

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Impressions in the South—Danville and West Virginia
Visited—A Spirited Strike that Needs Help—
A Socialist View of the Five Year Plan

A TRIP TO DANVILLE

SATURDAY afternoon in Danville, Va. A day of almost steady rain, sometimes hard, sometimes a drizzle. Lines of strikers outside and inside the two stores in different parts of town where equitably and efficiently the committees give out food to patient and good natured men and women. This is a good day. There is food. Slabs of salt "fat back," bags of flour, some canned soup and some incidentals. "If only every day was as good," one of the leaders said.



Norman Thomas

Not far away the great mills with young, unhappy looking militia men patrolling the gates in the rain. And then the rows and rows of mill houses, a few of them show places, most of them four walls and a floor, painted and perched on brick columns. Only a few have conveniences, all rents are relatively high. And from such homes some of the leading strikers are to be evicted. The legal time limit is up on Christmas Eve. (The boss is a great Christian who teaches Bible Class.)

Sunday afternoon at Danville, Va. A bare hall up a flight of stairs packed as New York subways are seldom packed. What if there should be a fire or the floor should give way? Best not think of that, but listen to them sing! Hymns (the strikers are sincerely religious) and union songs, mixed up with a modern version of the rebel yell. A fine, determined crowd to speak to, good local leadership, good general leadership when Frank Gorman of the U. T. W. is around. The Executive Council of the Virginia State Federation crowds in at a back door. It is meeting in Danville to pledge support.

For this is a strike which must win at least a partial victory if the organizing campaign in the South is to have real significance or success. To lose means to fasten more firmly the chains of low wages and yellow dog contracts on the South. The strike is not yet lost. It will be lost by the bravest men unless relief comes more rapidly and amply. The A. F. of L. unions are giving now. But not enough. The U. T. W. wrestles with debt as well as with the bosses. Never did I feel so keenly the blind folly of the great A. F. of L. which started an organizing campaign with no provision for a strike which the leaders should have known the employers might force on them. If men are going back it is largely because of the lag of the middle weeks when the commissary was low, debts high, and energies of U. T. W. leaders absorbed in getting food. Nevertheless what I saw gave me new confidence in Southern mill workers and some of the leaders they are developing. Don't forget, the Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief will be glad to forward your gifts.

STIRRINGS IN WEST VIRGINIA

I HAVE been up Kelly's Creek (near Charleston, W. Va.) where a recent strike of the new coal miners union has been temporarily compromised with partial victory, but where all the men are not yet back at work and relief from our Emergency Committee is still being given.

I have seen the usual camp in the bare hills, unpainted shacks not as good as a careful farmer uses for cow sheds, the company store where charges run 15 per cent. to 30 per cent. above regular stores but where men have to trade because they are paid in "scrip," and the site of the bull pen where scabs are kept in time of strike as virtual prisoners. I have seen the pay statements not checked up by any check-weighman, whereby men may work for weeks and still be in debt to the company for supplies. I have talked to the father of eight children, dispossessed in the night by company police who dumped his goods a half mile away on the country road, stole his children's clothes and turned loose all his chickens. This summary account was possible because officers of the Lewis union who refused to run the strike and who do nothing but draw their pay, withdrew without any warning the bond they had posted in this one eviction case when they heard the men had joined the new union. This is liberty; this is American prosperity! But it is a fine crowd of men and a feeling favorable to active organization runs high. Two fine young spirited old time Socialists are actively organizing on one meal a day. Success in West Virginia is success for us all.

A PICTURE OF THE SOUTH

THE end of another Southern trip leaves me with mixed impressions. Dreadful unemployment in an industrial city like Birmingham but little evidence of the Communism which so excited Congressman Fish, a terribly poor countryside (especially in parts of Georgia and Alabama), bad prices for cotton and tobacco, discouraged farmers too numerous to make a living on soil mined of its fertility and scarred by the rains. This poor rural population, white and black, is a reservoir of cheap labor. The plantation psychology still rules, complicated by race prejudice and hallowed by an overdose of emotional, revivalistic, fundamentalist religion which is a dead weight on straight thinking. And yet: fine, keen forums in cities and colleges both white and colored. A genuine and increasing interest in Socialism, and a far greater interest in bringing public utilities to account. Much personal kindness to the Northern visitor. Some evidence of genuine concern for civil liberties in the better papers and a slow improvement in race relations. A definite defeat of the Black Shirts and other forces seemed likely to disgrace Atlanta by a race riot. Apparently the authorities want to forget their outrageous sedition cases against six Communists, guilty of no overt act. Put the puzzle together and make your own picture of the South whose industrialization means so much to us all.

THE "FIVE YEAR PLAN"

EVERYWHERE I go, North or South, if men think of all I find them inquiring about that Five Year Plan. It certainly interests Socialists, as the letters to the New Leader prove. May I state my position on it.

1. The success of the Five Year Plan must be determined by the evidence, not by our preconceived notions of what can or should be. Neither the wishes of some of us for the success of the plan nor the convictions of others that it cannot work satisfactorily because by Marxian theory Russia is not ready for Socialism—even this stage of transition to Socialism—must weight against facts. The evidence, I admit, is conflicting. It seems to me to point to a high degree of success in industrialization, achieved at great cost to the peasants and even to the industrial workers who are, however, free from the curse of unemployment.

2. The success of the Five Year Plan will not be the final vindication of Communism nor its failure the condemnation of Socialism and the end of hope for production for use, not profit. Its success will leave ahead the harder question of the effective use of the plant acquired by much privation with the aid of foreign technical experts. Such use in order to raise the standard of living requires a plan for many times five years. And even then there remains the problem of liberty in Russia for Communism to face, to say nothing of problems not on all fours with Russia's in other nations which Communism cannot solve by trying to pour us all in the Russian mold.

If the plan fails it may be because the peasants were crowded too fast, or Russia as a whole unready, or dictatorship not as efficient, even for its own ends, as it boasted, or the element of terrorism too great. These things do not change the necessity for planned production and distribution such as Socialists must seek.

Nevertheless the success of the Five Year Plan, or even its partial and seeming success thus far, is, I find, a very powerful argument for the validity of planned production and the possibility of tremendous economic effort inspired by other than the capitalist motive of profit. How could it be otherwise? If Russia is succeeding even fairly well two of the things Socialists want will be under way before the eyes of the world: (1) we shall have an example of planned production, and (2) it will be for use, not profit. Liberty, democracy, peace are still to be vindicated by us as they are not by Communism in Russia.

Surely it is a mistake for us to tie ourselves up to the proposition that the Five Year Plan cannot and must not work because we don't like Communism or because, according to our interpretation of Marxism, the predestined hour had not struck in Russia. Where, by the way, has it struck and how shall we know when it strikes?

And it is doubly dangerous to Socialism and the peace of the world if our justifiable opposition to repression in Russia makes us seem in the eyes of the workers to condone foolish threats of embargo, or any of the anti-Soviet military plots of Russian emigres, with or without foreign aid.

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Troops Fail to End Strike In Danville

Scores Gassed by Tear Bombs—Spirit of the Workers Remains Stronger Than Ever

By John W. Edelman

DANVILLE, Va.—Scores of mill strikers were gassed with tear bombs at the gates of the Riverside mill, where the United Textile Workers have been conducting a strike for the past 10 weeks, when pickets failed to disperse promptly enough to please police. A force of 68 armed cops headed by the chief of police, Judge Henry C. Leigh, author of the injunction against the union, and Prosecutor John W. Carter marched on the union army 1,500 around the gates of one of the Riverside & Dan River Mills. When the crowd insisted that they had a right to stand by the entrance to protect their jobs against strikebreakers, and cried, "If you arrest any of us you must arrest all of us," the police fired. The strikers fled to escape the fumes.

Not only tear gas but eviction notices are being used against the 4,000 strikers now. Forty-seven were served on prominent unionists a few days ago and 50 more on Dec. 8, according to Secretary James F. Starr of the U. T. W. The eviction notices are not contingent on paying back rent. The strike leaders are informed that they can never obtain employment again with the Danville mills. Evictions will occur during Christmas week unless stayed by legal proceedings. The union hopes to rent some large building to house the evicted families, numbering about 400 persons.

Strike in Good Shape

The strike is in better shape today than at any time since it started. This is the conclusion which officers of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers have come to on hearing confidential authorities report on the situation made by a trained investigator not connected with the labor movement.

Financial aid has been reaching the strikers in better shape than at any time since the walk-out took place and greater interest is being shown in the situation by the movement as a whole. The arrival of the troops in Danville has done a great deal to put new fighting spirit into workers rather than quenching enthusiasm. A check-up on the number of strikebreakers going into the mills by some of the militia officers coincides very closely with the figures reported by the strike committee. Approximately 600 to 700 scabs all told are now employed and of this number very few are skilled. The style of goods which the company is seeking to operate on for the most part are the styles for which skilled workers must be had. Efforts are being made to produce bedspreads, broadcloth for shirts and fine sheetings. The greatest difficulty is being experienced to get saleable quality goods in any of these lines the reports indicate. Carloads of material are being shipped back to Dan River as being too faulty to sell. Machinery in the big mills is in very poor shape and the morale of the scabs very low.

Militia Not Blatant

The militia officers are not per-
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Marion Youngsters Make Xmas Presents For Danville's Kids

Workers' solidarity burns strong between the Pioneer Youth Clubs, the children of Marion, North Carolina, mill workers and the young ones of the Danville, Virginia, strikers. The Pioneer Youth clubs of New York and Philadelphia busied themselves last year by making new toys and furnishing up old ones for the children of Marion strikers who were facing a bleak Yuletide.

This year, the Marion youngsters, befriended when they were in need, are returning compliment by making gifts for the hundreds of children of the embattled Danville strikers. The Pioneer Youth Clubs are busy, too, this time, at making toys for Danville.

N. Y. Socialist Convention to Meet Dec. 26, 27

Unemployment, Party Activities to Be on Order of Business

A SPECIAL municipal convention of the Socialist Party has just been called by the City Central Committee of the party to consider problems of party organization, review the condition of party branches and the results of party activities, decide on the fight against unemployment and to mobilize Socialist forces for the impending battle for the adoption of a state unemployment insurance plan.

The decision to call a special convention was reached, following a lengthy discussion by the delegates to the Central Committee, representing approximately 70 branches of the Socialist Party in the Greater City, as to how the Socialist Party can most effectively take advantage of the interest in unemployment to hasten relief legislation of a more permanent character than either of the two old parties are likely to support at present.

Under the by-laws of the New York City organization, the agenda for city conventions is to be prepared by the City Executive Committee. Consideration of the subjects which the convention ought to take up will be the principal order of business at the next meeting of the Executive Committee, which will be held at the party office, 7 East 15th Street, on Thursday evening, December 18. The regular meeting would have taken place the night before, but in order to insure a better attendance it was found necessary to postpone the meeting to the following night.

Party branches having suggestions for the agenda may submit them to Marx Lewis, executive secretary, any time before the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

Debate Status for India

"Dominion Status for India?" will be debated by teams representing the University of Columbia and the University of Cambridge, Monday evening, at 8:15 o'clock in the Horace Mann Auditorium, Broadway and 120th St. A symposium on Palestine, will follow the debate.

Jobless in N. Y. C. Total 670,000 Now

Condition Will Worsen When Seasonal Industry Recedes After Xmas

By Henry J. Rosner

THE number of unemployed can only be ascertained accurately by some system of registration. This is impossible without unemployment insurance.

It is possible, however, to make a rough estimate of the number of unemployed by applying certain employment indices, which are available.

The first step is to divide the gainfully employed population into various categories, such as wage-earners in manufacturing, construction, trade, transportation and clerical workers. All others fell into a group called miscellaneous. This is done by using the 1927 census of manufacturers, and the 1920 census of occupations. The reason for this procedure is that the quantity of unemployment varies in these classifications. Thus, manufacturing and construction have a much larger volume of unemployment than clerical workers, while trade and transportation occupy a mild position.

The New York State Department of Labor constructs a monthly employment index for manufacturing; the American Federation of Labor constructs one for building trades; the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics publishes a monthly index for wholesale and retail trade, and the Interstate Commerce Commission prepares one for railroads. By applying these indices to the number of employed in the various groups in New York State, one can approximately estimate the number of jobless. This has been done for the period extending from November, 1929, to October, 1930. November, 1929, was selected as a starting point because all the indices of business activity showed that the first serious drop in employment occurred from October to November of that year. The results which were obtained are summarized in the following table:

Month	Year	No. of unem- ployed in New York State
November, 1929		414,000
December, 1929		364,000
January, 1930		582,000
February		640,000
March		624,000
April		624,000
May		630,000
June		679,000
July		768,000
August		810,000
September		725,000
October		670,000

There are several important conclusions to be drawn from these figures.

In making an estimate of unemployment, it must be borne in mind that in so-called prosperous years there is a great deal of unemployment. Thus in 1926, which was one of the banner years of economic activity since 1921, the National Bureau of Economic Research estimated the volume of unemployment in manufacturing at 6 per cent. The New York State index factory employment for that year stood at 101.4. The index for October, 1929, the month from which we computed our estimate, was 67.0.

(Continued on Page Two)

Hoover Fights Jobless Aid; Green Estimates 7 Million Unemployed

A. F. of L. Head Says Unemployment Will Hit New High Mark in February

WASHINGTON—(FP)—If the increase in unemployment which has drawn nearly 5,000,000 working men and women into its net of misery shall continue through the coming two months, February will see more than 7,000,000 workers in this country unable to find jobs and wages. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, has reported. Green bases this prediction on the increase in unemployment from October to November, as disclosed in reports to his office from trade unions in 24 cities. His gloomy forecast has jolted the capital, where Republican and Democratic politicians, settling down to what they are told will be "the most brilliant social season in a decade," had been assured by President Hoover that unemployment had involved "distress" to only 10 to 20 per cent of its victims.

"Unemployment," said Green, "is already as high as in the worst month last winter. More union members were out of work in the first three weeks of November than in October; the percentage rose from 21 to 22. Part time is also increasing. In October, 15 per cent of our membership were working part time; in November, 18 per cent. This year we enter the winter months with an unemployment crisis already on our hands. We should take this November increase as warning that relief measures must be speeded and the utmost possible done to hasten the work of relief and prevention already begun. Unemployment increased as much as usual in November. If it continues to increase at the usual rate we shall have 50 per cent more out of work by February than we have."

40 Per Cent Are Hit

Forty per cent of the union members are now either unemployed or working part time, so that their living standards are forced down, Green's report shows. He argues that a business concern that lost 40 per cent of its customers would be in grave trouble; so the market for consumers' goods is weakened by this slack employment, and for lack of purchasing power the crisis gets worse.

"We estimate that in the United States as a whole," says Green, "4,500,000 wage-earners were without work in October, and in November our preliminary estimate shows 4,800,000 unemployed. These figures do not include farm laborers or office workers."

Worst unemployment percentages were reported from New York, Buffalo, Los Angeles, Birmingham, Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago and Denver. Over half of the building trades men are idle in Birmingham, Detroit, Paterson, Chicago, Atlanta and Cleveland. Twenty of the 24 cities reported more unemployment in November than in October.

Harvard Prof. Says Business Men Will Not Cure Unemployment

"The 200,000 manufacturers of the country will never take the responsibility for dealing with the displacement of workers by machines," Prof. Sumner H. Slichter of the Harvard School of Business Administration told the Taylor Society conference. "They have taken no action to deal with technological unemployment, and in the nation and in almost every state they have fought attempts to do so."

Calling this the easiest kind of unemployment to deal with, Slichter said it could be cured by directing young workers into the right channels and thus keeping old ones from being crowded out, through an organized labor market and adequate labor exchanges. For this purpose he urged a federal labor board with wide powers made up of six or seven industrialists and labor leaders with the secretaries of commerce and labor.

President's Policy Opposes Shorter Week for Employees of U. S. Government

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON—(FP)—The Democratic alliance with the Hoover administration was badly cracked, if not shattered, one week and a day after the opening of the winter session in Congress, when Senator Joe Robinson arose to join the bulk of his party in the Senate in protest against the statement of Secretary of Agriculture Hyde that no federal funds must be used to feed the families of drought-stricken farmers. Before Senator Borah could endorse the heated protest of Tom Heflin against Hyde's demand that the farmers wait until next harvest time for provision for their wives and children and themselves, the Bourbon floor leader was thundering his own denial that loans merely for seed and fertilizer and feed for livestock will meet the emergency.

To prove that the administration, in protesting against a "dole" to poverty-stricken farmers, was illogical as well as heartless, Robinson read the text of the resolution adopted in December, 1922, appropriating \$20,000,000 for Russian famine relief. He pointed out that the relief included cornmeal and condensed milk, as well as seed grain. He failed to recall the fact that the Soviet government repaid this money to the American treasury, after Herbert Hoover had shipped and arranged for distribution of the food and seed. Glass of Virginia interrupted Robinson to read the resolution, adopted in 1919, appropriating \$100,000,000 for famine relief in Austria, Poland and other countries of middle Europe. There again Hoover handled the money and the food. If Hoover was so big-hearted to the hungry Europeans, Robinson asked, why could he not sanction the giving of food to hungry American families whose work has helped to create the wealth of this country?

Hoover Fears Tax Rise

While the lately-strayed but now restored leader was chiding Hoover, the White House chief was issuing a statement denouncing the group of measures introduced in Congress for relief of the unemployed and the penniless farmers. The President estimated the total of these proposed "raids on the Treasury" to near \$4,500,000,000. With characteristic coldness of tone he declared that outside organizations were forcing most of these schemes upon the senators and congressmen, and warned the public that if big funds were voted the tax rate must be increased. Then he turned to his familiar role as guardian of the poor—against their own selfishness.

"No matter how devised," he said, "an increase in taxes in the end falls upon the workers and farmers or alternately deprives industry of that much ability to give employment and defeats the very purpose of these schemes. For the government to finance by bond issues deprives industry and agriculture of just that much capital for its own use and that much employment. Prosperity cannot be restored by raids upon the public treasury."

Opposes Shorter Week

This Hoover patter is, of course, childishly unsound economics. There is abundant money waiting for investment in government bonds, and such investment for a bond issue devoted to cash relief would immediately expand the purchasing power of the people and set going great deals of idle machinery of production. If a billion-dollar bond issue were authorized, to provide immediate funds for payment of unemployment insurance, lifting heavy burdens from local charities, the issue would be over-subscribed in a few days. The administration knows this. But it is flint-faced against setting any precedent—by providing food for American farm families this winter—for the enactment of unemployment insurance.

Moreover, the White House will resist the plan of Senator Walsh of Massachusetts to increase the federal budget enough to establish a universal five-day week for federal employees, without reduction in their present weekly pay.

The Perfect Christmas Gift For Workers

DO you have The New Leader on your list of Christmas presents this year?

We are reminding you of it again because some of our readers may have missed the suggestion which was made for the first time last week.

Every annual return of the Yuletide season brings to readers of magazines a variety of offers of this kind. The mails are now being flooded with bargain offers of subscriptions as Christmas presents to friends.

This custom should work as well for the support of your paper as for other periodicals. Why not make your fund for presents in part serve your movement? Could you do better in this season that mocks millions of human beings without a job? Think what this would mean. You select one or more friends to be placed upon The New Leader subscription list for a year. For 52 weeks your paper will be carrying the Socialist message into each home.

Your friend cannot talk back to the paper as he may talk back to you. Conditions will induce him to read. If he does not you will know that he is hopeless.

In any event, he who receives the present may be an active member of the Socialist Party before the arrival of the next Christmas. It is likely that other members of the family will also become Socialists. He will pass the paper on to others. So the educational message will pass from one person to another.

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It was recalled that just as in the fight to secure the enactment of a Workmen's Compensation Law in New York State, the leadership must be furnished by the Socialist movement, if action on an unemployment insurance bill is not to be delayed indefinitely by old party politicians on the ground that the subject must be investigated for years.

The publication of special leaflets, the calling of a conference of Socialist Party speakers at which the various proposals contained in the bill which has just been drafted can be explained, to be relayed to trade union and Socialist organizations, and special

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N. Y. Yipsels In Convention This Saturday

Young Socialists Meet in Rand School to Plan Work - Hillquit, Thomas and Others to Speak

This afternoon, the Young People's Socialist League of Greater New York will open its tenth annual convention since the reorganization of December, 1919, at the Rand School, 7 East 15th St., N. Y. C. The convention will be presided by Morris Hillquit, Norman Thomas, Algernon Lee, President of the Rand School, Heywood Brown, and Louis Stanley. The first session will be opened today at 3:30 P. M. in the Rand School. The second and third sessions will be held tomorrow at 10 A. M. and 1 P. M. respectively. Oscar Ameringer, editor of the "American Miner"—better known as "Adam Coudigler"—will address the convention on Sunday.

The convention promises to be one of the most important that the New York league has ever held. Ten years ago the League reorganized with only two circles in the city. The Communist split had created havoc in the organization. In the ensuing years, the organization experienced periods of growth and depression, reflecting the progress of the Socialist Party in the city. In the last few years there has been a steady but slow rise in the number of members and circles. At the last convention, held February, 1930, the city league was composed of ten senior and six junior circles. At the present time the executive secretary, Abe Belsky, reports that there are sixteen senior and eight junior circles in the various boroughs of the city. This is indeed an amazing growth for an organization of this nature. In addition to this there are several groups in the process of formation.

The activities for the past year, due to a revival interest that has manifested itself among members of the league, party members, and young men and women formerly unaffiliated with the movement, have been unusually effective and widespread. The recent elections in New York City gave the Young Socialists of the City an excellent opportunity to show their mettle and that they did—earning much praise from the "hardened veterans." The city organization, with the aid of various sympathetic youth organizations, started their own part of the campaign off with a very well attended mass meeting held at the Rand School, which proved to be an excellent stimulus for further coordination of youth activity in the campaign.

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Judge Lindsey to Answer Bishop Manning in Mecca Temple Sat., Dec. 30

As a sequel to the Judge Lindsey-Bishop Manning controversy which has created a storm in church and court circles, the League for Public Discussion and Judge Lindsey in a momentous decision to answer Bishop Manning's attack in full but clear up a great many misunderstandings surrounding his theories of marriage, divorce and birth control.

Symon Gould, the director of the League for Public Discussion, who was present at the Cathedral incident as the companion of Judge Lindsey, has also challenged the Bishop in behalf of Judge Lindsey to appear at the Mecca Temple on that date and debate the issues involved.

A Conservative always thinks that there is only one solution for an industrial dispute, and that is a display of force. Labor has found another solution, a display of reason.—Sir Oswald Mosley, British Labor M.P.

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Outcome Of Soviet Trial Results In Speculation On Authenticity Of 'Plot'

Secretary Hurley Ridicules "Exposures" of Fish Investigation of Communism

RUSSIA has bulked large in the news during the past week, the trial of eight engineers in Moscow having the world stage and Ham Fish's smelting crusade getting the national spotlight. The Moscow trial occurred at a time when the inner party conflict had become rife and Ham Fish's hunt of a "red menace" began when the Republican Party faced distress because of the industrial crisis.

Eight engineers and experts, with Professor Leonid K. Ramsin in the foreground, were accused of complicity in a foreign plot against the Soviet regime. Each of the accused made sensational confessions on the stand while thousands outside in the streets demanded the death penalty. The proceedings were broadcast throughout Russia, thus dramatizing it as a big piece of propaganda.

Meantime the world was puzzled that the accused did all in their power to convict themselves with the knowledge that they were facing the death penalty. Certain other aspects of the trial added to the perplexity of readers.

Duranty on the Trial

Walter Duranty, Moscow correspondent of the New York Times, wired the most complete reports of the trial. Duranty for the past year or more has given a favorable view of the land of the Soviets and for this reason his reports are interesting. He brings out the point that while the accused admitted "a great big plot with thousands of adherents" which included "a new government and foreign intervention," yet whenever "it comes down to just what they did with the money and how the conspiracy was organized and what it accomplished, their accustomed glibness deserts them and everything grows blurry and vague."

"The most bewildering feature of the whole case is that everyone seems to be ready to make damning blanket admissions about treasonable organizations, projects and conduct, but they are unable or unwilling to explain just what they did and how. It was the same with M. Milhaileiko, who confessed that in his work of draining swamps in frontier regions he "was instructed and himself tried" to drain swamps that barred the passage of an invading army.

"But poor M. Milhaileiko—an ill-dressed man of middle age, inferior in brains and appearance to the accused or the witnesses previously examined—got badly "swamped" himself in his attempt to describe how and why he picked the spots to drain what he provided easy passage for invaders. He was further confused by the court's instructions not to tell the locality of the swamps he was describing. The instructions were constantly ignored and constantly repeated. Once he asked plainlily, "How shall I call a place near the seacoast, not far from Leningrad?" and stood with a startled open mouth when President Judge Vishinsky barked back harshly, "Say near the maritime frontier and do not mention Leningrad."

Meantime Louis Fischer, Moscow correspondent of The Nation (New York), contributes an article revealing the effects of the Soviet bureaucracy upon technicians and experts. His view is interesting as he is pro-Soviet and the author of a two-volume history of Soviet diplomacy which sets forth this diplomacy in glowing terms. He writes that because the experts work under fear they are often paralyzed in taking the initiative and responsibility for plans. Few are willing to sign official reports because of dread of the consequence if reports are not satisfactory to the chiefs.

Sentences Are Commuted

From two sources Professor Ramsin's confession is challenged, one being his brother in Paris and the other Michael Karpovich of the faculty of Harvard University. Ramsin's brother declares that while Ramsin was in Paris he was under the constant eye of Communists detailed for that purpose. The brother continued: "He and all his companions were stopping at the Hotel Terminus in Paris. Every time he went out with me to the theatre or elsewhere he was obliged to tell his companions where he was going and with whom. All his movements were followed and the Communists

who were with him were obviously displeased when he was not with them, perhaps because they spoke French badly and needed him as an interpreter.

"After they had completed their mission, which referred only to their technical work, my brother and his companions went to Berlin, all in the same compartment."

"My brother never took any interest in politics, and it is absolutely absurd to suppose that, watched as he was, he could have taken part in any negotiations of the kind of which he is accused."

Five of the accused were sentenced to death and three were sentenced to ten years in prison. Then came the big surprise. The death sentences were commuted to ten years in prison and the remaining three had their sentences commuted to eight years.

The reasons given are threefold—first, the accused freely admitted their guilt and told all; second, they helped to reveal "interventionist plans by the French and emigre enemies"; third, the Soviet is not vengeful and does not kill for the sake of killing.

Party Discontent Rife

On the day when the commutation of the sentences was reported H. W. Brooks, a consulting engineer in New York who was with Professor Ramsin in Europe when the latter was supposed to have arranged the plot, declares that he knew nothing of such a plot. Brooks is of the opinion that the confessions were arranged by the OGPU, the Soviet secret police, as a "farce" to strengthen the Stalin dictatorship.

The whole procedure is suspect and it is probable that other information will come to light later on. It is certain that the discontent in the Communist Party had become acute and that a "plot" staged at the present time would put the inner party opposition on the defensive. It is not the first time that a foreign scare has been employed for the purposes of the ruling party faction.

At the same time it is true that the monarchist exiles have never given up hope of a reactionary restoration of the old regime. It is this hope of the old gang that gives plausibility to any "plot" that is announced in Moscow. One can check the announcement because there is no available evidence for one to consult. Socialists must use their brains in considering such affairs, and not take for granted what appears on the surface.

Hurley Ridicules Fish Committee's 'Mare's' Nest

WASHINGTON (FP)—Ridicule of the "mare's nest" of testimony given before the Fish anti-Communist committee of the House, concerning old Liberty motors for airplanes, said to have been sold to the Soviet Union, was voiced Dec. 8, by Secretary of War Hurley. He said that the idea that these motors, if they reached Russia, could have any value in modern military operations in the air, was absurd and silly. Modern pursuit planes, he pointed out, develop a speed of 60 to 90 miles an hour faster than the maximum speed of Liberty motor driven planes. If the Soviet government were buying the sort of "secrecy" involved in the plans for these obsolete motors, said the cabinet officer, then they would soon be broke.

In a formal statement Hurley declared: "Recent newspaper stories and testimony before the Congressional committee investigating communistic activities in the United States, to the effect that some 40 Liberty motors have been sold to Russia, are absurd. All Liberty engines were manufactured during the war. Since the war only approximately 275 unused Liberty engines have been sold by the War Department, and a very large proportion of these to reputable American aviation corporations.

"The question of limiting the destination of new and unused Liberty engines was first brought up late in 1926 when the War Department was approached to determine whether or not it would sell large quantities of Liberty engines for export to Russia. A policy was adopted that no new Liberty engines would be sold to any individual or corporation if there was any likelihood of their final destination being a foreign country which was not on a proper diplomatic status with the United States. There was no need of such a policy prior to this time, as inquiries concerning purchases of new Liberty engines were infrequent and in relation to small quantities. A large number of used and obsolete engines discarded by the Army have been sold during the past 10 years, most of them being sold to the highest bidder, and no effort was made to control their destination inasmuch as they had no military value. It is perfectly possible that some of these used and obsolete engines found their way into Russia."

BOSTON.—(FP)—Carpenters district council, representing 8,000 Boston unionists, has rejected the 3-day stagger plan. The council stated it had advised employers to adopt the 40-hour week last spring as an unemployment measure, and had been turned down.

Mosley Wants Super-Cabinet For Britain

Maxton Finds Proposal Not Socialistic Enough—Labor Wins, Vote Drops

ALL will agree that the outstanding event in the British Labor Party this week is the statement issued by Oswald Mosley and sixteen other Labor members of Parliament who are dissatisfied with the Labor Government. The statement is a challenge as well as a proposal, the latter demanding that an emergency cabinet of five members to rescue Great Britain from its menacing economic problems. The dissatisfaction has been explained from time to time by Fred Henderson, The New Leader's London correspondent. It grows out of the decision to take office with the expectation of working out a moderate program that would obtain the support of the Liberals.

The Mosley proposal is for a super-cabinet representative of all parties, which is surprising in that he has been considered a leader of the Left section of the party. Maxton, the chief spokesman of the Independent Labor Party, does not approve the proposal on the ground that it is not sufficiently socialist for the I. L. P. The Clydesiders, who constitute a working class section of the party largely trained in Marxian teachings, are also unwilling to accept the Mosley statement as a Socialist program.

London dispatches point out that the Mosley group consist chiefly of young men. Their contention is that for ten years Parliament has refused to face the conditions of a changed world, especially post-war industries. They urge an economic planning staff to adjust British production to new conditions, to establish a new balance between industry and agriculture, and to develop new and modern industries. They would set up an import control board and arrange more satisfactory agreements within the British Commonwealth with the view of absorbing the high production of modern machinery "which for the purpose must be largely insulated from the wrecking forces in the rest of the world."

Policy on Unemployed

Of the unemployed problem the statement declares: "A short-term policy of constructive works would enable us to bridge the gap between the present crisis and the fruition of our long-term policy and is essential to preserve national efficiency and the capacity to work. Periods like the present should be used to modernize Britain. We believe only the will and power to cut through the intolerable network of governmental and municipal procedure are needed to make possible an early provision of work on schemes of urgent and immediate importance."

"In addition to the constructive works already detailed in the Parliamentary debates, we suggest an attack by direct action on the great problem of slum clearance and the rehousing in decent conditions of an important proportion of the workers of our industrial cities. Nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of using a very large number of our unemployed in this vital task. We suggest the only method by which this

Harlem-Morningside Socialists To Stage Gala Theatre Party Dec. 21

THE joint memberships of the Morningside Heights' branch and the 21st A. D. branch together with Socialists of the upper west side of Manhattan, have banded together under the name of the Harlem-Morningside Socialist League for the purpose of establishing a permanent industrial and domestic welfare bureau.

The initial move will be the distribution of 1,000 New Year's baskets of food to needy families in the sections covered by these districts. Another proposal is the establishment of a permanent free employment and legal aid bureau. Already both the Fox Circuit and Publix Theatres have guaranteed to place the hiring of their ushers, cashiers, matrons and porters through this exchange and a prominent woman lawyer has volunteered her services gratis as supervisor of the legal aid bureau.

To realize financial backing to carry on this work, the committee has arranged under the auspices of Station WEVD for an all-star benefit theatrical performance at the Ambassador Theatre, 49th street, west of Broadway, on Sunday evening, December 21, at 8:30 p. m. This theatre benefit, the proceeds of which are to be devoted to the work of the Harlem-Morningside Socialist League, is sponsored by a committee of patrons among whom are Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Rabbi Sidney S. Goldstein, Rev. W. L. Ames and Mrs. Ames, Sol Low, William Picken, Heywood Brown, Reinhold Neibuhr, Charles C. Webber, Mrs. Helen Curtis and Edmund Chaffee.

Among those already lined up to make this show the crowning event of the theatrical season are: Fred and Adele Astaire, Eddie Foy, Jr., Tom Howard, Bill Robinson, Adelaide Hall and the chorus of thirty Sepian beauties from

can be done is that the State organization to turn out houses should constitute a public utility and building materials as we turned out munitions during the war.

Financial Policy

"In finance we should pursue a producers' policy. The producer, whether manufacturer or worker, has been penalized for ten years by a financial policy which benefits the bondholder and handicaps production. The first concern of the financial policy must be the maintenance of industry, and this demands a stable price level."

The report concludes with the following paragraph: "In the advancement of this immediate policy we surrender nothing of our socialist faith. The immediate question is not a question of ownership but of the survival of British industry. Let us put through the emergency program to meet this national danger; afterward the political debate on the fundamental principle can be resumed."

Maxton in Opposition

Commenting on the statement Maxton of the I. L. P. said that it was not sufficiently socialist to suit the Left group in Parliament. "It will not help set up a dictator in this country," he said. "We want more democracy, not less. Sir Oswald's plan would give us less. He does not appeal to the workers, but is trying to mollify the capitalists by offering them a producers' program."

"We are fighting for a workers' program first, and production will follow. He cannot mollify or dupe the capitalists. The only way is to make a frontal attack on their system in a class war, and honestly admit it is a class war."

Back of the dissatisfaction is the fact that Great Britain is intimately tied up with prostrate Europe and the economic and financial problems inherited from the World War. Philip Snowden, Chancellor of the Exchequer, will have to produce another budget in April and will close this year with a deficit of about \$200,000,000 and a larger deficit will probably accumulate next year.

Whitechapel Vote Drops

The dissatisfaction of working class voters has been expressed in by-elections not by voting for Liberal or Conservative candidates but by staying away from the polls. A Labor candidate for Parliament in the Whitechapel district of London last week won by a small majority. He was subjected to considerable heckling as were the other candidates. He took a more advanced position in his answers to questions asked by dockers and others, thousands of whom are unemployed. The result was a Labor victory.

The Labor Party won last week's by-election in Whitechapel but by a margin of votes considerably below that in the victory in the general election. James Hall, Labor, was elected last week by a plurality of 1,099 votes, as against a plurality of 9,180 given Harry Gosling, Labor, in the general election. Hall was given 8,544, the Liberal candidate 7,445, the Conservative 3,733, and Harry Pollitt, Communist leader, 2,160. The figures in the general election were Gosling 13,701 and the Liberal 4,521. No Communist ran then. In this by-election the Communists campaigned in the predominantly Jewish district as a pro-Zionist party, attacking the MacDonald government for its white paper on Palestine. This has put the Communists on both sides of the Palestine question. When the riots and attacks on Jews broke out a year ago, the Communists were staunch defenders of the Arabs.

Socialists of Queens Decline To Aid Harvey

Party Suggests Borough President Return Salary Grab He Helped Put Over

QUEENS County Socialists have declined to join with Borough President Harvey in raising a "dole" for the relief of the unemployed in the borough. While admitting that degrading charity is the only method left to the politicians in office to meet the problem of the jobless, Queens County Socialists decided to work through their own agencies to help the unemployed. This decision was made public in a recent statement approved by the County Committee and issued by James O'Neal, county chairman. The statement reads:

"The Queens County Committee of the Socialist Party is informed through news stories of the interest taken by Borough President George U. Harvey in organizing relief for the unemployed of the Borough. We understand that cooperation is asked of various organizations, including the Socialist Party, although no communication has been received by this committee requesting such cooperation.

"As Socialists we favor support of every agency of relief for the many thousands who face privation because of unemployment. At the same time justice to the jobless men and their families requires that we point out the hypocrisy of the politicians and parties that do nothing while in office to meet such a tragic emergency. "Their policy has been to reject measures of social legislation, such as unemployment insurance, as a 'dole system.' When a grave economic crisis overwhelms us these politicians and parties turn to the most humiliating form of the 'dole' as a measure of relief. They resort to private aims, set up special committees, subject the jobless to an inquisitorial investigation that borders upon personal abuse, and piously assume that they have done their whole duty."

Attack Charity Dole

"Our responsibility to the suffering masses imposes upon us the duty of exposing this shameful policy. It is all the more revolting considering the fact that legislation in behalf of unemployed insurance is no more a 'dole' than the pension received by a retired public servant. Such legislation is merely a partial recognition of the social obligation that society owes to its useful wealth producers. To reject it is to make certain that unemployed men and their families must submit to the humiliation of private and public charity."

"Moreover, in the present instance, Mr. Harvey as the leading Republican lieutenant of Tammany Hall in Queens Borough is vulnerable in this matter. He has found it easy to take the initiative in raising salaries of public officials in this period of national distress. Would it be too much to ask him to take the initiative in a course that would return these raises in salary to the public funds? That would be some measure of atonement for a callous selfishness flaunted in the faces of jobless heads of working class families."

Won't Aid Politicians

"That our position may not be misunderstood, we wish to say that we do not oppose the 'dole' which these politicians have turned to. It is now inevitable. Charity under their rule, is the chief method now available in this crisis because some measure of justice has been withheld. Jobless men and their families must be fed. Through our own agencies we shall help in the work of relief to the extent we can.

"But at the same time we decline to contribute to the enhancement of the lowered prestige of visionless politicians of capitalistic politics, politicians who have neither the will nor the foresight to prepare for economic disaster through intelligent social legislation."

Edward P. Clarke, county secretary, reported that Queens County had the largest percentage of new party members of the five boroughs. He had also obtained ten members for a new branch in Ridgewood which will be organized soon.

Sunnyside has 81 members in good standing, the largest of any branch in the county. Far Rockaway is holding lectures and study classes; Sunnyside is distributing New Leaders among the jobless; Sunnyside Yipsels have a study class and have arranged dances and hikes, and Jamaica is still looking for a headquarters.

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(Continued From Page One)

mate, stood at 100.4—a difference of 1 per cent. Yet in the former year, there was 6 per cent unemployment. Therefore, it is fair to draw the conclusion that the volume of unemployment in October, 1929, which was one of the busiest months in 1929 totaled 7 per cent. Consequently, 7 per cent had to be added to the percentage decline in employment for each month subsequent to October, 1929.

These figures also indicate that we are in for one of the toughest winters in our history. Unemployment during 1930 was steadily on the up-grade until it reached the high point of over 800,000 in August. The months of September and October showed some slight improvement. The reason is that in the fall of the year there is normally an increase in activity in the so-called seasonal trades—like clothing. This is invariably followed by a tremendous drop. December is likely to absorb a great many in merchandising because of the Christmas rush. But all of these people who are temporarily employed because of seasonal activity will be laid off in January and February. It is reasonable then to predict that the winter of 1931 will see well over 800,000 unemployed in the State of New York. It would not be at all surprising if it went as high as 900,000. Bread riots may be a common sight in New York City this coming winter.

With these horrible prospects in store for us, what have our politicians of the two old parties done to prepare for this emergency? All they have given us are pious hopes and speeches with a little disorganized relief thrown in. Socialists must redouble their efforts to compel them to give the workers justice in the shape of unemployment insurance instead of the miserable dole of charity.

Sales of "Unemployed", Magazine of the L. I. D. Nearing 50,000 Mark

THE circulation of The Unemployed, the magazine of the League for Industrial Democracy being sold by jobless men and women in the streets, subways and public buildings, is now near the 50,000 mark. The sales in New York, average 2,000 a day, while Chicago has taken 5,000 copies and Philadelphia 4,000. Large orders have been received from Boston, Detroit and Pittsburgh. The Young People's Socialist League is taking care of distribution in Reading.

So successful has the magazine been that a new issue, to be dated January, is now being completed and should be out about December 20th. The January issue will contain articles by John Dewey on the social responsibility for unemployment, by Upton Sinclair on the cause of unemployment, by Morris Hillquit on the cure of unemployment, by H. S. Raushenbush on machinery and the jobless. Alexander Woolcott has contributed a review of "Some Folks Won't Work." There will be another article by Oscar Ameringer, an article by Reinhold Neibuhr on the international aspects of unemployment, and articles by McAlister Coleman, Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, Louis Stanley and others. Clive Weed has drawn the cover for the new issue in addition to contributing a cartoon on the apple craze. Other cartoons will be by Art Young and Edmund Dwyer. The magazine is being edited by Edward Levinson, assistant editor of The New Leader, and Mary Fox, secretary of the League, and is being published by League.

The magazine is being sold by the unemployed only. Men and women may obtain copies at 5 cents each and sell them for 10 cents. They should apply at the office of the League, 112 East 19th street, New York City. The League is making contracts with liberal, radical and labor agencies in other cities who can handle distribution of the magazine. Socialist party branches and other groups interested should communicate with John Herling, who is in charge of distribution, at the above address.

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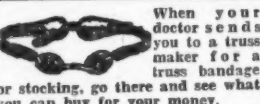
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N. J. Socialists Will Convene In January

Session on Jan. 26th Will Nominate Candidate for Governor

The New Jersey State Committee of the Socialist Party decided at its monthly meeting in Newark, Dec. 7, to call a state convention for the purpose of nominating a candidate for governor and planning organization and campaign activities throughout the state for the year 1931. The convention will be held the last Sunday of January at Finnish Hall, Jersey City. All branches are entitled to one delegate at large and one additional delegate for every 20 members in good standing.

The report of the state secretary on the recent election showed that the Socialist Party has every reason to feel pleased at the vote cast for Socialist Party candidates. Everywhere there is a substantial increase over the vote of last year and the year 1928. Henry Jager, candidate for United States Senator, received a total of 4,615 votes against 2,287 cast for the same office at the election of 1928.

The party had candidates in eight Congressional districts and polled a total of 3,949 votes for all candidates. Two years ago the party had candidates in only three Congressional districts and polled a total of 812 votes. The first Congressional district where H. F. Niessner was the candidate is the banner district of the state with a total of 950 votes.

The 6th Congressional District, where Henry J. Cox was candidate, shows the largest increase of any Congressional District over the previous election. In 1928 the vote was 316, in 1930, 774. The vote for members of the General Assembly also shows a steady increase for the past three years. The total vote in 1928 was 1885; in 1929, 3,016, and in 1930, 5,234. The party had assembly candidates in seven counties. Essex County polled the largest vote of any county for its assembly ticket, 1,104.

Articles by McAlister Coleman, Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, Louis Stanley and others. Clive Weed has drawn the cover for the new issue in addition to contributing a cartoon on the apple craze. Other cartoons will be by Art Young and Edmund Dwyer. The magazine is being edited by Edward Levinson, assistant editor of The New Leader, and Mary Fox, secretary of the League, and is being published by League.

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WHY UNEMPLOYMENT AND HARD TIMES?

By George H. Shoaf

Explanations of the cause and cure of the industrial depression, as set forth by proprietors and their inspired apologists, fully illustrate the moral and intellectual bankruptcy of the ruling class, many of whose names were made public recently by Mr. James W. Gerard. Possibly the majority of these men, who are the nation's rulers because they own most of the nation's wealth, have little real conception of the cause and cure of hard times and unemployment. It would afford amusement, if the conditions discussed were not so tragic, to read what able editors, big business men and various authorities on economics and finance write, regarding the present situation and the immediate future. In their efforts to evade the crux of the problem, and thereby avoid committing themselves, these editors and authorities, using language to conceal thought, give explanations which do not explain and remedies which make thoughtful persons laugh. Whether they know it or not, what they are trying to do is to justify the present and continued operation of the prevailing mode of production and exchange; and it is just this mode of production and exchange, more

than anything else, which is responsible for society's plight. "The international trade and industrial depression can be blamed on lack of economic leadership," declares Max Winkler, noted economist and vice-president of Berton, Griscom & Co., New York investment house. In a syndicate interview with Ferdinand Lundberg, occupying nearly two columns, Mr. Winkler elaborates this "lack of economic leadership" to mean that American bankers should resume their loans abroad in order to stimulate foreign trade with American industrialists. Failure here constitutes "lack of economic leadership," which in turn is the cause of "international trade and industrial depression."

Under the head, We Can't Progress by Taking in Each Other's Washing, E. W. Scripps, famous editor, attributes the economic woe of the world to a state of idleness. He thinks "the situation of business depression and overproduction has been brought about by plain laziness and lack of initiative."

Roger Babson, often quoted, proclaims boldly that "lack of confidence" caused the depression, and that business will not resume until

"confidence has been restored." From Belfast, Ireland, Ambassador Dawes announces "world depression in business is due always to a sudden change in the attitude of the world's people," and "after a hectic period, the reaction and return to a normal view of things causes first a business collapse, then a period of stagnation, then a period of recuperation. Business mankind is now in the stage of recuperation."

To this confusion B. C. Forbes, financial editor, adds, "The notion wide prevails that everything could be changed were the money interests' anxious to have things changed. Some even hint that certain of our most powerful corporations are perfectly willing to see things go as they have been going in order to wipe out weak competitors and thus cut down overproduction."

These economists may successfully fool the people with their explanations; they may even deceive themselves; placed over against the facts of hard times and unemployment, however, these explanations are far afield.

From the prosperity of a year ago it is admitted by all that the

country now lies industrially prostrate; that the approaching winter threatens to be the most desperate ever known; that this condition is world-wide; that it afflicts free trade England as severely as it does protected America; that those countries having a republican form of government are no more exempt than is Italy under a dictatorship; that Protestant countries are in the depths of an economic depression as great as that to which Catholic countries have gone.

Complete ignorance of the laws governing the economic development of society is disclosed by those who essay to attribute this phenomena to "lack of leadership," "plain laziness and lack of initiative," "lack of confidence," and "a sudden change in the attitude of the world's people."

Many persons are trying to apply the faith cure to this depression. They imagine that by either ignoring or minimizing conditions, or by not thinking about them, in some way they will care for themselves, or disappear, or wonder of wonders, the depression may not even exist. Others psychologize themselves into believing that if they put on a hopeful and smiling face and keep talking good times

that good times will come again. These people forget that abstract thought or lack of thought never yet created anything. Who by talking thought can add one cubit to his stature?

Hard times and unemployment are here not because of conscious mental effort or because of sentimental reasons. They are here not because some one wished to precipitate them on the result of individual or collective goodness or badness, or because of universal laziness. God had nothing to do with the situation, and certainly it would be the climax of absurdity to hold the Devil responsible.

At this moment according to the best available statistics eighteen per cent of the people of the United States own not less than eighty per cent of the nation's wealth. As far as sheer control is concerned, calculated and compiled by the editor of a well known Masonic journal, less than three per cent of the people dictate the disposition of ninety-five per cent of all property within the jurisdiction of the American flag. James W. Gerard names fifty-nine industrial and financial magnates who, he says,

hold this country in their grasp. While prosperity has disappeared, as a matter of fact, this country is no poorer today than it was a year ago. Wealth has simply accumulated in the hands of a few. The many, impoverished and unable to buy, offer no reason why the few should start the wheels of industry going.

Intelligent understanding of the social process makes clear why social paralysis. These are the inherent and inseparable characteristics of the system under which the people of the world do business and provide themselves with food, clothing, shelter and the luxuries of life. What is this system? How does it operate?

Briefly, the prevailing economic system, based on the private ownership of natural resources, land and tools, involves socialized production with individual appropriation. Workers, divorced from the ownership of land and tools and cooperatively employed, produce commodities which are the property of those who own the productive equipment. In competition with other factors of production, the owners cannot and do not permit the operation of their equipment unless "profit" accrues. This profit comes from the sale or exchange of commodities in part; actually the largest portion represents the wages of unpaid labor. Since all wealth is the product of labor directed by intelligent management, which also is labor, it follows that if all wealth, less upkeep and the purchase price of raw materials, went to labor, the owners of the machinery of production would be unable to pile up the gigantic fortunes which constitute a national menace as well as a national asset.

The central feature of the system is private ownership of prop-

erty. If, under the system, an individual has the moral and legal right to acquire and hold exclusively a single acre of land, then he has the right to possess a million acres or a continent. If he can lawfully own and control a mine or a factory, then who shall deny him the right, under the system, to crush his competitors and effect mergers until his ownership of the productive machinery of the nation is complete? According to the system the right to private property is as sacred as the right to human life. Indeed, the operation of the system reveals that property rights receive greater protection and are more jealously guarded than human rights. Under the system who would have the temerity to suggest laws limiting the amount or the value of one's wealth?

Private property contains the germ of ultimate monopoly. Proudhon, one of the elder economists, declared that property is robbery. It carries with it rent, interest, profits, and the wages system—all forms of exploitation. The principle of private ownership gives rise to the class antagonisms of today. From the operation of the system of the private ownership of property proceed labor strikes, lockouts, personal misunderstanding, crimes against persons and property, competition for markets, and international war.

That private ownership has served a useful and a necessary purpose is not denied. The system which enabled it to attain its highest development has also made valuable contribution to the social process. But private ownership has outlived its usefulness, and the system is breaking down. Socialized production and individual appropriation are incompatible. Vast numbers of workers producing tremendous quantities of wealth for a few parasitical owners, who must

periodically shut down industry and throw millions out of work because they can neither consume nor dispose of their wealth, constitute a contradiction in society which the laws governing it will not tolerate. Present unemployment, growing out of private ownership and the system responsible for its continuance, is a symptomatic crisis showing the necessity for a change.

Morals, sentiment, religion, politics or justice do not enter into this analysis. This is an economic problem involving the development of industry and its service to mankind. Philosophy has nothing to do with the problem. Its solution is to be sought not in the minds of men, but in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in that mode of production and exchange which will best advance the interests of society as a whole.

Beneficiaries of special privilege will not relish the facts written here, nor will they countenance their publicity. Men and women who profit by the system will do anything for the exploited working classes except get out of their backs. The intellectual prostitutes who act as editors and educators will cite every ascribable reason for the present economic depression except the one which tells the truth. The crisis through which the country is passing is periodic and comes with increasing frequency. Each crisis lasts longer and the misery accompanying it is growing more intense. Sooner or later the effete system will totter to its fall, and then will the energies of men be released for a quickstep in the onward march to a more abundant life.

Private ownership and arbitrary management for individual greed have failed; collective ownership and democratic management for the public good are waiting. The old system has brought the present crisis of hard times and unemployment; the new system of collective ownership promises the only permanent cure.

Labor and Socialism in Austria

This is the second of a series of three articles giving impressions gained in Austria last summer.

By Harry W. Laidler

EVEN more than in Germany, the Austrian Socialists and trade unionists are united. Dr. Rager, Secretary of the Chamber of Labor, received us in the home of the Chamber and gave us a brief survey of the country's labor situation, afterwards entertaining us as the guest of the Chamber at a delightful tea at Koblenz. The Chamber of Labor, it might be said in passing, is one of Austria's unique institutions. It is not the same as the trade union federation. It is an institution provided by law to look after the interests of labor; to act as a research and information bureau on labor questions; to help formulate labor legislation and to advise on any labor legislation before it is brought before parliament. Its representatives are elected by the workers of the nation and the workers pay for its support. It is dominated by trade unionists and Socialists although it has no official connection with the party or the trade union federation. The almost negligible Communist strength in the country is shown by the fact that of the 113 trade union representatives in the council, only 2 are communists.

"Austria," declared Dr. Rager, secretary of the Chamber, "has a population of six and a half million people, as compared with the fifty-five million population contained in the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. In this population there are one million industrial workers and employees, 1,800,000, including civil servants. Of the one million industrial workers, about 650,000, or between 60 per cent and 70 per cent, belong to the free trade unions."

"There are nearly the same number of members of the Socialist party, although the membership is not identical. The party contains numerous intellectuals and some farmers and farm tenants."

"The political and trade union movements, however, run parallel. Leading trade unionists are in parliament and legislation in favor of the workers has been highly developed. The main features of this legislation are nearly the same as in Germany, England and Russia. They include social insurance against illness, accident and unemployment. We have old age pensions for clerks, but the general old age pension law has not as yet been put into force."

"Austria has also ratified the eight hour day conditionally. We have legally provided for a Works Committee in every plant with more than twenty people. We have legal provision for collective bargaining, and for the Chamber of Labor."

"Today Austria is suffering much from unemployment, owing largely to its present political situation and to the causes grounded in the capitalist system. At present there are 180,000 unemployed and receiving benefits, besides 40,000 to 50,000 not able to get benefits. We are suffering from this malady perhaps more than any other country in the world."

"In the United States those unemployed one month may be largely employed one month or a few months later. But many workers have been unemployed in Austria between two and seven years."

"The only thing between these workers and destitution is the unemployment insurance fund. Under our plan contributions are made by employer and employee and the unemployed receives an allowance from this fund for a 30 week period. After that time, he obtains an emergency benefit. We

Unity of Socialist Party and Trade Unions Main Factor in Workers' Control of Vienna

have 10 categories of wage-earners paying into the fund. Most of the skilled adult workers are in the higher categories. In the upper classifications the worker gets around 50 cents a day, the amount varying somewhat according to whether he is single or married or according to the number of his children. Three shillings will just about pay his rent, bread and coffee, and, in addition, his sausages two or three times a week. There is no difference between sexes in the social insurance system.

"The average wage," continued Dr. Rager, "is about 45 Austrian shillings or between \$6 and \$7 a week for a male adult worker rather skilled. In the unskilled industry, it is between 30 and 35 shillings. Metal workers, brick layers, brewers, may make an average of from 100 to 120 shillings a week, or from \$14 to \$16."

The Socialist Party
Dr. Oscar Pollak, foreign editor of the Arbeiter Zeitung, the official organ of the Social Democratic party, and Julius Deutsch, Secretary of the party and president of the Schutzbund, the military auxiliary of the party, corroborated the statements of Dr. Rager regarding the labor movement and told of the organization and the policies of the political organization of the workers.

"The Social Democratic party in Austria," they declared, "is the strongest in the world in comparison with the population, having a membership of 700,000. About 400,000 of these members are in Vienna, with its population of 1,800,000. In the Austrian house it has 71 out of 163 representatives, several seats less than a majority. The Christian Socialists—the conservative party—have 73 seats. The Vienna Socialists realize that they cannot, through the control of the city, upset the capitalist system. Inside of capitalism, however, they can develop the elements that may facilitate the advent of Socialism. They have adopted the policy of buying the land in the

city and at present one-third of the land of Vienna is owned by the municipality. They are trying to ease the hardness of the workers' lives through social welfare measures, and they are doing much to reorganize the school system. Never before have Socialists been placed in complete control of so large a city. Progressive people all over the world are studying the measures we are putting through. When Ramsay MacDonald was in Vienna some time ago he said that formerly, when asked what Socialists would do in municipal government if they had power, he felt at a loss for a satisfactory answer. Now he can say that they will strive to do the same as Vienna is doing."

The party in Vienna has a daily paper, the Arbeiter Zeitung, which is largely distributed in bulk at factories and has a circulation approaching 100,000. A smaller paper, the Kleine Blatt, was founded in 1927, for more popular consumption and in two years has gained a circulation of 150,000 and is helping to carry the older organ. There is a monthly, the Social Democrat, free to all members; the Frau, a women's paper and an illustrated sheet founded last year with a circulation of 60,000. The youth movement is a vigorous one.

"The party nationally," declared its leaders, "is giving much attention to old age pensions. It is urging that the old age pension law be put into force. This measure was passed by Parliament two years ago, to be made operative when the government obtained a foreign loan and when economic conditions improved. The foreign loan has been obtained and, while economic conditions are still bad, Socialists see no good reason for not beginning the system immediately. The act provides for a pension at the age of 65, and for contributions to the fund by employers, workers and the state."

The Austrian Fascists
Socialists feel that the Austrian

fascists are less violent than last year. The situation was certainly less tense than last summer. The fascist priest Seipel had gone temporarily into retirement. Chancellor Schöberl though a conservative and though having an unenviable reputation connected with the shooting before the Ministry of Justice building a few years ago, has thus far shown a disposition to prevent any coup d'état on the part of the Heimwehr. One trade union leader went so far as to state that he was confident that no such coup d'état could succeed so long as Schöberl held office. Socialists are also unanimous in stating that the MacDonald government during the days of greatest tension last fall did much to prevent a fascist outbreak. Foreign Minister Henderson made it plain that such an outbreak would greatly lessen Austria's chances for a loan and the attitude of the Labor government throughout has done much to avert attempted dictatorship in Austria.

It is true that the conservatives during the winter forced certain changes in the Austrian constitution which increased the police powers of the federal government and restricted the freedom of the press, but, as a result of the Socialist opposition, parliamentary powers remained unfringed, and the changes in the Constitution were few in comparison with the original proposals. On the whole, the attack on the constitution met with defeat and the violence of the fascists in their attack alienated many former supporters.

On the other hand, there is still considerable nervousness regarding the possible restoration of the monarchy in Hungary and its effects upon Austria. Socialists, on account both of the economic and the political situation, are strongly favoring union with Germany. Secretary Deutsch sees no way out of the economic slump without such a union.

Many non-Socialists are strong in demanding the disbanding of

the Socialist military corps, the Schutzbund, with its possible membership of 100,000. Comrade Deutsch declared that this "army" was organized years ago in defense of the republic and that Socialists time and again have expressed their willingness to disarm, provided the Heimwehr, the army of the fascists, disarms. It has urged a law for the total abolition of all private armies, but the fascists have bitterly opposed this measure.

The Socialism of the Cooperative Movement

As in the other countries visited, the cooperative movement in Austria is strong. We called on Dr. Karl Renner, Social Democrat, first Chancellor of the Austrian Republic, and now president of a workers bank and a leader in the cooperative society, to tell us something of the strength of this movement. Dr. Renner, Emmy Freudenreich, Social Democratic member of Parliament and an officer of the cooperatives, and other leaders in their attractive Vienna headquarters described the cooperative spirit.

"In Austria," declared Dr. Renner, "the cooperative movement is consciously Socialist and thus differs in spirit from that in some other countries. The bourgeois elements in Austria have paid no attention to consumers' cooperation, and the control of the movement has thus been left entirely in the hands of Socialists, although about 15 per cent of cooperators are non-members of the Socialist party. The political party, the trade unions and the cooperators are three branches of one movement for the emancipation of the workers."

One-sixth of the population are now members of cooperative stores. The movement refuses to induce people to join just for the purpose of obtaining a dividend. They constantly emphasize the larger implications of the cooperative movement. Over 200 cooperative shops exist in Vienna and vicinity alone.

The turnover in Austria last year was nearly \$2,500,000. The bakeries, dairies, etc., in the Vienna wholesale, were most interesting as example of socialistic principles put to the acid test.

Waldman and Solomon Talk of Unemployment Over WPAP and WOR

Edward C. Rybicki, Director of the Free Employment Agency, Louis Waldman, Socialist leader, and Prof. Abner C. Surplus of the Brooklyn Law School, will be the speakers in a radio symposium on the subject: What Is the Cure for Unemployment, to be broadcast from WPAP on Sunday, December 14, at One P. M. This is one of a series of discussions which are being sponsored by the University Forum under the direction of Joseph M. Gruber. Although many subjects come under the consideration of the group, the University Forum has been conducting an extensive campaign during the past few weeks to coordinate the discussion centering around a permanent solution of the unemployment problem.

Charles Solomon, former Socialist assemblyman, will participate in a symposium on unemployment over Station WOR next Sunday afternoon between 3 and 3:45 P. M. The subject for discussion will be "What Shall We Do About Unemployment?" The other participants will be Edward J. Rybicki, head of the City Employment Bureau, and Dr. Eugene Patton, director of the Bureau of Statistics and Information of the State Labor Department. The discussion will occur under the auspices of the Radio Forum, conducted by the Iota Theta Fraternity.

Circle Six Jr. Kings: Alex Retzkin will talk on "Child Labor" at this week's meeting. The circle has outlined an educational and organizational program for the next ten weeks. The circle meets every Friday, at 167 Tompkins avenue, Brooklyn, at 8 p. m.

Circle Two Sr. Kings: The circle had a well attended meeting last week and a successful educational program. Discussion was had on "If War Was Declared on Soviet Russia by the United States, Who Would You Fight For?"

140th Street Group, Bronx: This group will soon be ready for a charter. Max Gross of Circle One Sr. Bronx, is the active spirit behind this group. Next week a talk will be given on "Unemployment." The group meets every Sunday, at 8 p. m., at 615 East 140th street, Bronx.

Milwaukee Leader

A 19th Birthday To Be Proud Of

ON December 7 The Milwaukee Leader celebrated its nineteenth birthday with a special edition to which many Socialists and trade union men contributed. The issue of December 8 carried a front page photo of the first page of the initial issue dated December 7, 1917. That early issue of the first Socialist Party daily paper in English carried a drawing of a ship labeled "Milwaukee Leader" arriving in port. The caption at the top of the picture was "Arrived!"

Reaching its 19th anniversary, The Milwaukee Leader has achieved a notable record of service to the labor and Socialist movement in this country and against great odds.

The Leader is the successor to the old Social-Democratic Herald, a weekly that rendered excellent service to the cause. It served to awaken many workers to the need of organization and education and prepared the way for the launching of The Leader.

One of the marvels of The Leader is its survival of the war terror. It is doubtful whether any publication in the world ever faced such a terrific fire from the batteries of reaction and lived.

Its mailing privileges were denied. No mail could be received by its editor or the paper itself. Tremendous pressure was brought to destroy its advertising patronage. It would have been more honest if

the authorities had sent a squad of soldiers to occupy The Leader building.

But the Wilson administration had to carry out the pretense of democracy. So its agents resorted to the methods mentioned above. It was like a man attempting to kill another person, but declining to assume responsibility for the deed.

But in spite of all the pressure brought by the federal government, loyal hearts and willing hands prevented the wrecking of an enterprise in which so many had invested their idealism and hope of a better world. Thanks to them, The Leader lives today with possibilities of still greater service.

The outstanding figure on the Leader was the late Victor L. Berger who bore the main burdens of its editorial management up to the time of his death last year. The daily had been an ideal which Wisconsin Socialists had in mind for years and when it was started in 1917 the fund that had been accumulating for this purpose was far from being what was needed. But the Socialists were eager and could not wait. Because of intimate cooperation with the trade unions of that period the paper weathered many storms and today it is the sole survivor of a number of labor dailies of the post-war period. The Minnesota Star and the Seattle Union Record passed from the scene and the Chicago Daily Socialist died about the time that the Leader appeared. The New

York Call was succeeded by the New York Leader and the latter was succeeded by The New Leader early in 1924.

The special issue of last week carries an interesting story of the early struggles of the Milwaukee Leader written by Emil Seidel who was the first Socialist to be elected Mayor of Milwaukee. Seidel recalls the uncompromising editorials written by Victor L. Berger during the war and for which the Leader was deprived of its mailing privileges. Some of these editorials are reprinted in whole or in part and make interesting reading.

The entire second section of the Leader of December 8 carries greetings from many friends and is illustrated with photos of the editorial offices, the composing room, the business and advertising offices and other departments of the paper.

Among the many persons who send greetings are Norman Thomas, Abraham Cahan, Upton Sinclair, Sidney Hillman, H. L. Mencken, John Haynes Holmes, William Green, Fred D. Warren, Louis Budenz, Thomas F. McMahon, E. Haldeman-Julius, James O'Neal, and many others.

The New Leader congratulates the Milwaukee Leader, its management and supporters, with the hope that this Labor and Socialist daily will continue in the field till the day when its first page will carry a large streamer announcing the election of a Socialist President of the United States.

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

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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.

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A Real Center For Real People

THERE are certain places connected with our daily activities about which we have worked up a real sentiment. For years we have regarded Labor Temple at Fourteenth street, New York City, as one of the most exciting places in town.

And now we have added to our list the Rand School Book Store. Particularly in these times when there is frank and extremely lively discussion of Socialist Party policy. To be sure Jack Altman is our favorite creditor, but we don't always borrow money when we go to the book store. We have been known on occasion to buy a book.

Fishing around among books, talking to alert-minded youngsters about things that matter—there's a mental and spiritual oasis in the desert that the Fat Boys have made of this earth. I hope no one is feeble-minded enough to think that the Rand School book store is the center of any party schisms or that dark plots are being hatched there which may lead to some sort of split in our ranks. Nothing could be further from the spirit of free and open debate which often rages round the shelves of the store. I wish we had a score more such meeting places for in my opinion, we don't get together in such an informal manner often enough.

Well, Norman, you certainly had the goods on Francis X. McQuade, now an ex-magistrate with the accent on the X. As we recall it you were the first, Norman Thomas, to point out the improbability of mixing up magistrating with being an office holder in the New York Baseball Club and now after a long, long time, Francis drifts out of the picture. Let's hope he's heading a considerable group of Tammany magistrates. Parades do not thrill us much but that would be one procession which we would loudly cheer.

Times are getting so hard in New York that when four maniacs escaped from Matteawan the other day and took one of the longest subway rides that anyone can take, all the way from Yonkers to Atlantic avenue, Brooklyn, they attracted no attention whatsoever despite the fact that it was December and they were in their pajamas and bare-footed. The crowd that got on and off the car in which the four were seated, simply figured that they were some of Hoover's "rugged individuals" on their way to work.

Judging from his latest statements, the President apparently figures that if you spend a wad of money to aid the jobless, that's politics. Whereas if you blow it in on battleships and deserving Republican postmasters, that's statesmanship.

After a prolonged mental struggle, we have finally chosen names for our four new kittens.

As these are very blue-blooded kittens indeed, we got hold of a Social Register that was loaned to us by an out-of-work stock broker selling tangieries at the corner and opened the book at random. As a result of pointing blindfolded at four pages we have emerged with the following names, Charity Rokeby, Audrey Steers, Lucy Romaine and Percy Leffingwell. Tie those for names for high-hat kittens.

All of them have been asked for and after they learn to drink milk from a bowl without falling in and coming up with dripping whiskers, we shall start distributing them.

We shall have to take up church-going again if they stage any more such glorious catch-as-catch-can shows as Bishop Manning and his flat-footed ushers and plainclothesmen put on for Judge Lindsey's benefit at the Cathedral the other day. The fights at the Madison Square Garden haven't been so hot recently and if judges and bishops are going seriously into the game, it may improve the calibre of our prize ring. Both, of course, are in the featherweight class, but we understand that the Bishop swings a nasty left and that Kid Lindsey has won over quite a lot of likely lads out West.

On the whole our money is going down on the Kid for the next bout. We like his manager, Arthur Hays, with him in the corner, we feel sure that the little fellow will put up a glorious battle, no matter how many church ushers gang on him.

We heard a lecture about the Pekin man not so long ago. His name isn't Tom as you might think but he is snappily entitled "Synanthropus Pekinensis" as by anthropologists. It was years ago that they dug up his skull about thirty miles outside of Pekin. And since then they've been measuring the old boy's brain and comparing it to the skulls of apes and taking pictures of it and the more we hear about him, the more he sounds like a Republican to us.

He lived in a cave with a girl friend and we do hope for Bishop Manning's sake that the wedding ceremony was performed by a kosher Episcopal curate with all the trimmings. They have figured out that the two could talk to each other in their primitive fashion, but couldn't associate ideas or come to any conclusions about anything. So their conversation must have been something like a Hoover cabinet meeting.

Again, we remind you New Yorkers not to forget to buy "The Unemployed," the interesting magazine issued by the New York Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy to aid the jobless. We understand that some copies are being sold in Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston, and that as soon as the distribution end is organized the magazine will have a nation-wide sale.

And here's another item for the New York crowd. The League for Mutual Aid is holding a theatre party at the brilliant Bolitho's brilliant play, "Overture" next Thursday, December 18. Get a ticket, get two tickets, see a good show and help a good cause. The headquarters of the League are at 104 Fifth avenue, where they won't object one bit to selling you tickets.

Now the pangs of hunger remind us that we must fish up some mutual aid for ourselves if we want to eat. Occasionally, despite rumors to the contrary, we do eat.

McAlister Coleman.

Brutes

To keep men in a state of struggle and uncertainty about their animal satisfactions, about such elementary needs as food, clothing and shelter, is to keep them in bondage to their lower wants; a bondage which prevents them from advancing to a human life, distinguishable in its qualities from the life of brutes.—F. Henderson.

We are Socialists largely for the same reason that the masters of industry are for capitalism. We know where our interests lie.

A Rome dispatch says that Mussolini is an expert fighter with the foil. He was also an expert with oil before the march on Rome.

Scanning the New Books

Economic Reorganization of International Relations

A Federated Europe

By Norman Thomas

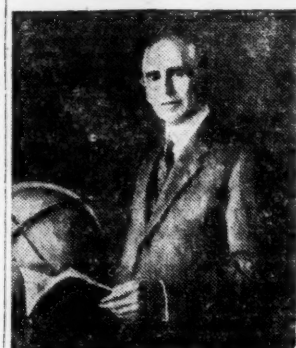
IF YOU are looking for an exact constitution of the United States of Europe and a fairly precise account of the way it is to be achieved and difficulties overcome you will look in vain to this book. It would be too much to expect an ex-Premier and active politician to risk his political career on too detailed a plan for federating Europe. But if you are looking for an admirable statement of the progress made toward the idea of federation this volume by Edward Herriot (The United States of Europe) (The Viking Press) is an excellent book.

M. Herriot is enthusiastically for the idea of the United States of Europe which he makes his own. He is well aware of the weakness of Europe without such federation. He knows the opinions that have been expressed on the subject since the idea first dawned on men. He has brought together official and semi-official statements from various countries. What may be even more enlightening to an American reader is his lucid statement on the extent and structure of cartels and other economic machinery which cross national boundaries. He lists specifically twenty-nine different cartels and eight matters of general economic interest ranging from roads to post office in which there is at least the beginning of international machinery.

M. Herriot goes to considerable pains to make it plain that the United States of Europe must be within the larger frame work of the League of Nations and must make some sort of room for Great Britain and even for Soviet Russia and must not be inspired by hostility to the United States of America. The admission of Russia and Turkey, the author thinks,

Books Received

Geoffrey West—H. G. Wells; W. W. Norton & Co. \$3.00.
William George—The Place of Agriculture in American Life; MacMillan & Co. \$2.00.
Sir James Jeans—The Mysterious Universe; MacMillan & Co. \$2.25.
Paul R. Leach—That Man Dawes; Rilly & Lee, 4.00.
Harlow Shapley—Flights from Chaos; McGraw Hill & Co. \$2.50.
T. Swann Harding—Fads, Frauds and Physicists; Dial Press.
Ray E. Phillips—The Bantu Are Coming; Richard R. Smith.
Vernon Louis Parrington—The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America; Harcourt, Brace & Co. \$4.00.



Charles A. Beard, from a portrait which inconspicuously hangs at Columbia University. Mr. Beard resigned from Columbia in 1915 in protest against the ousting by President Butler of the two radical professors, J. McKee Cattell and Harry W. L. Datta. Beard's portrait is one of the few paintings to adorn the walls of the university. Mr. Beard's most recent book is "The American Leviathan," published by MacMillan.

Unsuppressable

"THIS book should be suppressed!" Such is the challenge Ralph Cheyney and Jack Conroy set for their 1930 anthology of the Rebel Poets (\$1, "Studies" Publications, 224 W. Pacemont Road, Columbus, Ohio, with an excellent cover by Louis Lozowick). For the poet is the born rebel, the man not only misfit in society as ordered today—for every sensitive person is out of place in our society—but articulate and courageous enough to give strong voice to his feeling. And it was true, when poetry and song were one, that the poet was potent, able to swing the people to his cry; but today slogans are made to order

by manipulators of opinion called public relations counsel, and the tunes to which the people dance are jazz.

The poet is partly, largely, to blame for this loss of power and prestige, for he has himself too often been content to retreat from the flames of life to a cooler aloofness, in which poetry is a game, like cross-word puzzles, only less exciting. Unable to alter or face reality, feeling—and afraid of—the need for change, these poets polish their phrases. They hold up their hands (with T. S. Eliot) in prayer for the order of the 18th century and the restrictive religions, walking into time with their eyes on the past; or they go (as Hart Crane) along the line of intricate wordplay, avoiding the issues of our being by dabbling in deft futilities. Or they even continue (like E. A. Robinson) in complacent ignorance that the measures of matters of Spenser and Tennyson have little hold on a world of skyscrapers and radio and organized injustice, of a magnitude never equalled, never surpassed.

It is, nonetheless, these poets of pallid or pedantic or precious retreat that win the plaudits of the general; for the usual reader, in our industrial world, looks upon anything outside of money and its adjuncts as play, looks upon poetry as play, and shrinks from writers too in earnest, too clearly concerned with the life of this our beastly time. Poets who look directly at our time, who reflect its moods and see its evils, are at once labeled "radicals" (which, of course, they are, but there is a pride in the name, not the sneer these bourgeois minds attach to it); they are radicals, therefore propagandists, and propaganda cannot be poetry. Thus it is established, with irrefutable logic, that such books as the 1930 "Unrest" cannot be poetry.

Thank whatever gods may be,

the poet does not succumb to this description of himself, but rises in every age with the power of indignation, true-seeing, and with the urge of beauty, to reassert the claims of love and justice. It is not suppression, indeed, the poet should fear, for he (being a continuing spirit, the saving essence of mankind) is unsuppressable; his danger lies rather in the devious ways by which his product is regarded as play, or propaganda, or otherwise as of little true import in daily affairs. The poet, as herald and agent of revolution, must regain recognition, must reassert his position as prophet and rebel, as the fellow of the prophets of old, leaders of their people. When the poet knows his place, and moves to take it, he will find hearers, he will win followers, he will start the strongest movement toward a better world.

This is the value of such collections as "Red Renaissance," by H. H. Lewis (B. C. Haglund, Holt, Minnesota, \$2.50), and of the Rebel Poets' annual anthology "Unrest." Not that the work is only of revolutionary value; the names of Lucila Trent, Ralph Cheyney, Louis Ginsberg, Michael Gold, Clement Wood, and more, guarantee strength and beauty; but it is the social aspect of art that we too often forget these days, and it is the impulse of poetry toward the society to come, such books as this embody. Whether it be S. A. De Witt's picture of the bread-line, Rosa Zagoni Marinoni's sharp turning of Kilmer:

Justice is sung by fools like me,
But man hangs man upon a tree!
the lesson Jim Waters finds in a skyscraper and James Rorty in an abandoned mill, every one of these poems breathes the spirit of one who is unafraid, who is sensitive and seeing and unafraid, who cries out in anger, in anguish, for beauty and justice and human love. Every true poet is a rebel.

Joseph T. Shipley.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Editor, The New Leader:
Comrade Thomas' comment on unemployment insurance in his "Time Topics" for November 22 contained a reference to the Conference for Progressive Labor Action's proposals. Let me say to the outset that we heartily support such criticism. If we can get people to discussing concrete features of various bills, that will be the very best kind of education and propaganda for unemployment insurance at the present stage.

Copies of the C. P. L. A. state and federal bills may be obtained from the office at 104 Fifth avenue, New York, by any one desiring to make a careful study of them.

It is not quite accurate to say that we have gone over completely "to the theory of purely industrial insurance." We propose a federal subsidy of substantial proportions for state unemployment insurance funds, and, of course we want the money for that subsidy to come out of unearned income. If we had dictatorial powers, we should at once establish national compulsory unemployment insurance and take every cent out of unearned income. As things are in this country, we are convinced that if we go out for a national bill and suspend our rights in the states for state funds, there will be a great hue and cry about unconstitutionality, states rights, federal compulsion, etc., in the midst of which unemployment insurance will be completely forgotten. The enemies of the idea could wish for nothing better.

In the next place, we propose a single state fund in each state, not separate funds for each industry as John R. Commons. We are not in principle opposed to getting the money for these funds by taxation out of unearned increments, and are not irreverently committed not to support such a plan. We are in favor of it, of course, we want unemployment insurance to serve to effect a genuine redistribution of income.

What we do oppose emphatically is any system which checks off premiums no matter how small from the worker's pay envelope. Therefore, our bill now sponsors the plan of making insurance a "charge on industry," and having the employer pay the premium.

Industry lays aside reserves to pay dividends, why not to pay wages? Compensation for accident has been made a charge on industry, why not compensation for involuntary lay-offs?

Unemployment insurance is wages. It establishes the principle that wages is the first and basic claim on industry, not wages for free weeks or months but wages the year round. To ask a worker to contribute a percentage of his wages in order to make up his wages in a still better way. To suggest that he must accept the check-off before he is entitled or will feel entitled to unemployment compensation is to suggest a fundamentally false and exceedingly dangerous conception. We know there are arguments against our proposal, as there are

against every other that has been made. Of course all of them should be carefully thought. For the present, we feel all counter-arguments fade into insignificance beside the importance of establishing the principle that unemployment insurance is a legitimate charge on industry, i. e. that the worker is entitled to wages at the close of every week in his year, including those in which he has been involuntarily unemployed.

A. J. MUSTE.

TO SOCIALIST STUDENTS IN AMERICAN COLLEGES

Editor, The New Leader:
At no time since the Armistice was signed in November, 1918, has there been a greater need for a spirit of understanding, friendship and unity with Socialists of Europe than there is today. Hitlerism with its threat of dictatorship and violence is in a strong position in Germany. The Fascists of Italy are continuing their autocratic rule with more vigor. In France that friend of peace, M. Briand, is being attacked by those who harbor suspicion and ill will toward other countries and who uphold a blind nationalism. A world economic depression has disrupted industry causing widespread unemployment and untold misery to millions of people.

These are world problems and one country by its effort alone is helpless. Without the presence of sympathy and common understanding and high ideal as a dominating power in world public opinion the forces of arrogant nationalism and autocratic government will plunge into another war with disastrous consequences to democracy, liberty and justice. The place for American Socialist students is the front line trenches of humanity with our comrades in Europe together striving for understanding, justice and peace. In a recent letter to the writer, M. J. Allard of the Belgium section of the Internationale Des Etudiants Socialistes expresses the hope that the Socialist students in American colleges will organize a national section and join the international organization. He says: "J'espere qu'une organisation d'etudiants Socialistes Americains sera bientôt une force internationale." European students are greatly interested in American affairs and especially in the progress of Socialism in the United States. National sections have been organized in France, Belgium and Switzerland. They are effective means of promoting Socialism among college students and in increasing understanding and sympathy among the countries of Europe.

Here is an opportunity for the Socialist student groups in America to promote greater cooperation and activity among themselves and to forge a strong link of friendship with Socialist students in Europe. Some of the advantages of an American section of the international organization are these:

1. It would stimulate the growth of Socialism in our colleges through

(a) greater exchange of ideas; (b) correlation of national activities; (c) publishing a Socialist student journal. 2. It would strengthen the movement in Europe and promote understanding and friendship through (a) correspondence with European students; (b) exchange of news articles; (c) international student conferences; (d) appreciation of each country's problems; (e) a united student opinion; (f) exchange of leaders and ideas; (g) common study of world economic problems; (h) placing economic unity above nationalism.

Such an organization should meet the approval not only of students but of the leaders of the Socialist Party. In fact Mr. A. B. Lewis, secretary of the New England branch of the party, in his recent visit to Bates College admitted the practicability and worth of such a student organization and urged the Socialists at Bates to present the idea to the Socialist student groups. So we are putting the idea before the Socialists in the colleges of the United States with the hope that our fellow comrades will through the proposed organization of the American section of the Internationale Des Etudiants Socialistes and activity count for international understanding, justice and peace.

ELDRIDGE BREWSTER.
Bates College,
Lewiston, Me.

THOMAS ON RUSSIA

Editor, The New Leader:
Permit me to protest against Norman Thomas' editorial in the issue of the eight Soviet engineers in Moscow, appearing in his "Time Topics" in The New Leader of Nov. 29.

The comment is not only unfair but unethical. It is a gross distortion of the facts and a deliberate attempt to mislead the public. It is a gross distortion of the facts and a deliberate attempt to mislead the public. It is a gross distortion of the facts and a deliberate attempt to mislead the public.

Admitting that Professor Leonid Ransin's testimony does not establish a direct plot for open war by capitalist nations on Russia, Mr. Thomas nevertheless considers it of "enormous importance" and as "proof of a willingness on the part of the French government secretly to subsidize and encourage revolution in Russia, etc."

I would like to know why if the testimony does not establish a direct plot, and in the absence of even a vestige of corroborating evidence in support of the alleged "confessions" of Ransin and his fellow defendants, Mr. Thomas assumes that the testimony constitutes actual proof of anything?

Does not Mr. Thomas know that the men on trial have not only denied the charges but put in a defense which as they would have in any civilized country? Does he not know that it has been established that at least two of the men with whom the French government is alleged to have conspired in France were dead at the time of the "conspiracy"? Is he not aware that a systematic campaign of "red baiting" against the trial staged in accordance with the destruction of physical and moral of the entire non-Bolshevik Russian intellectual class?

In the case now on trial and upon which Mr. Thomas pronounces his verdict, the French government has not only protested the charges insofar as they bear upon that government but has also demanded an official explanation from Moscow. A protest has also been filed by Arthur Henderson, the British secretary for foreign affairs, against the implication that the British government not only the Labor government, but any government preceding it, has had anything to do with the alleged plot. The whole of Europe is looking on at the farcical spectacle of a trial staged in accordance with all the attributes of a film melodrama, with radio broadcasts, organized mob scenes and all the paraphernalia of political propaganda.

All of this recalls to mind the stage direction practiced by the Bolsheviks against the twelve Socialist-Revolutionists eight years ago, when they too, although they had been in jail all the time, were accused of conspiring with "imperialists" and "counter-revolutionists" against the Soviet government. Mr. Thomas will recall the echo provoked by that trial in the Socialist and Labor movement throughout the world, and the condemnation visited

upon the Soviet government for its attempt at judicial murder of tried and true revolutionists.

We have no means at this distance to determine the facts in the present case, and at least we can do, if we would preserve the principles of common decency, is to suspend judgment and not help the Moscow hangmen tie the noose around the necks of eight human beings.

Is not Mr. Thomas aware that thousands of Socialists, Communists, radicals, workers, peasants, engineers, technicians and scientists are languishing in jail and in exile in Soviet Russia for no other crime than that of daring to disagree with the policies of Stalin, or for no crime at all?

Is he not aware that in the case of Stalin and his American marionettes, Mr. Thomas, is also a counter-revolutionist, a lackey of the bourgeoisie and a Social-Fascist? Is he not aware that were he in Soviet Russia and displayed the courage of the Russian Socialist martyrs that he, too, would be on trial, assuming he were granted a "trial" and was not sent to Solovetsky Islands by administrative order of the OGPU or who knows? Perhaps he, too, might "confess" under these circumstances and hear himself denounced by the mad and bloodthirsty tyrant as an enemy of the people!

Would Mr. Thomas think it fair, were he in this position, if some American Socialist of his own reputation were to rush into print with assertions that "confession" was enormously important and proof of the charges?

As a Socialist I blush that a man of Mr. Thomas' standing acting as the helper of Soviet executioners. Why does he not leave it to them to stage their judicial massacres and confine himself to the task of defending the interests of the Russian people against their Communist oppressors?

JOSEPH SHAPLEN.
Editor, The New Leader:
The Socialist Party has so far failed to take any definite stand on city planning, regulation of buildings and housing. There have been plenty of statements official and semi-official on milk supply, subway ownership and countless other relatively minor matters; but on the subject of the physical plant of the city, no decisive action.

I suppose the rank and file of the membership feel the subject too big did too technically involved for them to tackle. And apparently there is no leadership in the party able or willing to take the initiative in this important matter.

I have recently had occasion to discuss the subject with some of the leading engineers in America. They all agreed with me on every essential point: the desirability and entire physical practicality of reducing building heights, forbidding the use and occupancy of dark or semi-dark rooms,

abolishing subways (in favor of noiseless "L" lines with bus connections), removal of industries from central locations into the suburbs, etc. In fact the engineers with whom I talked had essentially a far more radical viewpoint on this subject than any of my Socialist friends.

Sociology deals mainly with the desires of men and their means of fulfillment; and the mark of every dynamic movement is that the rank and file must have burning desires, and must make those desires known and felt. Who will voice the physical and spiritual needs of the masses of the city dwellers, and line up our party for the abolition of dark rooms, and dark and congested streets, crowded subways and skyscraping office buildings?

Or is it possible that our party has become so steeped in the arrow collar psychology, that we are satisfied (amely) to submit to every plague and every curse of the capitalist regime?

NASSAU, N. Y. HERMAN KOBBE.

At the Rand School

Morris Hillquit in a talk on the Development of Fascism in Europe gave one of the most comprehensive and enlightening talks last Wednesday, December 3rd. The last talk of the series on "Problems of World Socialism" will be delivered by Comrade Hillquit, Wednesday, December 17th, at 8:30 p.m. His topic is "The League of Nations and the Problems of Disarmament, Security and International Arbitration." No party member should fail to hear this talk. At a meeting of the Socialist Discussion Group, held Friday, December 5th, Louis Stanley presented a paper on "A Militant's Program for American Socialism." A debate in which numerous party members participated followed the presentation of the paper. Next Saturday, December 13, 2 p.m., John T. Flynn, one of the leading authorities on the financial world will speak on "Investment Trusts and Revolution in Ownership." The following Monday, December 15, 8:30 p.m., Professor James T. Shotwell will speak on "International Relations."

OLYMPIA, Wash.—(FP)—Elmer Smith, Centralia labor attorney, has been readmitted to the Washington bar. He was disbarred several years ago for his warm championship of the Centralia L. W. W. Rogers imprisoned as the result of the Armistice Day Tragedy.

"As she held her hand over the mouth of the machine gun the strikers marched . . ."

REGULAR MEETING

of

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.

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The Chatter Box

JIM says I'm a gloom. "Gosh, you give me the blue willies, every time you open up on the party situation. Your column two weeks ago left me without hope . . . You ought to pep up the morale, instead of slapping this and that . . ." and so on he quite earnestly protests.

And to top matters, the good old comrades are going to drag me on the carpet next Monday night at the Board meeting for having given aid and comfort to the Union Square boobies. At least Sam Friedman says so.

Well, I'm no brilliant intellect. Nor do I lay claim to any sort of infallibility. But on this matter of censuring comrades and party policy, I refuse to yield to the dictatorship of the secretariat, executive or Rutgers Square.

If it be depressing these grave days to shout for re-dedication to basic Socialism, then I intend to wear its crepe and purple until the last squeal of the capitalist hog.

Believe it or not, I actually got a big hand the other afternoon, at a meeting of the party workers, when I asked for just this thing. If that be a sign of lowered spirit in the party then the old guard had better make the most of it.

Julius Gerber, pal and admirable worker in the cause, has a way of making big swipes whenever he swings his verbal lunch books in my direction. "I have heard them say in the years gone by that the party was not too revolutionary . . ." and then he quotes some sort of statistical scripture for his purpose.

My dear Julius, I have been hearing for many years from the Youth and Jimmy Higgins all over the land, that this here party of ours has lost its identity with revolution altogether.

There there must be a mean, a balance, upon which the spitfires and the compromisers can agree. It is toward that that I dedicate my future work and purpose by tongue and typewriter.

If that be "destructive," then I should like to have a definition given me as to what constructive work for an effective Socialist movement in America really looks like.

Is it to be along the lines of a leadership spoiled by the glamor of power, as now darkens the prestige of Social Democracy in England and Germany . . . ? Not me, says this little mouse of a columnist.

Is it to be a sort of loosely joined and principled coterie as we have now here, with a thundering forth of immediate palliatives, and a thin whisper of our revolutionary aims . . . ? Not me, says this mouse, again.

Are we to be a sort of clearing house for newspaper releases on magistrates courts, superpower and transit evils, and unemployment insurance bills, so that a few of our best known comrades get into two sticks of Times and Telegram type . . . ? Again, not me.

We cannot build up a movement for Socialism in our day, on such flimsy materials.

When we knew what we were in the party for, when we were disciplined and held to definite revolutionary ideals, by gad, we had a big slice of labor with us, and we were polling a million votes. And if the war hadn't busted in on our party, we would have had something to crow about, and nuts like me wouldn't be talking about policy.

Well, the war buried lustier projects than the American Socialist movement. And the fact that we are still here to talk about things, is a pretty clear evidence of our right to survival and future growth. The only thing we must be careful about is just a mere matter of diet.

Without taking away any credit from the Mrs., I believe I have a fair notion on just what sort of food to give to a growing child. Feed the party sweet and toothsome delicacies such as reform measures, liberal and benevolent proposals, immediate . . . (albeit temporary) demands for patching up the old system . . . and you'll bring up a pale, anemic, goggle-eyed rooster of a lad who will be able to entertain nice well-fed folks in parlors with futile rhetoric.

But if you insist on making his meals consist of the calories of Marx, the proteins of LaSalle, sufficiently seasoned with the language of the common man, so that digestion will be made

MILLIONS BELIEVE—"THIS IS NEW YORK"

The Stage

The Movies

Music

To Have a Brilliant Opening at the Little Carnegie Playhouse



"Sous Les Toits de Paris" (Under the Roofs of Paris) will have its first American showing at the Little Carnegie Playhouse on Monday Evening, December 15. This much heralded film presents two new stars to American audiences. They are Albert Prejean and Pola Illery who are already very much established as great favorites in Paris.

The Week On The Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

THE U. S. ULCER

"THIS IS NEW YORK." By Robert E. Sherwood. At the Plymouth.

Do those millions of New Yorkers who never get farther west than Hoboken, nor east than Coney Island—do even those that flit to Paris or Hollywood—know what the rest of this country thinks of

New York (?) how representative New York is of the United States? Is this metropolis the ulcer of an otherwise healthy land? Or is it, except geographically, the nation's heart, from which affords, ideas, moral standards, progress, must pulse through the other cities and the countryside? Is it the nation's madhouse?—or its goal?

Senator Krull of South Dakota (in "This Is New York") has no doubts, nor do the things that happen to his daughter make him change his mind. New Yorkers may of course think with satisfaction of Chicago; but for many years the den of iniquity in this land, the sewer through which the vices of Europe pour, the cloaca of degeneracy, has been Manhattan Island. (Hollywood is the bastion of Broadway). To meet the Senator's expectations, Robert Sherwood has arranged a love nest, a drinking party, a dope fiend and a twenty-

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Born & Lawrence, Milne Sisters,
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Walter & Willie, and HIS SING FIST
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New Forms Of Old Music

For six weeks Adele T. Katz with Hyman Kurzwell at the piano has been giving a course of lectures at the Barbizon Hotel on "New Forms of Old Music." The talks afford an opportunity to compare an older and a newer form of expression of the same musical device. Thus, two symphonies, two symphonic poems and two operas have been analyzed. Dec. 8 she took up Haydn's "The Creation" to be contrasted the following week with Arthur Honegger's modern "King David."

Miss Katz makes a sincere effort to relate music to the economic, social or political conditions which produced it. In considering the oratorio she points out that the dominant influence during the middle ages was the supremacy of the Catholic Church. Music was intended for religious worship. The new was polyphonic or many-voiced in contradistinction to harmony which developed later. Because the Catholic music was performed or sung only by the clergy or the choir two reactions set in.

from couch to sofa in the travesty of "Strictly Dishonorable" that brings the first curtain. Mention should be made, in a somewhat different tone, of the excellent settings provided by Jo Mielziner and the costumes of James Reynolds; and the movement of the whole revue is swift and sure. For those who like their bread buttered on both sides, "Sweet and Low" is well greased—and no oleomargarine!

The fun centers around sex—as what revue's does not?—but few plays have been quite this insistent on the alphabet. For fear some of the lines may be too subtle for New York citizens, George Jessel offers some stereotypical slides to help the imagination. Other assistance is provided by Fannie Brice, whether she stand forlornly in front of the empty monkey cage (it is breeding season), or flit

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Wed. Dec. 17; Thurs. Dec. 18; Fri. Dec. 19 & Wed. & Thurs. Mat., Dec. 17 & 18
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—RICHARD LOCKRIDGE, SUN

"A play of the first class... In it, Mr. Bolitho's hypnotic prose becomes the best speech to be heard on Broadway, not excepting 'Twelfth Night' and 'The Merchant of Venice'."

"The play has so much strength and conviction, the ideas are attacked with such driving impact, and the thinking is at once so realistic and high-minded that 'Overture' is the finest of Bolitho's works. 'Overture' infuses ideas with the excitement of an honest, rugged thinker. It has been finely produced and directed with great skill and understanding."

—J. BROOKS ATKINSON, TIMES

"A stirring play on a great subject... A tightly knit and exciting story... I found it singularly moving and disturbing. It is full of things that come with one's mind. It bursts loose from the stage into the world of real agonies and sacrifices. It forces one to read between its lines."

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—GILBERT SELDES, EVENING GRAPHIC

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Matinees: Wed. Dec. 31; Thurs. Jan. 1; Sat. Jan. 2.

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To Delight Dance Enthusiasts



Carola Goya will begin a week's engagement at the Comedy Theatre on December 15. She will be seen in a repertoire of Spanish Dances, and for the first time in New York will dance The "Seguidilla".

"Sous Les Toits de Paris" to Be Presented At the Little Carnegie

The American premiere of the first all French talking picture on Monday Eve. December 15, at the Little Carnegie Playhouse will be a colorful social event of international importance.

Among the selected list of guests invited to attend the opening are Paul Claudel, French Ambassador to the United States; Mayor James J. Walker, Maxine Mongendre, French Consul General; Otto Kahn, David Belasco, Irene Bordoni, Eva La Gallienne, Will Hays, Czar of the Movies; Milton Diamond, Czar of Music, and many of the prominent in Society, the Screen and the Stage. An informal reception in honor of M. Claudel will take place immediately following the presentation.

"A smash hit... one of the happiest theatre evenings I ever experienced."
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Mat. Thurs. & Sat., 2:30
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Tuesday Eve. "ROMEO AND JULIET"
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Sat. Eve. "ROMEO AND JULIET"
Seats 4 Weeks adv. at Box Office and Town Hall, 113 W. 43 St.

In the opinion of the Motion Picture critics in the Capital cities of Europe, *Sous Les Toits de Paris*, is truly an artistic achievement which comes closer to cinema perfection, for ingenious direction, genuine characterization on the part of the all French cast, what seems to be a magic camera and its clarity of tone, than any picture which has thus far been shown on the other side.

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French Film Masterpiece
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Direct from Triumphant Runs Throughout Europe
Opens Mon. Eve., Dec. 15
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57th St. E. of 7th Ave.
Direction Leo Brecher

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MIMI DARIO (Spanish Dance)
PHILIP SCHMITT (Tenor)
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A Musical Romance of Gay-Vienna!

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NEW LEADER

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

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100 SATURDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1930

The Danville Strike

THE strike of 4,000 textile workers at Danville, Va., is assuming aspects similar to other labor struggles in the South in recent years. The new capitalism of that section repeats the old New England capitalism of a hundred years ago. The sons and grandsons of former slave owners, now investors in southern industrial plants, unite with their Yankee allies, who have migrated South, in a policy of brutal repression. The new capitalist chieftains have not learned anything in a hundred years.

Gastonia and Marion might have taught them something but this week tear gas bombs were employed to disperse several thousand strikers. Leaders of the union protested to the governor that "the law has been usurped" and this is what has happened in the other strikes.

Back of these struggles is the fact that southern chambers of commerce have for years advertised this section as a region of cheap and servile labor. The exploiting class wants to make good on this advertising and it keenly resents the assertion of class solidarity and a fighting spirit by the wage workers. It had promised servility and here is rebellion. The "goods" fail to measure down to the standard advertised.

The only course which the thick head textile magnates can think of in this situation is to compel servility by the use of governing power. They have that power because the southern working class has not yet seen the necessity of winning that power through a party of their own. Incidentally, that power is exercised almost exclusively in the South through the Democratic Party and the unions throughout the country, with some local exceptions, are generally tied up with that party! It is time that the organized workers break with this alliance and assert their political independence.

Extra! Problem Solved!

THOSE who attended the special conference of the American Academy of Political and Social Science in Philadelphia last week must have enjoyed the profound thought of John E. Edgerton, president of the National Association of Manufacturers. The speaker was opposed to unemployment insurance but was afraid that the present trend of opinion is in that direction. John has a solution of his own for industrial crises and unemployment. He urged the policy of "thrifty" for the workers, "patience and Christian tolerance," and study of "the Holy Bible and the Constitution."

Having done all this, we can await results with confidence. As John spoke for his class we presume that manufacturers throughout the country will install coin boxes for workers who are employed or a check-off system to encourage "thrifty." Then an hour should be set aside each day so that the workers can study the Scriptures and the Constitution under competent foremen and other bosses.

There is nothing to prevent the expansion of this program. Workers should each be required to carry a rabbit's foot, be warned against throwing away surplus salt from their dinner pails, and be sure to avoid the number 13 in all their transactions. Those whose birthdays fall on the thirtieth of the month should be quietly chloroformed in order to insure that the charm will work.

And now a garland of alfalfa for John, the wizard spokesman of the manufacturers.

American "Freemen"

ONE of the pathetic aspects of capitalism in this age is its drift towards a feudal relation between the wage worker and those who exploit him. Time was when he applied for work without any preliminary investigation. More and more it has become the practice for him to fill out an application blank. He just give his age

and address; nationality and place of birth; whether married or single; how many children, if any; the name of his previous employer, and many other details of his life.

The whole procedure is humiliating. If he is accepted, he often even loses his identity. He is given a brass check with a number and becomes a piece of raw material. All this with the punching of time clocks and a discipline with which he must comply makes his life in industry differ little with that of a convict who is serving a term in prison.

The more intense sifting of this human material by the employing class, especially with regard to age, adds to the humiliation. In the hope of making the grade and effecting his own sale, he dyes his hair if there is a streak of gray. The exploiters want fresh muscles and tissues, and since labor power is a drug on the market youth is preferred to middle age.

An example of this effort of the "freeman" to sell himself is the increasing use of cosmetics by workers. "Employers take one look at a man of forty," recently declared Dr. Maurice Aisen, a consulting chemist of a number of corporations, "whose face indicates experience, maturity and stability, and decide that they want a younger man with 'pep.' This attitude is driving older men—first to desperation, and then to the closest substitute for youth they can obtain—cosmetics."

Before the Civil War it was difficult for street railway and other corporations to get workers to wear a uniform. They regarded it as degrading, as evidence that they were the property of those for whom they worked. The worker of that day would be unable to understand why the masses submit to the insolence that is now common in the industries of our ruling Babbitts.

Party Discussion

ONE of the most encouraging signs in 1930 is the revival of discussion in the Socialist Party. Various points of view are being raised regarding political campaigns and programs; the proper attitude towards Russia and Bolshevism; Socialist policy in relation to trade union organizations and issues, and other matters of importance to the members.

The fact that the members are in a questioning mood is a healthy sign. Moreover, in the past five or six years many new members have been admitted and they are eager to participate in the discussion and contribute to the formulation of policies. Their keen interest is also welcomed.

Of the main topics of discussion, political campaigns and the trade unions are as old as the Socialist Party. They have come up in nearly every national convention since the Unity Convention in 1901. Soviet Russia is not a new topic but it is recent, the party having defined its position in national conventions for ten years. The New Leader will at an early date present a digest of the Socialist Party towards Russia as it unfolded since the Bolshevik revolution.

At a recent meeting of the National Executive Committee in Newark it was decided to hold a national conference of the party in May. As a means of contributing to intelligent discussion at this conference the committee urged that locals work out suggestions for the agenda. The present discussion contributes to this end and we hope that locals throughout the country will do likewise.

Finally, we have received quite a number of letters from readers presenting a variety of views on these matters. Each week we will present a selection from them. Correspondents should be patient if their letters do not immediately appear. Occasionally two writers will present practically the same view. It is then a matter of accepting the best of the two, especially if they are very long. Writers are urged to be as brief as possible. The short letter carefully written is generally the most effective because a fundamental view is not lost in details and an unnecessarily expanded argument. Heated invective and personalities will not be tolerated in this discussion.

IN A NUTSHELL

The trouble with many people is that they labor under the belief that we produce wealth to use. That we do not is evident from the fact that we do not use what is on hand in abundance. We produce it for sale and the unemployed cannot buy what they would like to use. That's the Socialist explanation. What is yours?

The Federal Government is said to be after Al Capone for having dodged his income taxes. "Honest Payment on Honest Incomes" is the slogan.

To love war because it makes heroes is like loving the croup because doctors and nurses have died in trying to save the life of a child.—Anatole France.

If the interests of capitalists and workers are the same isn't it interesting that the former accepts this view in theory but generally avoid it in practice.

It is difficult to free fools from the chains they wear.—Voltaire.

One of the most effective teachers of the class struggle is the judge who issues an injunction forbidding strikers to act, talk, or think. Judgology is often the science of plutology.

Governor Roosevelt will call a six-state job conference and every one of them are sick states whether Republican or Democratic.

"I fear Democrats with gifts," says the Moses of the G. O. P. Well, we do not. What we received from them was never promised and what they promised we never received.

Now that the election is over, declares a dispatch from Los Angeles, California is returning to its normal pastime. The favorite sport in that state is smothering opinions in the hope that the robber burg of the upstarts will not be assaulted.

A Voice of Night

By Frank R. Crosswaith

WITH unparalleled avidity the cancer of unemployment continues to gnaw away at the vitals of the capitalist system. Notwithstanding the frantic efforts of many quack economic and social doctors, the social microbe appears determined to conquer. In the search for a salve that will ease the pain, prolong life, and perhaps postpone death, the "best minds" of capitalism obviously are baffled and bewildered. Frankly, the situation is alarming.

Unemployment is no new pestilence, no stranger, but an old acquaintance. Periodically it sallies forth to attack its capitalist patient. Each succeeding attack leaves the patient in a more weakened condition and thus renders him less able to withstand the next visit. This guerrilla-like warfare of the unemployment bacteria seems at last on the verge of proving its tactical value. When, in its latest attack, the first symptoms of the disease appeared, the "quacks" made "a careful diagnosis" and falsely labelled this traditional foe of capitalism "prosperity." "The sage of Northampton" had generously and wisely bequeathed to God's chosen country the golden heritage of prosperity," chorused the "quacks," whereupon Wall Street anointed Herbert Hoover to safeguard the legacy.

It is now generally apparent that this "blessing" was a malignant disease in disguise. It is becoming increasingly clear to millions of people that this "burst of unprecedented prosperity" meant for the masses who work, involuntary and protracted idleness, poverty and destitution; while for the relatively few financial and industrial rulers of the Republic, it meant increased wealth, prestige and power.

What is this thing called unemployment? To begin with capitalism and unemployment are synonymous. As long as we persist in operating industry for private gain, and permit individual ownership of the socially necessary means of human existence, unemployment will follow society like the tail follows the kite. Society can no more escape the blight of unemployment while at the same time it continues to tolerate private ownership in land, factory and transportation facilities, than can a cake of ice cream remain frozen in a cauldron of molten lead.

In order to prolong its life, capitalism must constantly seek new and improved methods of producing and transporting wealth. However, while new inventions generally bring to the capitalist owner a measure of increased profits, it nevertheless, also driven an additional nail in capitalism's coffin. Under the capitalist system industry is run for profit, not service; therefore, by substituting machinery for human labor the capitalist increases commodity output; yet, in order to bring to the capitalist owner the margin of profit he seeks this increased output must be consumed. The capitalist himself is unable to consume it. His class as a whole, because of its relatively small number, is also unable to consume it. Machinery can increase production, but machinery cannot consume that which it produces; hence the problem. If machinery had the same wants and desires as a worker and was paid a wage, most likely with a little skill we could navigate around the industrial bends (periods of depression) if and whenever we came to them.

Since the ability of the working class to consume goods depends upon the availability of employment and wages received, it ought to be clear even to a moron, that when the working class is cut off from employment, the largest market for the consumption of goods becomes closed to the capitalist. It is a trivial recognition of this economic truism that has prompted some of our celebrated quacks now whining at the bedside of capitalism to suggest that science and invention take a ten year holiday. Fortunately for mankind, it is as impossible to stop the flow of mechanical invention and scientific research as it was impossible for Joshua to make the sun stand still, or King Canute the waves cease rolling.

The capitalist system is a dying system. The quacks attendant upon it may succeed in accelerating the tempo of its now feebly beating pulse, but their patient's days are numbered. Neither Dr. Rugged Individualism nor his Commission to "investigate unemployment," not all the State and Municipal Committees for "the relief of the unemployed" can restore Old Man Capitalism to a state of vigorous health as in the days of its long spent youth.

Old man capitalism has seen his best days. His back is bent and his head is bending lower. Feebly he totters down the lane at the twilight of his life, on his way to his long-deserved grave to join the company of his forgotten forebears. Upon his final collapse and consequent interment there undoubtedly will come from the corners of the smug and contented rich exploiters of both black and white labor, a sigh of regret. It is even possible that from the ranks of the working class, ignominiously a tear or two will be shed. But neither sighs nor tears nor prayers can bring

A SABBATICAL YEAR

By Adam Coaldigger

SOMEbody's got to do something about the unemployment problem. Selling apples on street corners, as described in the last issue don't work. The city, that is, the city of New York, the metropolis of the brain belt, which, as everybody knows, extends from the north approach of Washington, D. C. to the southern outskirts of Boston, is selling apples to poor, but deserving unemployed at two cents per apple. The unemployed sell them for five cents, which according to Euclid, leaves them three cents.

But there is already a bitter class war raging between the push-cart men who are selling apples for three cents, and the municipal apple wards who are trying to sell them for five cents. On account of the high cost of machine guns, the two apple factions haven't started to exterminate each other yet, but if looks could kill, the homicide rate in the two camps would soon exceed that among the beer runners of Chicago.

Cutting down dead trees by unemployed brokers and donating the wood to the broke, as suggested in a recent editorial in The New York World, also won't work. Trees usually grow on land and as the land in this vicinity is all littered up with skyscrapers, the only trees, dead or alive, are at some distance from the city. And anybody can see that it doesn't pay for the unemployed to employ trucks, drive 15 or 20 miles out in the country, cut down trees, and then give the wood away. Of course, there are quite a number of trees in Central Park, that with a little girdling, could easily be converted into dead trees, and thereby supply a more accessible medium of unemployment relief. I think I shall call up Mayor Walker and put him next to the idea.

Moreover, all these measures are only temporary make-shifts, for the temporary depression which started last October a year ago is now in its second winter and from all indications will live to see a third one. It also appears that some people simply can't get used to going without eating, even for such a short period as a year or two. Every day I see accounts in the metropolitan press, of folks jumping off skyscrapers, bridges, and piers because they have nothing to eat and are too poor to buy ropes or revolvers.

Only yesterday an old vaudeville actor who was put on the blink by the movies, ascended to a better world by a method that deserves a special mention, on account of its economy and efficiency. This man lived in one of those one-room pull-me-out bed, kitchen-in-the-cupboard apartments, which among other things, contained a gas stove connected with a quarter of the slot meter. Now this vaudeville actor was too poor to fill the whole apartment with gas, so what does he do but stick his head in the oven, turn on the gas, and now he should worry.

Another temperamental artist temporarily unemployed (they say he was a "cello player" who could squeeze tears out of the eyes of a pawnbroker with his rendition of Schumann's "Trauerlied") tried to hang himself with the C string of his instrument. Unluckily the string broke. Had he been a string bass player, he might, perhaps, have had better luck.

This reminds me that the present overproduction of coal is causing no end of cold among the poor clothing workers of New York. Coal, I may explain, is a substance that is burned in stoves for the purpose of keeping people warm. Now on account of there being too much coal, the miners

are out of work and consequently can't buy clothing and because the miners can't buy clothing, the clothing workers of New York can't buy coal, so both of them are freezing because there is too much clothing and coal. Ain't that a hot one?

No! The measures inaugurated by the master minds of the brain belt for the relief of unemployment are not getting us anywhere. Something bigger, better, and more drastic is needed. Fortunately, the world (I mean the universe, not The New York World) still has my brain at its command. I therefore modestly propose two measures for the more or less permanent elimination of unemployment—the sabbatical year and the year of the Jubilee.

Detailed descriptions of these institutions are found in the Old Testament, a book written by the ancient Jews, who in spite of their great antiquity are still the most up-to-date people on earth. This smartness of the sons of Israel is largely due to the fact that they never had a real homeland as the Irish, for instance, but were forced to roam all over the world. Now it has been said that a rolling stone gathers no moss, which is true, but on the other hand, what good is moss to any stone, rolling or otherwise, when a smooth stone (stein) gets along so much smoother.

Well, it seems that the ancient Hebrews were also bothered by overproduction which is at the bottom of unemployment. Leastways, about the end of every sixth year the Hebrews discovered that they had more oxen, asses, sheep, goats, houses, garments, milk, honey, manna, and matzos, than they could conveniently consume. But being just naturally a smart people, instead of bewailing the deplorable oversupply of good things—instead of starving because they had too much to eat—instead of freezing because they had too much fuel and instead of sleeping in public parks and under bridges, they inaugurated a sabbatical year.

The sabbatical year was composed of 365 Sundays during which no good Jew, under penalty of Hell, was permitted to do anything but eat, drink, make merry and praise the Lord. Thus, the economic congestion in the industrial bowels of Israel was relieved, and so was unemployment, for it is obvious that when nobody works or is permitted to work, nobody worries about being out of work.

However, even the sabbatical year did not prevent some of the Jews from accumulating more wealth than was good for Israel. So the next thing the smart Jews invented was the year of the Jubilee. Every 50 years, everything was divided equally—bonds, stocks, mortgages, pawn tickets, I. O. U.'s, goods, cattle, chattels, houses, land, everything. In this manner, every Jew started every 50 years on a clean slate, the financial equal of every other Jew and thus was enabled to commence the pleasant task of gathering shekels all over again.

Of course, I am not a Communist or a Socialist—I don't believe in dividing up, but if it is true, as so many of the rich people are telling us, that there is more joy in making money than in having money, why not let them have a change by reinstating the year of the Jubilee. This closes the first chapter of my forthcoming monumental work "Permanent Panaceas for Poverty." The succeeding chapter, will appear in a forthcoming issue of this newspaper, under the caption "Perpetual Prosperity by Amputation."

As A Reporter Saw Mother Jones

In The Coal Fields; A Visit To The Horse Show

Memories of Mother Jones, now laid to rest in an Illinois miners' cemetery, are told by Marlen Pew, editor of Editor and Publisher, who was in the thick of the fray as a reporter of dramatic labor strikes in the early part of the century. Pew came to know Bill Haywood, Mother Jones, Gene Debs and a host of other labor pioneers through covering the hot-spots of the labor fight in the first two decades of the century.

By Marlen Pew

ALL of the "boys" who covered the strikes of coal miners, both in the anthracite and bituminous fields, at the opening of the century and later, were acquainted with Mother Jones. Reporters with prejudices against the organized labor movement spoke of her as a little mad or as an evil-tempered fanatic who enjoyed the emotional excitement of a strike campaign. Others knew her for what she really was, a woman of remarkable character, flaming cause-spirit and astonishing capacity for self-sacrifice.

Mother Jones was one of the most interesting, and at times amusing characters that ever crossed my path. Long after the famous strike of the 147,000 hard coal miners was settled in 1902, she would occasionally visit New York and drop in on my office for a bit of gossip and perhaps a couple of dollars if she chanced to be broke. She was then nearly 70 years of age, with figure so slight that I doubt if she would weigh 100 pounds, hair white as snow and skin deeply lined with criss-cross wrinkles. But little blue eyes, deep-set and sparkling, told of mental vigor and dauntless zeal.

We reporters saw this aged woman leading strike picket forces in the towns of Hazleton, Nanticoke, Wilkes-Barre and Scranton, back to vigorous life the old man. However, he shall not be forgotten. The world will remember him for some of the worthier contributions he made during his youth. It was he who did most to tickle and encourage the acquisitive instinct in man and thus laid the material basis for a life of peace, plenty and freedom for all peoples. His claim to fame will adequately be looked after by the young, vigorous and healthy child he is leaving behind in the world—Socialism. At present the dying old man needs fewer doctors and more undertakers.

usually supported by crowds of sympathizing girls and women. Her specialty was violating law injunctions and I dare say she was arrested and jailed 20 times during her career. But whereas men might be beaten up, there was no instance, within my knowledge, of any violence toward her, though she usually did more to provoke the authorities than most men would venture.

Once I saw Mother Jones carrying a flag, walk at the head of a parade of working girls down a long, dusty road leading out of Hazleton toward a struck colliery. Her object was to attempt to influence some strikebreakers to desert their posts. After the marchers had exhausted the national airs they began to sing popular songs of the day and when they came up to the mine-yard gates they were rendering the air with "East Side, West Side, All Around the Town." Despite a court injunction restraining demonstrations of the guards, called coal and iron police, offered no resistance. Pretty soon some strikebreakers came to the gate and picked out girl partners for a dance. It was a gay party for a while and when Mother Jones marched her sympathizers back to town a group of rather shamefaced strikebreakers tagged behind. There was no attempt to arrest her for violation of the injunction in that case.

One of the stories the old lady told me in later years is, I think, without an equal in labor agitation. Her interest was invariably in behalf of poor working people, but when women and children were involved her passion knew no bounds. Once there was a strike of pottery workers at Trenton, N. J., and Mother Jones went to the scene. A large number of boys were involved. She organized a troop of one hundred or more youths and started a spectacular protest march to Oyster Bay, Long Island, where Pres. Roosevelt was summering. The penniless strike children tagged along, carrying banners, and night after night slept in open fields and begged food from farmers. When the army reached Princeton, Mother Jones marched to the home of Grover Cleveland, then living in retirement, and asked the former president for permission to camp her army on his lawn over night. Mr. Cleveland consented and in the morning aided in feeding the youngsters. Presently Mother Jones reached Jersey City and by some magic induced the employees of a ferry to carry the kids across

the North River without pay.

Years ago when the New York Horse Show was the crowning event of the social season, attracting the so-called "Four Hundred," I asked Mother Jones to attend a matinee at Madison Sq. Garden, and write a report of her experiences. I escorted her around the famous "horse-shoe," a tier of boxes in which the most fashionable women of the city were seated. Mother Jones stood in amazement and disgust as she beheld the daughter of a vastly rich Wall St. banker dressed in a cloth of gold gown, then a novelty. She sniffed at the top-hat and cut-away dudes and when told that a necklace which one woman was wearing was worth \$150,000, remarked that with the sum she could buy warm coats and "decent shoes" for all the miserable miners' wives in Pennsylvania and West Virginia.

The old lady could not endure much of the horse show and presently made her way out of the Garden, walking toward Third Ave. where, at the corner of 28th St., she beheld a long line of tenement children standing outside of Fleischman's bakery awaiting closing time when stale loaves would be given away. Mother Jones wrote a remarkable story and, of course, drew a sensational comparison between luxury on Fifth Ave. and poverty on a parallel avenue only two blocks to the east.

Lindsey-Neumann Debate On Companionate Marriage

Brooklyn will get its opportunity to see and hear the famous Judge Lindsey fresh from his cathedral controversy with Bishop Manning, when the Judge appears in a debate with Dr. Henry Neumann, leader of the Brooklyn Ethical Culture Society, at the Academy of Music, Lafayette Avenue, on Sunday afternoon, December 21st, at 3.15 p. m.

The subject of the date will be "Resolved: That the companionate marriage will better our morals," with Judge Lindsey supporting the affirmative and Dr. Neumann the negative.

The chairman of the debate will be Rev. Dr. John S. Lathrop, Pastor of the First Unitarian Church. This debate has been arranged under the auspices of the League for Public Discussion, director by Symon Gould.

Great ideas have root in the intelligence, not in the passions, of men, and cannot unfold in the heat of bloodshed any more than a tree can put forth green branches in a fiery furnace.—Papa Dixie Spencer.

Doctors, Or Undertakers

By Mark Adams

THIS is a smug world. We discredit the very existence of any misery or unpleasant thing that does not force itself on us. We deride any emotion we have not felt. As long as we are warm and well fed, we are convinced that the country is prosperous and all the people happy. We turn our heads from the poor and the fact that they exist, lest we observe their misery and our sympathy, ever difficult to stamp entirely from the mind, betray us and make us fellows with the poor for a while. We are insensate in the soft sleep of complacency and dread the harsh awakening.

Tonight I was reading an essay about the artistic value of didacticism and a social purpose in literature. Not everybody reads essays on literature. I felt pleased with myself because I had an interest in things beyond, and, oh yes, certainly, much higher than the interests of the ordinary man. I found the logic of the essay just perturbing enough to be a pleasant stimulus, and having finished the essay, I proposed for myself a stroll about the streets of the city in the fresh air to ponder the thing out. All that was very well, and I would have returned and slept soundly, had I not drifted into the side street on Clifton Hill.

As I walked down that street, scarcely more than an alley, I was suddenly aware of a voice from the run-down barn which faces the road. Involuntarily I listened. It was the teamster Muller's voice, the dull, agonized, despairing voice that is his when he is in trouble and overworked. From the protecting darkness without the glow of his lantern, I saw that his cow was hurt; the cow, too thin for the flesh to soften the harsh outlines of the bones, the lean, almost worthless cow—but the one that gives his family milk—was down in the lot, and Muller was helpless.

Nature and the small stamina of the cow were sole arbiters of the outcome of the illness. But as I watched, Muller walked about kicking objects and speaking in that dull, that despairing, that terrible, heart-wringing monotone. Silly, you say? To speak in that voice and feel so keenly the illness of the old, worthless cow? Yes, assuredly, it seems so to you, safe one, that have never known want to enter the narrow bounds of your life; that have never stared in the cold, impassive eye of fate and felt utterly futile. But Muller could not see how he could buy milk if the cow does not give it, and without the dairy glasses of milk, other grocery bills will go up and he has no surplus with which to pay. Muller knows that he works to exhaustion every day and cannot earn more at his job. And one leap ahead of his creditor, how is he to take time off to learn another type of work—Muller, through no choice of his, is not far from stupid, you know. But he has children, and he must earn for them. Muller, smug one, is facing hunger for himself and all his family. Hunger! Lack of bread! Lack of the first necessity to life.

And because he knew all these things and knew nothing to do except steal—and an angry God will burn him in hell forever if he steals—Muller spoke; while terror, stark, uncomprehending, terror, crept into his voice. My throat tightened as I passed and heard him; there was once a time, which I like to forget, when I was living very close to hunger, so that I understood; and even if it were not so, I would have known, for somehow one needs no great experience in things so elemental to understand them.

I quickened my pace down the street. I fled from the sound of that monotone for half an hour, walking briskly up one street and down another in the smug section of brick bungalows in the valley. I came home. But somehow I couldn't get my mind on the artistic unsoundness of a social purpose in literature. There may be much to be said on the side of the aesthete, but I couldn't seem to care.

Bronx Free Fellowship

Vincent Burns will give a Program of readings from his new book, "The Red Harvest," an anthology of the great poetry of war and peace, at the 8 o'clock Fellowship Service at the weekly meetings of the Bronx Free Fellowship, 1591 Boston Road, near E. 172nd Street, on Sunday evening, December 14th. At nine o'clock Open Forum, Kai das Nag will speak on "Tagore and the Modern Indian Literature."

Ethical Culture Society

"An Ethical Interpretation of Property" is the subject to be discussed at the next meeting of the Business Men's Group of the Society for Ethical Culture on Dec. 18th. The speaker will be Professor Frank C. Sharp of the Department of Philosophy of the University of Wisconsin.

Honesty of thought and speech and written word is a jewel, and they who curb prejudice and seek honorably to know and speak the truth are the only true builders of a better life.—John Galworthy.