Now we know how this came. The President of the United States says that ‘the accumulative effects of demoralizing price falls in the process of adjustment of production to world consumption have produced financial crisis in many countries and have diminished the buying power of these countries for imported goods to a degree which extended the difficulties further afield by creating unemployment in all the industrial nations.’”

“Oh, yeah?” said Jake, “when do we eat?”

“The President doesn't say,” I told Jake who isn't as bright as he might be.

One thing the President did make clear was that we are only ten per cent off our feed. Ten per cent is now getting to be almost as popular a figure as the late lamented six per cent which the Fat Boys were once supposed to get for all the care and attention they lavished upon us.

I find it in a lovely page advertisement for “True Story Magazine” which recently appeared in “The New York Times.” Between us girls I had been worried about “True Story.”

The advertisements for this remarkable magazine had been a source of constant joy to me. Whenever I felt low in my mind about the low state of the labor movement I got out a “True Story” ad and read about how the honest sons of toil who wrote the pieces in the magazine had now discovered that lettuce was something that you ate. Up to the time of the Great Wind which blew Prosperity into the nostrils of our homes, these blanket stiff authors had thought that lettuce was something you fed the pigs. But according to the ad writer, standards of living had soared so under Cal and Herb that even steel puddlers were having salad for supper and going calling on each other like regular Babbits instead of making snouts over the back fence.

And then came the Grand Kersock and silence from the Happiness Boys, among them our favorite author. Now he has emerged again like this here Patrick with a grand ad called, “The True Story of American Business Affairs.” It seems that “True Story Magazine” is “the great nucleus about which the mass thought of America seems to revolve.” This confirms our darkest suspicion about the mass thought of America. Once, on a bet, we wrote a piece for “True Story” beginning: “I am just a little girl from Oklahoma City sitting in my cell on the edge of my cot wondering why I strangled my husband.” It went big.

But to get back to that ten per cent. “Barring fire, flood, war and pestilence,” we are informed, ninety per cent of us are self-sustaining. Furthermore, things are not half as bad as they might be because, again according to “True Story,” the business men of this country have got Nature licked. It appears that when Nature makes readjustments “such as the changing of a climate or the movement of a glacial flow or the inundation of a continent, she usually wipes out about ninety per cent of all living forms and leaves about ten per cent to begin all over again.”

So you see how much nicer it is to have business men make our readjustments for us than Nature. As “True Story” goes on, “It looks already as if ninety per cent will not only survive but thrive and even the remaining ten per cent will be able to struggle along somehow.”

Ethel Lurie, who does our higher mathematics for us in the outside office, figures that ten per cent of one hundred and twenty million is twelve million. We hope she is right. When we get up that high we get dizzy.

So all we have to do now is to chuck the bothersome twelve million into the Great Lakes and start all over again. And what the hell are twelve million more or less in a great rich country like ours.

Now that is settled, we must go on to express our admiration for the sterling character of John D. Rockefeller. The old soandso was out playing golf with his sky pilot the other day. And the gent whose job it is to chase John into Heaven made a grand drive. “If money wasn't so scarce,” said John, “I'd give you a nickel for that drive.” The psalmist, as is the way of his tribe, thoughtfully turned over each cheek at this wallow but a bunch of hard-boiled newspapermen insisted that John come across at least with a nickel. So the Rev. G. D. Owen got a nickel and the newspaper photographers got their picture.

Right after we had read this, we saw of all things in the world, here in New York City, by heck, a man coming down the street on a bicycle. And that pointed the moral to the story. Money, we are informed by the bird who has most of it, is scarce.

And for once we find ourselves in complete agreement with John D. Rockefeller. It's as scarce as the hair on your old bald head, around these parts, John. And so long as that is the case why not all of us go around on bicycles? Think of the saving on gas. There's hardly a nickel's worth of wear and tear in twenty miles of bicycle riding. No filling stations to rob you, no repairs that you can't make yourself, no traffic cops to bowl you out. Buy a bicycle and help bring back prosperity. We are thinking of taking that slogan down to Ivy Lee's office and see what can be done about it by the official whitewasher for John D.

Just as a finale that has nothing to do with the rest of this column, may we take off our hat to the up-and-doing members of the New York Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy, who in an incredibly short time got out a first-rate magazine called, “The Unemployed” which is now being sold in the streets by the unemployed themselves who, of course, get all the profits. The magazine is chock full of interesting material. It is fine propaganda and rarely have we seen an instance of rising to an emergency which clicked off as nicely as this.

McAlister Coleman.

## From Our Foreign Correspondent

# The Labor Government Hangs On

By Fred Henderson  
London

**H**AVE you ever watched the turn of the tide where sea and river meet? There is a brief period of indecision, choppy little waves that run neither this way nor that, a welter of broken water. And then, quite suddenly, the boats moored in the tideway swing around in unison, the crumpled water smooths out into an even run of the current, and the set of the tide becomes apparent.

The political situation here has developed with just that sort of tidal definiteness during the past month. During the long holiday of Parliament everything was confused and uncertain. The government was known to be in constant secret conference with the Liberals, on whose support it depends for its continued existence, as to the legislative program for the new session; but what the position would be when Parliament reassembled was a matter of obscure guesswork.

There is no guesswork about it now. We know where we are and what we have to face. And, if the knowledge is not very consoling, it is always good for a movement to have to face up to definite facts instead of drifting uncertainly.

Let me, by the way of making the happenings of this month clear—and their significance—recall the fact that from the formation of the Labor Government until well into this year, there was every evidence that the electors who supported us at the general election were prepared to give patient trial to the experiment of minority government by consent of our opponents. There was widespread doubt as to the wisdom of that policy; but there was a real desire to give the government every chance; and the by-election opportunities for the constituencies to express themselves showed that the country was still standing by us and suspending judgment.

The first indications of a deci-

## Municipal and Bye-Elections Reveal Shift of Public Sentiment Against MacDonald Cabinet

sion shaping in the public mind against the government policy of office without power, and consequently without Socialist results, came at two or three of the by-elections this summer, and these indications have become more and more pronounced at every by-election since then. In every such electoral test we have been losing ground and to a steadily worsening extent.

Parliamentary by-elections, however, only happen occasionally, and it is always possible to assume local rather than national causes for a set-back in their local voting, strong as the cumulative effect of a series of them may be. But it so happens that the reassembly of Parliament has now been coincident with our great annual test of public opinion on a nation-wide scale. Every town and city in Britain has its annual municipal elections on the first of November. Up till now we have been making great strides towards Socialist control of civic administration all over the country. For the past seven years we have averaged a win of over a hundred seats each year on British city councils. We have never had a set-back—till now. This year it has been a debacle. We have lost over a hundred seats, and in a number of important cities, where we had either secured control or come within a very close margin of it, we have been thrown back into a position from which it will take years to recover. It is not possible to disguise or to misinterpret the unhappy facts; this tide of defeat has run against us in every part of the country.

Here and there in an isolated town we have held our own; and I am personally very proud of the fact that in my own native city of Norwich we have more than held our own. I had the honor, 28 years ago, of being elected to the Norwich City Council as the first Socialist returned to any public authority in eastern England; and

from that small beginning we have gone on steadily until in this year of general defeat we have won the margin of increased representation which gives us a clear majority and makes Norwich for the first time a Socialist-controlled city. But that is only the rare exception; a local eddy against a prevailing tide over the country generally.

And on the top of these municipal losses came the Parliamentary by-election in the Shipley division of Yorkshire, a seat we have held consistently at three previous elections, a traditional labor seat since before the first labor government in 1924. Our vote there at the general election last year was 18,654, and our majority 4,961. We have now lost it in the same resounding way in which we lost municipal seats a few days earlier.

It is in the atmosphere of these defeats that the government is meeting the new session of Parliament; and the immediate effect has been to reduce to unimportance all the manoeuvres and conferences and arrangements of the recess. The whole position has been changed. You can sense the change in every casual talk on the streets or wherever people meet together and politics are mentioned. It is manifest in the demeanor of the conservatives and the acceptance of the central factor in the situation is now everywhere assumed to be that the moral sanctions of the government for holding office have been swept away by this blast of public opinion.

Meanwhile the government says nothing, except that Macdonald casually remarks that he does not think the country deserves a general election. Its announced program of work for the session is pretty much as before; a program which would be quite good for a moderately reforming Liberal or Conservative government intent upon making capitalism work more safely by introducing various lit-

tle insurances against undue discontent into its working, but with nothing in it answering to the hopes that have gone to build up the Socialist movement and make a Socialist government possible. In the situation in which they find themselves they could do no other without risking office, and their policy is to retain office as long as possible.

The immediate strategy of the Conservatives is based on their belief that the Indian Conference will come to an unsatisfactory conclusion; and their own openly discussed plan is to leave the government to handle that matter and take whatever discredit may attach to it, and to concentrate on a general election early in the new year. The position is, however, complicated by the fact that, whenever the general election may come, the Conservatives are now committed to a policy of full blooded protection. This will greatly embarrass the Liberals, who as Free Traders will not be too eager to turn us out to put a Protectionist government in, especially if they feel as the program for the session is calculated to make them feel, that they can still count on their power to make a Parliamentary majority against us at any moment to restrain the government from attempting any real Socialist action. It is upon that Liberal embarrassment the government now mainly relies; and the whole Parliamentary problem at the moment is how long that sort of calculation can keep things going against the manifest swing of the tide in the constituencies against the present impotence of Parliament.

The logic of the situation would seem to be that the longer our Parliamentary impotence drifts on the worse we shall fare in the end. I have known the same sort of thing to happen with other governments in the past. When it becomes evident that a tide of national decision has set in, the ten-

dency of governments always is to hold on a little longer in the hope that things may improve. It never comes off; the longer a government hangs on once such a national mood becomes evident, the more its difficulties increase. And with us now this is bound to be so in the nature of the case. For the source of all the trouble is that we are holding office as a Socialist government under conditions which make us helpless for Socialism; and all the present manoeuvring is for the continuance of that. So much work and sacrifice and devotion have been given by armies of workers for a generation past to making a Socialist government possible—work done with a great hope and a great vision—and the present spectacle of a Socialist government in office and nothing in particular coming of it has stunned and disillusioned them. And every month of continuance along that road will add to the disillusionment. Even now, if the government would challenge the capitalist majority of the House of Commons with some real and outstanding proposal for the transition to Socialism, and go to the country at once on its certain rejection, much of our lost rank and the lost enthusiasm of our rank and file might be recovered. But of that there is no sign whatever.

It may be that the necessary spur will be applied from outside the political field altogether. Big industrial trouble is threatened. The railway workers have received notice of proposed drastic wage reductions. The boot and shoe operatives are at the moment fighting with the national employers in joint conference over similar proposed reductions put forward by the employers in readiness for the termination of the existing trade agreement as wages early next year. And the miners are being driven into a corner in the same way. These things will not be without their repercussions on the political situation; for in all these threatened industries there is already a fighting spirit manifest.

To be a Socialist one must hold hard to the lesson of patience. It will not be too difficult to await the result. And yet, while I do not presume to offer you any direct instruction on how to think or act as you go on through your higher preparations for life, it would not be unwise to express what I hope you will see fit to do.

Because you are starting with no economic handicap, (and I trust to be able to carry on sufficiently to keep that worry from you) you will have more leisure for social contact and personal adventure.

You will find in your university a chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy. In my day it was called the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. If it will be your pleasure to join in with this group, it will be mine to follow your work there.

You have attended several conferences with me at Camp Tamiment while you were still a high school lad. You met such men as Dr. Harry Laidler and Norman Thomas. You also noted what a high-minded and whole-souled band of men and women made up that organization. Here were liberals, progressives, intellectuals, philosophical anarchists, Communists and Socialists all working and earnestly seeking a way to permanent health for the body social and political. Morris Hillquit, Prof. Dewey, Stuart Chase, Steve Rausenbush and many of the finest minds in the world of economics and philosophy find forth there.

Then there is the Young People's Socialist League. Fresh youth to follow on with sturdy stride and fresh energy, no cause in which the elders live and die can ever survive. That axiom is so ludicrously self-evident, that I often puzzle over the stubborn carelessness of the aging votaries of a revolutionary ideal, toward recognizing and encouraging the young men and women who are ready to take up the torch when older hands grow unsteady.

You will find here lads and girls who are not afraid to dream, and certainly are less fearful to go forth and battle for their dream.

Not one of them belongs to a fraternity for books privileges or restaurant busting after the football game. You will hardly find one racoon coat or tuxedo suit in the crowd. They are the militant children of workers who have also fought for a dream. Most of them are working in offices and shops. A number are studying while they work.

It would be a splendid thing for you to lend your spirit and strength to their movement. I know how much you have to give in mind and body, and never miss it in your school work.

The energy and time I have so happily given for Socialism made me a more efficient human being in whatever unrelated vocations I pursued to earn a livelihood.

It would not be pleasant . . . it would be unbearably bitter to find you succumbing to the easy influence of ordinary campus life. For you to forget the fact that the world is just crammed full of working boys and girls who will never have your opportunities for unworried education, would be unparadise.

I am a Socialist because the capitalist system robbed me of just the kind of childhood and home environment you have enjoyed. And I will not remain content in just affording my own family, the joys of adolescence that were stolen from me.

Until the time comes when every boy and girl is guaranteed by law, what I give you by playing the nasty game of business, I shall continue to educate the rest of my fellow men for Socialism.

I am not happy about being a business man. And perhaps upon thorough digestion of your own position you would not be altogether happy about being the son of a business man. There is something undeniably parasitic about all able-bodied persons who neither spin nor sow, who do not use their brain or brawn in the direct creation of clothing, food, housing and comforts.

If you do join the Y. P. S. L. and you do attend the L. I. D. chapter at your school, and you find the Socialist ideal congenial to your heart and brain, you will only be joyous and effective in the same measure as you live within the thought that only those who create the useful and beautiful things for mankind are the elect in your social register.

Write me soon, my son, or rather as soon as you think you have news to write that will please your mother, and make me

## The Chatter Box

**Brooklyn Bridge**  
These black webs  
Have caught  
An accident of beauty  
Unforeseen  
In the blueprint  
Of their creation.

**Wall Street**  
There are no jewels  
In the hilt of this sword  
The nation wears on its hip.

There are no soft words  
In this wild rush of fateful sound.

There is only  
The rattle of spurs upon the heel.

There is only the jar  
Of sword-buckles  
Against the bone.

SAUL JONATHAN WEITZER.

## Another Letter From a Socialist Father to His Son

**M**Y Dear Son:  
This February you will enter college. You will go into lecture rooms with a splendid body and well-mannered poise. These your mother has built up in you through unremitting patience and self-denial.

There has been very little of glamor or glory about her toil. There never is much romance in the slow, solid processes of creation. Thank her, and with sensible appreciation for her work of love, carry on and do well in your studies and your play. This is all the advice I dare give you. I have a deep respect for my older years. I sometimes think that old men do best when they sit around tea cups, smoke cigars, and tell one another tales of things gone by.

And yet I cannot submerge my own part in your life with a gesture of modesty. Despite the fact that I have taken so many years of days and nights away from you and given them to the Socialist movement, I have not altogether failed to influence your mind.

Book by book, I filled up the shelves in the library. These we have read together. The New Leader, the Nation, and the scientific periodicals I subscribe to, we have also shared in separate hours. You have been to a number of street meetings, taken in lectures by party leaders, and even attended one Socialist Party political convention.

This part of your education, I did not dare to force upon you. What effect it will have, only the ensuing years up from boyhood will attest.

To be a Socialist one must hold hard to the lesson of patience. It will not be too difficult to await the result.

And yet, while I do not presume to offer you any direct instruction on how to think or act as you go on through your higher preparations for life, it would not be unwise to express what I hope you will see fit to do.

Because you are starting with no economic handicap, (and I trust to be able to carry on sufficiently to keep that worry from you) you will have more leisure for social contact and personal adventure.

You will find in your university a chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy. In my day it was called the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. If it will be your pleasure to join in with this group, it will be mine to follow your work there.

You have attended several conferences with me at Camp Tamiment while you were still a high school lad. You met such men as Dr. Harry Laidler and Norman Thomas. You also noted what a high-minded and whole-souled band of men and women made up that organization. Here were liberals, progressives, intellectuals, philosophical anarchists, Communists and Socialists all working and earnestly seeking a way to permanent health for the body social and political. Morris Hillquit, Prof. Dewey, Stuart Chase, Steve Rausenbush and many of the finest minds in the world of economics and philosophy find forth there.

Then there is the Young People's Socialist League. Fresh youth to follow on with sturdy stride and fresh energy, no cause in which the elders live and die can ever survive. That axiom is so ludicrously self-evident, that I often puzzle over the stubborn carelessness of the aging votaries of a revolutionary ideal, toward recognizing and encouraging the young men and women who are ready to take up the torch when older hands grow unsteady.

You will find here lads and girls who are not afraid to dream, and certainly are less fearful to go forth and battle for their dream.

Not one of them belongs to a fraternity for books privileges or restaurant busting after the football game. You will hardly find one racoon coat or tuxedo suit in the crowd. They are the militant children of workers who have also fought for a dream. Most of them are working in offices and shops. A number are studying while they work.

It would be a splendid thing for you to lend your spirit and strength to their movement. I know how much you have to give in mind and body, and never miss it in your school work.

The energy and time I have so happily given for Socialism made me a more efficient human being in whatever unrelated vocations I pursued to earn a livelihood.

It would not be pleasant . . . it would be unbearably bitter to find you succumbing to the easy influence of ordinary campus life. For you to forget the fact that the world is just crammed full of working boys and girls who will never have your opportunities for unworried education, would be unparadise.

I am a Socialist because the capitalist system robbed me of just the kind of childhood and home environment you have enjoyed. And I will not remain content in just affording my own family, the joys of adolescence that were stolen from me.

Until the time comes when every boy and girl is guaranteed by law, what I give you by playing the nasty game of business, I shall continue to educate the rest of my fellow men for Socialism.

I am not happy about being a business man. And perhaps upon thorough digestion of your own position you would not be altogether happy about being the son of a business man. There is something undeniably parasitic about all able-bodied persons who neither spin nor sow, who do not use their brain or brawn in the direct creation of clothing, food, housing and comforts.

If you do join the Y. P. S. L. and you do attend the L. I. D. chapter at your school, and you find the Socialist ideal congenial to your heart and brain, you will only be joyous and effective in the same measure as you live within the thought that only those who create the useful and beautiful things for mankind are the elect in your social register.

Write me soon, my son, or rather as soon as you think you have news to write that will please your mother, and make me

Your hopeful father.

## Scanning the New Books

# The Forces Behind the Present Chinese Situation

## The Causes of Chaos

By Paul Blanchard

**A**LL candid students of the Far East have known for at least a year that the Chinese revolution under the Kuomintang is a hopeless failure. Now Mr. Peffer, in “China: The Collapse of a Civilization,” the John Day Company, has underscored and described the failure in a book which may well be considered the post-mortem of modern China. His conclusion is that “there is no China today. There are 400,000,000 Chinese and a political entity called China. But that for which the name has stood for 2,000 years or more, that which has been most truly China, which gave the life of its people distinctive form and color and differentiated the race from all others—that is gone.”

Half of the reason for the collapse of China lies in the too sudden and swift impact of Western ideas of the Russian revolution. The other half lies in the internal weakness of Chinese culture. An archaic scholarship and a tender regard for grandmothers may seem to Western eyes quaint and lovely survivals of noble living, but in actual practice these cultural survivals keep the common people stupid, subservient, and germ-laden. One dose of Margaret Sanger would do more for Chinese culture today than all the relics of the ancient philosophers. And after Mrs. Sanger should come Mr. Ford. For Chinese civilization cannot climb far until its ricksha coolies have retired in favor of balloon tires.

Having granted the superiority of Western over Chinese culture, however, it would be foolish to go on from that point and argue with the colonial die hards of Shanghai that China should be controlled by Western governments. Intervention would only make an exceedingly hideous situation more hideous, by thwarting those groups in China which are seeking to bring the nation to self government. It is in the perception of the blight of Western civilization that Mr. Peffer stands superior to such writers as Hallett Abend of the New York Times who has recently published a book upon China which may well stand as a contrast to Mr. Peffer's work. Mr. Abend wants American and British intervention. He thinks that the cure for Chinese militarism is joint Western militarism. His point of view is neatly disposed of by Mr. Peffer who says:

“To make a case for intervention is supererogatory. There has always been intervention, almost a hundred years of it. The results have been disastrous enough. To go in officially now with military expeditions, civil occupations, and a superimposed foreign regime would be to add one more engine

of demolition. It would also be fruitless. To expect to straighten out China or set its house in order from without is as attempting to play traffic policeman to an earthquake.”

And Mr. Peffer adds, “Fortunately the attempt (at intervention) will not be made.” As to direct and single-handed intervention by the United States I think that Mr. Peffer is right, but there is still a real danger of intervention if the present military rulers of China are overthrown and a semi-socialist regime makes new alliances with Russia. China ground under the iron heel of Russia would make a most appealing theme for our military cartoonists and a most welcome diversion for old-party politicians. Did not the American people develop a sudden compassion for outraged Belgium in spite of the well-oiled German publicity machine in this country? How much more easy would be the task of inflaming Christian civilization to the heroic task of rescuing China from Bolshevism?

Mr. Peffer's book is both brilliant and depressing, brilliant because he packs an enormous number of facts into small compass, and depressing because the picture presented is of a nation in ruins without hope. “Not for a hundred years has there been any sign of statesmanship or of collective constructive ability.” China has shown an extraordinary capacity for muddling its affairs, a barrenness of leadership, and an almost fatalistic instinct for aggravating its own misery.

And yet the socialist and feminist ideals which animated the Kuomintang revolution cannot be entirely forgotten. The great strikes of recent years have all been defeated, but the lessons in class struggle have not been entirely lost. Those of us who hoped much for a new socialist society in the Orient have seen our dreams shattered by the very leaders who seemed most trustworthy, but ideas do not commit treason. The thought of a new economic society is still alive in that decimated and pathetic little handful of Chinese intellectual revolutionists who carry on in the name of Sun Yat-sen.

Munro credits Jackson with inaugurating a new era in 1928. We are indebted to him “for having infused into the American political system a large part of the democracy which the framers of the original constitution did not intend it to possess.” To Jackson, the democratic phrases mouthed by orators were realities.

To Woodrow Wilson goes the credit of having “set presidential leadership upon a new plane.” In addition to the valuable contribution made through Wilson's type of leadership, Socialists in particular will remember one result so damaging that it may outweigh those that the book lists. No man-

## Molders of Government

Fortunately for better popular understanding of political thought and government practice, William Munro is not the usual type of popularizer. His latest of three “light” books on politics, “The Makers of the Unwritten Constitution,” (The Macmillan Company, New York, \$1.50) deals with the legislative enactments, judicial decisions, usages, doctrines, precedents, official opinions, and points of view which have profoundly altered the implication of the 1787 document which school children are taught is the entire constitution.

He shows how a supposedly inflexible instrument drawn up by persons who knew only sailing vessels and stage coaches has been stretched to give the federal government some measure of power to deal with problems arising from steamships, railroads, buses, airplanes, and telegraphic and radio communication.

He points out that the framers of the constitution anticipated national conventions would be called from time to time to undertake a general revision. In the absence of such a rational manner of changing governmental powers, judges, legislators, presidents, and others have usurped this power as an occasion for change arose. This book deals with three presidents and a supreme court judge who made what Munro considers most significant contributions to our “unwritten constitution”: Alexander Hamilton, John Marshall, Andrew Jackson, and Woodrow Wilson.

The first made the slim federal control over economic life breathe and live and become actually and even more potentially of vast importance for an industrial civilization. Even Socialists should be thankful for Hamilton. Without him and the second “maker,” we might have been little better off than Europe today—so far as both political and economic solidarity between the states in the Union are concerned.

Munro credits Jackson with inaugurating a new era in 1928. We are indebted to him “for having infused into the American political system a large part of the democracy which the framers of the original constitution did not intend it to possess.” To Jackson, the democratic phrases mouthed by orators were realities.

To Woodrow Wilson goes the credit of having “set presidential leadership upon a new plane.” In addition to the valuable contribution made through Wilson's type of leadership, Socialists in particular will remember one result so damaging that it may outweigh those that the book lists. No man-

tion is made of how “he kept us out of war.”

Undoubtedly American Socialists are hampered by the clumsy system of “checks and balances.” This book, however, shows that when the people were aroused and well led, obstacles that normally loomed large were surmounted.

C. S.

## Memories of The Commune

**T**HE Labor and Socialist movement across the Atlantic is absorbed in international issues because the movement is in the center of trends that mean much to the working class of all countries. In the United States, despite our experiences in the World War, the masses have little knowledge and take little interest in international questions. Unfortunately the same may be said of many American Socialists and yet we may be dragged into another imperialist war that may have its immediate cause in some issue abroad.

We once held celebrations to commemorate the martyrs of the Paris Commune. Today the Commune is hardly a memory to many of our members although it is an outstanding event in the history of the world labor movement.

These reflections are occasioned by the publication of a book by Edward S. Mason (“The Paris Commune,” New York: Macmillan, \$5). As a dramatic episode in the history of the Socialist movement, in recent years it has become a theme for controversy between Communists and Socialists. Marx, Engels, Kautsky and other Socialists have written of it and the author of this book attempts to interpret the Commune as a historian not interested in the party controversies but solely to get at the facts.

It is certain that Marx wrote when passions were at a white heat, when bloody reprisals by a triumphant reaction could only invoke deep hate of Thiers and his hangmen. Some years had to pass before documentary material would be available, and in the perspective of time the judgment of Marx and others of the best character of Thiers and his chief associates has been vindicated.

On the other hand, it may be admitted that much of the early interpretation of the Commune was oversimplified. The fact that among the leading Communards were disciples of Proudhon, Blanqui, Marx, Blanc and Babeuf, others who were outraged because of the surrender to the Prussians, still others who were Republicans, or Anti-Clericals, or influenced by traditions of the Great Revolution, would suggest caution in interpreting the Commune solely in terms of a proletarian movement. Leaders of the proletarian war

generally in the foreground, to be sure, but there was no general solidarity based upon the consciousness of class aims in the leaders and the masses. Intellectually the whole Labor and Socialist movement in all countries was yet to emerge in definite organization, clarity of aims and program and if the Commune failed to rise to modern expectations that is not a reflection upon the Communards.

After making allowance for all these factors, the Paris Commune still remains one of the most heroic episodes in Labor and Socialist history. There were those who saw the necessity of other communards in France if revolutionary Paris was to survive. Successes were realized in a number of cities but they were short-lived and with the defeat of these communards the fate of Paris was certain. Moreover, romanticists with responsibilities in the Commune contributed to confusion and to division. Some faced the task with revolutionary oratory. Others knew that inspiring speeches were no substitute for bread and organization and demonstrated ability in the face of trying situations.

The Paris Commune failed and the ferocity of the reaction was such that even the bourgeois press of England and to some extent on the Continent was shocked at the bloody and unnecessary executions of the Communards. The heroism of men and women who could shout “Vive la Commune” as they faced firing squads is the most inspiring event in the history of international labor. The fortitude with which these martyrs faced their end is sufficient answer to the bourgeois vandals who denounced the Paris Commune as the creation of “the scum of Europe.”

Socialists will differ regarding the interpretation of various aspects of the Commune presented in







## "Them Foreigners Done It"

**STICK** your fingers in your ears, boys and girls. The President has just sent a message to Congress saying, "The fundamental strength of the nation's economic life is unimpaired." If the history of recent performance following Presidential pronouncements is to be repeated, all over this fundamentally strong land of ours there will resound the loud popping of the collapse of those few remaining rugged individuals who had strength enough left to stand on their economic feet.

No wonder the President had Patrick J. Halligan, Reading clerk for the Congress, read the message out loud, instead of delivering it in person. This was obviously a job for the hired help and I wonder that Pat stood the strain as well as he did.

Think of getting up in front of a lot of stuffed shirts and solemnly informing them that things aren't so rotten because after all there are only two and one-half million men and women out of work, whereas in normal times there are a million anyhow. And that, after all, it was the foreigners who done us dirt.

As soon as the President's message arrived in this office I took it out to read to a workless worker who is selling the magazine gotten out by the League for Industrial Democracy, called "The Unemployed."

"The secret is out, Jake," said I soothingly. "Now we know how this came. The President of the United States says that the accumulative effects of demoralizing price falls in the process of adjustment of production to world consumption have produced financial crisis in many countries and have diminished the buying power of these countries for imported goods to a degree which extended the difficulties further after by creating unemployment in all the industrial nations."

"Oh, yeah?" said Jake, "when do we eat?"

"The President doesn't say," I told Jake who isn't as bright as he might be.

One thing the President did make clear was that we are only ten per cent off our feed. Ten per cent is now getting to be almost as popular a figure as the late lamented six per cent which the Fat Boys were once supposed to get for all the care and attention they lavished upon us.

I find it in a lovely page advertisement for "True Story Magazine" which recently appeared in "The New York Times." Between us girls I had been worried about "True Story."

The advertisements for this remarkable magazine had been a source of constant joy to me. Whenever I felt low in my mind about the low state of the labor movement I got out a "True Story" ad and read about how the honest sons of toil who wrote the pieces in the magazine had now discovered that lettuce was something that you ate. Up to the time of the Great Wind which blew Prosperity into the humbled of our homes, these blanket stiff authors had thought that lettuce was something you fed the pigs. But according to the ad writer, standards of living had soared so under Cal and Herb that even steel puddlers were having salad for supper and going calling on each other like regular Babbits instead of making snoots over the back fence.

And then came the Grand Kersock and silence from the Happiness Boys, among them our favorite boy, Bob. Now he has emerged again like this here P. M. with a grand ad called, "The True Story of American Business Affairs." It seems that "True Story Magazine" is "the great nucleus about which the mass thought of America seems to revolve." This confirms our darkest suspicion about the mass thought of America. Once, on a bet, we wrote a note for "True Story" beginning: "I am just a little girl from Oklahoma City sitting in my cell on the edge of my cot wondering why I strangled my husband." It went big.

But to get back to that ten per cent. "Barring fire, flood, war and pestilence," we are informed, ninety per cent of us are self-sustaining. Furthermore, things are not half as bad as they might be because, again according to "True Story," the business men of this country have got Nature licked. It appears that when Nature makes readjustments "such as the changing of a climate or the movement of a glacial flow or the inundation of a continent, she usually wipes out about ninety per cent of all living forms and leaves about ten per cent to begin all over again."

So you see how much nicer it is to have business men make our readjustments for us than Nature. As "True Story" goes on, "It looks already as if ninety per cent will not only survive but thrive and even the remaining ten per cent will be able to struggle along somehow."

Ethel Lurie, who does our higher mathematics for us in the outside office, figures that ten per cent of one hundred and twenty million is twelve million. We hope she is right. When we get up that high we get dizzy.

So all we have to do now is to chuck the botherome twelve million into the Great Lakes and start all over again. And what the hell are twelve million more or less in a great rich country like ours.

Now that is settled, we must go on to express our admiration for the sterling character of John D. Rockefeller. The old so-and-so used to playing golf with his sky pilot the other day. And the gent whose job it is to chisel John into Heaven made a grand drive. "If money wasn't so scarce," said John, "I give you a nickel for that drive." The psalmist, as is the way of his tribe, thoughtfully turned the other cheek at this wallop but a bunch of hard-boiled newspapermen insisted that John come across at least with a nickel. So the Rev. G. D. Owen got a nickel and the newspaper photographers got their picture.

Right after we had read this, we saw of all things in the world, here in New York City, by heck, a man coming down the street on a bicycle. And that pointed the moral to the story. Money, we are informed by the bird who has most of it, is scarce.

And for once we find ourselves in complete agreement with John D. Rockefeller. It's as scarce as the hair on your old head, under these parts, John. And so long as that is the case why not all of us go around on bicycles? Think of the saving on gas. There's hardly a nickel's worth of wear and tear in twenty miles of bicycle riding. No filling stations to rob you, no repairs that you can't make yourself, no traffic cops to hawl you out. Buy a bicycle and help bring back prosperity. We are thinking of taking that slogan down to Ivy Lee's office and see what can be done about it by the official whitewasher for John D.

Just as a finale that has nothing to do with the rest of this column, may we take off our hat to the up-and-doing members of the New York Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy, who in an incredibly short time got out a first-rate magazine called, "The Unemployed" which is now being sold in the streets by the unemployed themselves who, of course, get all the profits. The magazine is chock full of interesting material, it is fine propaganda and rarely have we seen an instance of rising to an emergency which clicked off as nicely as this.

McAlister Coleman.

## From Our Foreign Correspondent

# The Labor Government Hangs On

By Fred Henderson  
London

**HAVE** you ever watched the turn of the tide where sea and river meet? There is a brief period of indecision, choppy little waves that run neither this way nor that, a welter of broken water. And then, quite suddenly, the boats moored in the tideway swing around in unison, the crumpled water smooths out into an even run of the current, and the set of the tide becomes apparent.

The political situation here has developed with just that sort of tidal definiteness during the past month. During the long holiday of Parliament everything was confused and uncertain. The government was known to be in constant secret conference with the Liberals, on whose support it depends for its continued existence, as to the legislative program for the new session; but what the position would be when Parliament reassembled was a matter of obscure guesswork.

There is no guesswork about it now. We know where we are and what we have to face. And if the knowledge is not very consoling, it is always good for a movement to have to face up to definite facts instead of drifting uncertainly.

Let me, by the way of making the happenings of this month clear—and their significance—recall the fact that from the formation of the Labor Government until well into this year, there was every evidence that the electors who supported us at the general election were prepared to give patient trial to the experiment of minority government by consent of our opponents. There was widespread doubt as to the wisdom of that policy; but there was a real desire to give the government every chance; and the by-election opportunities for the constituencies to express themselves showed that the country was still standing by us and suspending judgment.

The first indications of a deci-

## Municipal and Bye-Elections Reveal Shift of Public Sentiment Against MacDonald Cabinet

sion shaping in the public mind against the government policy of office without power, and consequently without Socialist results, came at two or three of the by-elections this summer, and these indications have become more and more pronounced at every by-election since then. In every such electoral test we have been losing ground and to a steadily worsening extent.

Parliamentary by-elections, however, only happen occasionally, and it is always possible to assume local rather than national causes for a set-back in their local voting, strong as the cumulative effect of a series of them may be. But it so happens that the reassembly of Parliament has now been coincident with our great annual test of public opinion on a nation-wide scale. Every town and city in Britain has its annual municipal elections on the first of November. Up till now we have been making great strides towards Socialist control of civic administration all over the country. For the past seven years we have averaged a win of over a hundred seats each year on British city councils. We have never had a set-back—till now. This year it has been a debacle. We have lost over a hundred seats, and in a number of important cities, where we had either secured control or come within a very close margin of it, we have been thrown back into a position from which it will take years to recover. It is not possible to disguise or to misinterpret the unhappy facts; this tide of defeat has run against us in every part of the country.

Here and there in an isolated town we have held our own; and I am personally very proud of the fact that in my own native city of Norwich we have more than held our own. I had the honor, 28 years ago, of being elected to the Norwich City Council as the first Socialist returned to any public authority in eastern England; and

from that small beginning we have gone on steadily until in this year of general defeat we have won the margin of increased representation which gives us a clear majority and makes Norwich for the first time a Socialist-controlled city. But that is only the rare exception; a local eddy against a prevailing tide over the country generally.

And on the top of these municipal losses came the Parliamentary by-election in the Shipley division of Yorkshire, a seat we have held consistently at three previous elections, a traditional labor seat since before the first labor government in 1924. Our vote there at the general election last year was 18,654, and our majority 4,961. We have now lost it in the same resounding way in which we lost municipal seats a few days earlier.

It is in the atmosphere of these defeats that the government is meeting the new session of Parliament; and the immediate effect has been to reduce to unimportance all the maneuvers and conferences and arrangements of the recess. The whole position has been changed. You can sense the change in every casual talk on the streets or wherever people meet together and politics are mentioned. It is manifest in the demeanor of the conservatives and the acceptance of the central factor in the situation is now everywhere assumed to be that the moral sanctions of the government for holding office have been swept away by this blast of public opinion.

Meanwhile the government says nothing, except that Macdonald casually remarks that he does not think the country deserves a general election. Its announced program of work for the session is pretty much as before; a program which would be quite good for a moderately reforming Liberal or Conservative government intent upon making capitalism work more safely by introducing various lit-

tle insurances against undue discontent unto its working, but with nothing in it answering to the hopes that have gone to build up the Socialist movement and make a Socialist government possible. In the situation in which they find themselves they could do no other without risking office, and their policy is to retain office as long as possible.

The immediate strategy of the Conservatives is based on their belief that the Indian Conference will come to an unsatisfactory conclusion; and their now openly discussed plan is to leave the government to handle that matter and take whatever discredit may attach to it, and to concentrate on a general election early in the new year. The position is, however, complicated by the fact that, whenever the general election may come, the Conservatives are now committed to a policy of full blooded protection. This will greatly embarrass the Liberals, who as Free Traders will not be too eager to turn us out to put a Protectionist government in, especially if they feel as the program for the session is calculated to make them feel, that they can still count on their power to make a Parliamentary majority against us at any moment to restrain the government from attempting any real Socialist action. It is upon that Liberal embarrassment the government now mainly relies; and the whole Parliamentary problem at the moment is how long the sort of calculation can keep things going against the manifest swing of the tide in the constituencies against the present impotence of Parliament.

The logic of the situation would seem to be that the longer our Parliamentary impotence drifts on the worse we shall fare in the end. I have known the same sort of thing to happen with other governments in the past. When it becomes evident that a tide of national decision has set in, the ten-

dency of governments always is to hold on a little longer in the hope that things may improve. It never comes off; the longer a government hangs on once such a national mood becomes evident, the more its difficulties increase. And with us now this is bound to be so in the nature of the case. For the source of all the trouble is that we are holding office as a Socialist government under conditions which make us helpless for Socialism; and all the present maneuvering is for the continuance of that. So much work and sacrifice and devotion have been given by armies of workers for a generation past to making a Socialist government possible—work done with a great hope and a great vision—and the present spectacle of a Socialist government in office and nothing in particular coming of it has stung and disillusioned them. And every month of continuance along that road will add to the disillusionment. Even now, if the government would challenge the capitalist majority of the House of Commons with some real and outstanding proposal for the transition to Socialism, and go to the country at once on its certain rejection, much of our lost ground and the lost enthusiasm of our rank and file might be recovered. But of that there is no sign whatever.

It may be that the necessary spur will be applied from outside the political field altogether. Big industrial trouble is threatened. The railway workers have received notice of proposed drastic wage reductions. The book and shoe operatives are at the moment fighting with the national employers in joint conference over similar proposed reductions put forward by the employers in readiness for the termination of the existing trade agreement as to wages early next year. And the miners are being driven into a corner in the same way. These things will not be without their repercussions on the political situation; for in all these threatened industries there is already a fighting spirit manifest.

## Scanning the New Books

# The Forces Behind the Present Chinese Situation

## The Causes of Chaos

By Paul Blanchard

**ALL** candid students of the Far East have known for at least a year that the Chinese revolution under the Kuomintang is a hopeless failure. Now Mr. Peffer, in "China: The Collapse of a Civilization," the John Day Company, has underscored and described the failure in a book which may well be considered the post mortem of modern China. His conclusion is that "there is no China today. There are 400,000,000 Chinese and a political entity called China. But that for which the name has stood for 2,000 years or more, that which has been most truly China, which gave the life of its people distinctive form and color and differentiated the race from all others—that is gone."

Half of the reason for the collapse of China lies in the too sudden and swift impact of Western ideas of the Russian revolution. The other half lies in the internal weakness of Chinese culture. An archaic scholarship and a tender regard for grandmothers may seem to Western eyes quaint and lovely survivals of noble living, but in actual practice these cultural survivals keep the common people stupid, subservient, and germladen. One dose of Margaret Sanger would do more for Chinese culture today than all the relics of the ancient philosophers. And after Mrs. Sanger should come Mr. Ford. For Chinese civilization cannot climb far until its ricksha coolies have retired in favor of balloon tires.

Having granted the superiority of Western over Chinese culture, however, it would be foolish to go on from that point and argue with the colonial die hards of Shanghai that China should be controlled by Western governments. Intervention would only make an exceedingly hideous situation more hideous, by thwarting those groups in China which are seeking to bring the nation to self government. It is in the perception of the blight of Western civilization that Mr. Peffer stands superior to such writers as Hallett Abend of the New York Times who has recently published a book upon China which may well stand as a contrast to Mr. Peffer's work. Mr. Abend wants American and British intervention. He thinks that the cure for Chinese militarism is joint Western militarism. His point of view is neatly disposed of by Mr. Peffer who says:

"To make a case for intervention is supererogatory. There has always been intervention, almost a hundred years of it. The results have been disastrous enough. To go in officially now with military expeditions, civil occupations, and a superimposed foreign regime would be to add one more engine

of demolition. It would also be fruitless. To expect to straighten out China or set its house in order from without is as attempting to play traffic policeman to an earthquake."

And Mr. Peffer adds, "Fortunately the attempt (at intervention) will not be made." As to direct and single-handed intervention by the United States I think that Mr. Peffer is right, but there is still a real danger of intervention if the present military rulers of China are overthrown and a semi-socialist regime makes new alliances with Russia. China ground under the iron heel of Russia would make a most appealing theme for our military cartoonists and a most welcome diversion for old-party politicians. Did not the American people develop a sudden compassion for outraged Belgium in spite of the well-oiled German publicity machine in this country? How much more easy would be the task of inflaming Christian civilization to the heroic task of rescuing China from Bolshevism?

Mr. Peffer's book is both brilliant and depressing, brilliant because he packs an enormous number of facts into small compass, and depressing because the picture presented is of a nation in ruins without hope. "Not for a hundred years has there been any sign of statesmanship or of collective constructive ability. . . . China has shown an extraordinary capacity for muddling its affairs, a barrenness of leadership, and an almost fatalistic instinct for aggravating its own misery."

And yet the socialist and feminist ideals which animated the Kuomintang revolution cannot be entirely forgotten. The great strikes of recent years have all been defeated, but the lessons in class struggle have not been entirely lost. Those of us who hoped for a new socialist society in the Orient have seen our dreams shattered by the very leaders who seemed most trustworthy, but ideas do not commit treason. The thought of a new economic society is still alive in that decimated and pathetic little handful of Chinese intellectual revolutionists who carry on in the name of Sun Yat-sen.

Munro credits Jackson with inaugurating a new era in 1928. We are indebted to him "for having infused into the American political system a large part of the democratic philosophy which the framers of the original constitution did not intend it to possess." To Jackson, the democratic phrases mouthed by orators were realities.

To Woodrow Wilson goes the credit of having "set presidential leadership upon a new plane." In addition to the valuable contribution made through Wilson's type of leadership, Socialists in particular will remember one result so damaging that it may outweigh those that the book lists. No man-

## Molders of Government

Fortunately for better popular understanding of political thought and government practice, William Munro is not the usual type of popularizer. His latest of three "light" books on politics, "The Makers of the Unwritten Constitution," (The Macmillan Company, New York, \$1.50) deals with the legislative enactments, judicial decisions, usages, doctrines, precedents, official opinions, and points of view which have profoundly altered the implication of the 1787 document which school children are taught is the entire constitution.

He shows how a supposedly inflexible instrument drawn up by persons who knew only sailing vessels and stage coaches has been stretched to give the federal government some measure of power to deal with problems arising from steamships, railroads, buses, airplanes, and telegraphic and radio communication.

He points out that the framers of the constitution anticipated national conventions would be called from time to time to undertake a general revision. In the absence of such a rational manner of changing governmental powers, judges, legislators, presidents, and others have usurped this power as occasion for change arose. This book deals with three presidents and a supreme court judge who made what Munro considers most significant contributions to our "unwritten constitution": Alexander Hamilton, John Marshall, Andrew Jackson, and Woodrow Wilson.

The first made the slim federal control over economic life breathe and live and become actually and even more potentially of vast importance for an industrial civilization. Even Socialists should be thankful for Hamilton. Without him and the second "maker," we might have been little better off than Europe today—so far as both political and economic solidarity between the states in the Union are concerned.

Munro credits Jackson with inaugurating a new era in 1928. We are indebted to him "for having infused into the American political system a large part of the democratic philosophy which the framers of the original constitution did not intend it to possess." To Jackson, the democratic phrases mouthed by orators were realities.

To Woodrow Wilson goes the credit of having "set presidential leadership upon a new plane." In addition to the valuable contribution made through Wilson's type of leadership, Socialists in particular will remember one result so damaging that it may outweigh those that the book lists. No man-

tion is made of how "he kept us out of war."

Undoubtedly American Socialists are hampered by the clumsy system of "checks and balances." This book, however, shows that when the people were aroused and well led, obstacles that normally loomed large were surmounted.

C. S.

## Memories of The Commune

**THE** Labor and Socialist movement across the Atlantic is absorbed in international issues because the movement is in the center of trends that mean much to the working class of all countries. In the United States, despite our experiences in the World War, the masses have little knowledge and take little interest in international questions. Unfortunately the same may be said of many American Socialists and yet we may be dragged into another imperialist war that may have its immediate cause in some issue abroad.

We once held celebrations to commemorate the martyrs of the Paris Commune. Today the Commune is hardly a memory to many of our members although it is an outstanding event in the history of the world labor movement.

These reflections are occasioned by the publication of a book by Edward S. Mason ("The Paris Commune," New York: Macmillan, \$5). As a dramatic episode in the history of the Socialist movement, in recent years it has become a theme for controversy between Communists and Socialists. Marx, Engels, Kautsky, and other Socialists have written of it and the author of this book attempts to interpret the Commune as a historian not interested in the party controversies but solely to get at the facts.

It is certain that Marx wrote when passions were at a white heat, when bloody reprisals by a triumphant reaction could only invoke deep hate of Thiers and his hangmen. Some years had to pass before documentary material would be available, and in the perspective of time the judgment of Marx and others of the best character of Thiers and his chief associates has been vindicated.

On the other hand, it may be admitted that much of the early interpretation of the Commune was oversimplified. The fact that among the leading Communards were disciples of Proudhon, Blanqui, Marx, Blanc and Babeuf, others who were outraged because of the surrender to the Prussians, still others who were Republicans, or Anti-Clericals, or influenced by traditions of the Great Revolution, would suggest caution in interpreting the Commune solely in terms of a proletarian movement. Leaders of the proletarian war

generally in the foreground, to be sure, but there was no general solidarity based upon the consciousness of class aims in the leaders and the masses. Intellectually the whole Labor and Socialist movement in all countries was yet to emerge in definite organization, clarity of aims and program and if the Commune failed to rise to modern expectations that is not a reflection upon the Communards.

After making allowance for all these factors, the Paris Commune still remains one of the most heroic episodes in Labor and Socialist history. There were those who saw the necessity of other communards in France if revolutionary Paris was to survive. Successes were realized in a number of cities but they were short-lived and with the defeat of these communards the fate of Paris was certain. Moreover, romanticists with responsibilities in the Commune contributed to confusion and to division. Some faced the task with revolutionary oratory. Others knew that inspiring speeches were no substitute for bread and organization and demonstrated ability in the face of trying situations.

The Paris Commune failed and the ferocity of the reaction was such that even the bourgeois press of England and to some extent on the Continent was shocked at the bloody and unnecessary executions of the Communards. The heroism of men and women who could shout "Vive la Commune" as they faced firing squads is the most inspiring event in the history of international labor. The fortitude with which these martyrs faced their end is sufficient answer to the bourgeois vandals who denounced the Paris Commune as the creation of "the scum of Europe."

Socialists will differ regarding the interpretation of various aspects of the Commune presented in this study but the reader will agree that the author has thoroughly investigated the material and that he has written it with no prejudices to support.

James Oneal.

## Labor's Dividends

Reports received by the United States Bureau of Mines showed a higher death rate per million tons of coal mined than was shown for either September of the present year or for October a year ago. The annual number of men killed in all coal mines in the United States in October, 1930, was 188, or 9 less than in October, 1929, but 48 more than in September, 1930. The production of coal was 51,726,000 tons in October of the present year, 43,935,000 tons in September, 1930, and 60,290,000 tons in October, 1929.

## The Chatter Box

**Brooklyn Bridge**  
These black webs  
Have caught  
An accident of beauty  
Unforeseen  
In the blueprint  
Of their creation.

**Wall Street**  
There are no jewels  
In the hit of this sword  
The nation wears on its hip.

There are no soft words  
In this wild rush of fateful sound.

There is only  
The rattle of spurs upon the heel.

There is only the jar  
Of sword-buckles  
Against the bone.

SAUL JONATHAN WEITZEL.

## Another Letter From a Socialist Father to His Son

**MY** Dear Son:  
This February you will enter college. You will go into lecture rooms with a splendid body and well-mannered poise. These your mother has built up in you through unremitting patience and self-denial.

There has been very little of glamor or glory about her toil. There never is much romance in the slow, solid processes of creation. Thank her, and with sensible appreciation for her work of love, carry on and do well in your studies and your play.

This is all the advice I dare give you. I have a deep disrespect for my older years. I sometimes think that old men do best when they sit around tea cups, smoke cigars, and tell one another tales of things gone by.

And yet I cannot submerge my own part in yours life with a gesture of modesty. Despite the fact that I have taken so many years of days and nights away from you and given them to the Socialist movement, I have not altogether failed to influence your mind.

Book by book, I filled up the shelves in the library. These we have read together. The New Leader, the Nation, and the scientific periodicals I subscribe to, we have also shared in separate hours. You have been to a number of street meetings, taken in lectures by party leaders, and even attended one Socialist Party political convention.

This part of your education, I did not dare to force upon you. What effect it will have, only the ensuing years up from boyhood will attest.

To be a Socialist one must hold hard to the lesson of patience. It will not be too difficult to await the result.

And yet, while I do not presume to offer you any direct instruction on how to think or act as you go on through your higher preparations for life, it would not be unwise to express what I hope you will see fit to do.

Because you are starting with no economic handicap, (and I trust to be able to carry on sufficiently to keep that worry from you) you will have more leisure for social contact and personal adventure.

You will find in your university a chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy. In my day it was called the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. If it will be your pleasure to join in with this group, it will be mine to follow your work there.

You have attended several conferences with me at Camp Tamiment while you were still a high school lad. You met such men as Dr. Harry Laidler and Norman Thomas. You also noted what a high-minded and whole-souled band of men and women made up that organization. Here were liberals, progressives, intellectuals, philosophical anarchists, Communists and Socialists all working and earnestly seeking a way to permanent health for the body social and political. Morris Hilquit, Prof. Dewey, Stuart Chase, Steve Rauschenbush and many of the finest minds in the world of economics and philosophy hold forth there.

Then there is the Young People's Socialist League. Without youth to follow on with sturdy stride and fresh energy, no cause in which the elders live and die can ever survive. That axiom is so ludicrously self-evident, that I often puzzle over the stubborn carelessness of the aging votaries of a revolutionary ideal, toward recognizing and encouraging the young men and women who are ready to take up the torch when older hands grow unsteady.

You will find here lads and girls who are not afraid to dream, and certainly are less fearful to go forth and battle for their dream.

Not one of them belongs to a fraternity for boose privileges or restaurant busting after the football game. You will hardly find one raccoon coat or tuxedo suit in the crowd. They are the militant children of workers who have also fought for a dream. Most of them are working in offices and shops. A number are studying while they work.

It would be a splendid thing for you to lend your spirit and strength to their movement. I know how much you have to give in mind and body, and never miss it in your school work.

The energy and time I have so happily given for Socialism made me a more efficient human being in whatever unrelated vocations I pursued to earn a livelihood.

It would not be pleasant . . . it would be unbearably bitter to find you succumbing to the easy influence of ordinary campus life. For you to forget the fact that the world is just crammed full of working boys and girls who will never have your opportunities for unworried education, would be unpardonable.

I am a Socialist because the capitalist system robbed me of just the kind of childhood and home environment you have enjoyed. And I will not remain content in just affording my own family, the joys of adolescence that were stolen from me.

Until the time comes when every boy and girl is guaranteed by law, what I give you by playing the nasty game of business, I shall continue to educate the rest of my fellow men for Socialism.

I am not happy about being a business man. And perhaps upon thorough digestion of your own position you would not be altogether happy about being the son of a business man. There is something undeniably parasitic about all able-bodied persons who neither spin nor sow, who do not use their brain or brawn in the direct creation of clothing, food, housing and comforts.

If you do join the Y. P. S. L. and you do attend the L. I. D. chapter at your school, and you find the Socialist ideal congenial to your heart and brain, you will only be joyful and effective in the same measure as you live within the thought that only those who create the useful and beautiful things for mankind are the elect in your social register.

Write me soon, my son, or rather as soon as you think you have news to write that will please your mother, and make me

Your hopeful father.



# "SEE AMERICA THIRST"—AND LAUGH!

The Stage

The Movies

Music

## Adds Beauty and Grace to "The Vinegar Tree"



Dwight Deere Wiman's admirable production of "The Vinegar Tree" at the Playhouse is one of the biggest hits in town. Katharine Wilson, lends her fine talents to this interesting and amusing play.

## The Week On The Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

### SONG AND SURPRISE

"TONIGHT OR NEVER." By Lili Hatvany. At the Belasco.  
Of plays that in the production please because of other elements than their drama, "Tonight or Never" is an attractive example. No one for a moment believes that the "unknown gentleman" is a gigolo; everyone, on the other hand, knows that he is the representative of the Metropolitan Opera Company. The audience has therefore no doubts of his relations with

the Marchesa, no fears that the prima donna will not get her American contract nor any wonder as to what will happen when the lady visits the gentleman.

Suspense is replaced by other elements of drama. Helen Callaghan's effective singing voice is used, with the songs woven neatly into the story, to carry the mood along; and there are moments when Ferdinand Gottschalk's silence is as eloquent as a long oration. The lines, also, are deft, and add to the humor of the character-portrayal. A comic opera might well be built from this play; its mode is not so theatrically demanding as the usual Belasco production; yet "Tonight or Never" affords a genuinely pleasing evening in the theatre.

### OUR AGED YOUTH

"SCHOOLGIRL." By A. W. Pezet and Carmen Barnes. At the Ritz. There is sound presentation of the young folk's point of view, when "Schoolgirl" Naomi tells her father he is too young to understand her: he was born in 1888; she in 1912—when the world was twenty-four years older.

Two plays of the week stress the same point, in two centuries. The only moments out of key in "The Vinegar Tree" were those that spoke of "New York," for the play is English to the bone; "Schoolgirl," based on Carmen Barnes' novel, is maid in America—yet each springs in great part from the same rebellion of the sex, the refusal of a girl to stay green, to bottle her normal feelings under the guise of respectability. Naomi wants to play fair; she recognizes her parents' code, and plans to marry Dave before they share their passion. Her father is adamant; he argues convincingly against marriage at Naomi's age. She hears and heeds him—and shares her passion without marriage. When her father learns of it all, he insists she marry at once; but his daughter (the child

## "Scarlet Pages" Stars Elsie Ferguson; Will Premiere at the Strand

"Scarlet Pages," one of First National's most important dramatic releases of the season, will have its New York premiere at the Strand Theatre this week, opening on Friday, December 5. Elsie Ferguson has the stellar role, which she played also during the run on Broadway of the stage production of the same name. Others featured in the cast are Marian Nixon, John Halliday and Grant Withers. Ray Enright directed.

On the Strand program also are Vitaphone Varieties featuring Helen Broderick, star of "Fifty Million Frenchmen"; Douglas Stanbury, and Ruth Elder, famous aviatrix.

"Zwei Herzen im 3/4 Takt" ("Two Hearts in Waltz Time"), German Screen Operetta, is to be held over for the ninth week at the 55th Street Playhouse commencing next Friday.

is father to the man! tells him nothing has changed since his last talk, nothing but an unimportant physiological break in her, and she refuses to marry.

"Schoolgirl" is, however, more than this study, for its picture of life in a boarding school raises age-old questions of the seduction of the sexes, and its consequence. The sober playing of Joanna Roos and a good company adds to the power of this strong play.

**BLACK RELIGION**  
"SCARLET SISTER MARY." By Daniel Reed from the novel by Julia Peterkin. At the Ethel Barrymore.  
Ethel Barrymore seems to have got religion—she certainly has courage. Her last play was a sweet Spanish sister of mercy. Her present venture is a negress who lives a "free" life, but finds final consolation in Jesus. We await her presentation of a Chinese missionary.

For in truth Miss Barrymore seems extremely ill advised; and there is something especially painful in watching a member of a grand old family walking, with poignant emphasis, down a wrong road. "Scarlet Sister Mary" is, in the first place, a stunt, with its many, and almost all Negro, parts played by an almost all-white cast (one of the best actors that cuddled pickaninny); it is, in the second place, a poor folk-melodrama, of little worth, which would empty the theatre quickly were it not for the fact that Ethel Barrymore plays in it, and her daughter makes her first appearance on the stage. Better luck next time, Miss Ethel Barrymore. Colt. And a better choice next time, Ethel Barrymore.

"As cheerful a frolic as the present season has offered."—Sun.

DWIGHT DEERE WIMAN presents

MARY BOLAND

in her newest, gayest comedy

VINEGAR TREE

Playhouse. Thea. W. 48 St. Eves. 8:30.

Best Seats \$1.00 to \$3.85.

BOOTH. Thea. 48th W. of E. Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40

Audacious Comedy Hit!

THE MAN IN POSSESSION

By H. M. HARWOOD

with

Isabel Jeans Leslie Banks

"The very stuff that high comedy is made from... one of the most entertaining attractions that our theatre boasts just now."

—John Mason Brown, Post.

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."

—Whitney Bolton, Telegraph.

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

Best seats reserved by phone, BRYANT 0680

Second Ave. Theatre

at Second St. ORC. 2161

Maurice Schwartz

And the

Yiddish Art Players

Now Playing

Uncle Moses

By SHOLOM ASCH

Every Friday Evening: Saturday and Sunday Matinee and Evening

SEATS—5c to \$2.00

Repeitory—Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday Evenings

## To Relight the Broadway Theatre, Once Called the Colony



A stupendous revue is to reopen the Broadway theatre on 53rd Street, next week, when E. Ray Goetz, who produced "50 Million Frenchmen" last season brings his new show "The New Yorkers" into that theatre. Peter Arno wrote the story, Cole Porter the music and lyrics, and the cast which is not only very large but very important includes among others, Clayton, Jackson and Durante, Waring's Pennsylvanians, Frances Williams, Hope Williams, Ann Pennington, and many, many others.

## "Mothers Cry" to Have World Premiere at the Winter Garden Theatre

"Mothers Cry," Vitaphone production of Helen Grace Carlisle's sensational novel, will have its world premiere Friday at the Winter Garden Theatre, succeeding "The Life of the Party."

Featured in the cast of "Mothers Cry" are Dorothy Peterson, Helen Chandler, David Manners, Edward Woods, Sidney Blackmer and Evelyn Knapp. Hobart Henley directed.

The supplementary program of Vitaphone shorts includes George Jessel in a skit entitled "Politics," and Ruth Etting in a one-act play called "One Good Turn," in which Jay Velle, erstwhile musical comedy star, returns to Broadway via the talking screen.

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

—Walter Winchell, Daily Mirror.

Morris Green & Lewis Gensler present

JOE COOK

in his

Newest Maddest Musical

FINE and DANDY

ERLANGER'S THEATRE

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

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

Earl Carroll

Vanities

8th Edition

67 Glittering Scenes—1,000 Laughs

HERB WILLIAMS

JIMMY SAVO

JACK BENNY

Cast of 150 and

Most Beautiful Girls in the World

425 Orch Seats \$1 plus tax (Ex. Sat.)

Wed. & Sat. Mats. Entire Orch. \$2.50

Good Res. Seats Every Perf. 50c.

NEW AMSTERDAM

Theatre, W. 42nd Street

Phone Wisconsin 4312

Kenneth Macgowan and Joseph Verner Reed present

JANE COWL

IN A REPERTORY OF TWO PLAYS

ART and MRS. BOTTLE

Dec. 11, 12 and 13

TWELFTH NIGHT

Sat., Dec. 6 and Dec. 8, 9 & 10

Maxine Elliott's Theatre

29th Street, East of Broadway

Eves., 8:40; Mat. Wed. & Sat.

Best seats reserved by phone, BRYANT 0680

The Greeks

Had a

Word

For It

A New Comedy by ZOE AKINS

Presented by William Harris, Jr.

Sam H. Harris Thea. 42nd

St. W. of E. Eves. 8:30; Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

WISCONSIN 6660

## "See America First" to Premiere at the Globe Theatre Friday, Dec. 12

Beer barons, rum runners, and hijackers will have an opportunity to see themselves through fun-colored glasses when Carl Laemmle presents "See America Thirst," an all-talking, singing and dancing film at the Globe Theatre on Friday, Dec. 12th.

Vin Moore and Edward Luddy who wrote the script for Universal have produced for the screen the same sort of acidulous comedy which over-night brought fame to Maurine Watkins in "Chicago."

"See America Thirst," directed by William James Craft, who recently created "Little Accident," is the first satirical expose on Broadway of the liquor racket practiced by American gangsters. Harry Langdon's slow-thinking but quick-moving comedy is a perfect foil for the wise-cracking of Slim Summerville, who recently won cinema medals in "All Quiet on the Western Front." Langdon and Summerville, who are featured in "See America Thirst," portray two tramps mistaken for gunmen hired by a gang of liquor runners to put a rival leader "on the spot." Bessie Love, whose singing and dancing took her from oblivion to stardom, is a gangster's "moll" in gunman's land. In the supporting cast are Mitchell Lewis, Stanley Fields, Tom Kennedy, Dick Alexander and Lloyd Whitlock.

"Taking the Whole World for a Ride" is the theme song written by Lou Handman and Bernie Grossman of Universal's musical staff for the novel cabaret sequences which are a travesty of the underworld. Thirty Lon Murray dancing girls and Max Fisher's Band, one of America's leading recording orchestras, support Miss Love in these scenes, for Miss Love, of course, to make the satire perfect, works n a cabaret.

## 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. 2:30

## LYSISTRATA

Uproarious Comedy Hit, with BLANCHETTE ERNEST Bainter Yurka Truex

Eric Dresler—Lon Hascall—Ruth Garland—Jerome Lawler—Jan Wolfe—Gladys Hurlbut—Humphrey-Weidman 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 \$1.00;

Wed. Mat., \$2.50 to \$1.00; Sat. Mat., \$3.00 to \$1.00.

Sat. Eve. \$4 to \$1

"Mr. Moscovitch, as he portrays this character is a fascinating study—he brings his character home with a hundred remembered gestures—he draws all our memories to his aid—making is help him in his portrayal."

—Richard Lockridge, The Sun.

CHARLES DILLINGHAM (in association with Erlanger Productions, Inc.) presents

Maurice Moscovitch

In his famous interpretation of "SHYLOCK" IN SHAKESPEARE'S

"THE MERCHANT OF VENICE"

Times Square Thea. 43 St. W. of 4th St. Eves. 8:30; Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30

SEE & HEAR "THE YELLOW MASK"

with

'Funny' Lupino Lane

In The Funniest Farce That Has Come to Broadway in Many Years

NOW PLAYING

Geo. Cohan Theatre B'way

M. 43 St. Eves. 8:30; Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30

25c Daily TILL 1 P. M.

Exc. Sat. & Sun.

Continuous 11 A. M. to Midnight

## From the Theatre Guild's Dynamic Production



Above is a scene from "Roar China" playing a very successful engagement at the Martin Beck Theatre.

## Varied Schedule for Yiddish Art Theatre

A varied schedule, representing three of the leading Jewish dramatists is announced by Maurice Schwartz for the coming week at his Second Avenue Theatre.

After tonight's performance of "Uncle Moses," which is being carried over by popular demand, the company will repeat Ansky's "Dybbuk," on Tuesday. Wednesday evening, "Sabai Zvei," by Shumlawsky will be revived after three years absence from the repertory schedule. "The God of Vengeance" will be played on Thursday.

## "Sous Les Toits de Paris" to Open December 15th at the Little Carnegie Playhouse

With the opening on December 15th of Rene Clair's French talking film, "Sous les Toits de Paris," the Little Carnegie Playhouse on West 57th Street returns, temporarily at least, to its original policy of sponsoring the first American presentations of outstanding European film productions.

## ROXY

7th Ave. and 50th St. Pers. Direction of S. L. ROTHAFEL (ROXY)

WILL ROGERS

"Lightnin'"

with LOUISE DRESSER

—ON THE STAGE—

Haunting, blood-warming color, music, dancing: GYPSY FESTIVAL

with Roxy Symphony Orchestra, Ballet Corps, Chorus, Rosettes, Joel Mc Crea, Helen Cohen, J. M. Kerrigan, Fox Movie-tone Production.

## CAPITOL

Broadway and 51st Street Major Edward Bowes, Mgr. Dir.

William Haines

In

'Remote Control'

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's exciting radio romance with

Charles King, Mary Moran, Polly Moran, John Miljan, J. C. Nugent.

Capitol's Big Stage Show. Dave Schooler and the Capitolians. Jules Sledge of Zigfield's "Show Boat" fame. Chester Hale Girls. Bunchuk Orchestra. Herast Metrotone News.

OUR GANG COMEDY

Every woman's cry: SHALL I HAVE CHILDREN? Will they bring me joy or sorrow?

"Mothers Cry"

WINTER GARDEN

BROADWAY AND 50TH STREET

Continuous: Popular

Prices: Midnight Show

"AM I TO BLAME?"

I am condemned because I was human enough to sin. My only wish was happiness...

Scarlet Pages

ELSIE FERGUSON

STRAND

BROADWAY AND 47TH STREET

Continuous: Popular

Prices: Midnight Shows

Otis

A tour of amour thro' the sultan's harem!

SKINNER

KISMET

with LORETTA YOUNG

HOLLYWOOD THEATRE

B'way & 51st St.

Daily 2:45-8:45

Sun. 3-6-8:45

2nd Month

WAR NURSE

or the most exciting talkie of them all!

M.G.M.'s Widely Discussed Drama with ROBERT MONTGOMERY, ROBERT AMES, JUNE WALKER, ANITA PAGE, ZASU FITTS, MARIE PREVOST

ASTOR

Theatre, B'way. & 45 St.

Twice Daily 2:30-3:30

3 times Sun. & Hol. 3-6-8:30

All Seats Reserved

The Latest Film to Come Out of Russia

"RAZLOM"

(THE BREAK UP)

Dynamic, Gripping Silent Film

5th Avenue Playhouse

68-5th Ave., Alg. 7661.

Popular Prices

Cont. Noon to Midnight

TH ST. PLAYHOUSE

32 WEST EIGHTH STREET

AMERICAN PREMIERE

All Talking German

Drama

Verklungene Traume

POPULAR PRICES

## Theatre Parties

Party Branches and sympathetic organizations are requested when planning the theatre parties to do so through the Theatrical Department of the NEW LEADER. Phone Algonquin 4622 or write to Barnett Feinman, Manager New Leader Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th St., New York.

Carnegie Hall, Sat. Aft., at 3:00, Dec. 6

Farewell Matinee

DON COSSACK

Russian Male Chorus of 36

GEORGE JAROFF, Conductor

Tickets \$1 to \$2.50 at Box Office, 57 St. & 7 Ave. Mgt. Metropolitan Musical Bureau.



## To Play With the Manhattan Symphony

Jacques Lerner, boy violinist who will play the Bruch Concerto in G Minor with the Manhattan Symphony Orchestra on Dec. 7th at the St. George Church on 16th St.

## Tagore in Free Lecture; His Farewell Address, Sun., Dec. 7, Sponsored By New History Society

"Rabindranath Tagore, Poet Laureate of Asia and crusader for world unity, who has been visiting this country since October 9, will deliver his farewell message to America on Sunday, December 7, when he will speak before the meeting of the New History Society at the Ritz Carlton, at 8:30 p. m.

Tagore has expressed his appreciation and interest in the New History Society, which is sponsored by Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Stuyvesant Chanler, and in its ideals.

## In Brooklyn Farewell



Serge Jaroff and his Don Cossack Russian male chorus will be heard at the Brooklyn Academy of Music on Dec. 15.

which include the banishment of the spectres of war, poverty, sickness, prejudice, ignorance and falsehood.

"The First and Last Prophet of Persia" will be his subject on Sunday evening. There will also be short addresses by Mr. Chanler, Mirza Ahmad Sohrab, and Basanta Kumar Roy, and several numbers by Madame Fedora Kurban, Syrian soprano, who will be accompanied by Alexander Maloff. There will be no admission charge to this lecture but a collection will be taken for Tagore's International University in India.

## "Razlom" Moves to 5th Ave. Playhouse

"Razlom" (The Break-Up) will be removed from the Eighth Street Playhouse to the Fifth Avenue Playhouse on Friday, December 5th, for a full week.

## "The Princess and the Plumber" to Have First Showing at Fox Bklyn

Charles Farrell comes back to the screen in one of his romantic roles as of old and again slips right into the hearts of his legion of admirers. In "The Princess and the Plumber" from the story by Alice Duer Miller which has its first showing at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre this week, Farrell drops all the swaggers from his "Lillian" role and reverts to a typical "Seventh Heaven" character—an out-and-out youth and lover.

Much comedy is added by both Bert Roach and Lucretia Prival, while the supporting cast includes Joseph Cawthorne, Murray Kinell, Louise Closser Hale and Arnold Lucy. The able hand of Axelander Korda directed this tender love story.

Bob West is first on the bill of the stage entertainment and starts off with a bang of organ and song numbers. The stage unit this week is Fanchon and Marcie's "Country Club" idea, as smart as a par score and as refreshing as the 19th hole. In it are Masters and Graye in "Her First Lesson"; McGrath and Deeds, comics of lute; Ray Samuel, class distinction in dancing; Leopore Cori, lyric coloratura soprano; Frank Elmer, baritone, and the Sunlight Beauties.

Don Cossack Russian Male Chorus to Open at Brooklyn Academy The Don Cossack Russian Male Chorus, 36 strong, under the leadership of Serge Jaroff, will make its Brooklyn debut at the Academy of Music in a program of Russian songs, December 15.

F. C. Coppicus has bought the chorus to this country for an extended tour, and the Brooklyn appearance of this famous group should prove the same tremendous success here as elsewhere.

## A New German Film at the 8th St. Playhouse



Above is an interesting scene from the new German film, "Verklungene Traume," or "Echo of a Dream," which begins a run at the 8th St. Playhouse.

## Sifton's Play Now Guild Theatre Hit

Reports from Baltimore indicate that the new Theatre Guild play, "In the Meantime," by Paul and Claire Sifton, is scheduled to score a real hit. It deals with the problems of murder and capital punishment—and human nature when those things come home. Paul Sifton has been a contributor to The New Leader; and the honest study of conditions in his earlier play, "The Belt," makes us wait eagerly for "In the Meantime."

## At the Plaza

Maria Jeriza, Prima Donna Soprano of the Metropolitan Opera Company, and Alfred Wallenstein, Solo Cellist of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra were the guest artists yesterday at the Artistic Mornings at the Plaza series. Next Thursday, the "Don Cossack Male Chorus" will be heard there.

## Broadway Stars Hosts at New Amusement Center

Last night a new amusement center made its bow to Times Square. The St. Andrew's Miniature Golf Course, an exact duplicate of the oldest and finest golf course in the world, copied in each picturesque detail was opened by prominent stage and sports folk. On the first floor of 110 West 42nd street, Broadway stars are to be hosts each night, and dancing, ping pong and buffet suppers are added features of this new amusement center.

## Music Lecture on Haydn's Oratorio Monday, at 3

Adele T. Katz, musicologist, will lecture on Haydn's oratorio, "The Creation," in the Corot Room of the Barbizon Hotel, Monday, December 8, at 3 p. m. This lecture is the seventh of a series presented by Miss Katz on new forms of old music. Herman Kurzwil, pianist, will interpret the main themes in an explanatory recital.

# UNION DIRECTORY

ACTORS' UNION OF NEW YORK CITY. Office 31 Seventh St., N. Y. Phone Orchard 1923. REUBEN GUSKIN, Manager.

BONNAY EMBROIDERERS' UNION. Local 66, 1, L. G. W. U., 7 E. 15th St. Algonquin 3657-S. Executive Board meets every Tuesday night in the Office of the Union. Z. L. Freedman, President; Leon Laitel, Manager; Nathan Reisel, Secretary-Treasurer.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION. LOCAL NO. 8. Office and headquarters, Brooklyn, Labor Temple, 100 W. 11th St. Phone 3431. Office open daily except Saturday from 9 A. M. to 3 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening, Charles Pfaff, Pres.; Frank F. Lutz, Treasurer; Andrew Street, Sec.; William Weinger, Gen. Sec.; Charles Weber, Vice-President; Samuel Potter, Rec. Sec'y.

LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY. A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to protect the legal rights of the Unions and their members. 235 Broadway, 2nd floor, New York. Board of Delegates meet at the Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th Street, on the last Saturday of each month at 8:00 p. m.

LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION. 3 West 116th Street, New York City. Telephone Chelsea 2148. Benjamin Schlesinger President, David Dubinsky, Secretary-Treasurer.

THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION. Local No. 10, 1, L. G. W. U. Office, 109 W. 38th St.; Telephone WI. 8011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union, Maurice W. Jacob, President; Samuel Friedman, Manager; Sec'y: David Frutkin, Asst. Manager.

BUTCHERS' UNION. Local 174, A. C. W. & B. W. of N. A. Office and Headquarters: Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St., Room 12. Regular meetings every first and third Sunday at 10 A. M. Employment Bureau open every day at 6 p. m.

HEBREW BUTCHERS' UNION. Local 234 A.M.O. & B.W. of N.A. 175 E. 84th St. Orchard 7766. Meetings every 1st and 3rd Tuesday. SAMUEL WEINGER, J. BERSKY, Secretary. ISIDORE LIPP, Business Agents.

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL CAPMAKERS. Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, Office, 132 Second Ave.; Phone Orchard 9860-1, 2. The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday. S. Hershkovitz, Sec'y-Treas. Operators, Local 1. Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 132 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

NEW YORK CLOTHING CUTTERS' UNION. A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four". Office, 14 East 12th Street; Subway 5566. Regular meetings every Friday at 210 East Fifth Street. Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office. Philip Orlosky, Manager; I. Machlin, Secretary-Treasurer.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA. New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th Street, New York, N. Y. Telephone WY. 8091. Hyman Blumberg, Sidney Resman, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA. Amalgamated Bank Bldg., 11-15 Union Square, 2nd floor. Telephone Algonquin 6900-1, 2-3-4-5. Sydney Hillman, Gen. Sec'y; Charles Schlossberg, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION. OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, 9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. HUNTERS 4001. Hyman Blumberg, Sidney Resman, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

FURRIERS' JOINT COUNCIL OF N. Y. LOCAL 101, 105, 110 and 115 of THE INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS OF U. S. and C. 23 West 31st Street, Penn. 7822. P. M. Charles Sietky, Manager.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION. Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union. Office and headquarters, 849 W. 11th St., Brooklyn; Slugs 6798. Reg. Mailing, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, H. Hertzberg; Vice President, Sam Koff; Business Agent, H. Kallman; Secretary, Samuel Mandel; Treasurer, H. Heib.

HEBREW TRADES UNION. 175 East Broadway, Telephone DRY. 8810. Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:00 p. m. 1st and 3rd Mondays, 5:30 P. M. N. M. Tiel, Chairman; M. Brown, Secretary-Treasurer.

LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY. A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to protect the legal rights of the Unions and their members. 235 Broadway, 2nd floor, New York. Board of Delegates meet at the Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th Street, on the last Saturday of each month at 8:00 p. m.

LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION. 3 West 116th Street, New York City. Telephone Chelsea 2148. Benjamin Schlesinger President, David Dubinsky, Secretary-Treasurer.

THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION. Local No. 10, 1, L. G. W. U. Office, 109 W. 38th St.; Telephone WI. 8011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union, Maurice W. Jacob, President; Samuel Friedman, Manager; Sec'y: David Frutkin, Asst. Manager.

BUTCHERS' UNION. Local 174, A. C. W. & B. W. of N. A. Office and Headquarters: Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St., Room 12. Regular meetings every first and third Sunday at 10 A. M. Employment Bureau open every day at 6 p. m.

HEBREW BUTCHERS' UNION. Local 234 A.M.O. & B.W. of N.A. 175 E. 84th St. Orchard 7766. Meetings every 1st and 3rd Tuesday. SAMUEL WEINGER, J. BERSKY, Secretary. ISIDORE LIPP, Business Agents.

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL CAPMAKERS. Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, Office, 132 Second Ave.; Phone Orchard 9860-1, 2. The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday. S. Hershkovitz, Sec'y-Treas. Operators, Local 1. Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 132 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

NEW YORK CLOTHING CUTTERS' UNION. A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four". Office, 14 East 12th Street; Subway 5566. Regular meetings every Friday at 210 East Fifth Street. Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office. Philip Orlosky, Manager; I. Machlin, Secretary-Treasurer.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA. New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th Street, New York, N. Y. Telephone WY. 8091. Hyman Blumberg, Sidney Resman, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA. Amalgamated Bank Bldg., 11-15 Union Square, 2nd floor. Telephone Algonquin 6900-1, 2-3-4-5. Sydney Hillman, Gen. Sec'y; Charles Schlossberg, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION. OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, 9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. HUNTERS 4001. Hyman Blumberg, Sidney Resman, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

FURRIERS' JOINT COUNCIL OF N. Y. LOCAL 101, 105, 110 and 115 of THE INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS OF U. S. and C. 23 West 31st Street, Penn. 7822. P. M. Charles Sietky, Manager.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION. Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union. Office and headquarters, 849 W. 11th St., Brooklyn; Slugs 6798. Reg. Mailing, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, H. Hertzberg; Vice President, Sam Koff; Business Agent, H. Kallman; Secretary, Samuel Mandel; Treasurer, H. Heib.

HEBREW TRADES UNION. 175 East Broadway, Telephone DRY. 8810. Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:00 p. m. 1st and 3rd Mondays, 5:30 P. M. N. M. Tiel, Chairman; M. Brown, Secretary-Treasurer.

LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY. A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to protect the legal rights of the Unions and their members. 235 Broadway, 2nd floor, New York. Board of Delegates meet at the Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th Street, on the last Saturday of each month at 8:00 p. m.

LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION. 3 West 116th Street, New York City. Telephone Chelsea 2148. Benjamin Schlesinger President, David Dubinsky, Secretary-Treasurer.

THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION. Local No. 10, 1, L. G. W. U. Office, 109 W. 38th St.; Telephone WI. 8011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union, Maurice W. Jacob, President; Samuel Friedman, Manager; Sec'y: David Frutkin, Asst. Manager.

BUTCHERS' UNION. Local 174, A. C. W. & B. W. of N. A. Office and Headquarters: Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St., Room 12. Regular meetings every first and third Sunday at 10 A. M. Employment Bureau open every day at 6 p. m.

HEBREW BUTCHERS' UNION. Local 234 A.M.O. & B.W. of N.A. 175 E. 84th St. Orchard 7766. Meetings every 1st and 3rd Tuesday. SAMUEL WEINGER, J. BERSKY, Secretary. ISIDORE LIPP, Business Agents.

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL CAPMAKERS. Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, Office, 132 Second Ave.; Phone Orchard 9860-1, 2. The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday. S. Hershkovitz, Sec'y-Treas. Operators, Local 1. Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 132 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

NEW YORK CLOTHING CUTTERS' UNION. A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four". Office, 14 East 12th Street; Subway 5566. Regular meetings every Friday at 210 East Fifth Street. Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office. Philip Orlosky, Manager; I. Machlin, Secretary-Treasurer.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA. New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th Street, New York, N. Y. Telephone WY. 8091. Hyman Blumberg, Sidney Resman, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA. Amalgamated Bank Bldg., 11-15 Union Square, 2nd floor. Telephone Algonquin 6900-1, 2-3-4-5. Sydney Hillman, Gen. Sec'y; Charles Schlossberg, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION. OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, 9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. HUNTERS 4001. Hyman Blumberg, Sidney Resman, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

FURRIERS' JOINT COUNCIL OF N. Y. LOCAL 101, 105, 110 and 115 of THE INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS OF U. S. and C. 23 West 31st Street, Penn. 7822. P. M. Charles Sietky, Manager.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION. Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union. Office and headquarters, 849 W. 11th St., Brooklyn; Slugs 6798. Reg. Mailing, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, H. Hertzberg; Vice President, Sam Koff; Business Agent, H. Kallman; Secretary, Samuel Mandel; Treasurer, H. Heib.

HEBREW TRADES UNION. 175 East Broadway, Telephone DRY. 8810. Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:00 p. m. 1st and 3rd Mondays, 5:30 P. M. N. M. Tiel, Chairman; M. Brown, Secretary-Treasurer.

LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY. A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to protect the legal rights of the Unions and their members. 235 Broadway, 2nd floor, New York. Board of Delegates meet at the Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th Street, on the last Saturday of each month at 8:00 p. m.

LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION. 3 West 116th Street, New York City. Telephone Chelsea 2148. Benjamin Schlesinger President, David Dubinsky, Secretary-Treasurer.

THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION. Local No. 10, 1, L. G. W. U. Office, 109 W. 38th St.; Telephone WI. 8011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union, Maurice W. Jacob, President; Samuel Friedman, Manager; Sec'y: David Frutkin, Asst. Manager.

BUTCHERS' UNION. Local 174, A. C. W. & B. W. of N. A. Office and Headquarters: Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St., Room 12. Regular meetings every first and third Sunday at 10 A. M. Employment Bureau open every day at 6 p. m.

HEBREW BUTCHERS' UNION. Local 234 A.M.O. & B.W. of N.A. 175 E. 84th St. Orchard 7766. Meetings every 1st and 3rd Tuesday. SAMUEL WEINGER, J. BERSKY, Secretary. ISIDORE LIPP, Business Agents.

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL CAPMAKERS. Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, Office, 132 Second Ave.; Phone Orchard 9860-1, 2. The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday. S. Hershkovitz, Sec'y-Treas. Operators, Local 1. Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 132 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

NEW YORK CLOTHING CUTTERS' UNION. A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four". Office, 14 East 12th Street; Subway 5566. Regular meetings every Friday at 210 East Fifth Street. Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office. Philip Orlosky, Manager; I. Machlin, Secretary-Treasurer.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA. New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th Street, New York, N. Y. Telephone WY. 8091. Hyman Blumberg, Sidney Resman, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA. Amalgamated Bank Bldg., 11-15 Union Square, 2nd floor. Telephone Algonquin 6900-1, 2-3-4-5. Sydney Hillman, Gen. Sec'y; Charles Schlossberg, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION. OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, 9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. HUNTERS 4001. Hyman Blumberg, Sidney Resman, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

FURRIERS' JOINT COUNCIL OF N. Y. LOCAL 101, 105, 110 and 115 of THE INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS OF U. S. and C. 23 West 31st Street, Penn. 7822. P. M. Charles Sietky, Manager.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION. Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union. Office and headquarters, 849 W. 11th St., Brooklyn; Slugs 6798. Reg. Mailing, 1st and 3rd Mondays. President, H. Hertzberg; Vice President, Sam Koff; Business Agent, H. Kallman; Secretary, Samuel Mandel; Treasurer, H. Heib.

HEBREW TRADES UNION. 175 East Broadway, Telephone DRY. 8810. Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:00 p. m. 1st and 3rd Mondays, 5:30 P. M. N. M. Tiel, Chairman; M. Brown, Secretary-Treasurer.

LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY. A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to protect the legal rights of the Unions and their members. 235 Broadway, 2nd floor, New York. Board of Delegates meet at the Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th Street, on the last Saturday of each month at 8:00 p. m.

LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION. 3 West 116th Street, New York City. Telephone Chelsea 2148. Benjamin Schlesinger President, David Dubinsky, Secretary-Treasurer.

THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION. Local No. 10, 1, L. G. W. U. Office, 109 W. 38th St.; Telephone WI. 8011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union, Maurice W. Jacob, President; Samuel Friedman, Manager; Sec'y: David Frutkin, Asst. Manager.

BUTCHERS' UNION. Local 174, A. C. W. & B. W. of N. A. Office and Headquarters: Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St., Room 12. Regular meetings every first and third Sunday at 10 A. M. Employment Bureau open every day at 6 p. m.

HEBREW BUTCHERS' UNION. Local 234 A.M.O. & B.W. of N.A. 175 E. 84th St. Orchard 7766. Meetings every 1st and 3rd Tuesday. SAMUEL WEINGER, J. BERSKY, Secretary. ISIDORE LIPP, Business Agents.

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL CAPMAKERS. Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, Office, 132 Second Ave.; Phone Orchard 9860-1, 2. The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday. S. Hershkovitz, Sec'y-Treas. Operators, Local 1. Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 132 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

# THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

## National

1931 STAMPS READY. Next year's due stamps are ready for shipment to state organizations, according to a national office announcement. Many locals want stamps to aid in membership drives following the election campaigns. The system in effect during the past year is continued. Stamps sell to states and federations at 60 cents for one annual or twelve monthly stamps.

## MUTUAL AID FUND

Even after the election, comrades continue to send in contributions to the fund to send literature to places and persons unable to pay for leaflets they are willing to distribute. "What last week would the Negro Support Committee, \$125; H. J. Voorhis, San Dimas, Calif., \$10.00.

## JIMMIE HIGGINS CONTEST

Two new entrants mark a rebirth of activity in the contest since the election and numerous applications of party and league members have been received since the election. The standing of the states remains the same. Each contestant is requested to see to it that a report of his activities to date is in the hands of the executive secretary of the party not later than December 15. Those who have been reported of course will keep up the good work. All those not heard from by December 15, will have broken the rules of the contest that were agreed, and the judges will be asked to drop their names.

## Illinois

CHICAGO. Election returns indicate that the Seventh Congressional District, which did the most intensive literature distribution and street corner speaking, has made a very good showing and laid the foundation for a whirlwind campaign for an Alderman in the City Council in the next spring's election.

Clarence Senior will represent the Socialist party in a four cornered debate with a Republican, Democrat and Communist on the subject, "What Political Party Will the Negro Support in 1932?" The symposium will be held Sunday, Dec. 14, at 3 p. m., at the Metropolitan Community Center, 41st street and South Parkway, Chicago.

## Kansas

In Wyandotte County alone several of the Socialist candidates received over 3,000 votes and H. M. Perkins, running for Senate, has begun distribution of literature for the majority campaign next year.

Arkansas City comrades are following up two meetings the past few months and are meeting every Friday evening to consolidate their forces for the '32 elections. Alva Graham, candidate for Justice of the State Supreme Court, polled 2,940 votes in Clay County, containing Arkansas City, alone.

## California

Banquets have been given in honor of great writers, famous orators and noted personages in the Socialist Party, but this time the Socialists of Los Angeles are going to give a supper in honor of "Jimmie Higgins."

Jimmie Higgins is usually a comrade who works all day in a factory, and because he is interested more in the success of Socialism than he is in any personal success, he seldom amasses much of a fortune. In keeping with this it will be a supper, not a banquet, and the price of the whole affair will be 50 cents. The supper will be held Wednesday, Dec. 17, at 7 p. m., at the South Park Auditorium, corner of 40th and Avalon.

Everyone is welcome and all are urged to be present to pay proper honor to those who have given their time to the building of the Socialist party. We owe it to them and besides you will have a wonderful supper and an enjoyable evening with your comrades.

## Pennsylvania

ERIE. At the last meeting of the Socialist party in Erie, plans were discussed as to how to increase its membership. It was decided that the local party subscribe to a quantity of leaflets of the Reading Labor Advocate and have these sent to former members who had been active in the movement. It is hoped that the Advocate will help to awaken these former members to "class consciousness" and

## bring them to see the imperative need of an organization.

A ticket sellers league has been organized consisting of people within the party who are willing to assume the responsibility for a number of tickets for any lecture that may be sponsored by the party. Already the number of people in the league is above the sixty mark. However, we hope to see the number go well over the hundred mark. Anyone desiring to join the ticket sellers league should send in a card with any member of the party. The league will assure the success of any lecture put on under the auspices of the Socialist Party here.

The secretary, Samuel A. Baker, is arranging a series of lectures by people prominent in the Socialist movement. The party meets every Wednesday night at the Workmen's Circle Hall, 233 East 23rd street, at 8 o'clock. Everybody is welcome at these meetings.

## New Jersey

### NEWARK

Andrew J. Blumiller, of the Department of Economics of the University of Pennsylvania, will speak at the next meeting of the forum, Sunday, Dec. 7, 8:15 p. m., at 190 Belmont Avenue, on "Some Historic Battles of the Labor Movement." Blumiller is executive director of the Philadelphia League for Industrial Democracy and is also active in the Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

The schedule for the forum is as follows: Dec. 14, James H. Maurer, "Socialism in Action"; Dec. 21, Norman Thomas, subject to be announced; Dec. 28, Paul Friedman, "Women—World Builders."

Party members should note changes in organization which have taken place. The county committee now meets on the first of each month; the general membership meeting is now a monthly event and is held on the third Tuesday at 105 Springfield Avenue. Branches are considering changes with the membership will be notified.

Essex County Local will hold a social on the last Saturday of each month. At these socials refreshments will be served and programs of entertainment offered.

## Maine

A local has just been formed at Lewiston and Auburn, including a number of students from Bates College. The temporary secretary is Eldredge Brewster of Bates, and the temporary organizer is Donald M. Smith, also of Bates College.

The local is planning to do some leaflet distribution, to offer its services to the United Textile Workers and other unions for running workers' education classes, and to send speakers to various church groups as well as the Workmen's Circle.

## Massachusetts

BOSTON. The Boston Central Branch and Ypsels are planning a joint study class to be held every Friday evening at 7:30, at 21 Essex street. The class is open to the public.

SALEM. There will be an organization meeting in Salem at the Electrical Workers Hall on Sunday, Dec. 9, at 8 o'clock.

## STATE NOTES

MASSACHUSETTS. The Massachusetts state committee will introduce bills on unemployment insurance, to make the old age pension law, to get rid of injunctions in labor disputes, and to increase the taxes on unearned incomes. A bill for a state university is also being planned.

## Connecticut



