

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Eisenstein and Gene Debs—Europe and Unemployment—
The Minimum Program Required—Charity Plasters
Inadequate—Senators Dull of Comprehension
Workers and Farmers—Zeal and Terror

WELCOME TO EINSTEIN

MAYOR JAMES J. WALKER of New York the other day extended a formal welcome and the keys of the city to a man who could not possibly become a citizen of the United States and who if he had been born in America might have occupied a cell in Atlanta Penitentiary along with Gene Debs. This man is one of the most distinguished citizens of the world, one of the greatest thinkers of all time, but he is a Socialist and a pacifist who has proclaimed and taught steadfast opposition to all war and who has even gone so far as to say in this land of the D. A. R. that a government would not risk war if it thought that 2 per cent of its prospective soldiers would refuse to fight. This man, of course, is Albert Einstein. We hail him not only as the world's greatest scientist but as a comrade in the struggle for peace.

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPLICATIONS

THE President's refusal to give to the Senate or the public Col. Woods' preliminary report on the unemployment situation in the United States, whatever its avowed reason, strengthens the suspicion which is universal in Washington, that Col. Woods has found so serious a condition that the administration is afraid to state it publicly. Twenty five per cent of unemployment in industrial states does not seem to be a high estimate. The most optimistic economists do not hope for even the beginning of a turn in the cycle until April. The factors which made for quick recovery from depression in 1914-15 and 1921 are conspicuously absent. The first depression yielded to the boom of an unholy trade in war supplies. The second depression was relieved by the growth of the comparatively new automobile industry, building activity to overcome the war shortage, and, to some extent, by American participation in the rehabilitation of Europe. Today the automobile industry is overbuilt. European industry is in a position to compete with America and while there is desperate need of housing the kind of housing required cannot be paid for by the people who need it unless plans for municipal housing are adopted. Meanwhile high tariffs, the debt and reparations problem, civil war in China, the immense drop in the value of silver which is the basis of money in China, India and Mexico, and the impending shortage of gold which is today badly divided among the nations still further complicate recovery under our crazy capitalist system.

A PROGRAM FOR TODAY

CONDITION like this cannot be cured by any immediate program. This is not the final crisis of capitalism and sooner or later the existing surpluses will be exhausted and business will pick up. It is unreasonable to think that it will boom. Our task is threefold: (1) to insist on governmental responsibility for immediate relief; (2) to urge a program which will mitigate the severity of another crisis and the suffering under it; and (3) to bring home to the minds of the people the absolute necessity of a social order based on production for use rather than profit which alone can end unemployment. Measures advocated under the second heading should be in line with this goal of our effort.

THE RELIEF PROPOSALS

LET us look at the immediate relief situation. What charity organizations and special private drives are raising is literally a drop in the bucket. I heard a representative of the Mayor's unemployment committee in Detroit estimate that to give families in Detroit, leaving single men and women wholly out of account, \$15 a week to live on would cost 3 million dollars for each week. Outright relief is not the most desirable way to deal with unemployment. It is the only way we can deal with it now. No unemployment insurance or indemnity funds can be built up at once in the middle of the crisis. No program of public works can be instantly put into effect. The only alternatives are relief or misery and demoralization on an immense scale. That is why in behalf of the Public Affairs Committee of the Socialist Party and the League for Industrial Democracy I went to Washington to urge, with representatives of other organizations, an immediate federal appropriation of half a billion dollars for relief, which sum should be raised out of surtaxes and increased inheritance taxes. It could be made immediately available by the sale, if necessary, of short term notes to be repaid after taxes are collected. This relief fund could be administered through existing local agencies on the general principle of matching dollar for dollar. It should be understood that relief of this sort is not charity. It is an inadequate act of justice. Receivers of dividends have been protected in this bad year by the reserve funds of corporations so that total dividend payments in 1930 will fall but little short of record payments in 1929. Let the receivers of this income share their fortune with the unemployed workers who alone have had no aid from government.

The next step is to pass a really big public works program in which cities, states, and the federal government should cooperate. A billion dollar public works program for the federal government is very modest. It would not only give direct employment but would put money in circulation and so stimulate business. It is about a fortieth of what we spent in an unnecessary war against Germany.

CLASS LEGISLATION AT ITS WORST

PEAKING of the war, one of the worst forms of class legislation imaginable in this emergency would be for the government to make provision for cash payment of the full face value of all veterans adjusted compensation certificates now. These certificates are due in 1945. To pay them now would mean an extra billion and a half in excess of what the government has already done for the veterans. And the passage of such a bill would be made the excuse by Congress for failure to do anything for the unemployed. Congress is looking for excuses to do as little as possible. Of the Senators and Representatives I saw in Washington all but Senator Wagner acted as if this thirteen months' old crisis were brand new. They had no real ideas on the subject except, of course, that their hearts bleed for the workers and for the workers' votes. The thing Congress is most likely to do is to stop all immigration and thus to aid the unemployed at the price of workers in other lands or dependent relatives of workers already in this country.

SMALL LOANS TO THE JOBLESS?

OF COURSE in this program for immediate relief we must not lose sight of the necessity of passing unemployment insurance bills now. I do not discuss unemployment insurance because I have previously said my say on this subject. One other interesting suggestion was made in Washington by Mr. Jett Lauck and in a somewhat different form by a good Socialist with experience both as a farmer and a worker, Mr. Isadore Berman, who has run a dairy farm near Balston Spa, New York. These proposals call for loans to the unemployed—loans which should not require collateral but which might be claims on wages or the income of farmers on the restoration of more normal conditions. I am inclined to think that at present it is better to work for direct relief, but we may have to return to this idea of loans.

Don't forget that we can't fairly leave the farmers out of consideration. Thus, the recent reduction of one cent in the cost of milk in New York City caused by the enormous shrinkage in demand for milk has been more than passed on by the companies to the farmers who are already underpaid. Great is private initiative under the profit system!

TERRORISM IN RUSSIA

H. R. KNICKERBOCKER, in concluding his remarkable series of articles on the Five Year Plan, says that: "Zeal and terror are the two psychological instruments for the accomplishment of the plan." He emphasizes the extent and ramifications of the terror which he says: "has become a permanent institution." Mr. Knickerbocker's own articles make me think that the Five Year Plan has a sounder foundation than terror. In the long run no plan based on terror as one of its foundation stones, even if the others are sounder, is likely to succeed. And certainly no genuinely happy society can be built on such a basis. Socialists who find much that is encouraging in the Five Year Plan emphatically must reject terrorism as a legitimate Socialist or human device.

REMEMBER DANVILLE

CAPITALISTIC terrorism is likely to make the Danville strikers its victim. Don't forget to do what you can to help them.

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Hoover Firm In Concealing Statistics On Joblessness

President Withholds
Data Given Him by
Woods—"Sample" Sur-
vey Planned

By Louis Stanley

THE refusal of President Hoover to supply the Senate with the report of his Emergency Commission on Unemployment headed by Colonel Arthur D. Woods on the ground that it is not a report, the publication of only another dribble of statistics from the unemployment census and the announcement in order to pretend an interest in spreading information about the unemployment problem that a sample survey of unemployment would be conducted in twenty-two cities in January—all indicate that the Republican Administration is carrying out a policy calculated to deceive the public as to the great seriousness of the present situation among the jobless. This conclusion is supported by the record of Herbert Hoover's commitment to publicity on unemployment statistics which he now abandons and the recent history of the controversy over the number of unemployed. The reputation that President Hoover obtained among glibber liberals that he is a social and economic engineer arose in a large measure from his activities in connection with President Harding's Conference on Unemployment which met in Washington September 26 to October 13, 1921, during the last major depression. This conference was instigated by Hoover in his capacity as Secretary of Commerce and as its sponsor he has encouraged the propaganda and research on the business cycle and stabilization of employment that the Conference committees have been responsible for ever since.

The first purpose of the conference as stated by President Harding in his invitation to prospective participants was "to inquire into the volume and distribution of unemployment." Secretary of Commerce Hoover in his address of welcome repeated what he had said clearly before about the objects of the gathering:

Approaching the Problem
"First, no problem can be adequately approached for solution without a knowledge of the facts; that is, we need first a determination of the volume and distribution of unemployment. Any proposal of amelioration must depend upon the weight of the burden we must carry."

In accordance with this important aim of the conference the first committee appointed was one on unemployment statistics. In its report it deplored that "The first step in meeting the emergency of unemployment intelligently is to know its extent and character, yet this conference finds itself without the data even for an accurate estimate of the number out of work; nor is this the first occasion when public conferences have been embarrassed by such a lack of necessary facts."

The Economic Advisory Committee of the Conference estimated that in the early part of September 1921 the number of unemployed, exclusive of those on farms, "was possibly as large as 3,500,000." The Committee on Unemployment Statistics to which the estimate was submitted placed the figure at "not less than 3,700,000 or more than 4,000,000." The United States Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Ethelbert Stewart, judged the number of unemployed late in September to be 5,535,000. In view of these conflicting authoritative statements the full Conference on Unemployment compromised by declaring "that there are, variously estimated from three and one-half to five and one-half millions unemployed, and there is a much greater number dependent upon them."

The Anxious Mr. Hoover
When the Committee on Unemployment Statistics made its report to the Conference, Hoover as chairman of the proceedings suggested that the committee go further in its recommendations than it had done. He was anxious that the Department of Labor receive adequate financial support from Congress to collect the necessary statistics. Matthew Woll, vice president of the American Federation of Labor made a motion to that effect and it was adopted. President Hoover does not seem so anxious to disseminate full information about unem-

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Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee Poses a Question for Hoover

MILWAUKEE.—When Col. Arthur Wood, chairman of Hoover's emergency committee on employment gets Mayor Daniel W. Hoan's answer to his circular letter to all mayors, he will find a question which is posed probably by no other mayor. After describing the local steps taken by the city and county to alleviate suffering from unemployment and to make jobs for more people, Mayor Hoan writes:

"Efforts are being made to provide food and shelter for transients and to do everything possible to solve the

unemployment problem insofar as it can be solved locally.

"Of course all local efforts are wholly inadequate to cope with the unemployment problem. It is a national problem, its permanent solution can be accomplished by the nation as a whole, through the federal government.

"Realizing this, may I respectfully inquire what, if anything, the federal government is doing to effect the permanent remedy for the bane of prolonged unemployment?"

Workers Pay 52 Per Cent of Charity Fund

Employers "Generosity"
Comes Out of Pockets
of Their Employees

WORKERS are being forced to bear 52% of the charity load of the New York bankers' emergency committee, if receipts to the \$8,000,000 fund reported Dec. 15-16 are representative. Receipts for the two days were \$207,000, of which workers contributed \$108,000. Many firms deduct a day's pay of 1% of the annual wage and hand it over to the bankers' committee as a gift.

In addition to the \$108,000 listed in the two days' receipts, the committee acknowledged \$161,544 from employees of the Bell Telephone Co., \$52,156 from Western Electric workers, \$40,692 from American Telephone & Telegraph employees and \$16,050 from Bell Telephone Laboratories employees. All told the Bell employees gave \$200,000 more from their wages than Millionaire Harkness, the second largest single contributor to the bankers' fund, with his \$250,000 gift.

The charity pose of many big industrial and commercial firms which give \$100 for unemployed relief with one hand while cutting the payroll \$500 a week with the other is being checked up by 10 representatives of the New York Community Councils. They are seeking to persuade the big-hearted industrialists to replace some of the workers they have fired.

The agents are asking the difference between the normal and present working force, the number working overtime, what reductions in pay have been made and whether banking connections are responsible for curtailments. Meanwhile nearly everyone in New York has been instructed to scratch the city for possible job openings. One check up of 5,000 firms having revealed only 200 jobs, teachers, preachers, doctors, lawyers and cops have been told by the Workers' Committee.

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Farm Poverty Equals That Of City Labor

Almost One-Fourth of
Population Suffering
From Depression in
Agriculture

By Jack Healy

IN LABOR union circles and in the industrial east and north, unemployment takes the center of the stage. Pictures of destitution, now tolerated in the business press in order to stimulate the charity which it is hoped will check the growth of rebellious feeling, deal with the five to ten million party and totally unemployed workers and their families—a multitude of at least 25,000,000 persons.

Less frequently do labor unionists and the dwellers in the industrial cities realize that another 25,000,000—the dwellers on the farms of the middle west and the south—are just as badly hit by so-called overproduction and drought as workers are by unemployment. Occasionally a piece of news flashes across the press for a moment—The Farmers Union elects a radical anti-Hoover, anti-farm board leader for national president; the National Grange calls for an elaborate scheme to dump American wheat at cut prices on the world market. But never is the story told of the very real destitution reflected in the cold figures of 67-70 cent wheat, of farms denuded of crops by last summer's withering sun, of the continued crashing of rural banks by the hundreds in the midwest and the south.

This is the other specter in the closet of American capitalism. It is responsible, for example, for the 25 per cent decline in mail order business in November, compared with November, 1929. Mail order business is an accurate reflector of the farmers' purchasing power. Inasmuch as many divisions of farming such as dairying, cattle

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25th Anniversary of L. I. D. To Be Celebrated Next Week; Varied Program Arranged

Mass Meeting, Radio
Talks, Dinner, Two
Conferences on Pro-
gram

EVERY Christmas when students get away from college the League for Industrial Democracy offices get very busy arranging for the annual intercollegiate student conferences. This year, besides the conferences the league is arranging to celebrate its 25th anniversary in grand style on Sunday, December 28, in New York, just before the eastern intercollegiate conference.

A full program has been prepared for that celebration. In the morning at 11, B. C. Viadeck is turning over his forum at the Amalgamated Temple, 21 Arion Place, Brooklyn, to L. I. D. speakers. The high spots of the program will be in the afternoon meeting at three in Riverside Church, and the dinner at the Level Club in the evening. Under the general heading "Twenty-five Years of Social Change" such well known speakers as Norman Thomas, Harry F. Ward, Heywood Brown, Jessie Wallace Hughan, William Pickens, Paul Blanchard and B. C. Viadeck will discuss the progress or retrogression which has taken place during the last quarter century in movements in which the L. I. D. is interested. Among these will be the L. I. D. itself, world peace, Socialism, civil liberties, the colleges, race relations and social literature. An unusual feature of the afternoon will be a special broadcast over an N. B. C. chain between 3:30 and 4 p. m. Here an attempt will be made to broadcast a conversation between two of the speakers.

"AE" and Hillquit at Dinner
The climax of the celebration will be the anniversary dinner at the Level Club, 253 West 73rd Street, at 6:30 the same evening. The especially appropriate topic for the speechmaking and discussion will be "Our Machine Civilization—What Next?" Two radically different approaches will be presented by the famous Irish poet (George W. Russell) and the American Socialist leader, Morris Hillquit. Russell has long been the champion of the "back to the land" solution for our mechanistic life while Hillquit naturally will uphold the Socialist viewpoint. After they have finished Harry W. Laidler, co-director of the L. I. D. will tell the diners what work the league has done in the twenty-five years it has existed. Norman Thomas will preside. Tickets for the dinner may be obtained at the L. I. D. offices, 12 East 19th Street. They are priced at \$2.50 except that student members of the L. I. D. will be charged but \$1.50.

The New York student conference will start the following day with sessions being held at the Union Theological Seminary. The first session of the conference at 10 a. m., will hear Benjamin Marsh, executive director of the People's Lobby, and Clinch Calkins, author of "Some Folks Won't Work," discuss the extent and effects of unemployment. The afternoon session at 2 p. m. will hear A. J. Muste, dean of the faculty of Brookwood Labor College, and Colston E. Warner of Amherst, on "Types and Causes of Unem-

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DABBLING DROOLIDGE SAYS:

NORFOLK HAMPTON.—Christmas is a holiday in commemoration of the birth of our Savior. A great many department store owners make a great deal out of this. Many of these owners think that Christmas is to celebrate the birth of R. H. Macy. But this is not the case. Others think that it is to celebrate the birth of Santa Claus. This is not the case either. I believe in Santa Claus, just like the editor of the "Evening Sun" who prints an editorial every year saying that he does.

It is a good thing for everyone to believe in Santa Claus. More than 90 per cent of those who voted for me believe in Santa Claus. A great many of those who voted for the present administration are beginning to turn atheists as far as Santa Claus goes. But that is not right. We should have faith. Let us have faith in the fundamental strength of the Republic and the Republican Party with the exception of Nye, Norris, La Follette and every now and then, Borah. Let us have faith in apples and tangerines. Let us have faith in Santa Claus.

DABBLING DROOLIDGE.

Nominations by Hoover Sharpen Power Battle

At Least Two Proposed
Members of Federal
Board Are Reaction-
ary

WASHINGTON — (FP) —

Discovery that at least two of President Hoover's five nominees to constitute the new Federal Power Commission are partisans of the power trust and hostile to municipal-ownership competition with privately-owned utilities, has sharpened the struggle in Washington over the fundamental power issue—the question as to whether the utility corporations shall own and operate the government for their stockholders and officials' profit, or whether the public shall regulate the power industry. The Senate interstate commerce committee is now apparently so divided on this issue that its recommendations will merely open the real fight to be waged on the floor of the Senate.

George Otis Smith, director of the Geological Survey, named for the chairmanship of the new commission, has been shown to be an ally of the Insull power interests in the 1924 referendum campaign in Maine, and to be hostile to public operation of power plants, as well as very champion toward the high rates charged by power companies in this country. Frank R. McNinch of North Carolina, named as one of the two non-Republican members, admitted on the stand that he had been voting for Republicans for federal offices, and hence he was not a minority party representative. His views on public ownership and federal regulation were well concealed. Marcel Garsaud of Louisiana, sponsored by Senator Ransdell, lame duck friend of the Electric Bond & Share Co., was identified as a former army engineer and closely associated with power trust officials in New Orleans. Spokesmen for Governor-elect Long told the committee that Garsaud was unfit for the position to which Hoover had named him, because he had never protested against excessive rates charged by the company for electricity issued by public departments under his control.

Wheeler Hits Ransdell
Ransdell, a member of the committee, attacked one of these witnesses, whereupon Senator Wheeler came to the witness' defense and opened still wider the protest record of the nominee and of Ransdell.

Since the November elections brought the power trust directly into the forefront of national politics, the Hoover administration has hastened its preparations to "sew up" the Power Commission before the new Congress can do anything to check the giving away of federal power sites to the trust. Lobbyists are hurrying back and forth to the capitol, saying that "of course" the Senate will not dare to keep rejecting Hoover's selections for this "engineering" job. Last June the White House was compelled to withdraw the name of Gen. Jadwin, a notorious foe of the Norris Muscle Shoals bill, as chairman of the new commission. Smith's name was substituted. But it appears that Garsaud is an understudy of Jadwin. Progressives will fight these selections as being hostile to the fair enforcement of the Federal Water Power Act.

Meanwhile F. E. Bonner, executive secretary of the old Power Commission, which is made up of the secretaries of the Interior, War and Agriculture, has played his last card against Solicitor Russell, in retaliation for Russell's success in blocking Bonner's scheme for allowing scores of millions of dollars of inflation in the rate-base capitalization of waterpower plants using federal sites. Bonner has publicly declared his "distress" that Russell, fighting in court the huge inflation of securities of the Clarion River Power Co. in Pennsylvania, pointed out that the Pennsylvania Public Service Commission failed to enforce state law which forbade this inflation. Chairman Ainey of the Pennsylvania commission demanded that Russell prove his statement—which Ainey

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Militia Bans Picketing by Danville, Va., Mill Strikers

Explosions Seen as Effort
of Bosses to Keep
Military in Town

By Jessie Lloyd

DANVILLE, Va. (FP) — In an intensified campaign to break the Danville textile strike, the ban on picketing has been renewed for the opening and closing hours of the mill. Although Gov. Pollard states that picketing is legal and the sheriff allows six unionists at each mill gate, the militia officials simply refuse pickets the right to approach on the public highways until after all scabs are safe inside.

The union estimates that 1,500 are working in the mills, of whom less than 200 are former strikers. Most of the strikebreakers are recruited from the ranks of the depressed tobacco farmers. Skilled loom-fixers, however, are the vital need in any cotton mill, and only four of the union loom-fixers returned to work. Two of them came back to the union.

Both leaders and rank and file doubt that the explosions at Magistrate Fitts' house, and places where two scabs are staying, were set off by unionists. Unionists recall that Gov. Pollard said that troops would stay only as long as violence was reported. They believe the explosions are part of the mill game of discrediting the strike and keeping the troops in Danville. The union has discovered that the so-called "citizens' advertisement" in the Danville sheets praising Pres. Harry Fitzgerald was really paid for by the Riverside & Dan River mills.

Boss' Great Love
The unionists are standing firm despite crocodile tears about their distress from President Fitzgerald and assurances that he is always willing to work his loyal employees for whom "we have the same love as always." A large number of scabs being expected to return to the fold Monday, Dec. 15, police were massed and troops kept on their toes to escort them in, but the going to work of the usual skeleton force was a pretty tame affair.

In the first interview he has granted since the strike, Fitzgerald said, "We have no hard feeling towards our employees, and for most of them whom we know to be loyal at heart we have the same love as always." He charged that they were eager to return to work but intimidated by a lawless element. Economic conditions are difficult, he added, but the mill would allow those "whose record entitles them to be considered as employees of the company" to return to work as fast as machinery could be started. He made it clear that he would not employ the most active unionists. The mill issued a further statement that it would fight the union to the finish and never accept the principle of collective bargaining.

Meanwhile an anonymous "citizens' committee" declares in a full page advertisement in the Danville Bee, "No one has questioned the right of the strikers to join a union of their own choosing." The strikers have demonstrated that they have a right to join the union, says this remarkable advertisement, and everybody concedes it anyway, but, "it so happened that they joined a union which is in dispute."

Cops Chasing Each Other
Pointing to the drop in membership which America's open shoppers have forced upon the union, these mysterious citizens, who claim they have no connections with the mill or mill stocks, insinuate the drop came because "the union did not deal fairly with employers." "It is a pity that the strikers did not investigate," they say, and suggest that the reason Fitzgerald refuses to sit down and confer with union leaders is that he would go away from the conference tricked out of his lawful rights.

Mill attorney Malcolm K. Harris was called into conference by Gov. Pollard and asserted afterwards that there is no controversy between the management and the strikers, but only between those who want to work and those who do not.

Danville's six varieties of police and militia are having a hot time chasing each other's shadows as a result of rumors of violence that do not materialize. One day the force stayed on duty 24 hours continuously, suspecting a mysterious attack because unionists did not stand and watch the mills as usual.

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Socialists Aid Danville Mill Strike

Senior Visits District—Sends Letter to All Party Locals Urging Assistance

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
CHICAGO—Upon his return from a Southern trip, Clarence Senior, national secretary of the Socialist Party, sent out an urgent appeal to all party locals, members-at-large and sympathizers to send food, clothing, shoes, and money to Danville. He also requested union members of the party to make certain they attend their local meetings and back up President Green's appeal to the unions.

Already many cities have notified the national office that they are carrying out this request. Baltimore has shipped several boxes already, and so has the University of Chicago Socialist Club. Several women's organizations have started collecting clothing.

Senior warns that if the Danville strikers lose, the organizing campaign in the South will have received a terrible set-back from which it may not recover for years. He asks that shipments be made express prepaid, and that all material sent be in good clean condition.

In answer to the first shipment of clothing, the Baltimore Socialists received a letter from the U. T. W. thanking them, and concluding, "The workers know that they have to suffer to win their constitutional right to organize as the employers organize, but they are resolved to stick."

Senior has sent the following letter to all Socialist locals:

"Danville—A Challenge to American Workers!"

"In five years, the Industrial Revolution has carried thousands of Southern workers through one hundred and fifty (150) years of history, swept them from farms and deposited them in gigantic mills.

"Seventeen and \$18 are top wages—eleven good—and five usual. Slave conditions exist—with no organization. Conditions in the South menace better situated parts of the country and undermine Northern organization.

"Four thousand (4,000) mill workers, members of the United Textile Workers, struck September 29 against wage cuts, 'stretch out,' and discharge of four hundred (400) union members for organizing. I have just returned from there—the ranks remain unbroken after two months. The spirit is great, and the strikers breathe defiance in the face of judges' injunctions and soldiers' bayonets.

"But—winter is coming! In the Virginia mountains it is severe. Food, clothing, shoes, and, if possible money, should be sent at once. Many of the strikers are literally barefooted!

"Union members of the party should see to it that President Green's appeal for aid for the Danville strikers is acted on in each union and central body—not referred to committees or filed. Sympathetic organizations should be called on for help.

"If these people lose, the organizing campaign in the whole South will have received a terrible set-back. Low wages and feudal tyranny will continue indefinitely.

"Do all in your power for your class brothers in the South who are fighting your fight!

"Send food, clothing, shoes, and money to Rufus Moseley, chairman, Local No. 1685, U. T. W., Danville, Va. Please notify me what has been done.

"Yours for Socialism,
"CLARENCE SENIOR,
"Executive Secretary."

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N. Y. Women Socialists Vote Aid to Danville Strike

Elizabeth Stuyvesant Elected Chairman of Section—To Aid the Jobless

At its annual meeting held Tuesday night, Dec. 15, at the Rand School, the Women's Section of the N. Y. Socialist Party began its New Year right by taking up in earnest the situation of the Danville strikers; \$200 was voted from its small treasury and a committee selected to collect clothing and plan other means for aiding the strikers.

Pauline Newman reported the latest news from the United Textile Workers of America that the eviction order issued to the strikers last week had been postponed until after Christmas, through the kind intervention of interested persons who visited Danville last week.

The following officers were elected for the coming year: Chairman, Elizabeth Stuyvesant; secretary, Jean Friedberg; treasurer, Gertrude Green; finance chairman, Nina Grey; organization chairman, Esther Friedman; executive board, Bessie Cohen, Esther Friedman, Dora Levine, Polly Levinson, Anna Weiss, Minnie Wiesberg, Mollie Weingart and Sarah Volovick.

The newly-elected officers were instructed to represent the Women's Section on the Women's Conference for Unemployment Relief, recently organized by several progressive Women's Groups. The program formulated by this conference at its preliminary meeting held last Sunday was to include:

1. Agitate to get the city to provide school lunches in the same manner as it provides books.

2. To provide food for the preschool child.

3. To establish neighborhood food stations for families in distress.

The conference is planning a huge gathering of all Women's Organizations in order to solidify the various activities now in operation by women for the relief of the unemployed and children of the unemployed. It is planned to employ a full-time organizer for the various purposes of the conference.

In accordance with the urgent suggestion from the National Office of the Socialist Party, the Women's Section decided to take immediate steps to arrange for a mass meeting on Child Labor to be held during Child Welfare Week.

'em feel like they killed their own mother.

"Most of 'em are the finest kind of sports," Moseley went on. "One who never complains for himself came and told us, 'last time I went to see my cow she put her head on one side and looked at me, like she was saying, 'Are you really going to come in 'tell me you ain't got nothing for me again today?'"

And another told us his cow ate a whole mattress—a straw sandwich, he called it. But we are doing the best we can."

Mass picketing would probably not be resumed, Moseley said, in order to avoid all unnecessary violence. Besides tear gas bombs, police used rough treatment against the big Dec. 8 crowd. Two women were wounded.

The union estimates it is spending \$1,000 a day to support all the strikers and dependents. Exclusive of contributions in kind, the union has spent \$65,000 since the strike began, declared Vice-President Francis J. Gorman, and counting the value of clothing, fuel, and other gifts in kind, the total is \$100,000.

We are a band 4,000 strong—

No more slaves, no more slaves—

We hope to live to right the wrong

No more slaves, no more slaves.

We will fight till we are free

And we'll gain the victory

By our solidarity

No more slaves!

At school the children refuse to sing their old songs and sing union songs. Teachers are frightened. They forbid them, and tell them they mustn't join the children's union, but the spirit of Danville is too strong.

Moseley told how a youngster of 10 suddenly appeared in union headquarters, all by himself. "I want to report—my Daddy's sleeping in the barn," he said.

"Why, what for?" asked union officers.

"You see my Daddy has gone back to work, but my Ma and I ain't scabs, and we won't let him sleep in the house. I wanted you all to know. We won't never let a scab sleep in our house."

A Xmas Eve Party

On Christmas Eve, the night Fitzgerald has threatened eviction of 47 families, the children are having a party. It is hoped to get presents for the 7,000 under 12. Mill children over 12 are almost grown-up—accomplished housekeepers generally, and an important help in the family. They have put away childish things like presents. Annabel Glenn, A. F. of L. representative, and Vice-President Matilda Lindsay of the Women's Trade Union League are in charge of the children's work.

The union estimates that of the 750 scabs who are going into the mill, 300 are supervisory force, 300 are unskilled farmers who spoil more than they produce, and 150 are union people who couldn't hold out. "They tell us they'll go back to work if they don't get more relief by a certain day. Flour and sorghum is our main supply. Well, mostly we get it to 'em. And they generally hold out even if we're delayed.

"We only lost 150 out of over 4,000. Some of 'em come to us and confess afterwards. One man told us, 'I can't set and eat with my children.' He came out again after one day. Seems like union's got into 'em like a kind of religion. If they go back on us, makes

Ohio Socialists Face Problems Confidently

Increased Requirements For Placing Ticket on Ballot Greatest Hardship

By Sidney Yellen (State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Ohio)

SINCE the great schism in the Socialist movement in Ohio has declined considerably. With the split in the party came the factional misunderstanding which alienated sympathies and undermined the faith people had in the Socialist movement. The insolent language that the Communists used in their arguments with the Socialists, the provocative method they adopted to combat the opposition of the Socialists added considerably to the confusion of our followers, so that they gradually dropped out of the party. The few locals that remained loyal fell apart or remained in stagnant condition.

Many sympathizers, who could not conceive that a few members loyal to the party would heroically pilot the damaged ship through storms and rocks, turned their backs to the few idealists and ignored the call of the Socialist Party. The seasoned and loyal comrades held on and kept the Socialist boat floating until the masses had assurance of a safe voyage.

During those days of struggle and doubt the watch dogs of capitalism followed us closely and observed every sign of recovery. When they noticed life in the Socialist movement in Ohio, they directed the state legislature to act; and it did. The election law was so changed that it was impossible for the Socialist Party to concentrate the forces of discontent and register their protest. Credit must be given to the political leaders of both capitalist parties for their foresight. They foresaw the coming of present conditions; they knew that unemployment would naturally come with its allied partners, poverty and suffering, so they blocked every legal agency by which an impressive protest could be demonstrated. Under the new law, it would be a miracle if a small group of devoted comrades secured the required number of signatures to nominating petitions representing 15 per cent of the total vote cast in the election of 1928. The result was that the Socialist candidates in Ohio were not on the state ballot.

Cooperation in Cincinnati

This, however, did not discourage us. In Cincinnati, the Socialists cooperated with the Citizens Party which was supported by organized labor, and had a full slate of independent candidates. The Socialists in Cincinnati supported those independent candidates because their platform contained two vital planks: unemployment insurance and old age pensions. Credit must be given to the Cincinnati group for the favorable decision of the Supreme Court of Ohio. Their appeal to the Supreme Court brought that modification in the election law which made possible for the Cleveland Socialists to have a full slate of county and legislative candidates. It is true that the interpretation of the election board did not agree in spirit with the decision and that their ruling that the voter must make a cross in front of each name somewhat interfered with the process of voting with which the voter was accustomed, but, nevertheless, the Socialist vote in Cleveland has more than doubled.

The Cleveland Socialists are preparing to capitalize this increase. They are preparing for the municipal campaign. They realize that in order to capitalize our gains we must look ahead; we must concentrate our forces and direct our activities to districts where success is expected. Hundreds of "hundreds of pieces of literature must reach the hands of the workers. We must reach the masses with our message, those whose sentiments are receptive to the Socialist propaganda. The general increase of our membership in the last year is an indication that the workers are responsive to our call, and it is up to our comrades in Ohio to further the interest of the Socialist Party.

The state executive committee is contriving an extensive drive for new members. The members everywhere are urged to plan for direct participation in the local elections. Our distribution of literature must be organized so that literature is not left over to be discarded after election. The state organization will probably tax the resources of the foreign-speaking branches in order to organize the workers. The youth movement will receive the full attention of the

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These measures will have to be prosecuted by the state organization in order to lead to greater achievements and get the approval of the members. Furthermore, we will have to solicit the sympathies of liberal people in the state, so that campaign for funds will not exclusively fall upon the members in the nine districts where work is expected. We must appeal to the intellectuals in the universities, colleges and schools for assistance.

The special problems of organization are: First, how to change the dominating influence from the foreign-speaking branches to English, i. e. that the number of English-speaking branches should be increased and become the leading factor in the party; and, second, how to organize our young people so that they may be ready to serve the Socialist movement with vigor and spirit.

These problems will surely be solved. Of course, special attention must be directed towards the most vital problems of organization. Our literature has to be receptive to the reader. It must deal with present conditions instead of planning for a future state. Our organizer must be a young man not strange to social and athletic activities of American youth.

L. I. D. to Celebrate Its 25th Anniversary

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Va. Socialist Vote Fires Party Workers

Ambitious Plans Made—Morgan Polls Total of 7,944 Votes

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

RICHMOND, Va.—Joe C. Morgan, Socialist candidate for United States Senator in Virginia, polled 7,944 votes, about 5 1/2 per cent of the total. The vote for all candidates follows: Glass, Democrat, 112,002; Byars, Ind. Rep., 26,091; Morgan, Socialist, 7,944. In 1928 the Socialist candidate for Governor polled 460, while Thomas polled only 250 in 1928.

Not even in the pre-war days did the Socialist vote ever approach the number polled this year. Benson polled 1,062 in 1916, the largest Socialist vote ever polled for a presidential candidate, while in 1913 the Socialist candidate for governor polled 2,300 votes. La Follette's vote of 10,377 was 4 1/2 per cent of the 1924 total. Morgan's vote of 7,944 is 5 1/2 per cent of the total. Only one county, Brunswick, in the 4th District, the heart of the "Black Belt," failed to give a single vote to the Socialist candidate. Morgan polled votes in 99 of the 100 counties and in all the 24 cities.

Four Locals Going

Along with the tremendous increase in the vote came a big increase in membership. Since September 20th, when David Geogrt came back to the state and started the campaign and organization work, a 75 per cent membership increase has been shown, while the locals have increased in number from 1 to 4. We now have locals in Richmond, Hopewell, Norfolk and Monroe. The people seem more willing than ever to listen to the Socialist message.

The immediate plans for Virginia include a membership drive which is now being conducted, and which will officially end March 1st. It is hoped to double the present membership by then, and to have at least three more locals—in Alexandria, Danville and Lynchburg.

The Virginia comrades are also planning to make a fight for representation in the State House of Delegates next fall. George, who has managed the last three statewide campaigns, thinks that we have a fighting chance to elect in five districts, at least. He is confident that at least three of these districts can be carried.

The people of this state, starving farmers as well as urban workers, are ready for Socialist organization, and are easily persuaded to vote our ticket. Our principal problem is financial, while a major trouble is lack of speakers. With the exception of a few comrades who are good speakers, but cannot leave their homes, David George is the only speaker in the state. In the past we have secured far better cooperation in getting outside speakers than we have been able to get this year. And we have had some unhappy experiences with some New York comrades who spoke here. Because we did not have packed houses to hear them, these Prims Donnas got nasty, and not only left a bad impression here, but went back to New York with the avowed intention (which we think they have made good) of discouraging any other speakers from coming down. It was not that we did not keep our financial agreements, but purely and simply because we did not fill the lecture halls.

If some comrades who can make a fairly decent speech and at the same time act in a comradely manner and be ready for any kind of crowd, are willing to give a few days of their time this winter to help put the party on its feet, they are urged to communicate with us at once. If we are able to carry out our plans for organization work here, we will have some comrades in the state legislature next year, and will have at least 1,000 members ready for the 1932 presidential campaign. The harvest has never been so ready and ripe! All we need to do now is reap! For this we need a little money, a lot of faith, a heap of cooperation.

McGrady, Biemiller to Discuss Unemployment in Phila. on Sunday

Philadelphia, Sunday, December 21st, 3:30 P. M., the Labor Institute Forum will hold a symposium on "Unemployment." The meeting will be held at 802-10 Locust Street, the speakers will be Edward F. McGrady, leader of the American Federation of Labor and Andrew J. Biemiller, teacher in the history department of the University of Pennsylvania.

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Conlon Hits A. F. L. Policy On Insurance

Secretary of Machinists' International Declares for Unemployment Insurance

PERHAPS the hardest blow yet struck at the Matthew Woll policy of obstructing social insurance in the American Federation of Labor in behalf of the policies of the Natl. Civic Federation, has been dealt by Sec. P. J. Conlon of the Intl. Assn. of Machinists in the leading article of the current Machinists Journal, entitled "Unemployment Insurance." Sec. Conlon's attack on the Woll policy of delaying unemployment insurance to all the more significant in that it is the A. F. of L. who are the machinists in an influential member of the A. F. of L. executive council, which is making a study of unemployment insurance.

"The A. F. of L. has again met and as usual run true to form on what they call their social legislative policy," is the opening blast in Conlon's article. "This policy should, in my opinion, be modified to meet modern times. . . If we are ever going to get unemployment insurance, it will not be with the help of the A. F. of L. but in spite of its procrastination," adds the veteran machinists' secretary. "I recall that when compensation and liability laws were in the making, the A. F. of L. would not budge until forced to do so by popular demand," he states. "And what is the result? Well, we have 48 different varieties of compensation and liability laws, which could have been avoided if the A. F. of L. had taken the lead and prepared a standard form of compensation and liability bill as a guide for legislation in all the states.

Charges Quibbling
"Then history repeated itself in the matter of old age pensions. Again, the American Federation quibbled over their social justice legislative policy until forced to accept the principle of old age pensions.

"At the Los Angeles convention the executive council of the A. F. of L. was instructed to draft a model bill for guidance so as to prevent the mistakes in the compensation and liability laws, but up to this writing the council has not carried out said instructions, with the result that 10 states have enacted old age pension laws that are all different—some of them absolutely worthless, so far as granting relief.

"Instead of endorsing the principle of unemployment insurance at the Boston convention and referring the details to the executive council to be worked out in a standard form such as was done with respect to the old age pension question, the whole subject matter was referred to the executive council for study. Well, we know what that means without any further explanation. If we are ever going to get unemployment insurance it will not be with the help of the A. F. of L. but in spite of its procrastination.

"Here we are in an unprecedented period of unemployment and have devised no means except charity for meeting the situation. If the erroneously called 'dole' is so demoralizing, what is to be said of a system that forces a workman to seek relief from private charity?

Denounces Doles
"Thousands of families are suffering the humiliation of having to seek doles from charitable organizations. Community chest committees in every large city are begging the rich to supply additional funds to enable them to meet the demands which they know will be made upon them during the winter. 'Make the workers objects of charity?' What are the soup kitchens, breadlines and flophouses found in every city of the country, if not charity in its most obnoxious and degrading form?

"If unemployment insurance is not fundamentally sound, how does the A. F. of L. propose to meet the unemployment situation? The 5-day week and the 8-hour day will have to be secured through the principle of collective bargaining. It will undoubtedly stabilize employment but there is a differentiation between stabilizing employment and relief for the unemployed; one is a preventative; the other is a relief measure when prevention fails. . .

"The Intl. Assn. of Machinists is not bound by the action of the A. F. of L. because in September, 1928, we endorsed the principle of unemployment insurance and it is our duty to inform ourselves, before state legislatures meet, on the different kinds of unemployment insurance, so that we may properly discuss them when called upon to do so."

Sec. Conlon outlines the state-employer system of insurance contributions approved by the Machinists Atlanta convention but asserts that he now supports a 3-party system, drawing in workers' contribution in order to take away any possible suggestion of charity dole.

Lincoln's Birthday
Feb. 12, 1931
belongs to The New Leader

How to Start the New Year Right

ONLY a few days are left to send that Christmas present to a friend and help The New Leader. Or it may be your New Year's greeting to a friend or relative.

Of course we mean the offer of the deluxe edition of Oneal's "Workers in American History" which you can have with every yearly subscription that you send in. We have never been able to make an offer equal to this in value and we doubt whether we will ever have another one like it.

We have in mind not only the year's subscription but the book itself as a work of the printer's art. This special edition is printed on special paper with wide margins and in a special binding. Only a limited number of copies are available. Moreover, this is the fourth and revised edition of an important history of the American working class. This should be remembered as it contains chapters that previous editions did not contain.

Then remember that the offer is still good after Christmas and the New Year. It will be available till our supply of the books is exhausted. If you then want a copy the regular cloth edition alone will cost you half the price of a yearly subscription to The New Leader.

While we are thinking of it, we wish we could pass on to you many of the complimentary letters received regarding your paper. There are a few "kicks," to be sure, but where has there been a Socialist publication that did not receive them? However, the roses are a shower in comparison with the few bricks that come our way.

Out in the state of Washington a reader thanks us for reminding him that it was time to renew. "The paper is too valuable to miss," he writes, as he sends in his renewal.

South of Washington is California and a brick soars across the Rockies and lands right at our feet. We remove the debris and find a message

to the effect that the reader who hurled it thinks more of prohibition than anything else and to remove his name from the mailing list. Well, that's that.

Up in Rhode Island a reader tosses us a rose and attached to it we find two dollars for the renewal of his sub. We forget the brick and turn to his message. He opines that if his sub has expired the same is almost true of him. He was nearly "done to death by over-prediction of prosperity" and adds: "But I have pawned the silk shirt I bought during the bloody prosperity of 1918 and I am sending you two dollars for another year's subscription."

The man who parts with his shirt rather than The New Leader is the type that has made a Socialist movement possible.

But remember that offer. A few hundred taking advantage of it would also be a welcome Christmas present to The New Leader. Use the coupon below. Fill it out and send in now while the spirit moves.

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Hoover Persists in Concealing Job Data

(Continued from Page One)

employment statistics as Engineer Hoover was in 1921.

The question of unemployment did not receive wide public attention again until 1928, when a recession in business on the eve of a presidential campaign made the whole matter the foot-ball of politics. On March 5 Robert F. Wagner of New York in his maiden speech to the Senate made unemployment a major issue. He offered a resolution which was adopted calling upon the Secretary of Labor to "investigate and compute the extent of unemployment in the United States and make a report thereon to the Senate." He himself estimated the unemployed at 4,000,000. His talk, following as it did Governor "Al" Smith's demand that public works in New York State be hastened in order to relieve the unemployment situation, was considered at the time the opening gun of the 1928 campaign.

Secretary of Labor Davis on March 26 submitted to the Senate a report prepared by Commissioner of Labor Statistics Stewart in which the latter estimated the number of unemployed in January 1928 at 1,874,050. The campaign to confuse persons interested in the jobless problem had begun. Stewart availed himself of the ignorance or carelessness of average persons to supply as unemployment figures the shrinkage in employment from 1925 to January 1928 in manufacturing and rail-roading that had taken place chiefly because of technological changes.

Senator Wagner disputed the official figures. He pointed out that certain factors had been omitted. In a table of his own he tried to show that close to six million were out of work and at best 4,000,000. The Labor Bureau, Inc., a private organization serving trade union and other labor organizations estimated 4,000,000 were unemployed by following a somewhat different procedure from that utilized by Senator Wagner. The Brookline Economic Service, an investors' institution, calculated that 3,653,000 were unemployed in 1921, 1,466,000 in 1927 and 2,632,000 in March 1928. Lewis Corey figured that unemployment in 1927 amounted to 3,500,000. Later Leo Wolman in his contribution to "Recent Economic Changes," published under the auspices of a committee of the President's Conference on Unemployment estimated that there were 4,270,000 unemployed in 1921 and 2,055,000 in 1927.

Statistical Fog
Because all these "scientific" estimates were at the best guess work, far apart from one another, and none receiving much support anywhere, the demand for including a count of the unemployed in the census of 1930 became insistent. Such an enumeration had been made at every census since 1880 but it was easy to omit it from that taken in 1920 because of the then prevailing prosperity. The absence of the 1920 data left the country without urgent statistics in the crash that followed immediately afterwards. The Republican Administration was not anxious to count the jobless and in the House of Representatives the inclusion of the unemployment question in the census was approved by a margin of only one vote.

Once an unemployment census had been taken the next task was

to delay the publication of the results. Pressed for information Secretary of Commerce Lamont finally consented to make known little by little the number of persons usually gainfully employed who were without jobs. As we pointed out in the New Leader of December 9 it would have been just as simple first to have announced the number of persons without work irrespective of whether they had jobs or not. The expedient was invented of classifying the unemployed into seven classes.

Half-Truths and Untruths
The final count for Class A, persons out of a job, able to work, and looking for a job, was made public on August 23—2,508,151. It is this number which the Republicans have tried to make us believe is the true measure of the volume of unemployment. This concealment of the unemployment figures has made the Administration the object of derision. Realizing this, the officials have tried to quiet the discontent by doing two things:

(1) William M. Stewart, Director of the Census, announced on December 1 a cross-section census of the unemployed to begin on January 15. It will be based on returns from twenty-two cities and will include data on those without jobs but willing and able to work and those with jobs and laid off without pay. A promise that two sample census surveys would be made was given by Secretary of Commerce Lamont on April 21 last. He said that one would be held within six months after the April count and another within one year. The half year period elapsed

in October.

(2) The Census Bureau made public on December 13 some preliminary figures for Class B, that is, those having jobs but temporarily laid off without pay. These statistics cover twenty-five states, the District of Columbia, Buffalo, and Rochester. They do not include the more industrial and densely populated states like New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Massachusetts, Michigan and Illinois. The population of the territory covered is 42,853,298. Persons in Class A number 567,540, Class B 188,870, or a total of 756,410. The number of persons in Class A in the regions covered constitute about one-fifth of the 2,508,151 in the country. Adopting the same ratio of one to five for Class B would give us 900,000 in that class for the country. If we allow for the greater amount of temporary unemployment in the industrial states the total would be 1,000,000, giving us a total in the United States for both Class A and Class B of at least 3,500,000.

Meanwhile, private estimates of unemployment are as high as six and seven million. The frantic efforts of Hoover and his experts to hide the facts are evidence enough that they know that unemployment has become a problem of far more serious proportions than we can learn from official pronouncements. Timid governmental programs of relief can only flourish in an atmosphere of half-truths and untruths.

Lincoln's Birthday
Feb. 12, 1931
belongs to The New Leader

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

FREE YOUTH
7 East 15th St.
New York City

(The New Leader regrets that although promised a story on the New York Ypsel convention none has been received before going to press.—Editor of The New Leader.)

New Year's Eve Dance
The Yipsels of Williamsburg and the Socialist Sunday School will hold a New Year's Eve Dance and Cabaret at the Rand School Auditorium, 7 East 15th St., New York City. Make your reservations now. Tickets in advance \$1.00, at the door \$1.25.

NATIONAL NOIES
The National Office of the Yipsels has been established at 628 Walnut Street, Reading, Pa., from where Emanuel Switkes, National Secretary, is now working. Circles are requested to keep in touch with the National Secretary.

In the last few days Comrade Switkes, with the help of the Reading Yipsels, disposed of several hundred copies of the "Unemployed" magazine by selling them at a football game, in street cars, and in front of factory gates.

Philadelphia—The Yipsels of Philadelphia have three senior and six junior circles. One senior group joined the Party in a body. The National Secretary spoke to the members of Philadelphia at a meeting Dec. 18.

Cleveland—Bob Parker, Yipsel secretary sends in a request for music to Socialist songs particularly, to "I'm Labor."

Wilmington—The Juniors have gotten a group of "old-timers" together and some new members into a party branch. The Socialists have been out of the political picture ever since the world war and now the Juniors have shown the way.

Pottstown, Pa.—Emanuel Switkes, National Secretary, has arranged to have Joseph Gorelick, Junior organizer of Philadelphia, go to Pottstown and organize a circle.

New Bedford, Mass.—The Yipsels have received their new membership cards and a bunch of leaflets for distribution. A call has been issued from the National Office for all the Circles to put their unemployed members on the job selling the magazine

"Unemployed." The publication traces the capitalist disease, unemployment, from every angle and contains articles by experts like Norman Thomas, Harry W. Laidler, Heywood Brown and others. The magazine is illustrated with cartoons by Art Young, Flambo and Duffy. Here is a chance for Yipsels to spread propaganda and help our own unemployed. Orders will be received at the National Office, 628 Walnut St., Reading, Pa.

Yipsels, Cleveland Yipsel and a student at Brookwood Labor College, sends in his second application within two weeks. This week it is for Hugh Tally of Springfield, Ill., a miner.

CIRCLING THE CIRCLES
Circle 2 Sr. Kings—The circle will meet at 6:30, Dec. 21, instead of the regular hour because the circle will attend in a body the Basket Ball Game and Dance that the Brownsville Labor Lyceum has arranged. The Juniors will meet at 5 p.m. All Yipsels are urged to attend the affair. Murry Baron will address the circle on "The Political Situation in Europe."

Bronx Boro Circles—Leonard Bright of the C.P.A. will address Circle 1 Sr. Sunday, Dec. 21, at 4 p.m. on the "American Labor Movement."

Next week the "Life" meets every Sunday evening, at 615 East 140th St., will hear a lecture by Morris Cohen on "Fascism."

Circle 1 Jr. Kings—At the last meeting, Sunday, Dec. 14, the circle adopted the following:

(1) A constitution; (2) The changing of the meeting night from Saturday to Sunday at 7:45 P.M.; (3) A date was set for a debate on "Should Yipsels Support Organized Charity Within or Without the Socialist Rank?" This shall take place

on Jan. 3; (4) A theater party was planned for Dec. 27; Sunday, Dec. 21, Fanny Adlerstein will give a synopsis of the book "The Parable of the Water Tank."

Circle 3 Sr. Man.—The newly organized Circle holds its meetings Sunday nights at 132 Second Ave. At the last meeting Henry Rosner spoke to the group on "Unemployment."

Circle 9 Sr. Kings—The circle held a joint meeting with the Socialist Party branches of the district at which Mrs. Kingsberg of Australia spoke.

The literature committee, organized after the last campaign, goes into effect this week. A mass distribution of literature will be held this Sunday morning.

Boro Park—All those who live in the vicinity of the Boro Park Lyceum and interested in helping organize another Yipsel circle are requested to get in touch with Jack Gross, 5124 Port Hamilton Parkway, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Pa. Labor Urges Job Insurance On Legislature

Pinchot's Promise to be Tested—Hosiery Union Backs Proposal

HARRISBURG, Pa. — (FP) — Old age pensions and the abolition of the coal and iron police are headlines in the program of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, to be submitted to the 1931 legislature. Both have the approval of Governor-elect Pinchot. The program was adopted at a legislative conference of 85 trade unionists, meeting at federation headquarters in the state capitol.

Unemployment insurance is another endorsed by the federation, but the main fight in the social insurance program next year will be for a valid old age pensions system. Other points in labor's legislative program are: Restriction of the injunction process, abolition of the yellow dog contract, licensing of barbers and stationary engineers, the 8-hour day for fire fighters and double compensation for children injured in illegal occupations.

PHILADELPHIA — (FP) — Delegates of the Hosiery Workers Federation who attended the unemployment conference of the Academy of Political and Social Science at Philadelphia went away convinced that speakers had proved to the hilt the correctness of labor's view that energetic steps must be taken to raise wages and shorten the working week. The unionists demanded that the "vast financial reserves of the nation be tapped at once to provide relief for the multitude of needy, jobless victims of the 'prosperity era.' Labor should demand that all quibbling cease about the urgency of this need and all futile political gestures to cover up the hideous state of affairs generally prevalent should be denounced as dangerous impediments in the path of economic recovery."

The delegates were convinced of the need for a well planned drive for unemployment insurance, old age pensions, mother's pensions and other social insurance features. The need for unemployment insurance is predominant, they felt, after listening to speakers advocate the plan at the academy sessions.

"It is evident that a campaign for unemployment insurance will meet with a totally different response at this time than ever before," the unionists declared. "If such a campaign did nothing else, it would scare some employers into finding ways and means of stabilizing their industries. But in the long run no general measure of national stability can be secured until some kind of compulsory scheme of job insurance is put into effect to cover the bulk of wage earners."

Vladeck at Harlem Church
B. C. Vladeck, manager of the Jewish Daily Forward, will speak at the Forum of the Hubert Harrison Memorial Church, 149 W. 136th Street at 8:30 Sunday Night, 28th instant, on "Racial Relations in the United States."

Ethelred Brown, who is the pastor of this church, invites New Leader readers to come up to Harlem on this occasion to hear Comrade Vladeck and also to see his liberal group at work.

Harlem-Morningside Theatre Party Joins With Forward Benefit

A theatre party to aid the unemployed has been organized by the Jewish Daily Forward. It will be held this Sunday evening, Dec. 21st, at the Liberty Theatre. The theatre party planned by the Harlem-Morningside Socialist League at the Ambassador Theatre has been called off and the league is cooperating with the Forward on its benefit performance. Among the many stars who will appear at the Liberty will be Willie and Eugene Floward, Bill Robinson, Borra Minicvitch and his Gang, Josef Rosenblatt, Weber and Fields and many other favorites.

ALL-WORLD GANDHI
The all-world Gandhi Fellowship is carrying on a campaign for membership among those who favor non-violence and the promotion of world peace. Among the vice-presidents of the Fellowship are the following: John Haynes Holmes, Dr. Sherwood Eddy, Rabbi William H. Fineschreiber and Will Durant.

Bronx Free Fellowship
Rabbi Mayer Kopstein will speak on "Jesus the Jew" and Rev. Leon Rosser Land will speak on "Jesus the Humanitarian" Sunday evening, December 21st, 8 o'clock, at the Bronx Free Fellowship, Azure Masonic Temple, 1591 Boston Road, near E. 172nd Street. These addresses will be followed by discussions from the audience.

YIPSELS HELP LAUNDRY WORKERS
The New York Yipsels have been requested to help in the distribution of literature among the Laundry Workers by the Women's Trade Union League. Yipsels have been assigned to various sections of the city to hand out these leaflets calling upon the laundry workers to organize.

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WEVD

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SUNDAY, DECEMBER 21
11:45—Friedhofer's Home Beautiful
12:00—Stillwagon Melodies
12:15—B. & B. Collegians
12:30—Dr. Lunenfeld—Talk
12:45—Schneider's Travelers
2:00—Rappoport, Jap and Lac
2:15—Studio Program
2:30—Dunham's Live Wires
3:00—Gross Musical Gems
3:15—Parkville Collegians
3:45—Debs Duo
4:00—Rev. Thomas H. Whelpley, "The Social Gospel"
4:15—Bessie Martin, Soprano
4:30—Jewish Hour
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 22
9:15—Shellas and Chesnut
9:30—Suzanne Style Review
9:45—Natural Bridge—Arch Program
2:00—Isabel Stone, Singing Poet
2:15—Dudley Howell, Baritone
2:30—Ostra Ostra, Songs
2:45—Mrs. Fashion Gossip, "Tea Time Topics"
3:00—Chasida Kadie, Soprano
3:15—"One Touch of Nature," Drama
3:45—Charles Howe, Soprano
4:00—Martha Gross, Soprano
8:00—Hovey-Mason Trio
8:15—Henry Jager, "Now Listen"
8:30—Billy Brook's Orchestra
9:00—Music Masters
9:15—Parkville Collegians
9:30—League for Independent Political Action
9:45—George Smith and Hilda Lohrand, Entertainers
10:00—Harry Roberts' College Club Orchestra
10:30—Breakfast Club Orchestra
10:45—Orchestra
WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 23
9:15—Shellas and Chesnut
9:30—Rappoport and Eller
9:45—Natural Bridge—Arch Program
12:00—Lunch for Two
1:00—Dr. B. Lunenfeld, Talk
1:15—Elizabeth Husted, Contralto
1:30—Lenore Adler, Contralto
1:45—Women's Peace Union
2:00—Charles Howe, Flute
2:15—Dan Roth, Baritone
2:30—Billie Palmer, Songs
2:45—Theodore Whitman, Violin
3:15—Alan Bross, Baritone
3:30—Laura Lake, Pianist
3:45—Rev. L. E. Christian, "World Brotherhood"
4:00—Katherine Kraus, Xmas Carols
4:15—The Theatre
4:30—Ethel Lebos, Soprano
4:45—Lucy Marsh, "The Dance"
5:00—P. & B. League
5:15—Polka
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 24—XMAS
9:15—Shellas and Chesnut
9:30—Suzanne Style Review
9:45—Natural Bridge—Arch Program
3:00—Loretta Vayns, Soprano
3:15—Michael Aiken, Tenor
3:30—Chasida Kadie to Intelligent Women
3:45—Harold Kurts, Baritone
4:00—Jack Shulman, Violinist; Harry R. Sennett, Pianist
4:15—Mildred Goldwasser, Soprano
4:45—Rev. John Howard Melish, "Xmas Message"
5:00—School Hour
8:00—The "Variety"
8:15—William Karlin, "Current Topics"
8:30—Vera Muller, Soprano; Dudley Howell, Baritone
8:45—Rev. Ethelred Brown, "Peace on Earth"
9:00—Silverstone Orchestra
11:00—Jamaica Royalists
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 25
8:30—Morning Melodies
8:45—Book of Sunshine
9:00—Popular Bits
9:15—Shellas and Chesnut
9:30—Rappoport and Eller
9:45—Natural Bridge—Arch Program
10:15—Studio Music
10:30—Ann C. Beybrook, Astrologer
11:00—"Rocks," A Drama
11:15—Sol Stern, Songs
11:30—Pete Corner
11:45—Maye Kaye, Songs
4:00—Ben Friedman and Jack Brook, Songs and Piano
4:30—Hazel Allen, Songs
5:00—The Pitt School of Trade—Sonia Claus
5:15—Freedom Serenaders
6:00—Weather Reports
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 26
12:30—Grace Gilder Clarke, Lyric Soprano
1:00—Uncle Arthur and His Nieces
2:00—Hosanna's Musical
2:15—Samuel Deutsch, "Pittalis"
2:30—The Pitt School of Music
2:45—Sol Stern, Songs
3:00—Milton Bramin, Y. P. S. L.
3:15—Michael Aiken, Tenor
3:30—Judson and Turturo, Sing Duo
3:45—Pascuala Neapolitano, Songs
4:00—Abramson, Contralto
4:15—Charles Hovey, Flute
4:30—Winifred Franklyn, "Haiti's Future"
5:00—Allan Bross, "The Tale of the Sirens"
5:15—Neil Laughton, Novelty Musician
5:30—Uncle Kirk, Children's Hour
6:00—The Pitt School of Music
7:15—James McDonough, Baritone

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MORRIS HILLQUIT HARRY W. LAIDLER
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Tickets: 50c. \$1.00, \$1.50, \$2.00, \$2.50. Advance reservations in advance. Student Members 50c. League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th Street, New York City

THE COMMUNITY FORUM

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 21
8 P. M.—SEUMAS MACMANUS, Author and Lecturer
"TALES OF IRISH FOLK LORE," an Address in the Christmas Spirit.
11 A. M.—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
"If Christians were Christians"
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Humanism vs. Humanitarianism
Sunday evening, Dec. 21st
PROFESSOR MORTIMER J. ADLER
The Third Triviality: Logic
Tuesday evening, Dec. 23rd
No Meeting
At Muhlenberg Library
209 W. 23rd Street
at 8:30 o'clock
Monday evening, Dec. 22nd
DR. MARK VAN DOREN
William Butler Yeats
Wednesday evening, Dec. 24th
No Meeting
Thursday evening, Dec. 25th
No Meeting
Saturday evening, Dec. 27th
DR. LOUIS GRUBIN
The Language of Aesthetics: Lingual Solutions of Aesthetic Problems
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"Jesus the Jew"—Rabbi Mayer Kopstein.
"Jesus the Humanitarian"—Rev. Leon Rosser Land.
MUSIC—Yuletide and Xmas Carols

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LABOR TEMPLE

Unemployment and the Need for Social Change

Clear-Cut Understanding of Cause of Joblessness Must Be Followed
By Radical Reconstruction

By Charles Solomon

It is estimated there are approximately 6,000,000 unemployed in this country. President Green, of the American Federation of Labor, states that at the present rate of increase there will be 7,000,000 jobless by February.

This unemployment is involuntary. It is a product of our machine age. In agricultural, pioneer America, there was no unemployment as we know it today. It used to be said the man out of work was lazy and wouldn't take a job if it were offered to him. You don't hear that any more.

The other day our labor department announced a drop of 3 per cent in employment in this state, based upon statistics presented by 1,700 factories picked to afford a cross section of industry. The figures are for the month of November, characterized by the Department, as ordinarily a good month. Employment in our own state is 80.6 according to the State Labor Department, or about twenty per cent below normal. This means that twenty out of every 100 factory workers are unemployed. These figures do not take into account all the conditions prevailing in agricultural, commercial, and other fields of economic activity.

This condition is not confined to our own country. The problem is worldwide and we shall have something to say about that before we are through. It is estimated there are between 12 and 15 million out of work in the leading so-called civilized nations of the world. Over 3,000,000 in England; over 3,000,000 in Germany; over half a million in Italy; over 400,000 in Japan. And the numbers keep mounting.

Even in so-called normal times, students of the problem tell us about 7 per cent of our 30 million wage earners are idle. This means about 2,100,000. The N. Y. C. police department, a few days ago, announced over 52,000 heads of native New York families to be in actual need in this city. You will observe that the figures refer only to native New York families, and at that the estimate is obviously far below the mark for not all even of native heads of families have made their plight known to the police. And within these limitations, the police figures on families in distress have been rising at the rate of 1,000 a day. There is something fundamentally wrong when a thing like this can happen.

The first thing to do is to understand unemployment, the basic reasons why we have it, for unless we do we shall certainly not be in a position to deal intelligently and effectively with it. Bear in mind, as I have already pointed out, we

have millions of involuntarily idle with us even in so-called good times, the problem becoming aggravated in periods of industrial depression. The current depression is the fourteenth period of hard times since 1885 and President Hoover, addressing the Bankers convention in Cleveland, stated we have had recurrent crises for a hundred years. Surely, we have been forewarned.

We had a major depression in 1920 and two minor ones in 1924 and '27. The one that grips us, and the rest of the world, now is the fourth for us, in 10 years. I repeat, there is something fundamentally wrong with a social organization that keeps breaking down repeatedly, that refuses to function so as to protect millions of able bodied men and women, ready, able and willing to work, from the hazards of unemployment, from starvation and the threat of starvation.

Let me say, parenthetically here, that this scourge affects not alone the manual worker, the mechanic, the worker in agriculture and industry. One of the most striking characteristics of the present depression is the extent to which it has reached out and embraced the so-called white collar worker. Education, skill, yes, membership in the learned professions, is no longer a guarantee of immunity. Our literal and figurative bread lines abound in this class of unfortunate, and our city department of hospitals reports that the number of white collar applicants at charitable and semi-charitable institutions exceeds all previous records. There has been netted in our own city an alarming increase in the number of recent commitments to psychopathic wards, and our prison population increases rapidly.

What is the basic cause of all this? Are breadlines and baskets, relief drives and football games, apple selling, and the like, the answer to this problem? Not that I deprecate relieving the terrific distress caused by unemployment. We shall find that in seeking for the basic reason for involuntary idleness, the plight of the millions of workers, wherever they are, is due to the same ultimate cause. They are out of work, and starving, or facing starvation, not because they will not work, not because there is not enough, but in spite of the fact that they are ready, able and willing, and desperately need to work, and in spite of the fact that there is abundance or the capacity to readily produce abundance, yes, super-abundance.

These millions are out of work

because the owners of the jobs will not give them employment unless it is profitable to do so. The factory doors are closed because the owners cannot run industry and make a profit doing it. And they will remain closed, suffering notwithstanding, until profit making opportunities once more present themselves. In the meantime, let the jobless workers beg, borrow, steal or starve.

Earlier I referred to the presence in Japan of an army of unemployed numbering over 400,000. Less than a century ago, Japan was a feudal nation. There wasn't a factory in the entire land. Then came the Occident, with battleships. The walls of isolation were battered down. The Japanese, having observed the futility of resistance in the case of their Chinese neighbors, accepted the Occident and its ways. They assiduously copied the methods of the West, until today Japan is numbered among the great powers of the world, industrially and commercially.

Capitalism is that social system under which the principal means of life, the physical foundations of society are the private property of owners seeking ever increasing profits, and wherever it establishes itself, there it inevitably produces its characteristic manifestations, including depression and unemployment.

This system is the product of the industrial revolution which separated the worker from the tool, which placed ownership and use in different categories, which produced ever larger economic units and aggregations of wealth growing centralization of ownership and control.

The mechanization of society proceeds with astonishing rapidity. All progress in production and distribution, all elimination of waste and duplication, means making human labor power superfluous—which means, in turn, inevitable permanent unemployment for increasing numbers. Are we to pay this price for progress? Is it really progress when we have to pay this price?

When bread lines lengthen, apple vendors increase, flop houses bulge; when jails and insane asylums are taxed to capacity and more? Is our industrial system our social order, a new Frankenstein, or does it lie within the power intelligent men and women, organized for that purpose, to control this modern monster? To make it serve their purposes, instead of being forced up as sacrifices to it on the altar of private profit?

Unemployment, which has been called by a popular economist, the nemesis of American business, has

several aspects. It is in its immediate causes, seasonal, technological, cyclical. When we say it is cyclical, we mean that it recurs, as ready observed in this talk. When we say it is seasonal, the statement requires no further comment.

But we should pause for a while to consider the technological aspect of the problem for this is most fundamental. By technological unemployment we mean joblessness due to the introduction of labor-saving machinery. To increasing mechanization. This is a fundamental and resistless trend with inevitable consequences. It is this trend plus mergers, consolidations, and stop-watch efficiency, which accounts for the more than two millions out of work in even so-called good times.

We are told that in the automobile industry 30 workers were doing in 1925 as much as 100 workers in 1914, and that even at the present rate of mechanization, in the next 25 years approximately 30 out of every 70 workers will lose their jobs. In four years, oil refineries increased their output 84 per cent; tobacco manufacturing output increased 53 per cent. We can produce 900,000,000 pairs of shoes in one year against a market demand for 300,000,000. And so on down the line, throughout the entire economic life of the nation. Today, due to this mechanization, this technological progress, men lose their jobs by scores of thousands. Tomorrow, it may be by the millions. Who knows?

There is absolutely no excuse for want, for suffering, for uncertainty, for the desperate struggle for existence,—today. In past ages, when men and women hungered, it was because of drought, scarcity,—because there wasn't enough to go around. We can understand that. Want naturally follows scarcity. But who will give an intelligent reason for want in the midst of abundance? Who will not deny that it is inexcusable? That it is evidence of miserable mismanagement of our unprecedented resources.

I am certain that a century hence people will read with incredulity of men and women who tolerated such an arrangement, who tamely submitted to involuntary idleness, to need and starvation in the midst of plenty, and who seemed to be satisfied with breadlines and doles, apple selling, flop houses, and charity in one form or another.

Yes, the more efficient is capitalism, the more we can produce, the more likely we are to have chronic unemployment, aggravated into mammoth proportions, every

several years; the harder we work, the sooner we bring upon ourselves joblessness and all its dreadful consequences; the more we produce, the sooner and the longer we are likely to be in desperate need. That's our social system. A system that breaks down every several years, in addition to breeding chronic unemployment; a system that presents for the first time in history, the spectacle of extreme suffering, misery and want, in the face of capacity to produce unprecedented abundance. Why, the other day I read in a metropolitan paper of 22,000,000 sacks of coffee at a South American port and of the suggestion by coffee growers to the government to acquire the stock and destroy a substantial part of it. Our own farmers, have been advised to feed their wheat and corn to the hogs and cattle. What an eloquent commentary on our so-called civilization!

Just picture to yourself the situation: Want, because there is too much; need because there is abundance. Insanity, and nothing less. Emergency activity, be it ever so hectic or well meaning, will not suffice. In fact, in so far as it tends to avoid a basic, a comprehensive and realistic outlook on the problem, it is dangerous. Let us remember that while we are engaging in all this relief work, it

is nothing more, to put it bluntly, than salving sores while the causes that produce them are ignored. Unemployment is not an emergency. You cannot meet the problem, even in its immediate phases, let alone solve it, by the sale of apples, the distribution of doles, or the raising of funds to provide temporary employment for an insignificantly fractional part of the millions of unemployed.

The mere fact that we are so feverishly doing all of these things now is the most conclusive proof that we have failed to frankly face and honestly meet a serious social responsibility. I have said there is something radically wrong with a social system which functions so poorly as does ours, and charity in one form or another, charity, which is always degrading and destructive of self respect cannot serve to conceal this vital fact.

I repeat, that our social system is fundamentally responsible for unemployment under which socially necessary resources and means of wealth production and distribution are privately owned, in which production is carried on for private profits and curtailed and discontinued when there are no longer available, under which production for sale in steadily contracting markets is carried on in a competitive and planless manner. This

means there will be no final solution of the problem until planned cooperative production for use, for the service of humanity, replaces the service of humanity, replaces planless competitive, capitalist competition. Unemployment and bread lines, these are the price we pay for the latter. Is it worth it? Is it necessary?

There is an immediate and practical minimum program. Since unemployment is not an emergency, we must establish stable machinery to cope with the problem, and in the very forefront of this program, next to the stabilization of industry, is social insurance against unemployment. By this we mean the establishment of a fund to provide maintenance for involuntarily jobless workers. The particular form such a system of social insurance is to take, I haven't the time to discuss. It is the principle I urge. The details will come later. Such a fund, however, could be raised by contributions from employers, workers and government. Social insurance systems are in vogue in the leading European countries. Compulsory unemployment insurance systems exist in ten, and state aid to insurance funds is given in seven others. Forty-five million workers are covered by compulsory insurance systems. Opponents refer to social insurance

against unemployment as the dole. Clearly, it is nothing of the kind. Bread lines, baskets of food, relief funds and incidental emergency jobs, all these are the dole in one form or another. All charity is in the last analysis the dole. Bear in mind, the idea of insurance is nothing new. We have fire, life, disability and workmen's compensation insurance. Why not insurance against unemployment and why shouldn't the burden be borne primarily by industry and the state? There are reserves for dividends, depreciation, and other contingencies, but none for the involuntarily unemployed worker. Nowhere in European countries, where unemployment insurance prevails, do even the conservative advocates repeal. We are told the world will spend this year on maintaining its current naval and military establishments about five billions of dollars, getting ready for the next war. Let's turn this money into the coffers of society to wage war on unemployment.

With social insurance go free job agencies. Articulated with any social insurance scheme we are to establish must go a coordinated system of public job bureaus, equipped to gather readily available statistical information, and bring the worker, as much as possible, in contact with the job. The work day must be reduced in keeping with the increasing productivity of machinery and labor. The

(Continued on Page Five)

Negroes Political Policies

By Frank R. Crosswaith

Is the New Political Allegiance
A Change for the Better

SO many differing views, interpretations and deductions have been offered concerning the last elections, that at this late day it seems somewhat superfluous to venture an additional opinion on the subject. However, there are some things in the interest of accuracy which ought to be said.

All who have spoken on the subject thus far, are agreed that the Negro voter shattered traditional chains when he embarked upon a policy of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies," and in some instances actually elected to office friendly Democrats instead of iniquitous Republicans. In a measure this is a sign of progress; and as such should be welcomed by all who have grown sick and tired of being reminded that "every Negro is a Republican," actual or potential.

As one of the 12,000,000 negroes domiciled in the United States, I have never failed to evidence cha-

grin whenever that statement was uttered in my presence. On occasions, I have been unable even to conceal my anger. For to me it appears as indicative of utter bankruptcy in political argumentation when a man or party offers as an argument some ancient deed of a forgotten day by an unforgettable figure, in order to win votes. An even lower grade of mentality is disclosed by voters who respond favorably to such an appeal. Therefore from this angle, the new tactics of the Negro electorate in "rewarding friends and punishing enemies" represents a sign of progress.

Negroes for Heflin?

However, progress is not necessarily measured by signs. Progress connotes forward action, a definite gain. This is not in evidence as a result of the Negroes' change of front in the recent elections; unless it is assumed that, to be sentenced to prison by Negro judges instead of white ones, represents a gain. Frankly, I am unable to share the jubulations of those who recognize an advantage to the Negro tenant and worker—who after all are the ones that will be affected—in being sentenced by one of his own kin. If there were any fundamental advantages to be derived by offenders from the color of judges who sentenced them, then the jails of the land would be practically empty, or filled only with Negroes. It would, however, be a decided but limited advantage to the Negro tenant and worker if the Judge, white or black, possessed a definite, clear-cut point of view in favor of the interests of tenants and workers.

To shape our political course on the nebulous sea of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies" shows our failure to understand the close relationship existing between politics and economics. And if persisted in, such a course will lead to gross contradictions, and finally we will defeat the very ends we seek. The example of the American Federation, which also engages in the meaningless prac-

tice of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies" is a notable case in point. In no other country in the civilized world is the voice of organized labor so brazenly ignored and labor's legitimate demands so pompously rejected, as in the United States.

Then, too, it is impossible to formulate any sound, general rule that will apply effectively in the premises, unless the economics of the situation is given major consideration. For instance, there is nothing to prevent a friend of the Negro being a closer friend to a foe of the Negro. Thus, if friendship is the important factor, then the degree of such friendship is even more important. Consequently, when the Negro voter elects to office "a friend" who is a closer friend to his foe, the result is that the Negro has done nothing more than strengthen the hand of his foe, while attempting to reward a friend. If the Parker incident is used as a criterion of friendship to guide us in our new political venture, then the voice of logic and consistency cries out to the Negro to support Tom Heflin of Alabama.

Economics and Politics

Economic interest is generally recognized as the mother of political parties and alignments. To the Negro, a recognition of his economic and class interests offers the safest guide to his political activities. This is the guiding principle in politics for the exploiters of both black and white labor. The Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act definitely marked the final closing of the gap that separated the economic interest of the agrarian South from that of the industrial North. Shortly after the passage of the Act, the late President Harding delivered in Birmingham, Alabama, an address, in which he virtually advised Negroes to vote a Democratic ticket. The President knew that it mattered little which ever ticket the Negro voted, since both parties represent the financial and economic interest of the united, rich exploiters of black and white labor.

The absence of any real difference between the two old parties is made still clearer by the following facts. The present senior Democratic Senator from New York, Royal S. Copeland, was once the elected Republican Mayor of New York, Michigan. No one has yet been able to discover what articles of faith the Senator had to discard in order to accomplish the change. In 1929, the Senate Lobby Investigating Committee made public some correspondence which had passed between prominent Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans to "blacken the Democratic Party" by electing to office Negroes on the Democratic ticket "in St. Louis, Chicago, Harlem and other so-called colored districts."

When the situation in Harlem is studied, one gets a clear-cut view of the weakness of the new tactics of the Negro. In the 21st Congressional district, one Negro and two whites were the opposing candidates. The Negro had the endorsement of independent white organizations headed by such men as Professors John Dewey, Alexander Meiklejohn, LeRoy Bowman and others; yet not a single Negro journal in the community said a word in the interest of the candidacy of the Negro, who campaigned upon the issues of social and economic justice for the Negro masses and for all workers. The white candidate who spent the most money had the support of the "race leaders" and was elected. However, because of the pressure of the lone Negro Socialist campaign and the interest manifested in it by the common people, both opposing candidates on the eve of election promised that in the future both will work within their party ranks in the interest of a Negro candidate for Congress. This victory was won practically single-handed by a lone Negro Socialist backed by the Socialist Party, and is an indication of what can be accomplished when the Negro voter decides to float down the river of political impotency no longer, but instead to set his course in relation to the vital economic and social problems affecting him as a worker.

Socialist Vienna Guards Its Youth

Child Welfare Work Reveals the New City

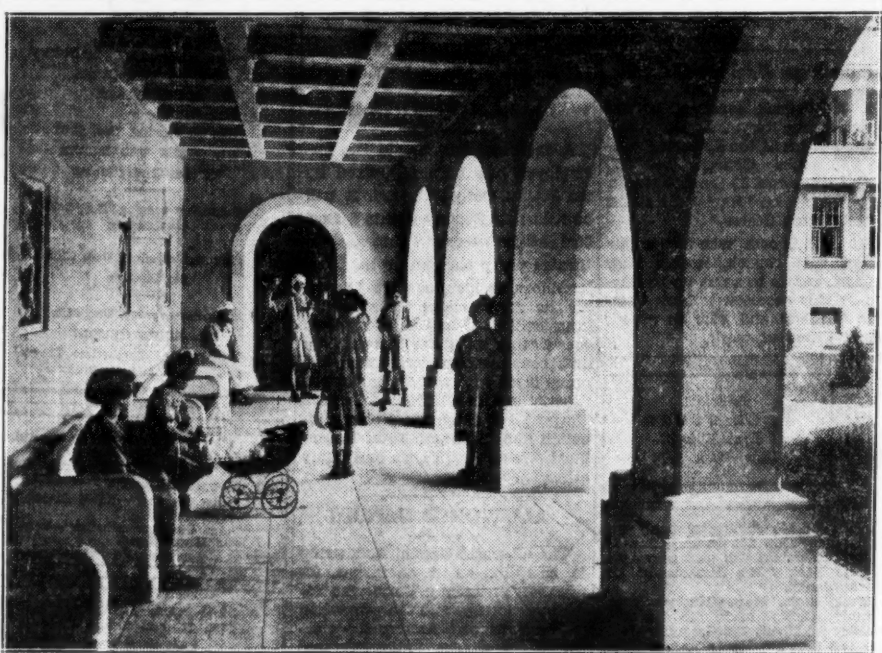
This is the last of a series of three articles giving impressions gained in Austria last year.

By Harry W. Laidler

EVERY student of Vienna will tell you that you know little of the transformation that is going on in that city unless you have studied its child welfare work and its educational and recreational activities. And there is no little truth in that statement. The second morning after we arrived in Vienna we motored to some of its children and recreational institutions. The first of these was the municipal bath. Last year I had visited the beautiful indoor bath built at a cost of many hundreds of thousands of dollars—a bath as well equipped as any bath I have ever seen. This year we were taken to one of the numerous outdoor baths found in various parts of the city—the largest of them all, the Congress bath. Here was a huge pool nearly four hundred feet long, accommodating thousands of bathers, with wide spaces for sun baths, games and picnic lunches. It was open from 9 A. M. until 10 P. M., with entrance cost but a few cents apiece. Some days as many as 18,000 bathers took advantage of this refreshing luxury.

From the bath we went to one of the day nurseries, a building of spaciousness and beauty. Here were children who came from homes where the mothers were at work or where home conditions were bad. Children arrived in the morning and were cared for until 6 o'clock in the evening. When we reached the nursery, groups of workers' children were sitting down at attractive little tables and drinking cocoa from attractive yellow cups. Play followed, a lunch at noon, sleep, playing in the open and cakes in the afternoon.

There were here seven groups of 30 boys and girls each, each with individual dining room, play rooms, etc. Their parents paid for this care about 50 cents a week, if able so to do, although about one half of the children were admitted free of charge. Incidentally the children were taught rules of hygiene and received baths and clean clothes every day. Each had



A corner of one of the children's health sanitariums in Socialist Vienna.

his individual tooth brushes and towels and cups, with distinguishing marks of bears and dogs and other designs on these belongings to prevent confusion. Visitors had to put on felt slippers in going around the immaculate rooms and halls to prevent the introduction of any dirt. The motto greeting one at the door read: "The impressions of beauty and of friendship received in childhood can never be obliterated" and the whole aim of this and similar institutions was to surround the child with a friendly and a beautiful atmosphere. It would be difficult to find a nursery in America or anywhere in Europe to compare with the public nurseries in Vienna in scientific care and in general attractiveness. A feature of the nursery was a group of most fascinating murals painted by students of from 12 to 14 years of age who had specialized in art.

A day or so later we visited another unique institution which sought to place in proper homes children under 14 years of age whose parents, as a result of drink, or other defects, were unable to give them proper care. This center would take charge of the boy and girl for from one to

three weeks, examine their health and mentality, and give advice as to where they should be sent—to a private family, to a home, etc. The combination of science and humanity shown in the disposal of these little charges was again most impressive.

As a result of this child care, rickets have practically disappeared from Vienna. I remember vividly the hundreds of children in the hospitals of Vienna suffering from rickets at the time of my visit in 1921. Tuberculosis among children has likewise been greatly reduced and, of course, infant mortality.

Reform in Education

The Socialist administration in Vienna has also paid great attention to education. Dr. Fadrus, Director of the School Reform Department of the Ministry of Education and Director of the Pedagogical Institute there, discussed the question of the newer education with the group.

The school reform movement in Austria, declared Dr. Fadrus, began with the Austrian upheaval. Under the monarchy Austria had a dualistic school structure. In old Austria, the children of the upper and lower classes were together for the first five years. The sons of the privileged were then sent

to high school and thence to the university, while those of the working classes were trained for so-called practical life. Seven per cent of the boys of 10 years of age went to the secondary schools, while 93 per cent, studied in the higher classes of the primary school. Of the 7 per cent, going to the high school, only 2 per cent, finished, ready for college. The very gifted students of the working class in the primary school never had a chance to go to the higher educational institutions. Further, most of the students at the age of 10 had to choose between some six courses leading to various professions. This dualistic system has now been abolished. All have at present the same instruction until 14 years of age, when the decision comes as to whether the child shall go to the higher classes in primary school or to the higher institution.

The more gifted are also given an opportunity to advance through training in one group, while the slower are placed in another group. However, the same instructor is placed in charge of the brighter and the more backward students and there is constant interchange of students from one class to the

School Reform Dates With the 1918 Revolution

other. The gifted, likewise, if interested in a particular branch of learning, are able to take additional courses in such branches. Workers' extension schools have also been organized.

The city of Vienna assists the gifted by giving to every such student who wants to "carry on" some 320 schillings (or \$45) a year to help him in high school and 420 schillings a year if he is a student in the university. It has also built for them a number of student hotels, where they may secure rooms for 15 schillings, or about \$2, a month. If poor, the students can obtain further reductions.

The State has likewise taken over for boarding schools the military training schools of the old regime. These are wonderfully equipped for class rooms, swimming, riding, etc. There are 4 of such schools for boys and 2 for girls.

The new system, Dr. Fadrus declared, has in mind education for a democracy, the best possible training for professional life, and the development of the personality and of the highest faculties of each student.

"The system carries with it in the nature of the case the project and the discussion method. Pupils are put into the midst of life and learn through being given practical tasks to perform. We are also striving to convert our schools from egotistic schools to fellow-schools, and to inspire each individual to work for the common good.

"Finally, we are striving to give additional training to the teaching force to see to it that future teachers secure a university course. We have founded for the present day teachers a Pedagogical Institute, at which some 130 lecturers give courses or individual lectures."

Thus Vienna—despite untold obstacles—is doing what it can as a municipality to further the physical, the mental and the cultural life of its inhabitants. Socialists in Vienna realize that, as controllers of the city merely, they cannot abolish poverty and exploitation, but, with the powers they have, they have created a New Vienna, many of the features of which are the envy of the world.

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

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So This Is The Limit

WELL, boys and girls, we've reached the limit. Not exactly as you thought. I'm not talking about the capitalist system. Not just now. I seem to have mentioned it somewhere in this column at some other time. I'm talking about the limit of creation. For at the California Institute of Technology towards which Professor Einstein is now headed, they are fusing around with the Rayton and for telescopes which is the highest speed lens ever and which enables Dr. Edwin Hubble and Milton L. Humason to figure out that the limits of creation are 10,000,000, followed by 27 more ciphers, light years from the earth.

When you remember, as of course you all do, that a light year is the distance light travels in a year at the rate of 186,000 miles per second, you begin to realize what a whole of a creation we live in. Stick out your chest, strut a bit. Who can have an inferiority complex when he or she remembers that he or she is part of the best and biggest creation that has ever been created? Are you low in your mind? Has this depression got you? Stop your scowling. Look up, not down, look forward, not backward. Give three cheers for good, old creation!

Oh, the light years are bright years,
And the best of them's ahead.
There's an Einstein on the ocean,
And soon we'll all be dead.

We dedicate the above to the Joy Boys who are so busy telling us that this is not a permanent wave of depression. Just an economic finger curl. And that if we all get together and smile, smile, smile, things will pick up instantly.

I tried this out the other day on a bird who wanted to know where ten bucks was that I have owed him since last August. I just stood around smiling at him and pretty soon he got sore and said: "Gosh darn it, if you don't wipe that silly smile off your face, I'll do it for you." So it was quite a fight. He hit at me and I hit at him and at the end I was forced to kick his crutches right out from under him.

And break all his pencils, too.

Einstein is on his way to the Pacific Coast and we envy you folks out that way because the very presence of this rare soul in a community somehow gives to its more sensitive members a spiritual uplift. What joy to turn from a world of greed, bewildered, baffled men to the contemplation of integrity fused with a titan intelligence and with a deep sympathy for the lot of the common man. These two simple persons, the scientist and his charming wife, have given us Eastern "sophisticates" a hint of what the good life of the creative spirit might well be.

When we saw this heading on an advertisement in a recent "New York Times"—"The True Story of the Fish That Walked on Land"—we thought at first that this was about our old college friend Ham Fish. But the hero of this advertisement seems to be a kind of Art Young's Poor Fish, that magnificent creation who goes around in Art's drawings saying, "This is the best of all possible worlds."

"Tell me a fairy story," the child says. "That's the way the ad begins. And that child is certainly told a fairy story all right. For the ad, of course, is for our favorite magazine, "True Story" and is devoted to a description of the evolution of the modern business man. About "the brain, in fact, that has come all the way up from the backbone of the fish until it has settled above the eyebrows of the man."

It will come as quite a shock to most of the business men we've met to learn that they are descended from fish who decided to walk on the land. But modern advertising is nothing if not educational and we just ran into a prominent pickle and feather duster man from Houston street feeling above his eyebrows in a tentative sort of manner.

The trouble with the fairy story is that the teller neglected to inform his child listeners that evolution may sometimes develop a reverse English and that of late there has been an enormous slipping of our leading brains so that instead of having their brains above their eyebrows, most of our Fat Boys seem to be sitting on them all over again.

This column is sure getting scientific. Suppose we turn for a moment from the dizzy heights of science to literature. Following the example of other highbrows hereabouts, we have gone into a huddle with Jack Altman of the Rand School Bookstore and come out with a list of books that we can conscientiously recommend for interesting holiday reading and giving.

Here is the list, boys and girls, all of the books are on sale at the Rand School Bookstore, at 7 East Fifteenth street, New York City; if you live out of town they can be mailed to you in time for the coming holidays.

"Success," by Lion Feuchtwanger. \$3. From all we hear from those who ought to know, a most stirring novel of post-war Europe.

"Main Currents in American Thought," Volume Three, by Vernon L. Parrington. \$4. Another masterpiece in a series of surveys of American thought by one of America's real thinkers.

"American Leviathan," by Charles and William Beard. \$5. A comprehensive if somewhat uncritical description of how the wheels of government go around and what makes them go. A grand gift to anyone interested in the functioning of the capitalist regime in the political field.

"Soviet Russia, A Living Record and a History," by William H. Chamberlin. \$5. One of the best recent books on this highly controversial subject.

"Five Year Plan," by Grinko. \$2.00. A minute and painstaking description of planned production at work in Russia.

"This Land of Liberty," by Ernest S. Bates. \$3.00. The complete story of what the Fat Boys have done to our so-called "Civil Liberties" (laughter).

"The Third Degree," by E. H. Levine. \$2.00. Or what the cops do to poor people when they get them behind the station-house doors.

"Some Folks Won't Work," by Clinch Calkins. \$1.50. A crushing retort to this cliché of the smug which we hear so often these days.

Then of course with Sinclair Lewis, so much in the news, you and your friends will want to read over again "Babbitt" and "Arrowsmith" his two best novels, and you can have either one in a seventy-five cent edition. The beautiful two-volume edition of "Boston," by Upton Sinclair is on sale for two dollars and his novel, "Oil!" will set you back only seventy-five cents.

There's a bargain in Shaw's "Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism" in the original American edition for \$2.50 and it wouldn't break the heart of this here writing pen if you gave or got, "Eugene V. Debs. Man Unafraid," by—

McAlister Coleman.

From Our Foreign Correspondent

After the Austrian Election

By Benedikt Kautsky

VIENNA, Nov. 29.

THE Austrian election of Nov. 29 was of decisive importance for the political policy of the next few years. Characteristic of the situation obtaining in Austria in the recent past was the fact that it was frequently thought there wouldn't be any election at all. It was the obvious intent of the government headed by Karl Vaugoin, and particularly of the two Heimwehr members of that government, Minister of the Interior Starhemberg and Minister of Justice Hueber, to provoke the workers to violence in order to find an excuse to set up a dictatorship and abolish Parliament.

It required admirable patience on the part of the working masses to endure all this provocation without losing control of themselves. Not only Socialist papers, but also opposition bourgeois sheets, were confiscated so often that hardly a day passed without one being seized. The government sought to intimidate the railroad men by putting Dr. Strafella, whose libel suit against the Arbeiter-Zeitung was the cause of the last cabinet crisis, on the job as General Director, although the appeal had not yet been acted upon and, therefore, the conclusion of the first judge that Strafella had been mixed up in shady deals still stood.

The worst stunt was put over the last week before election. All over Austria police, gendarmes and soldiers raided the headquarters of the Socialist Party and its allied defense organization, the Republican Defense League, in a search for arms. The result was slight, as the Party had been aware of the government's plan for some weeks. The Party also knew when the raids were to be made, so it was able to warn its organizations against any reckless deeds. Therefore, there were no disturbances anywhere. Seizures of fair-sized batches of weapons were made in

only two places, in Wiener Neustadt and in the Tyrol. But not only had the government known of the existence of these stores of arms for a long time, but it had even cooperated in establishing them. Because Austria was disarmed by the Treaty of Saint Germain and the carrying out of the disarmament was closely watched by the victorious powers, the Austrian army is not able alone to defend the country against attacks by reactionary neighbor states. Consequently, on two occasions, once when Hungarian bands threatened to invade the country and once when Mussolini made a threatening speech, the bourgeois government considered it timely to prepare stores of arms with which the populace could be equipped quickly in case of such attacks. These arms, which had been distributed by bourgeois governments themselves and stored up under their control, now were "confiscated."

These raids for arms were especially provocative, because every child in Austria knows that the Heimwehr is much more heavily armed than the Defense League and that the former body receives the active support of the government in its military maneuvers. It is characteristic of the situation in Austria that up to a few weeks ago Minister Starhemberg, who ordered the raids for arms and even carried them out illegally without a court order, was under formal charges of smuggling arms. Of course, his colleague, Hueber, kindly quashed this procedure.

That the Heimwehr intends to use these arms, not in defense of democracy, — like the Defense League, but for aggression, is shown by its plans, made just before election, for the overthrowing of the constitution by force and the seizure of power by the Fascist

bands. These plans were brought up by the Socialists in the control committee of the National Assembly, which looks after the rights of Parliament when it is not in session, and some foreign newspapers, especially the German Democratic press, told the world about them. The apprehension felt in domestic and foreign capitalistic circles certainly didn't fail to influence the more reasonable elements in the Austrian government, so these plans were not tried out.

Nevertheless, the situation was highly critical right up to election day. All the signs of nervousness that had manifested themselves the year before in connection with the Heimwehr threats and had caused the collapse of the Boden-Credit Institution, were in evidence again. Savings bank deposits fell off and were transformed into foreign money; foreign creditors hesitated to give credit to Austria or to extend what they already had granted. In short, all the signs of a flight of capital, noted in Germany after the election of Sept. 14, bobbed up in Austria, although at first on a smaller scale.

But they sufficed to reveal the economic dangers of Fascism, even to people otherwise by no means in sympathy with the Social Democracy. And so it happened that our party's agitation was very effective in these circles. This, together with the determination of the workers to ward off all Fascist attacks, created the sentiment which, even before election day, indicated a Socialist victory.

And it was no mistaken feeling. The Social Democracy succeeded in holding practically its vote of 1927, this time 1,516,000, against 1,529,000 then. The loss in votes was almost entirely in districts particularly hard hit by unemployment and emigration. On the other hand there were gains, not only in Vienna, but also in some country

districts; Carinthia, for example. On the whole the Party held its followers in line. Because of the great division in the ranks of its opponents the Social Democracy won an additional seat, so that now it has 72 of the 165 deputies and is the strongest single party. The Christian Social Party, formerly the strongest, suffered a deserved and anticipated defeat. This party, which during the last few years constantly played a double role, insisting upon its faith in democracy while flirting with Fascism, lost heavily in power and prestige.

It is difficult to make comparisons with the previous election, because then the Clericals were in coalition with the Pan-Germans, who this time, under the leadership of Dr. Schober, combined with the Agrarians. Compared with its vote in 1923, the Christian Social Party lost 180,000 votes and 10 deputies, while the Socialists gained 200,000 votes and four seats. This time the Clericals polled 1,309,000 votes and won 66 seats.

Dr. Schober didn't do as well as he and many others expected. His national economic block received 426,000 votes and elected 19 deputies, two fewer than the Agrarians and Pan Germans had in the old Parliament, although it must be remembered that during the last few years the Pan-Germans received undue preference because of their alliance with the Clericals. It happened, however, that in many parts of Austria the Heimwehr was able materially to weaken the Agrarians. The Heimwehr itself polled 228,000 votes and won eight seats. This shows that it only has a tiny fraction of the Austrian people behind it and has no right to label itself a popular movement. It is true that the Heimwehr was hurt by the National Socialists

(the Austrian counter-parts of the Hitlerite Fascists in Germany) who polled 120,000 votes, although they won no seats. And finally, as a matter of curiosity, it may be noted that the Communists cast 20,000 votes in all Austria and didn't elect a single deputy.

But, as I foretold in my preceding article, the result of the election in itself has not decided the policy Austria will follow. The Social Democracy has won a moral victory because it succeeded in more than holding its own in the National Assembly, despite all the efforts of its opponents and their resort to all sorts of illegal methods. For the first time since the revolution the Socialists have elected two-thirds of the deputies from Vienna.

But this victory was not sufficient to make it impossible to form a majority without the cooperation of the Social Democracy. The hopes of Seipel and Vaugoin of turning their minority government into a majority one in the new Parliament have gone to smash. The Clericals were so badly beaten that even through an alliance with the Schober block they have only a narrow majority—85 out of 165 deputies—so that the desertion of some individual Fascist in the Christian Social Party to the Heimwehr could put the government in the minority.

(On Nov. 29, the Vaugoin government resigned and on Dec. 3 Dr. Otto Ender, classified as a rather liberal Christian Social Party man, formed a new cabinet, with himself as Chancellor and Dr. Schober as Foreign Minister and Vice-Chancellor. The two Heimwehr Ministers were left outside the new combination, but Vaugoin, a 100-per cent reactionary, was retained as Minister of Defense. When the new National Assembly was organized on Dec. 4, Dr. Matthias Eidersch, a veteran Socialist leader, was elected presiding officer by the votes of the Socialists and the Schoberites.—Editorial Note).

Scanning the New Books

A Reporter Looks at the Chinese Situation

A Defense of Imperialism

By Walter Langsam

MR. ABEND, sole correspondent of the "New York Times" in China, has spent four years living and traveling in many parts of that fascinating land. His observations and experiences during this sojourn have impressed upon him the utter impossibility of an unaided native regeneration, and the absolute necessity of foreign intervention if a racial group numbering one-fourth the world's population is to be saved from itself—or from Communism. So strongly does Mr. Abend feel on this point that he has written a book (Tortured China, Ives Washburn, \$3.00) a book whose "shocking" disclosures, according to the announcement of its publishers, "may cause foreign intervention." Unfortunately, this volume, aside from the fact that it contains a number of contradictions, minor inaccuracies, sentimental attacks on sentimentalism, and rash obiter dicta, also fails to leave any definite impression on the mind of the reader. A careful perusal of the entire work leaves one doubting that the Chinese are incapable of helping themselves, and leaves one feeling that foreign intervention, if not actually futile, would at least be costly and dangerous. Scan, if you will, the following two paragraphs taken from page 102:

If the rest of the world tries to help these people the cry of "imperialistic aggression" will be raised anew, and smoldering anti-foreignism will quickly be fanned into a flame. If the rest of the world continues its "hands-off China" policy the eventual result will probably be bankruptcy or Communism.

And if the rest of the world helps the Chinese people to peace and prosperity, doing away with the wars, famines, pestilences, and drugs, the Chinese people will probably breed so rapidly that they will constitute a menace to the nations that have saved them.

Consider, also, such statements as these, scattered throughout the book: ("If China resisted intervention there would be war, of course." Again, "the costs of such an intervention should, and could easily be borne by China." Further, "then and only then could foreign capital find safe investment in China" and "the lives and money which such an intervention would cost would be only equivalent to paying a premium on a fire insurance policy." The very serious question of international rivalry which might result from a concerted intervention, Mr. Abend dismisses with the following grand slam: "The international jealousies and suspicions could surely be allayed, or else modern statecraft is bankrupt indeed." Oh, that Mr. Abend might undertake to do a little serious historical reading!

There are a number of inconsistent view points and unfair generalizations in the book, too.

The author bitterly complains, in one section, about the activities of German and Russian agents in China and the sale of German and Russian weapons to Chinese war lords, and then calmly demonstrates that England, Japan and the United States are selling even better military equipment to the same principals. Again, in the "sidelights" which he entertainingly relates, to give the reader a conception of Chinese culture, Mr. Abend illustrates Chinese ingratitude for favors rendered by citing a vulgar remark made by a ten-year-old boy behind the back of a fat American missionary lady who has just given him a dime. I doubt whether a Chinese observer in America would have much difficulty in finding a similar "sidelight." Further, the author complains that 41 per cent of China's meagre revenue is being squandered on military purposes, while in the United States, for example, only eight per cent of the national revenue is spent for "army upkeep." Apparently Mr. Abend has forgotten that we here in the states have a navy and an air force and a chemical service as well as an "army" to keep up.

A comparison between the relative costs of naval upkeep to us and to China might be less shocking. Then, in trying to disprove the claim that it would be "good business" for the various countries to give up their so-called "treaty rights," Mr. Abend declares that of China's imports "fully 75 per cent are purchased from the United States, Great Britain, France and Japan, all extraterritorial powers, and that only ten per cent are purchased from Russia, Turkey, Germany, Austria, Persia, Egypt and Czechoslovakia, which do not enjoy extraterritorial rights." The statement hardly merits criticism. Only a brave or a rash man can base such a generalization on the comparative export statistics of the United States and Great Britain on the one hand, and Persia, Egypt, Austria and Turkey on the other! Finally, one who knows a little more history than Mr. Abend does, will also hesitate to affirm that the charge that Japan is "exploiting" Manchuria "is all tosh," or to repeat that the "semi-philanthropic expenditures" of the Japanese-controlled South Manchuria Railway are "the greatest civilizing force in eastern Asia."

To summarize, Mr. Abend has given a good picture of the chaos and confusion, the misery and warfare, the dissension and unnatural poverty in China. He has shown rather clearly that conditions there now are such as may well encourage the Communists to spend time and money in propagandist activities. He has given an excellent summary in the chapter on "Clashing Cultures," of the interaction between Western imperialism and Eastern medievalism.

ism. But he has failed utterly to convince at least one reader that the Chinese cannot help themselves out of their sloth, that foreign intervention is necessary, and that foreign intervention can be accomplished in such a way as eventually to afford the greatest good to the greatest number. His book is interesting and provocative. But it is absolutely unconvincing.

The Gompers' Ideology

Those who are unacquainted with the history of the American Federation of Labor must have been astonished that the Boston convention adjourned without any comprehensive program to meet the most widespread distress the working class has faced since the depression of nearly forty years ago. A lucid explanation of this inaction will be found in a book by Louis Reed, Ph. D. (The Labor Philosophy of Samuel Gompers. New York: Columbia University Press, \$3). Its merit lies not in any new approach or interpretation but in its handling of a great mass of material within less than 200 pages.

His treatment is topical. One aspect or principle is considered in each chapter and its history is traced as it evolved in A. F. of L. theory and practice largely through the influence of Samuel Gompers. This topical treatment gives the study special interest and the quotations from many early sources are valuable.

Gompers is revealed as a man who, in the early days of the organization, shared the views of the most advanced union leaders and Socialists of the world regarding capitalism, its inherent class antagonisms, the wage system, and control of the State by the possessing classes. His views began to change when the Socialist Labor Party began its senseless war against the A. F. of L. about 1895. His reaction against Socialism became an obsession so that just before he died he could write in his Autobiography, "Our main dependence lies in individual initiative." With this naturally came an attitude towards the State that differs little from Anarcho-Syndicalism with its opposition to nearly all forms of Social legislation. While the A. F. of L. was abandoning the legislative claims of the working class it at the same time insisted on a functioning status in the two parties of the ruling classes. Like a pilgrim lost in the wilderness, Gompers in his intellectual wanderings ran afoul of the State as a mountain barrier. Seeking to go around it through political "nonpartisanship," he found himself ambushed, leading his army into a pass fortified by his enemies. He was committed to a theory of individualism and endeavored to act upon it. The capitalist class was also committed to the theory but in action it had no use for it. The theory has

been intended solely as a narcotic for the working class and in acting upon it the army of Labor suffered defeat.

All this dawned upon Gompers near the close of his career. At the Portland convention seven years ago he was influential in modifying this philosophy. The old anti-State and anti-political items were not abandoned but to them were added the idea that both capitalists and workers should ignore social legislation, oppose legislative interference in industry, and cooperate in an industrial world apart from the State. Securely entrenched in every department of government, our feudal rulers have given no intimation of abandoning their strategic positions. Near the end of his life this fact dawned upon Gompers and it disturbed him to the hour of his death. His successors have broadcast the Portland "philosophy" but last year they threw part of the cargo overboard by supporting old age pension legislation. This year the old mood returned to the convention and unemployed insurance legislation was rejected. Summing up the work of Gompers in the modern period the author says:

Unemployment and Need for Social Change

(Continued from Page Four)

attendance school age of children should be raised and child labor should be entirely eliminated. Slums should be cleared and decent homes provided.

The average wage in the United States is about \$1500 a year. We must have buying power to keep industry going. Wage levels must go and continue upward until purchasing power approximates production capacity. The workers constitute the great bulk of the nation's purchasers and consumers. Remember, it is the spread between what the workers produce and what they get that is the basic reason for unemployment.

I have spoken of labor saving machinery as a cause of unemployment and some may have gotten the impression I am opposed to it. Not at all. I believe in the social control of our machine system for the social good, instead of its individualistic ownership for private profit. Either our economic agencies are for us or we exist as incidental appendages to the modern machine in the interest of the declining number of capitalist beneficiaries of our social system. I have referred to mergers and consolidations. To the extent that these organize our economic life and eliminate waste and duplication, they are desirable. Let us have social control of the fruits of our technological progress through labor saving machinery and consolidation, for the good of all, instead of private ownership and control for the primary benefit of the owning few.

This technological progress, these mergers and consolidations, are eliminating the traditional

thor says:

In counselling individualism, the avoidance of legislation in regard to wages, hours, and social insurance, Gompers did grave harm to the movement. The effect of Gompers' teaching in this respect was to help cause labor to be, politically, a nonentity. While labor has spared using the State to gain its ends, other social groups have not hesitated to make use of it. In counselling avoidance of social insurance, Gompers left the way open for employers' "welfareism," group insurance, old-age pensions, etc. Thus instead of State paternalism there is the paternalism of the employers, and the effect has been to strengthen the employers and to weaken the unions.

The study is not written by a literary dandy unable to understand the heart of the labor movement and its difficulties. The author is sympathetic and the book should be soberly read by the chiefs and rank and file of trade unionism is to bias its way out of the difficulties into which it has strayed.

James Oneal.

American middle class and swelling the ranks of the wage earning class, dependent upon the job and the sale of labor power for a livelihood. At the same time as the number of those who depend upon jobs increases, the number of jobs decreases. Contraction of job opportunities on the one hand, expansion of job seekers on the other. This is inescapable under our 18th century social system in which we are trying to confine a twentieth century industrial technique. The revolutionary changes in industrial technique require corresponding revolutionary changes in our social relations. We have social production with private ownership; we have a system of ownership and control based on a technique of production which long ago disappeared. It is this basic conflict, this fundamental disharmony to which our major social ills are traceable. Under things as they are our very liberty is a mockery. Our freedom is the freedom to find a job, or beg, borrow or steal. It is written in the Declaration of Independence we are entitled to life, liberty and happiness. But there is no life, liberty, happiness, without food, shelter and clothing, and no food, shelter, clothing, without jobs. Nothing short of social or collective ownership and democratic control of the basic means of life will really solve the problem of labor crises and unemployment. In the meantime, there is available a scientific program for immediate relief. But remember always the basic question we shall have to decide sooner or later is this: whether we are to continue a social system under which our marvelous industrial technique results in our increasing dependence and enslavement or whether we are to make the changes which are clearly indicated by the circumstances.

The Chatter Box

Christmas Carol for Bishop Manning

TELL the pretty story
Of the men who came afar
To view a hallowed happening
Under a mystical star . . .

Tell it with the joyousness
The season now demands
To cheer our empty bellies,
And fill our empty hands.

Your church is warm and glittering
With frills of tint and gold . . .
The manger was a lowly place,
Colorless and cold.

Your robes are rich and ample,
Your pose a lordly one;
I wonder what the Mother wore,
And what the Godly Son.

A stable is a humble place
Even for a sin . . .
And surely not a proper place
For cathedrals to begin.

And that is why as churches rise
Of stone and glass and gold,
It would be best if tales of Christ
Could remain untold.

A place like yours is better fit
With all its spacious range
Where men may come and make their stands
For barter and exchange.

And if the Man would come to earth
His lash would swing again,
Against the fattened buttocks
Of your vestrymen.

And He would stand with us in line,
While you would prate and sing
Within a warm and gorgeous place
Of a Hallowed happening . . .

I see by the records that Julius Gerber, the ace of the Jimmy Higginses is to be sixty years old on Christmas Day. Skol, and many more years to him for the sake of the party at least. If I were a judge on the contest board to choose the one man who deserves the first prize for his unsung service to the movement, Julius would be celebrating his birthday in Vienna among the Austrian comrades . . . as a sort of anticipated award.

No man I know in these states has contributed as much of his life in its entirety to the Socialist Party, and still lives and works cheerfully among us. No man I know has received less recognition for the endless services he has given. And perhaps no man seeks and expects less than he.

I don't want this to sound like an introductory speech for some honor guest at a banquet. Let me just shun all other superlatives of praise and just say, that without him to carry on within the hard routine work of the organization, I do not know how the party could have survived to function here in New York.

It is just the presence and persistence of men like Julius within the cause, that give all of us younger and more emotional comrades the courage to mosh on through defeat and disappointment. Here's hand and heart of everyone of us, Julius, for you to carry on until we all join in ultimate victory . . . And Socialism in our day may not be so far away . . . Eh, Comrade . . . ?

Did you notice how quickly the press puffers dropped this Einstein lad into the middle of next week, when he gave forth his understandable opinion on Weltpolitik? Peace, pacifism, and the criminality of war and all preparations for it, are not sweet sounding formulae to feed to the folks down home. Relativity, fourth dimensional jim-jacks and all that sort of mysterious dimness is what the people need. So sayeth . . . the Big Boss that Boas the Boob-butchery . . . That Einstein boy ain't so hot, lads. Sounds too much like Norman Thomas and the L. I. D. . . . Dish us up another police lieutenant . . . and let this Einstein go.

Einstein has gone . . . for all he gives a hoot in gehenna for the A. P. and W. R. H.

To the Psalm Singers (The Salvation Army)

MAYBE, I'm nuts.
And maybe, I ain't.

I listen to their Bible talk,
I listen to their band and singin' psalms,
Of love an' of salvation,
Of life, an' Christ an' mighty God.
An' sad, anemic stands to preach
An' looks at me an' says,
I am a sorta inge
Of the Maker an' the Son of God.
Them words are strange to me,
An' I get to kinda wonderin',
An' I get to kinda thinkin',
God? Son of God?
Say, maybe the joke's funny!
But, supposin' I am!
I ain't got a leg to stand on,
I'm broke as a busted bottle.
I stand on the street and the winds
Keep playin' tag with me.
I stand there cold and kinda hatin'
To think of tomorrow.
Should have had a job.
A guy's gotta work.
He needs a place to sleep an' rest.
An' a guy's gotta eat.
So he can work an' sleep an' rest
An' live like humans oughta live.
It ain't too much to ask.
Yet—
I'm God . . . the Son of God—
Say, whataya doin', kiddin' me?
—DOUGLAS B. KRANTZOR.

And while the Yule tide spirit pervades this writing, may I not join with all the post cards that are flooding the post offices and helping to dig the graves of so many postal clerks before their time . . . by wishing you all jobs, and a Happy Xmas.

S. A. deWitt.

Capitalism is a system of producing for profit. When the capitalist owners of industry cannot get profits the workers cannot get wages. When they do not get wages workers cannot buy. When they cannot buy capitalists cannot get profits. When they do not get profits the industries shut down. When the industries shut down there is hell to pay. Just like a squirrel in a barrel cage, capitalism never gets outside of a vicious circle.

Some one has said that we are not suffering so much from overproduction as we are from Hoover's overpredictions. In other words, an oversupply of bunk.

Fine French Film at Little Carnegie Cinema

The Stage

The Movies

Music

In Fine Play



at the Longacre theatre these nights, one may see an exceptionally strong play called "Overture," by the late William Bolitho, and produced by Bela Blau. It is a tense drama and well played by the entire cast.

To Open at the Comedy Theatre



The Ever Welcome Ruth Draper makes her annual visit to New York and will start her limited season at the Comedy Theatre beginning Friday Evening, December 26th. She is seen here as the English woman in her sketch "Opening A Bazaar".

Leon Errol in "Only Saps Work" at Fox B'klyn; Also Stage Bill

The tumultuous screen comedy, "Only Saps Work," and the gay and beautiful "Idea in Blue" on the stage, combine to make the present bill at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre a thoroughly cheerful and entertaining one.

"Only Saps Work" is an amorous farce comedy with Leon Errol in what might be called the title role. It's a story about a light-fingered crook, who, while looking after his own welfare, is just human enough to be generous and helpful to those whom he likes.

Probably the most applauded personality in the Fox show, is none other than Bob West who goes through his organ song-fest with such zest.

A stage show as beautiful as its title suggests is Fanchon and Marco's offering this week—their "Idea in Blue" with Renoff & Renova, America's premiere dancers, co-featured with Mitzzy Mayfair, versatile dancer; Harry Savoy in "So What?"; Weber & Marino, master of the ballet comic; Paul Russell, popular Broadway tenor, and the Sunkist Ballet.

A Charming Star in a Successful Play



Zoe Atkins' "The Greeks Had A Word For It" is still at the Sam Harris Theatre, where it is enjoying a long and successful run. A delightful performance by Muriel Kirkland adds to the gaiety and interest of this amusing play.

Rene Clair's "Sous Les Toits de Paris," at the Little Carnegie, Lets His Pictures Do the Talking

That our Hollywood boys and girls are in for an object lesson at the hands of a little Frenchman named Rene Clair is indicated by European and American press reviews of this director's "Sous Les Toits de Paris" ("Under the Roofs of Paris") which had its American premiere at the Little Carnegie Playhouse last Monday evening.

Going on the simple enough theory that pictures should move more than they talk, Mons. Clair manages to convey impressions of speech and to substitute action and camera movement for long-winded conversations. Where speech is used at all it takes second place to the action of the scene being played. The result, if we are to take the word of our German contemporaries, is thoroughly pleasing and the nearest approach to pure cinema since the talkies came along.

The critic of the Berliner Tageblatt goes into mild ecstasy in reporting his reactions to this unique treatment. He says in part:

"A magnificent film, of exquisite grace, rare elegance (seltene Zierlichkeit). Picture and sound, optics and acoustics, movement and noise blend into one great harmony. There is not much talking, in fact there is very little speech except where it is necessary, only where words make sense and then short and to the point. The ear is allowed to rest so that the eye can produce new impressions. In fact Clair often chooses to show talking scenes without sound. He photographs them through a glass door or allows them to be interpreted by music—and one does not miss the spoken word."

The correspondent of Tempo (Berlin) even sees what may be an answer to the foreign market problems that have so beset our own producers.

"Our hope," he says, "for the international understanding and convincing powers of a film that speaks only one language, has been realized. Rene Clair's work is optically so strong, so clear in construction, in dialogue so divinely simple and natural that it can never and nowhere be misunderstood, even though the French language is foreign to many."

These comments—and they are fairly typical of the enthusiastic reception "Sous Les Toits de Paris" has been accorded throughout Europe—come, it must be remembered, from the other side of the Rhine where they know a thing or two themselves about making pictures and where, one imagines, anything coming from France has to be good to get by at all.



Emil Jannings makes his return to the screen in "The Blue Angel" which is now at the Rialto Theatre. It is reported that this interesting film, made in Germany, has been received by all who have seen it, in a most enthusiastic fashion. Marlene Dietrich, who recently scored a personal hit in "Morocco" is seen opposite Emil Jannings.

The Week On The Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

BUY YOUR TICKETS

"Overture." By William Bolitho. At the Longacre.

Every reader of this paper within reach of New York should go to see "Overture." This is wholly aside from its merits as a play—which have been vehemently disputed in the daily press. For William Bolitho has offered a study of an uprising in post-war Germany, in which various attitudes are presented without noticeable bias, in which tense drama gives also understanding. The conservative (capitalist), the liberal (idealist), and the radical (communist) all have moments, rising out of the action of the play, in which they sketch their philosophy, or reveal it in what they do, from the most favorable standpoint. There are a few minutes when Maxim (naturally played by Pat O'Brien) almost carried off the play, though in an orthodox drama he'd have been the villain, for his communist ideas make him—a conventional, bourgeois mind—a treacherous cut-throat. On the other hand Thomas (also well played, by William Foran), the factory-owner, puts the case for the capitalist as well as it can be expressed, I suppose. The socialist point of view is not involved in this particular uprising, but the futility of the liberal attitude, however brave, is made quite clear in the career of Karl Ritter (whom Collins Clive portrays). These attitudes are shown, not however in loud discussion, but in the clash of action, from the distracted town council called by the mayor, through the str of the day and night until the executions ordered by the general. The opposed calm and brawl of various temperaments in various factions produces a drama that will interest anybody who, watching the after-world of the German and the Russian revolutions, wonders to what great movement these are the "Overture."

DELZA DANCES
At the Guild Theatre last Sunday Sophia Delza revealed an intelligent and fresh personality in dances that were moving pictures of a mood. While she was at times reminiscent of Martha Graham, and at other moments not fluid in her transitions, Sophia Delza has an individual validity, in the fullness with which she yields to the music, that its spirit may fill her and dictate the form of the dance. In "Wolsie's Wilde" a delicate irony marked a playfulness she manifested also in a German and two Spanish moods at the program's close; the "Dance of Frenz" without accompaniment, moving into Schoenberg's "Klavierstück," and the very effective "Eastern Beggar's Prayer," showed the range of moods at her command. Sophia Delza deserves a place among those who are helping to recreate the art of the dance.

EMILY'S HOUSE
"Allison's House." By Susan Glaspell. At the Civic Repertory.

In producing Susan Glaspell's drama built out of Emily Dickinson, Eva Le Gallienne has given

Still at the 44th St. Theatre



"Lysistrata" still plays at the 44th St. Theatre. Above is Ernest Truex in a scene from the uproarious Aristophanes' farce.

a sensitive play the best casting in the history of the Civic Repertory Theatre. Unhappily by those of her company who must fight foreign accent (not to mention other handicaps), Miss Le Gallienne has chosen players who blend with their roles, and has directed the play—which has subtle nuances, so that it moves naturally and engrossingly on.

To those who are unacquainted with Emily Dickinson's poems, and have no inkling of her life, the play may seem somewhat over-the-top. For Miss Glaspell takes no time to establish the dead member of the Stanhope family as a genius—save in the adoration of her living relatives. But most of the Civic Repertory audience has enough knowledge of what is worth while, not to have missed Emily Dickinson's work; and to that large body the college boy's hope of passing by detailing anecdotes of the dead poet, in the pompous utter misunderstanding of the woman who has married into the family, in the struggle between the generation that would keep Emily's (pardon me, Allison's) personal poems secret and the younger generation that would give them to the world, are the substance of subtle character study and sound drama.

GAMMON AND SPINACH
"OH PROMISE ME." By Howard Lindsay and Bertrand Robinson. At the Morosco.

Of all the crazy devices by which badger schemes are put across, the carrots and spinach which a quick lawyer makes a Connecticut jury connect with sex form the most hilarious I have heard. Pass around the plaudits and let loose the laughs, when you visit "Oh Promise Me"; let that show promise you a hilarious evening. Several around me whom I know to be hard-boiled grumblers at things theatrical were swearing it was better fun than

BROOKLYN

BIGGEST SHOW IN BROOKLYN

FOX "ONLY SAPS WORK"

with LEON ERROL, MARY BRIAN, STUART ERWIN, RICHARD ARLEN. On the Stage FANCHON & MARCO'S "IDEA IN BLUE" RENOFF & RENOVA America's Premiere Dancers MITZY MAYFAIR, HARRY SAVOY in "So What?"; WEBSTER & MARINO, PAUL RUSSELL, SUNKIST BALLET BOB WEST & His Song Fest

Leo Bulgakoff Sets Date For "The Life Line" Premiere for Dec. 27th

Leo Bulgakoff, who is conducting rehearsals for "The Life Line," a new comedy by Gretchen Damosch, has completed negotiations with Lyle Andrews to house the forthcoming production in the Vanderbilt Theatre, 148 West 48th Street, where it will have its premiere on Saturday evening, December 27th. At this time, Miss Damosch, daughter of Walter Damosch, will see her first play produced on a New York stage. The author's second play, entitled "Sidelight," has been scheduled for production later this season by Arthur Hopkins.

"Once in a Lifetime": I think the two plays seek their humor in fields that do not permit of comparison; in their separate fields there is no doubt they are equally successful in piercing the audience with laughter.

Not only is the idea of the play as crazily amusing a satire as the legal mind might endure, but the lines given the different figures—all neatly captured, dissimilar types—are swift and telling. Donald Meek is a hilarious performer, in his part of the meek yet avid husband, Mary Phillips, as the hard-boiled far-from-virgin who turns on her crowd for the millionaire, splits fire with sparks of bitter humor. The sweet young thing who is the prize bait for the fixings; who sets the trap for the breach of promise suit, is a mixture of naive innocence and willing love; only the lines of the lawyer, in the courtroom, might have had fuller punch. But it is there that the gammon is compounded with spinach, and, as everyone knows, spinach is a most healthful food. How it is also the sexfull millionaire's favorite occupation comes to be the concern of the Bowsens et al.—and the merriment of all who will doubtless flock to this blowziest laugh-fest of the season.

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

DWIGHT DEERE WIMAN presents MARY BOLAND

In her newest, gayest comedy VINEGAR TREE

Playhouse, W. 48 St. Eves. 8:40. Sat. & Fri. Dec. 26. BEST SEATS \$1.00 to \$2.50.

ARTHUR HOPKINS presents This Is New York

A New Comedy by ROBERT E. SHERWOOD with LOIS MORAN

"Of all the screen favorites we've had up before the footlights, Lois Moran is incomparably the surest and loveliest little actress."

—Gilbert W. Gabriel, American.

Plymouth Theatre W. 43rd St.; Eves. 8:40; Mats. Xmas Week: Fri. Dec. 26 & Sat. Dec. 27.

EDGAR WALLACE'S Sensational Hit!

"ON THE SPOT"

Most Thrilling Play of the Season! HOLIDAY CHRISTMAS WEEK: MATINEES: Dec. 27, NEW YEAR'S WEEK: Wed. Dec. 31, Thurs. Jan. 1, Sat. Jan. 2.

EDGAR WALLACE'S FORREST THEATRE 40TH STREET, WEST OF B'WAY. Evenings 8:30

Meyerhold, Russian Producer, to Come Here

When Vsevolod Meyerhold, the great Russian theatrical producer, arrives in America, as he is expected to do soon, doubtless one of the first things he will do will be to witness the Theatre Guild's production of the Russian melodrama, "Roar China," at the Martin Beck Theatre. For it was Meyerhold who first produced the play in Russia some three years ago.

Not that the present production is in any sense an imitation of the original. Lee Simonson, who designed the gigantic setting, and Herbert J. Sierman, who directed the production in Moscow, but they planned their production anew.

Meyerhold will go to see "Roar China" rather to note the differences, for he is incurably curious and experimental. He is, in fact, one of the great innovators in the present-day theatre. Starting with the realism of the older Moscow Art Theatre, he has passed through all the stages of that giddy evolution which is modern Russian theatrical art—mysticism, expressionism, constructivism and the rest—to the latest, of which he himself is the creator.

His method is in the sharpest contrast to that of his great colleague Stanislavsky. Where Stanislavsky did his utmost to intensify emotion in his actors, to make them believe they were actually living in the parts they played, Meyerhold tells his actors that they are nothing but nerves and muscles. Stanislavsky sought to train his actors to learn work by inventing an imaginary drama in which they were involved. Meyerhold seeks the same result by having his actors box together.

Incidentally, one of Meyerhold's pupils is Herbert J. Sierman who staged "Roar China" and who is now rehearsing Lynn Riggs' new

Theatre Guild Presents

ROAR CHINA

Martin Beck Theatre 45th St. W. of 8th Ave.

Eves. 8:30—Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30

Theatre Guild Presents

Elizabeth The Queen

Guild Theatre 52nd Street, West of Broadway

Eves. 8:30; Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:40

Kenneth Macgowan and Joseph Verner Reed present

JANE COWL ART AND MRS. BOTTLE

Sat. Mat. & Eves. Dec. 30; Monday Eves. Dec. 22; Tuesday Eves. Dec. 23.

TWELFTH NIGHT Wed. Mat. & Eves. Dec. 24; Thurs. & Fri. Eves. Dec. 25 & 26; Sat. Mat. & Eves. Dec. 27.

Maxine Elliott's Theatre 30th STREET, EAST OF BROADWAY Eves. 8:40; Mat. Wed. & Sat.

Players in "Flying High" to Take Santa For a Sleigh Ride

The principals and chorus in George White's musical comedy hit, "Flying High," at the Apollo Theatre, have taken time by the forelock and have advanced their celebration of Christmas by twenty-four hours. This will put Santa Claus on a daylight saving time schedule, but it can't be helped.

The twenty-fifth of December is just another big working day for everyone on Bert Lahr down to the smallest chorine, who will be called upon to give two performances of the breezy musical comedy that has kept them out of the bread line for the past year. As the matinee would interfere with any celebration in which they might indulge, they will arrive early at the Apollo Theatre on the day before and hang up their stockings in the windows of one of Joseph Urban's best skyscraper sets. After presents have been exchanged, assuming that any will be forthcoming, they will have a Christmas party on the stage, with Oscar Shaw taking the part of Santa Claus and Bert Lahr playing a reindeer.

"Zwei Herzen im % Takt" Stays 10th Week at 55th St.

Zwei Herzen im % Takt ("Two Hearts in Waltz Time"), the Viennese screen operetta, enters the tenth week of its consecutive run at the 55th Street Playhouse commencing next Friday, December 12. This German Tobis production is still playing to absolute capacity business.

play, "Green Grow the Lilacs," for the Guild.

"The evening is full of bliss and content."—J. Brooks Atkinson, Times.

GILBERT MILLER presents Helen Hayes

in "PETTICOAT INFLUENCE"

By NEIL GRANT with HENRY STEPHENSON

EMPIRE Phone PE6-5670 B'way, & 40th St. Eves. 8:30; Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

BOOTH Thea. 45th W. of B'way. Eves. 8:30, Mats. 2:40

Audacious Comedy Hit!

THE MAN IN POSSESSION

By H. M. HARWOOD with ISABEL JEANS and LESLIE BANKS

CHRISTMAS WEEK: Fri. Dec. 25 & Sat. Dec. 26. NEW YEAR'S WEEK: Wed. Dec. 31, Thurs. Jan. 1, Sat. Jan. 2.

Holiday Matinee: Sat. Jan. 3.

Earl Carroll Vanities

8th Edition 67 Glittering Scenes—1,000 Laughs

HERB WILLIAMS JIMMY SAVO JACK BENNY

Most Beautiful Girls in the World Eves. 4:35 Orch. Seats \$4 (Exc. Sat.) Plus Tax; Wed. & Sat. Mats. Entire Orchestra \$2.50.

NEW AMSTERDAM Theatre, W. 42nd Street Phone Wisconsin 8312

"A smash hit . . . one of the happiest theatre evenings I ever experienced." —Walter Winchell, Daily Mirror.

Morris Green & Lewis Gensler present

JOE COOK

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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 20, 1930

"Cuba Libre"

ALL reports indicate that a volcano is bubbling beneath the Machado dictatorship in Cuba which is a nursing of American capitalism and virtually protected by the Platt Amendment. Not only have the labor unions been crushed, but the students have demonstrated against the regime and evidence indicates that professional men are now aroused. The recent election was a farce carried out under Machado's police and in plain violation of the Cuban Constitution. Opponents of the dictator have mysteriously disappeared and floating bodies in Havana harbor in recent years give some idea of what is happening.

American capitalists have millions invested in the island and have a big stake in this bloody regime. A manifesto by 100 Cuban women sent to Senator Walsh protests against the military dictatorship and charges the American Ambassador, Harry F. Guggenheim, with being friendly to this regime. A move to inquire into the matter was blocked by Senator Jones of Washington on the ground that a Senate rule forbids consideration of conditions in foreign countries unless requested by the President.

Thus when it is a matter of human life and liberty Cuba is a "foreign" country, but if American capitalist interests are endangered by a rising of the masses Cuba loses its "foreign" status and becomes an American colony into which American troops are moved. This is the clever use to which the Platt Amendment is put. It is on a level with the gambler who plays with marked cards.

"Blessed Words"

NEARLY forty years ago, the late Belfort Bax, British Socialist, wrote an essay on the habit of using words to conceal thought. He called them "Blessed Words" because of their service in this respect.

Wendell Phillips used to enjoy citing an example of this tendency during the days of the anti-slavery movement. A southern bishop of one of the Protestant churches was an owner of slaves and a national conference resolved that he should dispose of them. But the delegates did not want to use the word "slaves" in the resolution so they demanded that he "should get rid of his impediment."

Words employed with reference to capitalism also imply a similar timidity. One may often read of "capital and labor" but rarely of "capitalists and laborers," especially when a strike hares the class antagonism. The latter phrase is suggestive of classes and as this runs counter to an American myth it is displaced by the former which is less harsh in descriptive reality.

In recent years the word "industrialist" is more and more becoming a substitute for "capitalist" in newspapers, magazines and even books. "Industrialist" is certainly more vague than "capitalist" as a descriptive term and is also less harsh in its implications. It may even suggest any person identified with industry and thus permit the capitalist to escape identity in the mental fog that is raised, although it is really the owner of capital that is always meant.

The "blessed word" is generally a defense mechanism for capitalism. It obscures intelligent thinking and that is necessary to the safety of the possessing classes.

Production and Demand

SOME years ago Mr. Julius H. Barnes published a little book of chants glorifying American capitalism. He was sure of our high cultural level because of the large tonnage of wood pulp that is turned into paper in this country. Mr. Barnes now reports for President Hoover's National Business Survey Conference. It is an illuminating document. The "sanguine expectations" expressed early in the year have not been fulfilled, he reports, but there are some bright

spots. The brightest one is that many industries "having adapted themselves to current conditions" have "balanced production and market consumption."

If that statement implies a "bright" situation it does not indicate a bright intelligence. If these industries have adapted themselves to current conditions it can mean only one thing. Production has been curtailed to correspond with lesser demand. The millions of the unemployed cannot buy so it would be useless to produce what cannot be purchased. That being the case, the balancing of production with market consumption instead of being hopeful is simply evidence of a continued depression. All that it means is that production has declined to correlate with a declining purchasing power. And there is no more real balance between production and consumption on this lower level than there was on the higher level before the Wall Street crash.

Moreover, the capitalist system of production does not operate at any time, whether in a period of brisk activity or in a period of depression, to satisfy human wants. Commodities are produced for sale, not for use. The masses are able to use what is produced but they are unable to buy it. As they are unable to buy the masters of production are able to sell only a part of it.

Because of this, all the talk of "balancing" production and consumption and of "stabilizing" the system is sheer moonshine. This is the fundamental curse of the capitalist system of production for capitalist gains. It is stricken with a fatal disease. It can be abolished only through a Socialist Commonwealth of production for use and human welfare.

"Rugged Individualism"

A REPORT by the Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., on job insurance in the United States makes interesting reading. The report admits that present methods of meeting the problem have proved inadequate. These include trade union and corporation insurance and joint insurance by both. It is pointed out that out of 23,000,000 wage workers in 1928 a little over 107,000, or nearly one-half of 1 per cent, were benefited by these methods. The total expenditure for this purpose was nearly \$1,500,000.

In other words, the United States is probably not farther advanced on this social problem than Siam and Turkey. If each of these jobless workers was a profit making institution there would be some tender concern for them by the politicians in office. A steel plant, an oil refinery, or a collection of soap vats, provoke a heart throb on the part of the statesmen pledged to "rugged individualism." But jobless men must not look to government for legislation to avert starvation.

These reflections are occasioned by the recent publication of the record of the Conference on Simplified Practice held in Washington late in November. There we learn that government bureaus are looking after the welfare of corporations like a mother caring for her child. The bureau study business and formulate suggestions for decreasing costs and reducing the number of workers. The prophet of "rugged individualism," Mr. Hoover, had arranged for the corporation nursery when head of the Department of Commerce. Agents of corporations are summoned to Washington and are given hints on how to sweat more values out of their businesses and with less labor.

Our advice to workers is to seek a formula by which they can transform themselves into blast furnaces, soap vats, or any other kind of profit-making enterprise. If they do that they will win the affection and careful nursing of government bureaus.

IN A NUTSHELL

The leaders of the two capitalist parties are never in the headline. They find substitutes in the voters who support them.

Charity is twice cursed—it hardens him that gives and softens him that takes. It does more harm to the poor than exploitation, because it makes them willing to be exploited. It breeds slavishness, which is moral suicide.—Bouck White.

No, we sovereign Nordics and noble freemen want no European "dole." We want the word "American" on the wrapper of the sandwich handed to us in the breadline.

Our calamities seem to follow one upon another with the regularity of a physical law. The representatives of industries and banks are again meeting in Washington.

If the suffering mass of working class voters had doled out some governing power to a party of their own they would be on the road to abolishing the American "dole."

Pilsudski is reported as going south for a long vacation. The Polish workers would be better off if he made it a permanent one.

The capitalist system of production and distribution reminds us of the unemployed. It does not work.

It is reported that several hundred thousand dollars were spent in the campaign to elect James J. Davis to the Senate in Pennsylvania. Never mind, he is a "labor" Senator.

Hoover's chicken is in the pot but a few millions of workers, many of whom voted the Republican ticket, will have to eat crow.

The November election returns are still coming in but all reports indicate that the workers are still out.

Of the millions out of jobs and who voted for capitalism we wonder how many did not want to "throw away their vote" by supporting the Socialist Party.

One Senator's Gyrations

By Laurence Todd

HOW American government stumbles along, mingling the most inconsistent and self-contradictory social measures in the program of one man in Congress, simply because there is no working-class political party to speak for the underprivileged, was never better illustrated than on the Senate floor on Dec. 16. David L. Walsh of Massachusetts, Democratic politician, churchman and orator, was the speaker. For the moment he was not demanding relief for the unemployed. He was discussing the situation in Cuba, and then proposed renewal of the Sheppard-Towner appropriations under the act of granting aid to the states in caring for mothers and infants.

Walsh began with a plea for Cuban liberty. He brought forward an editorial from a Havana paper published in the English language, which challenged the Machado dictatorship as a regime of martial law enforced by 20,000 heavily-armed soldiers and police. He read from a manifesto signed by the most eminent women in Cuba, and said he had just been notified that many of these women had been arrested within the past 48 hours for signing this appeal to American justice. When Jones of Washington sought to suppress the manifesto, as coming to Congress rather than to the State Department, Walsh declared that he was seeking to save the United States from the folly and cost of armed intervention when the Cuban revolt does come.

But then he turned to another matter—the pending bill which would help save the lives of mothers and babies of poor farmers, miners and other workers outside the cities. Organized doctors were opposing it. Secretary Wilbur had sabotaged it because it would be administered by the Children's Bureau. Up in the gallery sat Grace Abbott, chief of the Children's Bureau, listening to what the warm-hearted Irish senator had to say.

And, of course, Walsh as a chairman, coming from a state in which Cardinal O'Connell wages war against ratification of the Child Labor Amendment and against this Sheppard-Towner Act, was against federal interference! He recited that the Massachusetts legislature, by an overwhelming vote, refused to match any federal appropriation for carrying on this work of pre-natal care for farmers' and workers' wives. He feared the federal government would invade the privacy of the American home. Local institutions could carry on any such aid.

Had David L. Walsh been elected by a strong working-class party, on a platform which called for equal opportunity—physical as a basis for spiritual—for every American child, he would have argued the other way. He would have made an eloquent speech in favor of healthy childhood and womanhood, and would have pointed out that until a reasonable system of industrial rewards is established, so that family life is secured against poverty, such federal and state aid must be provided for the sake of the mothers and children.

But there was no Labor Party or Socialist Party bloc in Congress, nor any strong party organization of the workers outside, on which Walsh could depend for support, if he were attacked for his humane program. He had to safeguard his political future. He compromised. Years ago, he was committed to the Child Labor Amendment before the Cardinal came out against it, his embarrassment was considerable, and he remembers.

Just before Walsh got the floor, Shipstead of Minnesota, made a brief protest against the failure of the Hoover administration and its Demo-Republican backers in Congress to vote any relief to hungry farmers or unemployed. Shipstead was elected as a Farmer-Labor Party man. Representative Kvale of his state, another Farmer-Labor spokesman, stepped in to shake hands, and then went out feeling as lonely as the Senator. No program was offered by Shipstead. He merely showed that he would go along with LaFollette. He had no party group, no working-class program, to guide him. It all appeared so unplanned, futile, childish, in a nation three-fourths of whose Congress could be chosen by working-class political cooperation, to remove poverty.

Scotch Socialist to Speak
Lethian Small, son of a Scotch miner and labor candidate for Wall, is coming to speak in the United States from January 6th to March 6th. Small was president of the Fabian Society when he went to the University of Glasgow and has been engaged in labor work for the International Federation of League of Nations Societies at Brussels. He is speaking in this country particularly on the League of Nations and what it can do for the labor movements of the world. Organizations interested in hearing Small should write to the Speakers' Bureau, League of Nations Assn., 6 East 39th St., New York City.

Einstein: Socialist and Pacifist

A Clarion Call to Militant Pacifism

THAT Albert Einstein, recently arrived in this country and interviewed to the point of exhaustion, is a Socialist was not discovered by all the reporters' questions. The shy mathematician did not present his views on anything about which he was not asked, and the American Socialists have to consult English reviewers to find that he holds similar points of view to theirs.

While passing through London, he was interviewed by the Socialist NEW LEADER. In discussing the control of industry, Einstein said: "The experience of history is to the effect that an ever increasing number of economic organizations have become public property. The concentration of large scale industry which is an economic necessity, brings about the imposition of public control." Other answers were along the same lines.

In Anton Reiser's recent biography of the great scientist, he says, "Socialism means to him to remove the highest ethical desire to remove the appalling chasm between the classes and to produce a more just economic system. Organization and collectivism regulate our life more and more. Industry cannot be left on the outside, it cannot remain in an anarchistic position; it too must be organized." Reiser mentions that Einstein's closest friend is Dr. Friedrich Adler, secretary of the Labor and Socialist International, who is widely known in scientific circles as a physicist and philosopher.

Einstein did get in some hearty blows at the war makers however. When asked what he would do in

the event of another war breaking out, he replied:

"I should unconditionally refuse every direct or indirect war service and try to induce my friends to take the same stand, and this independently of any critical opinion of the causes of war."

States Pacifist Views

Professor Einstein, speaking on "War and Peace" before the New History Society in New York City, advocated militant pacifism to assure world peace. He suggested two methods of resistance, the individual and the international, and said action, not talk, was essential. If only 2 per cent of the men liable for war service would refuse, declared Dr. Einstein, there would not be enough jails to hold them. The alternative, which he termed "a more legal measure," would be the establishment of a "war resistance fund," with pacifists from all countries contributing.

"A real initiative in one or both directions," concluded Dr. Einstein, "would bring results. But you must show courage and you must show patience, otherwise you will remain just pacifists."

Speaking in German, Dr. Einstein launched right into the subject of pacifism, saying that the trouble with those who are avowedly against war is that they "meet the sheep while the wolves are outside." In pacifist words, he explained, the pacifists only reach those who are already convinced and of the same opinion and should try to do something more than merely speak.

"In our political situation," he said, "it is the duty of man to commit crime in the name of his State or his country. It seems to

me that it is more his duty to free mankind from this sort of thing.

Wants Fight on Conscience

"There are two ways in which this may be done. The first, which has already been practiced in many countries, is to refuse military duty in time of war. Real pacifists should practice this in times of peace as well. In countries where there is compulsory military service this can be done. In countries where there is no conscription, however, the pacifist can only publicly declare that he will refuse any military duty in time of war, and it should be the mission of pacifists to recruit people from all over the world for this idea."

Speaking rapidly, but very distinctly, Professor Einstein voiced his views of pacifism as being "a very worthy thing."

"If only 2 per cent of the men liable for war service were to refuse," he said, "there would not be enough jails in the world to take care of them."

Dealing with his second suggestion, Dr. Einstein came to the international organization which he called "Kriegsdienstverweigerung" (war service resistance), not, he said, because the people who thus think are cowards or because they would not want to sacrifice personal comforts, but because they were convinced that war was wrong and that their attitude might put a stop to war.

Pacifists in all countries, he suggested, should subscribe to such an international war service resistance fund and thereby not only help those imprisoned for refusing to go to war or serving in the fighting forces, but to strengthen the idea everywhere.

THE RUSSIAN TRIAL

Editor, The New Leader:

How much of a plot was there against the Soviet government and to what end? The trial of the eight engineers and the commutation of their sentences leaves me uncertain. I am certain that this most serious trial in history was stage managed with a view to its maximum effect in bolstering public morale so as to carry on the hard struggle against the anti-Soviet forces.

Any applicant for a passport, knowing we cannot get another job. There I am. When I get home I am dead beat. I go to sleep sometimes for 3 hours before I can eat. My bones were nearly through my skin. A girl weighed me, and I scaled 119 pounds. That scared me stiff, 138 is my weight, and I said, "Annie, you are a dead 'un for sure; you must eat." There is no time for waiting; they do not give you any food. You take a sandwich or send out for one, if you can get anyone to go; then you have to tip them, so a 10 cent sandwich costs you about a quarter. But I am afraid to draw a breath or say a word to you in case I lose this job.

"As to coming to a meeting, if you help me even a month, let me know that it is special to me. I will send a p. o. for my \$150 or \$200 dues (she is mistaken; she is paid up). If I am going under it may as well be for something as nothing."

"Believe me, the howl about the unemployed is not helping the employed any. It all plays into the hands of the capitalists. Henry Ford says he 'don't save, spend.' Yes, he spends so that they may all live their profits, and when we have spent all, I suppose they will say, 'You should have saved.'"

If you know of anything that would give me even a day a month, let me know. If there is anything in trade unionism, there ought surely be one for chambermaids. Some of the women have children; they must be half dead when they arrive in the morning.

"No, I don't drink. There's oddies of it around some of the rooms like a speakeasy in the morning."

Any applicant for the bedroom—or for the services of this plucky comrade?

Evelyn West Huggan.

ALL MIXED UP

Editor, The New Leader:

That article by A. B. Lewis has got me all mixed up. I want to know, as the ladies do of their hats, whether my thinker's on straight; and when one gets like that, what can he be but write to the paper? The daily papers would probably tell me to confine myself to high or low tariff or skirts and not bother about the workers; telling my troubles to a policeman would not help; so I appeal to The New Leader.

It seems to be a question of old and new; crude and refined Socialism. It is said that the Hindus thought that the world was supported by an elephant who stood on a turtle who stood on a serpent who, taking his tail in his mouth, supported the whole business. The letters R. I. P. stand for Rest in Peace and Grace on many a tombstone. They also stand for Rent, Interest and Profit which divide up the community and break up the peace of most of us who are not yet underground.

Mr. Lewis tells us that the crude old chaps of the past did not understand modern Socialism; I thought there was a bewhiskered old fellow who told us, 70 years or more ago, that the goblins, in the shape of trusts, would get us if we didn't watch out; also the capitalist world was supported by three pillars marked R. I. and P., which stood on a snake formed of the workers chained together and having its tail in its mouth, couldn't put anything else in it; and the best thing for the snake 'o do, was to pull out the pillars and wrap itself around the world. But I suppose that was crude, unrefined Socialism.

The refined idea seems to be for the workers, by some means, to get the material for a nice, big pile, which when made should be handed to the shirkers who would graciously hand us a larger or smaller slice. That we should continue the R. I. P. system and make billionaires who would pay income taxes, and some Mellon would hand us what he thought good for us and return the surplus to the rich who 'o'd set the poor to work, and so on. Sort of a House that Jack built. Or one of the capitalist fire lighters, in which you have a pile of water which, dropping on a rope—the water, not the pile—lightens it, drawing the canary nearer to the cat, who claps for the canary, pulling a string which lights a match.

We suggest that Comrade DeVito work out an indictment of capitalism that it is more his duty to free mankind from this sort of thing. Wants Fight on Conscience. "There are two ways in which this may be done. The first, which has already been practiced in many countries, is to refuse military duty in time of war. Real pacifists should practice this in times of peace as well. In countries where there is compulsory military service this can be done. In countries where there is no conscription, however, the pacifist can only publicly declare that he will refuse any military duty in time of war, and it should be the mission of pacifists to recruit people from all over the world for this idea."

Speaking rapidly, but very distinctly, Professor Einstein voiced his views of pacifism as being "a very worthy thing."

A Test For Capitalism

ON Dec. 11 Thomas L. Chadbourne, New York banker, announced a "test for world capitalism." The test was the formation of a world cartel of producers to prevent revolution in Cuba and acute economic distress in one of the outstanding international slave labor markets—sugar.

On Dec. 16 was announced the failure of the leading sugar producers to reach an agreement on limitation of output to bolster up the sugar price structure. The refusal of the German sugar magnates to join the cartel destroyed Chadbourne's plan.

Said the big New York banker, talking cold turkey to the sugar industrialists in Brussels, at a world party:

"All industries have transgressed good economic laws and there is a result enormous overproduction in practically all world commodities and what has that resulted in? In an unemployment situation unthought of a year ago and unheard of for generations, if ever, before."

"What I meant when I said that we were trying a bigger case than the sugar case was that the capitalist system is on trial. If you think that the people who are running the industries of the world can by reason of this greed bring about such depressions as this and then not promptly take steps to mend them no matter what the sacrifice may be to individuals, you are mistaken."

"We cannot get away with it, and the people who are suffering from it will challenge our system just as inevitably as the earth goes around the sun."

The weak link in the sugar cartel was Germany. The German delegation declared that because of the reparations burden, the Reich is forced to produce to the limit and sell at any price in the world market in order to make war reparations payments to the Allies.

The immediate result of the conference failure is the near-certainty that Dictator Machado of Cuba will be overthrown due to the economic crisis caused on his island by the collapse of the sugar prices, while the Dutch rulers of Java will face a continuation of the grave peasants' revolts that have convulsed that island.

Sugar is a serf industry. In Cuba this year the sugar workers have received no wages at all. In Colorado and other mountain state sugar beet regions the industry is based on Mexican labor, where men, women and little children are hired under contract for wages of little more than \$500 a family for the season. In Java forced labor is reported to be used in sugar culture.

Surplus stocks in sugar amount to 1,500,000 tons in Cuba, 500,000 tons in Java and 1,200,000 tons in Europe, of which the German surplus is 812,000. For none of this sugar is there a market, under the capitalist price system, although sugar is a rarity in the diet of hundreds of millions. Chadbourne was asking that the present surplus be kept from the market and that European countries agree to cut production by 15 per cent. Cuba and Java had agreed to a deeper cut.

Delegates to the International Chamber of Commerce convention in Paris followed the sugar parity closely. They believed its success would point the way out for other industries harassed by the "over-production" which has resulted in under-consumption, unemployment and distress the world over. Nearly every important industry—metals, coal, textiles, wheat, machinery—is suffering from the same "blight." All of them can produce more than the world, under the capitalist system, can buy. A distinct feeling of gloom fell over the Chamber of Commerce meeting when the news of the failure of the sugar conference was announced.

Chadbourne, who carries power over the entire 1,500,000 tons of the Cuban crop, is understood to be ready to dump it all in European markets, to the ruin of the European producers in Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium and Hungary. The Soviet Union is said to have 600,000 tons ready for sale at a price level in harmony with the Soviet planned production no-profit structure.

Socialized Medicine to Be Debated on Air

"Should the medical profession be socialized?"—will be the subject of a debate sponsored by the University Forum to be broadcast from WPA on Sunday, December 21, at 1 p. m. The affirmative will be presented by Simon J. Liebowitz, Esq., member of the New York Bar, and Henry Schumann of the Brooklyn Law School. They will be opposed by David Markowitz, member of the Columbia University Debate Team, and Irwin Shapiro of the Brooklyn Law School. Joseph M. Gruber, director of the University Forum, will act as chairman.

as it affects agriculture in New York State and a program to supplement it. We are sure that the state organization will be glad to have it for consideration.—Editor, The New Leader