

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Thoughts on Armistice Day—The Danger in Manchuria—Remitting the International Debts—Socialists and Non-Partisans—The Wickersham Report

THIRTEEN YEARS AFTER

Thirteen years ago from the hour at which I write the Armistice was signed and a world went wild with joy. Today we face the tragic fact that not a single one of the idealistic ends for which the war was avowedly fought has been achieved.



NORMAN THOMAS

THE UNITED STATES AND THE FAR EAST

THE most immediate crisis before mankind is in that cockpit of the world, Manchuria, where Japan and China have clashed with Russia not far in the background. If war cannot be stopped in Manchuria almost every evil is possible. If war goes on and the United States insists on trading with Japan, to rationalize our desire for profit, we shall have to work up a great furor about Japan as "the protector of Western civilization"; that is, capitalism, against the yellow and red hordes of China and Russia. To be sure, at the moment American sentiment is probably on the whole anti-Japanese, but it will not stay so if our economic and political rulers decide to make money by provisioning Japan for her war.

I do not mean by this to imply that all the right is on the side of China, devastated by famine and flood, and still caught in the throes of a confused revolution. Japan has at least as much right morally to intervene as the United States had for intervening in Haiti or Nicaragua. It is still possible that a way will be found to end this military intervention before it becomes open and large-scale war.

Nevertheless, our own sins do not make Japan right. If Japan persists in a military policy—regardless of the League of Nations of which she is a member, regardless of the Nine Power Pacific Pact which she signed, and regardless of the Kellogg Treaty outlawing war—then Japan is clearly an aggressor nation. If she deliberately takes this position of an aggressor nation all the machinery of peace is useless and the world is back at its old anarchy. Military force to coerce Japan is out of the question and unnecessary. Moral and economic pressure should be used.

Some pacifists believe that an embargo on economic aid to Japan and trade with Japan would be a step to war, or at any rate, an act of gross cruelty to Japanese children. Actually if the world agreed on the economic measures to be taken Japan would not and could not fight mankind. Those economic measures need not, to be effective, necessarily go as far as a complete embargo on all foodstuffs. At all events if economic measures can rapidly bring peace, so much the better. To trade with Japan and so make possible her war on China will be no real neutrality. Whatever idealists may say, the bankers and traders will be thinking not about Japanese children but about the dollars they hope to make. Newspapers reported a slight rise in stocks and general encouragement in certain economic circles when it appeared prematurely the open war has been declared. Not only is our trade with Japan likely to involve us more deeply in the quarrel but also it will inevitably win us the hatred of the Chinese whose power to boycott is not to be despised. Hence I am convinced that without joining the League of Nations formally the United States ought to consult with it or the nations composing it about the degree of economic pressure, refusal of loans, war munitions, etc., which ought to be applied in case all efforts at negotiated peace break down.

THE CANCELLATION OF DEBTS

UNDER the title, "Other People's Money," the American Chemical Foundation has reprinted and circulated articles written by Garrett Garrett in The Saturday Evening Post. These articles are an attack on any forgiveness of interrelated war debts and cancellation of German reparations. Mr. Garrett makes some good points concerning the folly of our financiers in involving themselves and us so deeply in European affairs. But beyond irritation at Germany and about everybody else concerned and a kind of bullheaded insistence that we collect what is owing to us, Mr. Garrett offers no constructive suggestions. Whether it is altogether reasonable or not, psychologically the unsettled question of debts and reparations creates the atmosphere in which world peace is virtually impossible. Economically this unsettled problem in our crazy capitalist society unquestionably adds to the depression and leads to that fantastic movement of gold which has already played enough havoc in the lives and fortunes of the masses. It is nonsense to suppose that any reconstruction can take place on any other basis than wiping the slate clean. To this Socialists, however, add two important provisos. First, that the cancellation of debts must not release money for prolonging the race in armaments, and, second, that what the United States seems to lose by cancelling debts should be made up not by general taxes but by special increase on inheritance and income taxes in the higher brackets which would automatically hit most of the foreign securities which will not be forgiven. The United States, at any rate, stands to gain more in trade and in the reduction of armaments by forgiving debts than by trying to collect them, or by fooling itself by talk of moralism.

NON-PARTISAN SUPPORT FOR SOCIALISTS

A PLEASANT luncheon arranged by Fannie Cohn of the I. L. A. G. W. U. with fraternal delegate Beard of the British Labor Union shed for me a little light upon one or two minor but important aspects of the British Labor situation. For one thing, Mr. Beard remarked in passing that while England, of course, has the general racket of capitalism it has no racketeering in the American sense of the word and it has no Tammany Hall. That means a lot in the labor struggle. Mr. Beard also commented in passing on the almost complete triumph of municipal Socialism. Birmingham even has a municipal bank and the chief supporters of this program have been the Tory Chamberlain family!

Now this growing triumph of municipal Socialism has but little parallel here at home. I have been surprised to see in the last campaign how many of those who still persist in calling themselves non-partisan were ready to endorse our program of municipal Socialism which was very clearly stated in the letter of the Non-Partisan Committee. Our task is to make these people see the necessity of a Socialist Party to carry it out and the inadequacy of a program of municipal Socialism by itself.

Of course, some non-partisan support that I and other Socialist candidates got from the generally conservative Citizens' Union was frankly in spite of our program, and incidentally it was never sought by us. Mr. George W. Wickersham's amazing letter in support of me—the more amazing because the only time I ever met him was when he and I clashed sharply in a Brownsville forum just before we entered the war—was also in spite of our program, which he certainly knew enough to know that I meant it from the bottom of my heart.

This sort of support was rebuked by the New York Evening Post in an editorial entitled: "No, Mr. Thomas." The editorial did me the justice to know that I stood for our Socialist program, that I was not a non-partisan, and that I was profoundly interested in building a strong Socialist Party. And on that ground it refused support, which was logical. I suppose from their point of view Mr. Wickersham and others like him might have replied that in the situation presented by the outrageous nomination of Colonel Carrington decent men could not afford to take the risk of a big protest vote for a Socialist candidate for Borough President who, after all, is no dictator or even President of the United States. Our Socialist responsibility is certainly not to go out of our way to reject votes but to make our own position emphatically plain. Our further responsibility is to make our own party so strong that the question of non-partisan support shrinks to its

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Socialist Convention to Meet in Milwaukee; Sessions Will Nominate Presidential Candidate

Socialists' Vote Record In Reading

Party Rolled Up Highest Totals in History of City, Though Fusion Won

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

READING.—In the hardest-fought campaign in the history of Reading, the Socialists of this city were defeated by the combined Republican and Democratic political machines last week despite the fact that the Socialist vote was the largest ever polled by the party. Tuesday's totals gave Mayor J. Henry Stump 14,341 votes, compared to 12,304 in the winning year of 1927 when the Socialists went into office in a three-cornered contest. While the fusion of all opposition factors succeeded in giving the Socialists a temporary setback in the city, that maneuver almost resulted disastrously to the old political gangs in the county. In the contests for court house offices, which up to this year have always been looked upon as sure Democratic plums, the Democrats won the offices with pluralities which shrank to less than a thousand in the case of County Surveyor.

With the combination of Republican and Democratic forces the fight became a clear-cut battle between Socialism and Capitalism. Backed by the Womans' Textile labor exploiters and led by Wellington Bertoleto, chief attorney for that group of millionaires, the Fusionists enlisted all available forces of reaction on their side, while the Socialists made a straightforward appeal to the workers based upon their municipal achievements and their economic principles.

Use Flag and Religion

The Fusionists, during the final weeks of the campaign became flag wavers and Bible thumpers. They declared in full-page advertisements

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Socialists Close to Victory In Cleveland City Election

Martinek and Siskovich Poll Heavy Votes—City Manager Plan Ended

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CLEVELAND.—Although the "non-partisan" ballot kept us from having the Socialist party label with the names of the Socialist candidates, we nevertheless polled a very large vote in both districts of Cleveland where our comrades ran for city council. Joe Martinek, in a field of 36 candidates, came out ninth. Six were elected in that district.

Martinek received 1,825 first choice votes ranking him seventh. Then as candidates were eliminated and votes were transferred accordingly to proportional representation, Martinek at one time was fifth and the newspapers were talking of the probability of a Socialist in the council.

It is very likely that Martinek was ousted out of office. In all, 28 transfers of votes were taken. Martinek protested against inaccurate counting and when he succeeded in getting a recount of one of these transfers, quite a few additional votes for him were found that had been "overlooked" previously. When Martinek was ruled out, he had 2,610 votes. Another 75 might have kept him in the running.

Joe Siskovich, our candidate in the 4th district ran for the first time. He received about 875 votes before being ruled out. Our candidate there 2 years ago received only 250 votes. Siskovich made a surprising showing and he has become known in the district.

Other results of the election are the abolition of the city manager plan and future election of councilmen by wards. Further, in the future there will be a run-off, non-partisan primary which every candidate will enter. Only the two candidates having the highest vote in the primary will appear on the ballot election day. This is a direct blow at the political expression of minority groups. And finally, the issuance of bonds

ANNUAL MEETING

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Election of a New Board of Directors
MORRIS BERMAN, Pres.
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to expand the municipal light plant was prevented by a small number of votes, in spite of the fact that the plan has made money for the city and has forced its competitor, the private company, to cut its rates more than half in the last 15 years. The failure of the bonds was due to the many thousands of dollars spent for false propaganda by the Chamber of Commerce and the Power Trust. Altogether, this campaign was the best that the Cleveland Socialists have waged for many years. We are confident of success in the next election.

Plans It All Out; Goes to Pen

DALLAS, Texas.—Pat Harlan, 30, suffering from tuberculosis, tired of looking for a job that could not be found. Then he sat down and thought it all out. A little later Deputy Sheriff Brito, was approached by Harlan. "I have just smashed a post office box and robbed it of its mail," he explained. "I want to go to the Federal penitentiary. It isn't as crowded as the state pen and I'll get better medical treatment there."

Lawrence Strikers Battle On

More Socialists Arrested—5,000 Locked Out—Great Need Is Outside Aid

LAWRENCE, Mass.—Their forces largely still intact, the United Textile Workers of America, the National Textile Workers Union, and the American Textile Workers Union at Lawrence must now settle down to an endurance battle.

The U. T. W. A. voted 100 per cent to remain out on strike and the N. T. W. U. will not weaken. Many of the leaders of both organizations have been blacklisted at the mills. The workers in the Shawheen mills of the American Woolen Co. are mostly back and picketing has ceased there, but only a few are back at the Wood and Washington mills, and some who applied for work at the Wood mill were turned away. The Pacific mills have declared a lockout until February against more than 5,000 members of the A. T. W. U.

One of the dirtiest jobs of the police was the arrest in front of the police station of Samuel Bakely, Philadelphia Socialist and A. F. of L. organizer. He was sitting in the back seat of an automobile owned by Glenn Trimble, Boston University theological student, when police came out of the station and arrested him for "sauntering and loitering." William P. Montgomery and Donald Smith, Socialist students, have also been arrested.

Joseph Salerno, manager of the Workers Cooperative Union, for 14 years a resident of Lawrence, and holder of his first papers to pay citizenship, is one of those whom strikebreaking immigration officials are seeking to oust from the country.

David K. Niles, manager of Ford

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States Will Send 175 Delegates To Four-Day Meeting

N. E. C. Appoints Hillquit, Laidler and Oneal as Agenda Committee—Senior Reports on Organization Needs—Revival On in Northwest—Committee Appeals for Assistance for Lawrence Strikers

By James Oneal

BOSTON.—Meeting here last Saturday and Sunday the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party selected Milwaukee as the city in which to hold the national convention of the party and apportioned the number of delegates to each state. The convention will be opened on Saturday, April 16, and will be in session at least four days. Milwaukee Socialists will be in charge of arrangements and they have pledged \$2,000 towards paying expenses.

If the full quota of delegates is sent to the convention about 175 will be in attendance and an effort will be made to assist the weaker organized states to send their representatives to the convention. The complete apportionment will be published by National Headquarters together with a call to the states to elect their delegates.

Agenda Committee Appointed

A survey of the movement in the states revealed that at least 11 states have functioning party organizations and about 16 that are not well organized and will require some assistance. With two or three exceptions these favorable states are in the North where the movement had been strong years ago and it was decided to concentrate on them before attempting much in less favorable states. These states will be given attention in the order of their importance and promise of results.

Now that the time and place of the convention have been fixed the state organizations have plenty of time to consider plans for paying the expenses of delegates. It is expected that quite a number will come in autos and some by buses. In addition to the nomination of a presidential ticket the conven-

Thomas and Woll To Discuss Russia At B'klyn Forum

A capacity audience is looked for at the Brooklyn Forum Sunday night when Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, Matthew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, Prof. George S. Count and Joseph Shaplen will take part in a symposium on Russia. This will be the first time Woll and Thomas will have met on the same platform.

The Brooklyn Forum meets at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. It is being run by the Socialist party of Brooklyn. It got off to a good start last Sunday night when Charles Solomon and Rep. Hamilton Fish debated on Socialism. Tickets for the Thomas-Woll-Count-Shaplen symposium may be obtained at the box office or at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street.

tion will face many problems of organization, propaganda, party principles and methods and for this reason it is expected that the convention will continue in session longer than conventions in recent years. Morris Hillquit, Harry W. Laidler and James Oneal were appointed a committee on convention agenda and a call will soon be issued to locals throughout the country for suggestions on all these matters.

It is hoped that the locals will give attention to this matter and begin to formulate the proposals which they want to have considered by the convention. These include suggestions for a platform. To the extent that locals cooperate in offering proposals they will facilitate the work of the convention and help the agenda committee in formulating the proposals which the locals consider of importance.

Hear Strikers' Delegation

While the committee was in session a number of representatives of 25,000 textile strikers at Lawrence appeared and presented the various phases of the struggle in this older center of American class conflicts. There are some excellent leaders in the Lawrence strike but aid is urgently needed to feed the families of the strikers and the committee adopted an appeal to the party members to give all assistance they can.

The report of National Executive Secretary Senior showed encouraging and increased activity with 38 new locals organized in the past three months although practically no increase in membership. This is probably due to the depression and inability of some members to pay dues.

In the Northwest where veteran Socialists have held on to small party locals for years there is a pronounced revival of interest and activities, especially in Washington, Oregon, northern Idaho and Montana. All indications are that this section will have some good state organizations the coming year and there is every prospect that our presidential and vice-presidential candidates will have more meetings to address next year than in 1928.

In Missouri the state is in a poorly organized condition, in part due to the absence of the state secretary in another state and an effort will be made to help the

A BLACK ALLIANCE OF CAPITAL AND GANGDOM

JOHN RANDOLPH of Roanoke once startled the politicians of his era by charging an alleged understanding between Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams to be a coalition between the "Puritan and the blackleg." Evidence of this alleged bargain was not convincing but pages of New York dailies recently suggest an alliance between two powers of more concern to the masses than any intrigue of politicians in the early twenties.

Over in Brooklyn resides an eminent person and up the Hudson lives another. Our Brooklyn exhibit is known as Two-guns Pete among his intimates; for the legal record he is Pete de Vito. Up on the Hudson is a feudal magnate whose regal estate is watched day and night by private guards. John D., King of the House of Oil, lives in the upper reaches of society and two-gun Pete resides in the underworld of men with shady pasts.

A vast gulf separates the two worlds in which these eminent men live. Neither is admitted to the society of the other and yet, if press accounts are correct, a secret bridge exists by which the two powers have met to do a little legitimate business. Other princes of the upper world are also said to have done business with the Brooklyn broker.

Pete was intimate with Little Augie and Frankie Yale. These two were business men in their own way and both died violent deaths at the hands of other men engaged in their underworld business. Pete is also a chum of Al Capone, also a business man who was a little careless in making out his income tax returns and has thus brought his profession into disrepute.

Now Pete is also before a Federal court in Brooklyn because of a similar indiscretion and the investigation has revealed the business relations between his world and that upper world from whose society he and his kind are forever barred. In his own way Pete is a business man whose goods have been purchased by a number of great corporations and his telephone list is said to read like a selection from New York's social register.

In the year 1929 it is said that Pete collected a gross sum of \$502,000 from three great corporations, and Standard Oil's Brooklyn company paid out \$300,000 of that sum. This was in payment of the services of about a thousand of Pete's employees, strong-arm men, gunmen and strike-breakers. Within three weeks Pete delivered the goods. His private army broke the strike in this local sector of the oil kingdom.

Other jobs were completed with thoroughness and in even less time. It is said that Pete broke the strike of the American Can workers within two weeks. His clients, according to testimony, included Standard Oil, the American Can Corporation, and N.

Sweeney & Sons, wholesale flour merchants. The payroll of Pete's private army was disclosed and Pete does not deny his connection with the business.

Now the concern of the public authorities with Pete's actions is that he did not make honest returns on his income taxes! There does not appear to be any shock to the business world over the alliance between Pete and the top hat kings of capitalist business enterprise. His job was to crush strikes and he crushed them with physical force. He was paid for it and that is all there is to it.

More than forty years ago Henry Demarest Lloyd published a book which cited state and Congressional investigations and court records showing how an oil kingdom emerged from the competitive jungle. Some oil refineries were mysteriously blown up. Out of the old order came a monstrous dinosaur, leaving a slimy trail of crime from the days of its origin. The dinosaur surrounded many little enterprises, crushed them and gathered in their valuables. The conquering giant crashed through the laws and court decisions. It arranged secret treaties with railroads to smash every little business in its way.

Of course, in the normal process of capitalist development little capital would have gone into the discard anyway, but the oil kingdom smashed its way by foul means to the headship of American capitalism. That is why it was the first to arrive on the scene.

Now Pete may have heard something of this history of oil. If he did he rightly concluded that his business was just as legitimate as many others. In any event, Standard Oil considered his legitimate and from the court investigation it appears that some eminent silk hats of the oil dynasty contracted for his services. He kept his part of the bargain and they paid for his services.

The same issue of the New York World-Telegram, November 6, that reported the romantic exploits of Pete carried another story on the first page. Given a prominent position, this story relates that "Rockefeller Give a Million to Relief Fund. Edwin S. Harkness of Standard Oil Co., Adds \$750,000 to Contributions." Thank John from whom oil blessings flow.

Back of that contribution to the unemployed one may observe the broken heads of the men on strike some two years ago in the Brooklyn province of the oil kingdom. One observes the terror invoked by the paid mercenaries of that power. There are the workmen beaten into submission to the feudal arrogance and measureless greed of the oil dynasty. There is a lowered standard of living. There are discharged workers now in the breadlines who are offered the "charity" of the master feudalists.

Who contributed that \$750,000? Not the respectable gentlemen who are given the credit in the headlines.

It consists of part of the incomes withheld from the beaten workers of this great capitalist power. These gentlemen gave nothing. No more than the robber who holds up a man and then passes a stick of candy to a poorly dressed woman in the street.

John D. is a Baptist and Harkness is a Presbyterian and they recall the historic remark of John Randolph of Roanoke. It is not the first time that an alliance has been revealed between the upper and the lower world of crime. No Wickersham Commission will penetrate the secrets of this foul phase of American capitalism. That it is extensive is evident from the days of Ludlow and Homestead, to modern Kentucky and West Virginia.

It is a raw and brutal aspect of American class struggles. It is subsidized by eminent masters of capital who live dual lives. They roll pious eyes to their God and then secretly write treaties with mercenaries of the underworld. We have more respect for the latter than for the former. There must first be some one willing to buy these services before they can be sold. All the private armies of strikebreakers in this country would remain unemployed if there were none to purchase their services.

Finally, labor organizations that have been goaded to retaliate with the same methods should contemplate the tremendous odds against which they struggle. They cannot compete in the market with the billions of these capitalist powers for these services, no more than a union could set up a rival refinery and hope to survive within the shadow of Standard Oil. The temptation is strong to meet feudal force with union force but it is a losing game for the workers who are victims of it.

These private armies operate with the connivance or indifference of the public powers. The workers in the Brooklyn section of the oil dynasty were beaten into submission in the province where McCooey and his vulgarians hold office. In Manhattan private thugs operated to break the strike of the Interboro workers with Walker and his allies in office being undisturbed by what was going on.

Workingmen and women face the need of taking the public powers out of the hands of their enemies. With these powers in their hands they can keep the private armies out of every strike and guarantee the strikers the right to meet, to picket and to carry on the struggle for betterment under more favorable conditions. Otherwise they must be prepared not only to face allies of the upper and the underworld but the indifference or support of the governing powers.

As for the respectable capitalists who subsidize this thing, they write themselves down for what they are, and what they are would require language that is not permitted in polite society and the reader may retire to a blue room and make his or her own comment.

stable reorganization. In St. Louis the movement is coming back to life and a meeting of the National Executive Committee there next January will help the local movement. West Virginia has a similar problem and similar action will be taken for that state. The state of Washington has so advanced in organization that a state charter was granted to it.

Negro Work Outlined

Alfred Baker Lewis, Joseph Bearak, and Jasper McLevy served as a committee to consider organization problems and their report brought out a long discussion. Re-consideration of the appointment of a national organizing secretary which was decided upon at the previous meeting was lost by a tie vote. The sub-committee advised concentration upon a number of important cities in organized states but it was decided to give special attention to the unorganized and poorly organized states.

Arthur C. Parker for the Negro comrades outlined a program of work among colored Americans and it was decided to provide the press agency of these comrades with letterheads and if possible to sell the service to Negro publications. If it becomes a commercial success the colored comrades can take it over and relieve National Headquarters of the expense.

Another problem in organization is the need of a meeting of the National Committee. A number of attempts have been made to get this body together and a recent reference of the proposal to the members of the committee resulted in a vote of 7 to 9 against the meeting. It was decided that in view of the results of the vote that no meeting of the National Committee can be held for the present. It is probable that most of the members of this committee will be at the convention and as a result it can be made a better functioning body.

Lewis, Roever and Trimble were made a committee in problems of the Young People's Socialist League which will later report recommendations to assist the Ypsels.

Verband Jubilee Nov. 27

Another problem facing the committee is the application of Paole Zion Socialist organization for affiliation with the party as a federation. The Jewish section of the party and there is no provision for the admission of two federations speaking the same language. The Zionist Socialists are affiliated with the Palestine organization and the latter in turn is affiliated with the Socialist International. Algeron Lee, Norman Thomas and James O'neal were appointed a committee to confer with both organizations and make a report.

The Verband will hold its jubilee convention in New York City November 27-29 and Morris Hillquit was instructed to appoint a fraternal delegate to the convention.

The removal of national headquarters to Washington was deferred till after the national convention and in the meantime the offices will be moved to a more convenient location in Chicago. A leaflet on banking and finance was referred back to the author for certain revisions and National Secretary Senior was instructed to take up the matter of a new edition of Harry W. Laidler's pamphlet on Unemployment and its Remedies bearing the imprint of National Headquarters.

Working class organizations abroad are now gathering signatures to petitions on disarmament and it was decided to make a special effort here to get the support of the resolution of the Socialist and the Trade Union International among peace societies and trade unions. The party's resolution on the Mooney case and the Mooney pamphlet will be sent to the Socialist International with the view of getting more publicity for this case among the workers across the Atlantic. Morris Hillquit was also reappointed as a member of the executive of the International.

The Socialist Party now faces intensive work of propaganda and organization to fit itself for the big political struggle next year. State organizations have plenty of time to plan for raising funds for their

Socialist N. E. C. Urges Aid For Lawrence Mill Strikers

TO locals, branches and members of the Socialist party: The National Executive Committee meeting in Boston has heard the tragic story of 25,000 men and women on strike in the textile industry at Lawrence. They are waging a battle against intolerable conditions and are enduring acute privations in the hope of averting lower standards of living. Wages of even the highest skilled workers have been reduced from \$35 and \$40 a week to an average of \$21 a week when working full time. Thousands are engaged in a struggle against even a lower starvation wage.

These striking workers not only face the exploiting masters of the mills but, as in previous struggles, the public powers are ranged against them. A citizens' committee has appeared as a masked body that is obviously only interested in ending the strike regardless of the welfare of the strikers and their families. This committee has sponsored a

referendum which is hypocritical in that it left the strikers with the alternative of saying that they would accept a reduction in wages or that they do not want to work.

Measureless hardships are suffered by the strikers and their families and the relief extended to them is not yet sufficient to enable them to continue the struggle indefinitely. Every party member and every sympathetic person and organization should respond to the appeal for funds and we urge that this be done without delay.

All contributions should be sent to Alfred Baker Lewis, 21 Essex street, Boston, Mass. The situation is desperate and this aid will cheer many thousands of the working class who are fighting a heroic battle against degradation and for union solidarity against capitalist greed.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY, Boston, Nov. 7.

delegates to the national convention and every local has an opportunity to prepare proposals for the agenda.

The meeting of the Executive Committee next January will be the last one before the convention meets. Members of the committee will speak in a number of cities on the route to and from St. Louis and locals desiring a meeting should send their applications to National Headquarters without delay.

Mass Meetings Held

On Friday night before the first session of the committee opened Morris Hillquit spoke at a good meeting in Worcester and a number of applications for membership were received. On Sunday morning Hillquit spoke at the Dorchester Socialist forum.

On Sunday night Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee and Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport spoke at a mass meeting in Springfield. The committee sessions ended Sunday evening at a reception given by the members in the Bradford Hotel by about 200 Massachusetts Socialists. The speakers were James O'neal, Joseph W. Sharis, Morris Hillquit, and James H. Maurer. Joseph Bearak of Boston served as chairman.

An appeal for funds to help national headquarters in its work brought contributions to \$540. Ice cream and cake were served and the members enjoyed a social hour before leaving for their homes.

Socialists' Vote Set Record in Reading

(Continued from Page One)

ments that the Socialists would bar "Old Glory" and the Bible from our schools and appealed to the instinct of fear by warning the voters that Reading would lose industries if the Socialists were elected. Despite the fact that the Socialists nailed every lie advanced, the Fusionists continued that method of attack until the close of the campaign.

It is doubtful whether even that method of leading the people up blind alleys would have been effective if it had been confined to the political arena. However, a number of local preachers joined in the cry and used their pulpits to repeat and bolster the lies which Bertolotto and his crew were broadcasting. Probably more than any other single factor, the enlistment of pulpits on the side of Mammon on the final Sunday before the election turned the tide. That attack came too late for the Socialists to answer and certainly changed many votes.

The "Reading Times," long known as the enemy of the administration, which had been confining its anti-Socialist activities to occasional crafty articles and editorials, definitely aligned itself on the side of the Capitalist-Fusion crowd during the last few days of the campaign by publishing broadside editorials against the administration and urging the defeat of Socialists. However, it is not believed that the "Times" was any considerable factor in determining the result of the election.

Socialists Encouraged While the Socialists of Reading are disappointed by their failure to win against a united opposition, they are nevertheless encouraged by the large number of straight party ballots which was cast for them despite the character of the attacks of the enemy. That thousands of people have definitely aligned themselves upon the side of the Socialist party is given conclusive proof by the size of the

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Phila. Rich Start Drive On Taxation

Charity Splurge Covers Millionaire's Fear of Levy on Their Fortunes

By A. J. BIEMILLER (New Leader Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA.—With a clanging of bells and shrieking of whistles reminiscent of Liberty Loan drives, Philadelphia's millionaires started a campaign Monday night to save their fortunes.

Edward T. Stotesbury, leader of Philadelphia's financiers, gathered the 150 wealthiest Philadelphians at his home three days earlier and warned them that unless they came through with large donations to the Unemployment Relief Fund, they could be certain that heavy income taxes would be imposed by the government. Two days later Mayor Mackey used the same line or the radio.

On Monday the whistles blew and the bells rang (many people thought the United States had declared war on Japan), while 4,000 relief solicitors sat down to dinner in the Convention Hall. (Believe it or not, they all paid for their own dinners). Two large donations were announced, \$300,000 from Cyrus H. K. Curtis and \$250,000 from Stotesbury.

But the dinner was not entirely pleasant. Mr. A. Atwater Kent refused to buy any insurance against income taxes. In spite of tremendous pressure brought to bear on Kent by Stotesbury, George Wharton Pepper, and others, he flatly refused to contribute. Kent owns five large estates near Philadelphia and the Atwater Kent Radio Company. His family spend the summer at Bar Harbor and the winter in Florida. His daughter was presented at Court in London last year, and had a huge and spectacular wedding at Bar Harbor this summer. "I like to live the simple life—on a grand scale," Mr. Kent told the newspaper reporters. He maintains that he was poor only a few years ago, so why should the unemployed worry? Some day they may be in his position.

But the drive is not only on millionaires. All workers with jobs are asked to contribute one day's pay a month for six months. That's pretty high insurance against income taxes for workers. But it isn't voluntary in their case. Aligned Sears Roebuck and United Gas Improvement officials have announced that their employees will contribute.

In the meantime unemployment and suffering increase. Four workers have committed suicide in the last ten days, one killing her three children before turning the gun on herself.

Kirkpatrick Heads Party In California

Famous Socialist Propagandist Becomes State Secretary - Plans for Speaking Tour

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—With the slogan "California for Socialism," an aggressive campaign to form a Socialist branch in every community in the state was inaugurated with the recent appointment of Kirkpatrick as state secretary and organizer. Prof. George R. Kirkpatrick to the job of state secretary of the California Socialist Party.

Kirkpatrick is nationally known as a writer, speaker and fighting campaigner. He is the author of numerous books and pamphlets, including "War—What For?" and "Think or Surrender." He is a former candidate for vice-president on the national Socialist Party ticket and has fought in the front ranks of many a Socialist election battle.

He will leave Los Angeles soon for a speaking tour embracing every corner of the state, lecturing and organizing.

Existing locals desiring lecture engagements and individuals wishing to aid in forming Socialist branches in their localities are requested to communicate with state headquarters, 429 Douglas building, Los Angeles, for dates. Arrangements can be made to have Kirkpatrick speak and lay the ground work for building up local branches.

If there is no branch of the party in your locality, write immediately to headquarters about it.

Kirkpatrick will also conduct a column in "The New Era," official organ of the California Party.

Applications for membership in the Socialist Party are pouring in to state headquarters in a steady stream and it is the purpose of the new secretary to take advantage of the tremendous drift in sentiment towards the cooperative system by organizing new groups of workers and bringing them into the Socialist Party.

The law, in its majestic equality, forbids the rich man as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the street, and steal bread.—Anatole France.

Va. Socialists Prepared for Local Fights

Good Votes Are Polled In Richmond and in Hopewell Contests

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

RICHMOND, VA.—When Joe Morgan polled 8,000 votes, about 5 percent of the total, in his race for U. S. Senate in Virginia last year, many called it "accidental." However, the party has not only held its own, but with more than half of the districts reported, has increased its vote some two-and-a-half times the Morgan vote, while the Democratic vote is about the same as last year.

The districts reported so far give the Socialist candidates a total of 877 votes, where Morgan got 336 in 1930. In the same districts we polled 62 for Thomas for President in 1928. Our total vote this year averages better than 10 percent, and runs as high as 18 percent in some districts. Last year, in the districts reported, the Democratic candidate received 7417. This year, the Democratic "vote" was 7691, and the "high" vote 8183.

The most amazing fact about the elections is that the Democrats in most instances got only the "machine" vote. Richmond has a dependable "machine" vote of about 3700. This year, despite the publicity, only a few dozen Democrats, other than the "machine," voted, while nearly 500 people voted Socialist.

Richmond and Hopewell Socialists are already planning for vigorous spring campaigns for control of the cities. The city elections come on June 7, 1932. We are convinced that we can get a majority of all votes above the Democratic dependable vote of about 4,000 in Richmond, and 400 in Hopewell. Our job will be to thoroughly rouse the entire population so that a full vote will be cast.

We are greatly encouraged by having polled such a large and uniform proportion of the votes, and are determined to more than hold the ten percent next year in the Presidential election. Virginia's total Presidential vote will be about 300,000. We have set 30,000 as the minimum figure that we must get, but will hit for 45,000, which would be 15 percent.

HOPEWELL, VA.—Election day saw all factions of the Democratic party united in bringing to the polls every "machine" vote. Telephones were busy all day, and at 3 P.M. a dozen automobiles started hauling in voters, with the result that half of the Hopewell vote was cast after 3 P.M.

We Socialists learned a good lesson of experience. We were certain of about 725 votes, but made no provision for properly manning the polls and hauling voters, with the result that only 55 of our "certain" voters went to the polls. In addition to these, we polled another dozen or so votes.

All the mill bosses, foremen, lawyers, bankers, job-holders, business men, etc., voted, and brought their families. The only comment on the election from the Democratic side has been surprise at the vote we got. As the polls closed the Democrats estimated our vote in Hopewell at 40.

In Hopewell alone, about 400 would-be Socialist voters were disfranchised by the poll tax, which is \$1.50 per year and must be paid 6 months in advance. When a voter becomes three or more years behind in payment of this tax, he must pay three back years before he can vote. Most of our comrades owe for three years, or a total of \$4.50 plus interest. We are planning now for the city election in June. Poll taxes must be paid by December 5, in order to vote every "machine" vote. If we can get 300 of our people to pay, together with the block of about 800 that we now have, we will enter the campaign with a block of 600 straight Socialist voters, amongst about 1600, and as the election will probably be 3-cornered, we can win, even without considering the converts we expect to make from the qualified voters' list.

Panken to Lecture On Vienna and N. Y. C.

"New York and Vienna, A Tale of Two Cities," will be the subject of an address by Judge Jacob Panken before the Institute of Advanced Education in the Roerich Museum Branch, 310 Riverside drive, Sunday evening at 8:55 p.m. Judge Panken recently made a study of the municipally owned apartment houses of Vienna and will compare the situation there with the housing situation in New York. On Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock, Morris L. Ernst, attorney and author, will speak on "Freedom of Thought in the United States."

Ministers for Job Insurance

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Methodist ministers of Philadelphia and vicinity have unanimously endorsed unemployment insurance, the five-day week, a Federal child labor law and financial protection for workers, equal to that given stockholders.

Rich Frolic All Night To Help the 'Deserving' Poor

Waldorf Houses Gay Party of Wage Cutters and Other Parasites

THE Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor put on a huge splurge of improving at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, Park avenue, New York, when they outdid themselves in the gorgeous Peacock Ball. Everyone that matters was represented in white shirt fronts, top hats, or resplendent gowns. Some of those that matter were sober as they wandered past the scrubwomen in the hallways on their way from one ballroom to another.

The poor were very evident by their absence. Wide, windy and cold Park avenue is not the place for the poor—particularly at one or two or five or six a.m. The poor sleep in their tenement rooms, or flop in downtown doorways, with their condition not too noticeably improved.

More than 3,000 charitable debutantes and scions, with their fathers and mothers and bejeweled aunts, stepped and staggered about from the main ballroom to the special Cuban, French, Russian, Spanish and American cabarets and entertainments.

With ample brass-buttoned protection from any stray jobless worker who might come around to ask a dime for coffee or a taxi, rolled up to the main doorway of the Waldorf all night and disgorged gay philanthropists, well-armed with bottles and "invitations"—at \$15—full (?) dress and a social standing per invitation, as "Society" contrived a gay program to serve philanthropy" (New York Times).

The contrivances included seven orchestras, ballets, Ziegfeld girls, a supper so contrived as to be well able to improve the condition of any one of the poor that might be there.

have been at table, and dozens of other entertainers and attendants in, the various side shows.

Miss Ruth Vanderbilt Twombly headed the committees for the ball. Miss Ruth Vanderbilt Twombly, of the Vanderbilts, is well known to the poor. The Vanderbilts of the New York Central Railway which has just asked their workers to take a 10 per cent wage cut. Miss Ruth Vanderbilt Twombly doubtless heaved a huge sigh of satisfaction at the enormous success she achieved. Everyone had a wonderful time. Everyone forgot that there is such a thing as unemployment, starvation, or rumblings of revolt. The Astors, the Hearsts, the Morgans, the Marshall Fields, in short, the owners of almost anything you can think of which is profitable to own, had a simply gorgeous time. They did something really noble, something fine, something philanthropic, charitable, expensive. They spent the night at the Peacock Ball, improving the condition of the poor, and could be seen struggling and being helped into waiting taxicabs close to dawn, as they went home to rest up for the next charity affair.

Miss Ruth Vanderbilt Twombly and her friends probably had one more sign of satisfaction. There was one more thing to make them feel good and charitable. As they sped down Park avenue they couldn't miss the huge poster the New York Central Building has strung across its face. It says:

I WILL SHARE

I have shared, think more than 3,000 persons of the elect, as they flop into bed, while the Waldorf-Astoria scrubwomen and porters remain behind mopping up, and 750,000 unemployed and their families in New York City shiver in the early morning air, their condition not too noticeably improved by the orgy.

Pitt. Socialists Launch Classes To Train Labor

Many Students Enroll to Study Public Speaking and Economics

PITTSBURGH.—The Party in Allegheny County in cooperation with other labor groups has launched a venture in workers' education. More than a score of young people have already registered for the three courses which will comprise the program of the Workers Educational Alliance for the first twelve weeks of its existence. The first session will be opened with the initiation of a class in Public Speaking, Thursday evening, November 12th, at 8:00 P.M. Beginning November 18th the Alliance will carry on classes two days of each week. Wednesday will furnish time for two classes, one in the Economics of Basic Industries with particular reference to the Pittsburgh district and the other in Labor History and Tactics. Thursday will be the regular meeting date for the class in Public Speaking.

There will be no tuition charged as the services of the instructors are volunteered but a registration fee will be assessed to cover administrative expenses although the payment of the fee will be deferred for unemployed students. The classes until further notice will hold their meetings in Rooms 613-15, Lyceum Bldg., Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.

The Faculty secured by the Alliance includes Maurice Schneirov, Donald Thompson and Arthur G. McDowell, and Elmer Cope. Every individual, worker or friend of the labor movement who may be interested is urged to get in touch with the Workers Educational Alliance at 613, Lyceum Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.

"The Torch," propaganda publication of the Party in Allegheny County, will be continued, being issued at irregular intervals to meet important issues as they arise. The next issue will deal with the Charity Drive as it is seen in Pittsburgh with Andy W. Mellon leading the pack with virtuous speeches concerning the saving of the self-respect of unemployed workers.

Solomon to Address Young Circle Rally

The Young Circle League is holding a series of membership rallies. Hundreds of new members are being enrolled. The next rally will be held Sunday, November 15, at 8 p.m. at the Terrace DeLuxe, 434 Hopkinson avenue, Brownsville, Bklyn., N. Y. Charles Solomon will be the main speaker. Young people residing in Brownsville, East New York and East Flatbush are invited.

Praise for Pioneer Youth

Dr. Marian Kenworthy, director of the Mental Hygiene Department of the New York School of Social Work, who will be one of the speakers at a Pioneer Youth dinner next Wednesday, the 18th, at London Terrace, considers Pioneer Youth one of the most constructive organizations in the country.

Dr. Kenworthy will discuss this problem at length at the dinner next Wednesday night. Other speakers will be Dr. Lois Meek of the Child Development Institute, and Walter Ludwig, director of Pioneer Youth. Professor E. C. Lindeman of the N. Y. School of Social Work, will preside.

Gov. Emmerson Bars Insurance To Aid Jobless

Special Legislative Session in Illinois Acted in Scope of Action

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—The long expected special session of the Illinois Legislature has been called by Gov. Emmerson. It will begin work Nov. 17th. The big thing that is played up is financial help for Cook County and the City of Chicago and Farm Relief for down state. Unemployment Relief is also included in the call. Up to the last minute nobody knew whether the governor would pay any attention to the demands of the Socialist Party and others to include unemployment relief as an item to be taken up for discussion.

As late as October 27th, a few days before the call for the special session was issued, the Socialist Party of Cook County sent the following telegram to Gov. Emmerson: "We respectfully urge you to include Unemployment Relief in Call for Special Session of Legislature. Throughout Illinois people are in dire need—starving—evicted from their homes—families broken up! You as governor can and must do all in your power to aid these people in these terrible times."

The governor's wording of the call seems to limit any discussion of unemployment relief to bond issues for public works or charity. It seems that unemployment insurance, the only half-way efficient remedy for unemployment misery, will be sidetracked by the special session just as it had been sidetracked by the regular session of the legislature.

In contrast to the treatment of the unemployment question no restrictions are placed on the discussion of other items. Ostensibly the talk is about taxation of real estate which must be relieved. As a matter of fact, though, what they really are after is more taxes. They want to take a slice off real estate taxes, it is true; but on the other hand they intend to levy a tax on tobacco, on income (hitting the small more than the big, of course), on automobiles and what not, and the new taxes would be many millions more than the tax they want to take off real estate.

All in all the taxpayer in between the devil and the deep sea. Many cannot pay their taxes now. What ever reduction in real estate taxation would be granted would hardly be noted by the small home owner, who worked most of his life to acquire his own home, while the state income tax and tobacco tax etc., would be added burdens.

Labor Candidate Elected in Dayton

DAYTON, Ohio.—John E. Bridenbach, president of the Central Labor Union of Dayton, has been elected to the city commission by an overwhelming plurality of over 19,000 votes. The other commissioner elected polled 11,000 votes. The candidates who ran for reelection were repudiated by the people who they had betrayed so many times to the power trust.

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Mellonism Leaves Trail Of Misery

Arnold City, Pa., Visited by Death, Insanity and Hunger as Strike Aftermath

By Harvey O'Connor
ARNOLD CITY, Pa. (FP)—The day after deputy sheriffs shot and killed Steve Zigaric, a miner, and wounded 12 fellow pickets near the Wildwood mine, deputies and coal and iron police shot and killed Mike Philipovich and wounded four strikers near the Pittsburgh Coal Company's "patch" at Arnold City.

Today, four months later, Mary Philipovich, widow, has the problem of supporting five children, the oldest 10 years, on nothing at all. Mrs. Jim Davis we didn't see. She was at the insane asylum, visiting her husband, who was shot through the privates. He went insane. She has six little ones to look after.

Henny Brown, aged 55, father of six children, can't walk very well. Two bullets entered his spinal column and doctors are afraid to operate for fear it will be his end. John Galla, father of eight children, was lucky. A bullet entered his arm and could be extracted. So was Mike Sarko, 45, father of six children. The bullet went in one side of his arm and out the other.

Deputies Threw Bombs
Philipovich, the man killed, was the miners' friend. He was standing on the porch of his store the morning of June 23, 1931, watching the strikers of the Pittsburgh Coal Company asking strikebreakers to stay away from the mine.

Two superintendents of the Pittsburgh coal mines were standing about 30 feet away, next to six deputies and two "coal and iron." It was the first time the "patch" had been picketed as the trucks came to take the strikebreakers over to the mine.

Angered by the mere presence of pickets, the deputies threw "four or five of them bombs." Mary Philipovich related, "Mike, standing here on the porch, shouted, 'Don't throw them this way. There's a bunch of kids in this house.'"

The deputies and the "coal and iron" answered Mike. Not with words. Doctors took nine slugs out of his body that morning. "I heard the supers yell, 'Shoot 'em all,' his widow said. 'I was standing here in the doorway, sort of paralyzed.'"

"I saw Mike fall. I ran out. The men were scattering in every direction. One came up and helped me drag Mike inside the store. He died out in that back room, just a few minutes later. Afterwards we found 29 shots and slugs on our front porch."

Helped Relief Work
"I saw even the state troopers at work in afterwards acted kind disgusted. 'What kind of generals did those supers think they were,' the troopers said, 'that they had the right to order people shot?' But the coroner let 'em all off."

Apparently the reason for Mike's death was in the basement of his store. The basement was being used as a relief station for the miners.

But the grocery store is closed now. The Pittsburgh Coal Company let it be known that none of the men in the patch were to patronize the store. And as for the striking miners, "We ain't got a dollar between us all," said the chairman of the relief committee, waving his arm at a dozen miners.

The little relief shack. There were 60 bushels of potatoes and two boxes of clothing in the shack. Nothing else.

So Mrs. Philipovich is up against it. She has seen a lawyer in Uniontown, county seat of Fayette county, about a damage suit against the deputies and the Mellon Pittsburgh Coal Company. The Mellons are the controlling factor in Pittsburgh coal, although a polite legal fiction keeps Pittsburgh newspapers from saying so. The wounded miners have also seen attorneys in Uniontown and Moneysen. The American Civil Liberties Union has offered its assistance to the widow and the miners in instituting damage suits.

In the meantime a hundred miners, more or less, and several hundred dependents—for families are big, far too big, in the mine fields—face a winter of starvation. The Pittsburgh Coal Company has blacklisted them. It has evicted nearly a score of strikers' families from the patch. These have been housed in the free strip of ground where the strikers live. In one little house 16 people are living.

That, in short, is the aftermath of that bloody morning four months ago when miners picketed. Murder, insanity, invalids, orphans, starvation—that is what resistance to Andrew W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury and head of the third wealthiest family in America, means in the little mining town named Arnold City.

Rooms and Board Wanted

For New York Comrade of Long Standing in the Movement. Write, L. P. The New Leader, 7 E. 13th St. State approximate weekly charge.

Tom Mooney Protests Police Interference in Los Angeles Rally

LOS ANGELES, Cal.—Tom Mooney has wired today to Mayor Porter of Los Angeles, protesting the breaking up by the Los Angeles police department of the Mooney meeting at Philharmonic Auditorium Friday, Oct. 30.

Mooney stated in his telegram: "I vigorously protest against the vicious attacks with clubs and gas bombs by Los Angeles police against workers demanding their freedom. Friday, Oct. 30, will be known to the people of the United States as Black Friday in Los Angeles. The action of the police is symbolic of the ruthlessness used in framing me. Joint meeting protesting Los Angeles police brutality and my frame-up being arranged. I demand that police lawlessness be curbed. Your responsibility is inescapable."

Scores of telegrams and letters from individuals and organizations all over the state are pouring into the office of the Mooney Defense Committee, protesting against the suppression of the Mooney meeting in Los Angeles and pledging support for a monster mass meeting now being arranged there.

Wash. Loggers Strike Against Wage Slashes

Two Schaeffer Bros. Mills Are Crippled by Walkout—Pay Hits the Bottom

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
BERDEEN.—Driven to despair and rage by a wage cut, workers in the Schaeffer Bros. Mill No. 4 went on strike Nov. 2nd, with a part of the crew remaining on the job. The next day most of these were persuaded by a picket line to walk out. The mill attempted to operate Tuesday but closed entirely Wednesday, Nov. 4th. The Schaeffer Brothers Lumber Company also operates a saw mill in Montesano (12 miles from Aberdeen). It also closed today, locking out the employees due to labor troubles.

Public opinion is with the strikers. The Schaeffer Bros. Co. is known as a labor-hating concern. In 1918 the owners went to Chicago at their own expense to testify against the Chicago I. W. W. defendants. In their logging camps they have pursued a slave-driving speed-up system. A large number of loggers have been killed and maimed for life due to this speed system.

If this strike is lost the low wages will be below the wages paid in pre-war days which were about \$1.75 to \$2.00 low. As every one knows living costs were about 50 per cent compared to the present time.

The Schaeffer Brothers company employed Filipinos at their mills in Aberdeen and Montesano with low wages as an objective. Last summer they were given a wage cut. They walked out. The Filipinos were taken back as employees but later were replaced by white employees. I talked with two of the Filipinos who were watching the activities of the pickets. They both declared that not one Filipino would go to work while the white workers were on strike. That should be an answer to some white workers who have so heatedly blamed the Filipinos for bringing low wages.

The Schaeffer Bros. mills and camps are not the only firms paying starvation wages. The Wilson Brothers Lumber Mill is paying as low as \$1.22 per day for six hours per day. Pickets attempted to get these men to strike but were not successful. A friend of mine who is employed there complained he had to do three men's work at that wage, \$1.22.

In the logging camps around here loggers claim they are just able to pay their board and bed, and sometimes not that. Due to the club held by the employers in the huge army of unemployed these loggers employed in a hazardous occupation at the very best, are being speeded up to the limit of human endurance, which is resulting in many accidents.

The once powerful fighting I. W. W. have been destroyed by blacklisting of its active job delegates. Indifference of the workers due to the false idea that hard times would never reappear, internecine strife in the organizations caused by Communists, stool pigeons and crooks, continues to dominate the minds of the lumber jacks and saw mill workers. The seed, sown by the I. W. W., of Industrial Unionism will no doubt blossom into a new fighting Lumber Workers Union in the near future. The ex-I. W. W. has no faith in any union controlled from the top by Communists. There is a reawakening of these men and it bodes ill for the lumber trust.

GET your old party friends to subscribe to The New Leader. It will furnish them with an accurate record of the things they voted for. They will appreciate the information by reason of their having paid for it.

21 Kentucky Miners to Face Court on Murder Charges; Militia Aggravates Situation

Trial of 12 Begins Nov. 18, Others Dec. 14—Defense Attorneys Persecuted

RIGHT of 18,000 coal miners to organize in Harlan County, Kentucky, is involved in the trials of 21 miners for alleged murder of Sheriff Randolph killed James Chastain, restaurant man. Randolph was jailed on the insistence of the National Guard, but was allowed a private room with a radio and other special comforts, then was whitewashed.

Changes of venue to Clark and Montgomery Counties in the murder cases were ordered by Circuit Judge D. C. Jones over the protest of the defense attorneys, who contend that this was done to make it difficult and costly for the defense to produce witnesses. The trial towns are 100 or more miles from Harlan County, with transportation poor.

Captain Ben B. Golden of Pineville, Ky., and former United States Representative John M. Robison of Barbourville, will defend the miners accused of murder, having been retained by the General Defense Committee of Chicago. Twenty-five criminal syndicalism cases are set for trial Nov. 24 in Harlan, before Judge Jones.

"We have repeatedly pointed out to Governor Sappington," says the Civil Liberties Union, "that the machinery of law enforcement has broken down in Harlan County, the local officials being subservient to the coal operators, and have urged him to send a representative into that county to restore law and order, or to appoint a special judge to take testimony of lawlessness by the county authorities. Corroborating our charges, the Governor has before him a report on the Harlan situation by Mrs. George T. Settle of Louisville, president of the Consumers' League of Kentucky."

After a long silence, Governor Sappington has ordered troops into Harlan County. This certainly is not our idea of the proper order of the strike. The miners are in a desperate condition in the strike area. Fewer guns, not more guns, are needed in Harlan County. "Eight thousand miners and their families are victims of the official lawlessness in Harlan County, and are penniless, hungry and desperate."

Defense Is Molested

Efforts to provide adequate defense for the accused have met with obstacles at every turn. Defense representatives have been jailed and indicted for criminal syndicalism, one was beaten by Sheriff J. H. Blair and deported into Virginia, a defense automobile was dynamited, and two newspaper men were shot while gathering news of the strike.

Seven miners and sympathizers have been killed, some of them in

cold blood, but no one was indicted for these murders. Deputy Sheriff Bill Randolph killed James Chastain, restaurant man. Randolph was jailed on the insistence of the National Guard, but was allowed a private room with a radio and other special comforts, then was whitewashed.

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N. Y. Bakers Campaign To Put Union Label On All Bakery Goods

The Bakers' Union is following up its recent series of outdoor meetings with a house-to-house canvass in an effort to popularize the use of bakery products which bear the union label. Of assistance to them in this effort have been the grocerymen who have been at odds with the Stemer Baking Co. This firm, so the grocers and union men say, have found that an increasing number of persons demand the union label, especially on pumpkin pie. The grocers have banded together, for the purpose of securing better service from baking firms, a reduction in prices to which the Stemer Co. would not agree and the return of unsold bread. The response to the agitation of the union has been especially effective in Bensonhurst, Brownsville, Corona Heights, Coney Island, Brighton Beach and Bushwick.

Besides visiting radical and progressive organizations, representatives of the Bakers' Union are planning a series of free entertainments and concerts in East Side and Brooklyn Halls, in the work of agitating for better conditions among the bakery workers.

Bronx Socialist Dance

The Eighth A. D. branch of the Socialist Party will give a dance and entertainment at Paradise Manor, Mt. Eden and Jerome avenues, Saturday, Nov. 14th, at 8 P. M. Otto Mautner's inimitable "Flying Dutchman" will furnish the music. It is certain that Socialists and their friends will have an enjoyable evening in view of past performances of the Eighth A. D. branch.

Michigan Socialist Students Reduce Food Costs by Cooperative Eating Club

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

ANN ARBOR, Mich.—A cooperative experiment in "eating at cost," initiated by members of the Michigan Socialist Club at the University of Michigan, has made it possible for 35 students to receive board at from \$2 to \$3 less a week than they were paying at the usual campus eating places. The club has provided jobs for seven students who otherwise would have been forced by lack of funds to quit school.

The club was organized with virtually no capital. An unemployed cook and an owner of a partly rented house were located. Restaurant owners were glad to sell at a low price dishes which were out of style. A carpenter built four tables at \$3 out of used lumber. The total cost for the project was about \$50, plus great worry and work on the part of the principal organizer, Leonard Kimball.

The plan was advertised among members of the Michigan Socialist Club. On the first day about 20 students attended. The number increased to 35 by the second week

Three Lackawanna Democrats Indicted For Election Frauds

LACKAWANNA, N. Y.—Joseph F. Murphy, renegade Socialist and one time organizer of the Steel Workers Union, has been indicted by the Erie County Grand Jury for an election fraud. Murphy, together with Michael Barrett and Francis E. Joyce, Democratic leaders, are charged with illegally registering disqualified voters in the September Socialist party primary for the purpose of stealing Socialist nominations for the Democratic candidates. This attempt was successful but the Socialists ran their entire ticket under the designation of the Independent Labor party and succeeded in polling the usual Socialist vote. While no Socialists were elected, their vote was sufficient to cause the defeat of the Democratic office-holders.

Robert A. Hoffman, Secretary of the Socialist County Committee, is the complainant in the cases against the three Democrats. "All progressive trade unionists are urged to beware of Joe Murphy," declares Hoffman, "at one time he was an ardent left-winger but since then he has run for public office on the Democratic ticket and for several years was President of the Company Union of the Lackawanna plant of the Bethlehem Steel Co. Murphy has extensive contacts in the labor movement; outside this locality, who still labor under the impression he is a progressive. He has now been exposed in his true character."

The break, according to Mr. Valenti, was brought about because of objection on the part of the minority members of the Board of Directors of Il Nuovo Mondo to publish articles concerning the relations of Generoso Pope, millionaire publisher, with the Colonial Sand Co., and Tammany Hall, which are being investigated by the Hofstadter Committee.

PANAMA, Tenn. (FP).—Disgusted with bosses who broke the agreement ending the recent strike, union wood workers have decided to create a cooperative factory to make door and window sash.

after news spread that meals like the following could be obtained: chicken gumbo soup, hearts of celery, sweet pickles, raspberry jam, chicken a la king (with actual chicken, too!), baked potatoes, green garden salad, chocolate pie with whipped cream, coffee or milk. If any one does not have enough, he may reorder.

The savings estimated for each member of the cooperative is \$4 a week. Food cost at the university is estimated at \$8. The club charges half that figure. The reason why the cooperative club is able to serve meals at such low rates is because the profit goes back to the club.

The club at present consists of 35 members, which is about the capacity of the present place. Some of the members, who are unable to pay \$4 a week, pay a dollar or as much as they can afford and wash dishes or wait table to pay for the rest.

The possibilities for the club's growth are promising. As one member put it, "Soon the restaurant owners themselves will be eating with us."

Pinchot Prescribes Tents for the Jobless During Winter Months

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—With winter around the corner the "progressive" Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania is having the militia erect tent colonies in Western Pennsylvania mine districts in which he proposes to house long unemployed and starving miners who may be given work on the roads. The administrative committee of the Socialist Party Miners Relief Fund which has been engaged in relief work in this strike-torn and hunger-worn area since July has bitterly arraigned the millionaire Governor for barbarous inhumanity and carelessness of human life.

A public statement issued at the same time as the Governor's speech to the special unemployment relief session of the Legislature, points out that to place a well-fed and cared for army under tents for a winter would be a serious matter but to place miners with strength undermined by months or even years of unemployment and attendant want in tent colonies during the winter months could only be followed by the most tragic results.

In his speech to the General Assembly Governor Pinchot, the darling of wealth and comfort since birth, defended his program in the mining districts by saying that he, well-fed and warmly clothed and luxuriously equipped sportsman, had spent zero weather under canvas and knew it was alright. The Socialist committee freely predicted conditions rivaling the most fanciful tales of prison camps.

It was at this Labor Day conference that C. P. L. A. members were afforded the first opportunity of expressing themselves on the statement published in the August issue of Labor Age entitled, "Do We Need a New Political Party?" Although A. J. Muste, chairman of the C. P. L. A., argued at length in favor of taking this step and was supported by Louis F. Budenz, J. C. Kennedy and Benjamin Mandel, most of those who participated in the discussion spoke against it. They included McAllister Coleman, Leonard Bright, John Herling and Mary Hillyer, members of the Socialist Party, who explained that they supported the C. P. L. A. because of its industrial policies, urged the C. P. L. A. to concentrate its activities on the industrial field, and warned Muste that his efforts to set up a new party would make it impossible for Socialist party members to remain in the C. P. L. A.

Among others who expressed their opposition were, Justus Ebert and Abraham Lefkowitz, the former declaring that the political action contemplated would result in slowing down the industrial work, while the latter, as one who had been secretary of the American Labor Party, ridiculed the arguments of those who would at this time attempt to form another revolutionary party. None of the speakers, however, declared against working for a broad Labor party.

Libera Stampa New Paper of Anti-Fascists

Il Nuovo Mondo Directors Split on Exposé of Tammany Contractor

AS A result of a split in the Board of Directors of Il Nuovo Mondo, an Italian newspaper started six years ago as an anti-Fascist daily, a new daily, Libera Stampa (Free Press), following the original policy of Il Nuovo Mondo, is being issued. Girolamo Valenti, former manager of Il Nuovo Mondo, is the manager of the new paper. The minority members of the Nuovo Mondo Publishing Co., Inc., although outvoted, claim the right of ownership of the paper and have stated that they will publish Il Nuovo Mondo. The question of ownership of the name Il Nuovo Mondo, Mr. Valenti stated, will in all likelihood be settled in the courts.

The majority members of the Board of Directors of the Nuovo Mondo Publishing Co., are Dr. Charles Fama, Salvatore Ninno, vice-president, International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, Dr. Matteo Siragusa and John Sala, general organizer, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, who formed the organization which will publish Libera Stampa.

Mr. Valenti stated further that the entire staff, both in the editorial and business departments have sided with the majority group and are disregarding the orders of the minority group, which consists of Philip Bongiorno, attorney; Santa Modica, Grand Master of the Sons of Italy, and Michael Albana, treasurer of the Sons of Italy.

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On WEVD

Nov. 16, 2:30 p. m.—"The News Reporter," The Federated Press.
Nov. 17, 2:30 p. m.—"Lab's News Reporter," The Federated Press; 8:15 p. m. A. I. Shilacoff, on "Between the Headlines"; 9 p. m. E. M. White, on "City Affairs."
Nov. 18, 1:30 p. m.—A talk by a member of the Women's Peace Union; 2:30 p. m. Dr. Alvin C. Goddard, on "Are Disarmament and National Security Incompatible?"; 3 p. m. "Labor's News Reporter," The Federated Press.

Nov. 19, 1 p. m.—Dr. A. E. Matsner, on "The Medical Aspects of Birth Control"; 1:30 p. m. Frank L. Palmer, "Labor's Front Page"; 2:30 p. m. "Labor's News Reporter," The Federated Press; 4:15 p. m. World Peace Posters Committee (speaker to be announced); 8:15 p. m. Samuel Beardsley, on "Timely Topics"; 8:45 p. m. William Karlin, on "Current Events."
Nov. 20, 1 p. m.—"Labor's News Reporter," The Federated Press; 4:15 p. m. discussion between the Debating Society of N. Y. U. and the Y. P. S. U. The subject is, "In the Event of Another War, Shall the United States Conscript Wealth and Labor as Well as Military Man Power?"

The Bronx Free Fellowship
AZURE MASONIC TEMPLE
1591 Boston Road, Near E. 172nd St.
Sunday Evening, November 15th, 1931
8 P. M.—REV. LEON ROSSER LAND
"The Future of Liberal Religion."
9 P. M.—MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
"Cooperation Between the Home and the School."
Music Admission Free

C. P. L. A. Split On Formation Of a New Party

Three Members Resign From National Committee

A RIFT in the Conference for Progressive Labor Action which began at the Labor Day Conference held at Brookwood Labor College, over the question of forming a new political party has widened to such an extent, the New Leader has learned, as to bring about the secession of several National Executive Committee members, including Justus Ebert, treasurer, Leonard Bright, secretary since the organization was established two years ago, and Winston Dancis, with the resignations expected momentarily of James H. Maurer, Frank R. Crosswartz, Louis Stanley, Joseph Schwartz, and Powers Hagood. Neither is it expected that Abraham Lefkowitz and A. J. Kennedy will accept the new policy.

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Among others who expressed their opposition were, Justus Ebert and Abraham Lefkowitz, the former declaring that the political action contemplated would result in slowing down the industrial work, while the latter, as one who had been secretary of the American Labor Party, ridiculed the arguments of those who would at this time attempt to form another revolutionary party. None of the speakers, however, declared against working for a broad Labor party.

So markedly in the opposition was the sentiment of the conference that it was felt the project would be put to sleep by its sponsors. Shortly thereafter, however, certain National Executive Committee members were dropped to make room for others, and a new statement of policy adopted requiring C. P. L. A. members to give first loyalty to this organization and to work for a left wing political party. This departure from the original purpose of the C. P. L. A., followed by a decision to hold a convention in December to establish the C. P. L. A. as a definite political organization, has brought on the break which is forcing Socialist party members and realistic progressive labor men to quit the C. P. L. A.

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Thank Socialists for Aid in Recent Fight

The Associated Silk Workers of Paterson, N. J., through Louis Cohen, chairman of the Speakers' Committee, expresses through The New Leader the hearty thanks of the strikers for the help extended to them by Socialist speakers in the recent strike.

"When the Paterson silk workers were on the economic battlefield fighting the bosses and suffering from hunger, starvation and the tyranny of the police in those dark days of desperation," he writes, "these fellow workers brought a message to the strikers—a message of encouragement and hope for a better life and more justified society of distribution and labor." This work helped to bring victory, he adds.

Among the Socialists he mentions as contributing to the cause of the strikers are Abraham Shipilacoff, Frank J. Manning, Samuel Seidman, Henry Jager, Hyman Nemser, Samuel Beardsley, William E. Bohn, August Claessens, Charles Solomon, Henry Fruchter, B. C. Vadecek, Norman Thomas, James O'neal and Giacchino Artomi. Thanks have also been extended to representatives of trade unions who spoke at strike meetings, including Francis J. Gorman, James Quinn, Fannia Cohn, Hugh V. Reilly, Thomas F. McMahon and James Star.

Workmen's Circle

The Largest Radical Working-Men's Fraternal Order in Existence
75,000 MEMBERS
85,000,000 ASSETS
700 Branches All Over the United States and Canada
Insurance from \$100 to \$3,000
Sick benefit, 15 weeks per month, at \$8, \$12, \$23 and \$28 per week. Many branches pay an additional benefit from \$9 to \$57 per week. Consumption benefit \$400 and \$600 or nine months in our own sanatorium, located in the most beautiful region of the Catskill Mountains—besides the regular weekly benefit.
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Nervous and irritable? It's a warning . . .

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

Keep "regular" with
EX-LAX
The Chocolate Laxative

DEBATES — LECTURES — FORUMS

SYMPOSIUM

NOV. 15th
SUNDAY
8:30. "AS WE VIEW RUSSIA"
JOSEPH SHAPLEN—MATTHEW WOLL
PROF. GEORGE S. COUNTS—NORMAN THOMAS
HENRY NEUMANN, Chairman
BROOKLYN FORUM—BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC
30 Lafayette Avenue, Near Flatbush Avenue
TICKETS STILL AVAILABLE—25c, 50c, \$1.00, at Box Office
RAND BOOK STORE, 7 EAST 13th ST., N. Y. C.
NOV. 22—SYMPOSIUM—PROF. ELOH BOWMAN, HARRY W. LAIDLIER, CLARENCE STEIN, EDITH ELMERWOOD
AUSPICES SOCIALIST PARTY BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Proletarian Dictatorship IS The Road To Freedom

Yes—JAY LOVESTONE, Editor Revolutionary Age
No—BERTRAND RUSSELL, Philosopher and Scientist
DEBATE—Friday, November 27th, 8:00 P. M.
CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE—67th St. and 3rd Ave.
TICKETS from New Workers School, 63 Madison Ave., and Rand School
\$2.00, \$1.50, \$1.00, 75 cents

Dansant and Entertainment

PARADISE MANOR
Mt. Eden and Jerome Aves., Bronx, N. Y.
Saturday, November 14th, 8:00 P. M.
AUSPICES SOCIALIST PARTY, EIGHTH A. D.
MUSIC BY OTTO MAUTNER'S "FLYING DUTCHMAN"
SUBSCRIPTION — \$1.00

Debate WHITHER RUSSIA? Communism or State Capitalism?

Resolved: A PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION MUST LEAD TO STATE CAPITALISM
ALBERT WEISBERG Says NO
HARRY WATSON Says YES
Chairman—DR. E. B. CHAFFEE
SAT. EVE., NOV. 14, 1931 AT 8 P. M. LABOR TEMPLE 11th St. and 2nd Ave.
Admission 35 Cents

THE COMMUNITY FORUM

Now meeting at Temple Beth-El, Fifth Avenue and 76th Street
8 P. M.—MR. LINCOLN STEFFENS
"Dictators at Home and Abroad."
11 A. M.—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
"The Tomb of Lenin: A Discussion on Russian History, Politics and Religion."
Admission Free All Welcome

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At Cooper Union
Eighth Street and Astor Place
At 8 O'Clock
Friday Evening, Nov. 13th
PROF. WILLIAM F. MONTAGUE
"What the Einstein Theory Means to Us: The General Theory of Relativity."
Sunday Evening, Nov. 15th
CLIFTON FADMAN
"What We Read and Why"
Tuesday Evening, Nov. 17th
DR. HENRY J. FREY
"The Embryology of Man"

At Muhlenberg Library
209 West 32nd Street
At 8:30 O'Clock
Thursday Evening, Nov. 19th
PROF. E. G. SPAULDING
"Space, Time, Atoms and Motion"

INGERSOLL FORUM

Fribman Temple, 135 W. 70th St.
Sunday, 8 P. M. Admission 25c
Nov. 15th
DR. J. D. NEWMAN, Ex-President
"An Inside View of the Roman Catholic Church"
Atheist, Irreligion and Socialism
American Association for the Advancement of Religion
307 E. 14th St.

Peace Prospects 13 Years After the World War

By Norman Thomas
[An Armistice Day Address
Delivered Nov. 11, 1931,
at Mecca Temple, New
York City]

TONIGHT, thirteen years after the end of the most costly and sanguinary war in the world's history, a war fought by unnumbered thousands of unknown heroes as a war to end war, we meet to acknowledge the complete futility of that struggle and to take anxious thought of the possibility of preserving world peace. We face the paradoxical fact that probably never was there a greater or more intelligent desire for peace or a more general acceptance of the likelihood, if not the inevitability, of new war.

We have here especially concerned with the success of the forthcoming disarmament conference; yet before that conference can be convened it is all too probable that in defiance of all pacts and machinery for keeping the peace Japan will turn her military intervention in Manchuria into open war, the end of which in that cockpit of the world where Russia, China, and Japan meet no man can foresee. It is not improbable that in one of several danger zones in Europe, perhaps in Germany itself, internal violence or the open repudiation of some provision of the blundering peace treaties will precipitate new war. Against that war economic depression and the bitter poverty of the nations is no guarantee. Indeed, the very bitterness of depression may make new war more likely, first, because unemployed workers and poverty-stricken farmers have less to lose than in more prosperous times; and second, because economic depression in almost every country heightens the unscrupulous competition for world markets.

Few Cheering Signs

There is nothing to give cheer in recent events. Whatever else it was, the British election was a triumph for a Tory nationalism without adequate plan or program. Unquestionably England desired peace and can scarcely hope to stay the decline of her imperial grandeur by war. Yet the Tory policy will not be a peace policy and will almost certainly wreck what hopes there are of reasonable adjustment of the Indian question.

The Socialist View of War and Peace as Voiced at Armistice Day Meeting

Our own American government and both the major parties are without a program for peace. We have good intentions, and that is about all. France, for reasons that can be understood, is so concerned for security that she does not realize that in pursuit of security she has achieved by her gold and guns a position in Europe which may be greater than she has enjoyed since the time of Napoleon but which is at least equally dangerous to France. But beyond some approaches to True, Hoover and Laval have met, personal understanding there is no hint that they arrived at any program adequate to meet the immediate crisis.

The great dangers to peace, however, consist not in a number of isolated incidents or in the personal dereliction of politicians and governments. The great dangers to peace are inherent in the dying imperialist order; inherent in an economic system which makes acquisition a virtue, and profit God; inherent in the hypernationalism which in an age of necessary interdependence reduces all men to unquestioning loyalty to one of the many contending absolute states. The price of peace is a new organization of society which will make our economic and political structure match the facts of world interdependence which a machine age has laid upon us as a necessity unless the powers that might make for life more abundant are to be turned to catastrophic destruction.

Change the System

Our problem, then, which every passing month of drift makes more difficult, is to avert large scale violence while we seek intelligently and rapidly to change the system which is the mother of war. If we fail let us have done with all the hopes and dreams we have for ourselves and our children.

There are factors that make the situation less than hopeless. Imperfect as it is, there is more machinery of an international sort than formerly for the preservation of peace. There is on a very wide scale a new and realistic appreciation of the meaning of war and a resolution on the part both of individuals and of labor organizations to have none of it. In most European countries the politicians

are aware that to take a chance on war is to take a chance on internal revolution.

In this situation it is high time for an American immediate program on which men may agree who differ on more ultimate things. Let me briefly outline some elements of that program, most of which are either re-statements of former Socialist platforms or logical deductions from them.

1. By all means we should be interested in the success of the forthcoming disarmament conference not only for its own intrinsic importance but because it has become a symbol of the efficacy of the will to peace. It would be incredible that we should get disarmament as an isolated phenomenon, and if by some miracle, we should, it cannot alone guarantee peace at a time when advanced industrial nations can with comparative ease improvise the most deadly methods of war because they already possess chemical industries and airplanes. Nevertheless a disarmed world cannot be so easily and quickly stampeded into war. It will have money to devote to the lasting works of peace so that men will have more of a stake in peace. It will be a world in which it is not psychologically necessary for a professional military class in its own interest and for jingoism in the support of their own delusions to play up the jealousy, fear and hate which made for war in order to persuade people to support costly armaments under pretext of preventing war!

The Problem of Security

2. The French concern for security would in reality be more likely of fulfillment in a disarmed than an armed world. It will not be promoted in the present stage of world development by trying to set up an international army, were that possible in a nationalist world, or by giving pledges to go to war to enforce peace.

Certainly I do not believe in going to war to change the terms of the iniquitous peace treaties which followed the World War. So far as those treaties determine boundaries each passing year makes it more difficult to re-determine these boundaries with justice. The hope of re-drawing the map of

Europe on an extensive scale lies paradoxically in the growth of that international feeling and that economic organization which will make the re-drawing of boundaries less important. Nevertheless to accede to the French desire to put force behind the existing peace treaties will have the psychological effect of increasing resentment and keeping it alive in the minds of nations which now feel a sense of outrage and injustice.

Practically I think what the United States should do in the matter of security is simply to agree to consult with other nations before insisting on an unlimited right to trade with an aggressor nation; that is, with a nation that goes to war without utilizing the existing machinery of peace to which it is committed at least morally, by the Kellogg and other treaties. If worse comes to worst I think there should be such consultation among the nations concerning economic pressure on Japan. At the very least we have no right to seek to make money out of her war in Manchuria. Economic pressure can be applied by statesmen not as an incitement to war but as a check on war.

3. With relation to Europe the necessary accompaniments of successful disarmament are recognition of the great Soviet government and the end of foolish talk of embargoes against it, and a cancellation of German reparations and interrelated debts which are burdensome economically and such a psychological irritant as to make them an outright cause of war. Of course, any forgiveness of debts should be conditioned on reduction of armaments, and the nominal loss to our national treasury should be met by an increase in the income tax on those classes which still hold foreign securities which will not be forgiven, and who profited, if anyone did, out of the last war. Almost equally important with the settlement of the question of debts and reparations is a general reduction of tariffs which militate against both prosperity and peace. The machinery whereby these causes may be hastened we may leave to diplomats but we must insist that these are the basic elements of a genuine peace program. They are necessary to clear the air and to make the atmosphere in which

genuine internationalism can flourish.

Let me make a plea for boldness on the part of lovers of peace in urging a more immediate and more ultimate program. Statesmen may have to take account of ignorance, prejudice, and the backward condition of public opinion, but genuine leaders of the people in or out of office cannot be as timid as most peace advocates have been. The cause of peace requires courage and downright facing of the facts. Too long have we been mired in absurdities about parity and proportional disarmament when all the logic is on the side of outright disarmament.

Too long have we played timidly with moratoriums when a whole world is sick for radical economic readjustment of the burden of debts and reparations.

Too long have we said as individuals that we were opposed to war, but have shrunk from saying with Einstein: "I will have none of war."

Too long have our labor organizations failed to perfect plans for international action to prevent war. These things are part of the price of peace. And with these things must go a constant effort by means of political and economic organization, and, if necessary, by such methods of non-violent resistance as Gandhi has been teaching to redress that economic exploitation which is the great root of war both domestic and foreign.

The service of peace requires intelligence and a program. Likewise does it require a new philosophy for our world and a courage like unto the war makers in advocating it. It requires for its achievement a radically changed society, and a revolution in the ancient methods of violence by which hitherto we have sought our utopias. Either we shall find this more excellent way or our children, in the unimaginable horrors of new war, however holy its avowed ends, may live to curse the day that we gave them birth.

The Labor Temple

"Why Germany Cannot Recover" will be the subject of the lecture to be given by Dr. G. F. Beck at the Labor Temple, Second Avenue and 14th Street, Sunday at 5 p. m. Dr. Edmund B. Chaffee will speak on "A Cosmic Threat to Man's Existence."



From a Poster Issued by World Peace Posters.

Do Shorter Hours Increase Unemployment?

By Louis Stanley

1.—The Impetus to Rationalization

THE economic depression has brought forth the usual crop of demands for the reduction of the hours of work in order to create employment. The Socialist Party, the trade unions and many liberals back this proposal. It is the purpose of this article to show that shortening the working week or the working day under the unregulated methods of capitalism produces in many instances the opposite result to that which is expected. The lesson for Socialism is an important one.

Briefly the argument is this: When hours of work are reduced the capitalist seeks to compensate for the loss of time by increasing the efficiency of his operations. This new efficiency contributes to what has come to be known as technological unemployment. The movement of recent years for the shortening of the working time has done its share in intensifying the rationalization of American industry. To prevent the unemployment that the reduction of hours brings it is necessary to balance efficiency with shorter hours of work. The private industrialist, however, strives to upset this balance in order to widen the margin of profit which is his from increasing efficiency faster than decreasing hours of work. Therefore, in order to coordinate rationalization with time reduction the private owner must be eliminated. Socialist management of industry is the alternative.

It has long been known that shortening the hours of work stimulates capitalists to rationalize their operations. This fact has not received prominence because in the struggle for the reduction of hours the argument has usually centered around the consequences of diminished working time or the efficiency of the workers. The reformers concentrated on proving that the shorter hours of work actually resulted in the augmentation rather than the diminution of the output of the individual employee. The proofs now widely accepted in employers' circles have been summarized by Professor Edgar Millaud who was in charge of an extensive inquiry carried on for the International Labor Office. He has pointed out that shortening the hours of work increases the productive capacity of the workers through their improvement in health and that psychological conditions are created which are favorable to greater exertion. These factors result in increased production through reduction in absenteeism and through intensification of work. Enlightened employers now recognize that

the human mechanism may produce better results within its physiological and psychological limitations by shortening the hours of work. Immediate economic considerations, however, usually dictate a short-sighted policy. The planlessness of private ownership makes this inevitable.

As long ago as 1902 the United States Industrial Commission after taking a large amount of testimony on the movement for fewer hours of work called attention to the impetus which the reduction of hours gives to efficiency. In its final report it declared:

"It is true also that the higher wages and fewer the hours the greater is the pressure upon the employer to substitute labor-saving devices and to be more careful in his selection of high-grade workmen. No doubt it is true that often a given automatic machine will not run faster per hour in 8 hours than in 10 hours, but industry has by no means reached the limit of invention. Invention will cease only when the employer ceases to

Conflict of Socialists and Capitalism Follows The Spanish Revolution

The inevitable conflict between the working class and the capitalist class following revolutions overthrowing clerical and monarchist cliques continues to develop in Spain and the Socialists face the task of adjusting their power, methods and program to this situation.

Perhaps nowhere in the world has the value of propaganda been more clearly demonstrated in the past year than in Spain. For many years the Socialist party, which started with 25 members and today has millions enrolled in its trade unions and is the largest party in the nation, continued verbal and printed propaganda against the monarchist regime. These overwhelming attacks by a press that was almost entirely republican undoubtedly contributed more than any other single factor to the downfall of the Bourbons.

Realizing the large part propaganda played in finishing the already collapsing monarchy, Conservatives have begun a violent counter-offensive aimed at the Left Wing forces now in power. It began at the moment the Constitutional Cortes adopted measures for the separation of church and state and the prohibition of teaching by religious orders.

A Right Wing group acquired control of El Sol newspaper which had played the most effective part in the campaign against Alfonso. Backed by the former

adopt new labor-saving machinery, and every reduction in hours and rise in wages keeps the employer further away from that sluggish policy. While a particular machine will not go faster in 8 hours than in 10 hours, the substitute for that machine, which the 8-hour day presses upon the employer to adopt, will go faster. Less hours in this way have an indirect as well as a direct compensating effect. Not only do they make it possible for the workman to keep up his intensity of personal exertion during each hour of the day and to work more days at a high rate of speed, but they cause the employer to economize his labor at every point and to improve its quality by better selection."

The Wisconsin Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics in its report for 1903-1904 after a study of the problem concluded: "That the enforcing of a certain standard in regard to hours of labor, wages, and sanitary conditions compels employers to continually seek more improved machinery and methods of production as is true in practice as in theory."

In 1911 a report of the United States Bureau of Labor on conditions in the iron and steel industry in the United States showed a clear discernment of the problem:

"... Past experience indicates that considerable increases in efficiency may be expected as a result of the 8-hour system. It is impossible to demonstrate this statistically from the records of mills that have changed their hours, for in every case for which accurate records were obtainable some change either in equipment or in method of operation was made at the same time the mills went on the 8-hour system. It may be noted, however, that the steel company quoted above, in changing its blast furnaces to the 8-hour system, found it possible to reduce the number of men on each shift sufficiently to counterbalance the increase of 28.6 per cent in their hourly wages."

A practical businessman gave similar testimony in 1915. Frederick R. Hazard, President of the Solvay Process Company of Syracuse, N. Y., said in an address: "It is not possible, however, to say that the total reduction (in cost of production) is caused by reason of the change in working hours; many other factors come in. The changes in the rate of the wages and hours is always an incentive to the engineers and others in charge, to devise ways and means of making labor more efficient by putting in mechanical contrivances; and you can readily conceive that in our problem, handling material by the hundred ton lot it was possible to devise mechanical means of handling which would be cheaper than the

hand methods. . . .

"Now, that does not mean that the men so eliminated necessarily lose their positions. In a great many cases and I think the majority of cases, those men really step up into a better position, and it is only the less worthy of them who are allowed to depart from a given plant and must find their employment in other places at approximately the same level of intelligence."

More recently the National Industrial Conference Board, an employers' organization, in a report it published in 1920 on practical experience with the work week of forty-eight hours or less observed that:

"Changes in management or equipment accompanied the change in hours in a number of establishments, and in a significant number of instances accounted for marked increases in output."

"Although as a rule the most

efficient speed for obtaining maximum results from the machinery had already been determined and adopted, in certain cases it was found possible to increase the speed of the machines and thereby increase output to that extent. The installation of additional machinery or improved machinery also aided production in certain of the establishments studied."

The trend of full-time hours of work in manufacturing in the United States has been downward. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics has made an estimate for the period from 1880 to 1906. Taking the average for the years from 1880 to 1899 as 100, the Bureau found that the index number for 1899 was 100.7 and that there was a steady decline until 96.4 was reached in 1906. The data of the United States Census, which unfortunately stop with 1923, show a continuation of the tendency. In 1909 almost 85 per cent of the factory workers were employed at 54 hours per week or over, in 1929 only 32 per cent.

The investigations of the National Industrial Conference Board help us to fill out the picture of what has been taking place.

Full-time hours per week worked by industrial wage-earners (according to National Industrial Conference Board):

Year	Full-time hours	Nominal hours
1914	54.9	61.5
1920	49.9	48.1
1921	49.6	48.6
1922	49.8	49.1
1923	49.9	49.2
1924	49.5	47.0
1925	49.9	48.2
1926	49.7	48.1
1927	49.5	47.7
1928	49.6	48.0
1929	49.6	48.4
1930	48.7	43.9

Wage earners and value of products in manufacturing:

Year	Wage earners	Value of products
1919	8,997,921	\$62,000,000,000
1921	8,944,315	43,619,000,000
1923	8,776,846	60,430,000,000
1925	8,381,511	62,668,000,000
1927	8,348,755	62,718,000,000
1929	8,742,761	69,417,515,928

Note: 1929 boom year.

Therefore, the figures that have been presented here indicate that the movement to shorten hours of work has been continued since the war. One would expect on the basis of theoretical considerations that the reduction of working time in the factories of the land would increase employment. On the contrary, the number of wage earners in American manufacturing has tended to decline. So marked has this phenomenon been that serious discussions have raged over the question of technological unemployment. It will be seen by Table III that the number of industrial workers has been on the decrease in spite of the increase in production. The reduction of the hours of labor has helped stimulate rationalization which in turn has caused the displacement of workers. In the next article what has occurred in specific industries will be analyzed.

General Zhivkovich ordered all officials to vote and addressed a circular letter to every voter, for which each had a receipt.

Manifestos from former Premier Korostov urging electors to abstain from the "fake election" were confiscated and officials warned that any one found in possession of a copy would be arrested.

No opposition candidates could be present at the counting of votes, so there is no check on the official figures.

3,000 Kids Fed by Cleveland CLEVELAND. — (FP) — About 8,000 school children are now receiving help through the school board and the number is expected to increase as colder weather sets in. About 1,000 half-pints of milk are donated by the Telling Belle-Vernon Company and a fund to cover the rest is being raised through dollar donations. The schools in the Negro district are the hardest hit.

Election officials were urged to wait for congregations at church doors after each service and bring them en masse to the polling booths.

Village Mayors were instructed to bring at least two-thirds of the population to the polling booths.

Timely Topics

(Continued from Page One)

proper dimensions. That means a lot of things that we must do, among others—the regaining of the old confidence in a militant Socialist integrity which has been compromised among thousands of workers, as I have learned to my sorrow, by our failure to hold some nominal Socialists in positions of importance in the trade unions to standards of action worthy of Socialism.

THE WICKERSHAM COMMISSION

SPEAKING of Mr. Wickersham, it is fair to record the fact that the Commission of which he is chairman did a real public service in its uncompromising exposure of prison conditions, the Third Degree, and the handling of deportation cases. Along this line its great weakness has been its refusal thus far to make public the report of its own investigations on the Mooney-Billings case.

German Fascists Join With Nationalists; Reichstag Adjourns

IN GERMANY the Hitler Fascists have succeeded in fraternizing with the Nationalists who swore comradeship and declared war on the Brüning government. This fusion of the two truculent political groups into a fighting unit marks the official founding of the "National Opposition," which aspires to become the catch-basin of all Nationalist elements and the Right Radicals. Its most immediate and pressing aim is the overthrow of the government.

On the eve of the critical Reichstag session which met on October 15 Communist demonstrations in Berlin resulted in riots in which six persons were shot. The Communist opposition in the Reichstag numbers 78 while the Fascist bloc has 107 to which may be added the 40 Nationalists who fraternized with the Hitlerites.

The test of the Brüning Government came on October 15 when it obtained a majority against a vote of no confidence. The resolutions called for a dissolution of the Reichstag, new elections, and revocation of the government's emergency measures which were defeated by a vote of 295 to 270. The opposition included the Hitler Fascists, the Nationalists, Communists, People's Party, and Peasants' League. The 140 Socialist votes were cast against the resolutions.

The Fascists and Nationalists walked out of the chamber. Dur-

ing their absence the Communists rushed through a resolution demanding that the new instalment for the construction of pocket battleship "B," amounting to \$2,500,000, be devoted to feeding children of the poor.

The Communists received Socialist support and the resolution was approved, to the dismay of the government and the middle parties. The motion was legally adopted and must stand unless it can be annulled because of some parliamentary technicality.

The Reichstag then adjourned till February 23.

Early this week Minister of the Interior and Defense, Wilhelm Groener, announced that the army and police will act relentlessly against rioting and terrorism. This declaration followed street battles growing out of a Fascist field day in which two persons died and a number were injured.

There have been rumors that the Communists plan systematic rioting during the Winter and have divided the country into three districts, which are to be terrorized by separate groups. The plans are understood to have fallen into the hands of the government.

A "CAMPAIGNER" that will be on the job from now until the next election is your paper, The New Leader. Results considered, it is the most inexpensive form of agitation and education.

Politics, Business And the South

HERBERT H. LEHMAN, Lieutenant-Governor of New York State, has up and written a piece for "The Atlantic Monthly" called, "A Business Man Looks at Politics."

Mr. Lehman has had a good look in his time and ought to have something interesting to say. But of course, this is just the usual blah.

"It is my experience," he writes, "that few problems of government are without their counterpart in business and industry, and that almost every problem of business and industry is duplicated by a similar problem in government. Public relations, fiscal policies, commerce, communication, labor and social problems are equally part of the body politic and of business. The keen, progressive business man, therefore, will, in interesting himself in politics tread no unknown ground, nor will he face many unfamiliar problems. The very training he has had in business better equips him to take an active and definite part in politics."

Well, Mr. Lehman, we won't fight with you on that proposition. What worries us is how you can tell the problems of old-line politics and business apart. It is largely a matter of favors and jack. Which means that it is largely a matter of jack, in the long run.

Big business picks its politicians for us and they pick our pockets, so it's hardly an occasion for any great surprise to be informed by Lieut. Gov. Lehman that business men get along swell in politics and vice versa with a lot of the emphasis on the vice.

We have at hand a book called, "The Public Pays," by Ernest Gruening, who is one swell newspaper man. This book is the story of how the power trust controls our pulpits, press, radio, schools, colleges, motion pictures and pretty nearly every other medium of misinformation there is lying around loose.

All this is really no news to readers of The New Leader or to those who followed testimony taken by the Federal Trade Commission in its investigation of power propaganda. H. S. Raushenbush and Harry Laidler in a number of books and pamphlets have summarized most of this for us, long since. But it is still good reading for those who may have skipped some of the power stuff. It is the old story of the poisoning of what we like to call "public opinion" at its sources. Talk about the business man's familiarity with "public relations" which Mr. Lehman underscores. The business man ought to be familiar with public relations, he has made so many of them. He has public relations, mostly illicit, all along the line from the biggest newspaper proprietor to the smallest Boy Scouts. Read this book in connection with John T. Flynn's "Graft in Business" and you will understand the irony of Lieut. Gov. Lehman's piece, an entirely unintentional irony but magnificent all the same. The Vanguard Press publishes both these valuable handbooks to our Business Civilization.

But this is not the book review section and on this team I am not supposed to be a roaming center. Just what position I am playing has never been quite clear to me. I certainly have never called my signals, nor gone anywhere with the ball so I must be up in the line somewhere.

If I ever do get a chance to call signals, you can put it down right here that I will never send any plays in a Southern direction for years to come. I have dear friends and comrades South of the Mason and Dixon Line and I take off my hat to their gallant efforts and all that sort of "I'd die for dear old Randolph-Macon" stuff. But as a likely field for carrying the ball for Socialism, the South, judging from some of the returns which I have just seen from the last election, is about as hopeful as trying to pierce the Notre Dame line with the Richmond County High School rubs.

In other words, to drop this football chatter, I am pretty hot about the way we waste men, money and materials in invasions of communities where we have no more chance than a lone Chinaman surrounded by the standing army of Japan in the middle of Manchuria. Everyone who has been anywhere in this country knows that social movements, and particularly revolutionary social movements, must be born out of proletarian soil. Most Southern workers think proletarian has something to do with beans. In the very beginnings of modern industrialism, the workers there with the possible exception of the coal miners in West Virginia, are the Dawn Men of Labor and I don't mean Dawn in any sense of the New Day.

Every passing campaign more and more convinces me of the need for concentration at this time in those communities where at least the ground-work for Socialism has been laid and where we do not have to start at scratch. The movement will grow naturally and nationally too when it spreads out from such industrial centers as Bridgeport here at our very door-step in the East for example, or from industrial cities in Pennsylvania and then through the Middle West and along the industrial belt of the Pacific Coast. There are our breeding grounds. Let's cultivate them and forget this idea of closing our eyes and putting our finger on the map of the United States and picking out the town beneath the finger.

I am very much elated and somewhat surprised to find many Party members who had hitherto supported the Opportunism and Parliamentarism of foreign Socialist Parties now changing their tune and pointing out with clarity and deadly precision the exact fate which is in store for any Socialist group which gives too great concessions to the enemy. The fate that betrayal of integrity always brings with it.

I've held forth on this theme many, many times in the past and will continue to do so as long as these ancient paws can hit typewriter keys—"You can't get anywhere by compromise." The best you can do is to keep alive a bit longer and under those circumstances it often follows that the longer you seem to be alive, the more dead you really are.

So wishing you boys and girls who are willing to stand up and fight for what you believe, the very best of luck from the gloom of the jury-box in which I am still sunk, I remain,
Yours for the Revolution,
McAlister Coleman.

I want no flag, no flaunting rag.
For Liberty to fight;
I want no blaze of murderous guns
To struggle for the right.
Our spears and swords are printed words,
The mind our battle plan;
We've won our victories before,
And so we shall again.
—Charles Mackay.

Scanning the New Books

Edited by LAWRENCE ROGIN

The Government Helps Fight the Working Class

A Better Way Than Prison

By Cecilia Razovsky-Davidson

THE very same criticism that was leveled against the Alien Act of 1798—that it gave legislative and judicial power to the executive—is made by Jane Clark in her very full study on the deportation law and its administration, (Deportation of Aliens, by Jane Clark, Ph. D. Columbia University Press, \$5.) The Alien Act of 1798 aroused great opposition and was soon repealed. The laws under which, in 1919 and 1920, 6,350 warrants of arrest were issued against aliens alleged to be radicals, have, by contract, been left on the statute books, and every year since 1920 the number of deportees has increased, until in 1930, 16,631 aliens were sent out of the United States. Dr. Clark recommends a change in the law so as to prevent the administrative officials from acting as prosecuting attorney, judge and jury.

The numerous case histories of deportees are full of human interest and appeal, but the book's most valuable contribution, in the reviewer's opinion, is the analysis of the laws themselves and their present administration. Following the repeal of the Alien Act of 1798, which had been directed against political offenders, the next great wave of deportations was directed against paupers, and persons "liable to become public charges." Later came laws providing for the deportation of alien prostitutes, criminals and radicals, and still more recently laws to deport aliens who had entered the United States illegally.

The phrase "liable to become a public charge" has been subject to very elastic interpretations. It is interesting to note that the latest definition bars husbands, wives and children of immigrants who want to join close relatives in this country, because, says the State Department, in view of our present economic depression, they are liable to become public charges!

Dr. Clark fears that laws formulated against radicals during the heat of the war will continue to be used in future. That her fear is well founded appears from the action of the Boston judge who on Oct. 20 of this year recommended deportation of alien strike leaders arrested in Lawrence, Mass. The author quotes recommendations of the Fish committee to show what efforts are being made to strengthen the law which holds deportation over the heads of foreign-born radicals. She cites the case of a man whose citizenship was revoked on the ground that he was a Communist. The revocation was upheld by a higher court.

A book which sets out to give facts without bias is very often discounted by some readers. Some years ago in Chicago a propagandist sneered at some labor research that had been conducted in the United States. A labor leader named Bianco answered, "Without facts we cannot agitate. Someone must get us the facts as a basis for our propaganda, and that work is as valuable as ours."

Dr. Clark gives recommendations in addition to her numerous facts. She finds that there is a need for

a more simplified and more clarified code of laws on the subject of deportation; for repeal of certain classifications, such as "moral turpitude," for protecting children when they are deported alone and unaccompanied; for provision in the law to permit the readmission of a deported alien who has left behind him in the United States American members of his family; for a board to consider deportation cases; for public records of decisions and proceedings; and for consideration of the effect on the country to which the deportee is returned. She finds that special hardship is wrought by the provision that aliens may be deported at any time after their entry. Thus prostitutes may be deported if born abroad, even if they arrived in this country as infants.

The author's suggestions are buttressed by the Wickham Commission on Law Observation and Enforcement, which recently made even stronger recommendations. Both her book and the commission's report should be carefully studied by every person interested in this important subject.

Clarence Darrow

THE activities of Clarence Darrow (Darrow, a biography by Charles Yale Harrison. Cape and Smith, \$4) as an attorney constitute a record of the gulf that separates a knowledge of sociology from the musty legal lore of his professional brothers. His activities in "causes" and politics are a commentary on the hero worship and muddled political thinking of our friends, the liberals. Darrow is

a splendid example of the kind of Americanism that had its rise and flowered before the 100 per cent variety was spawned. Darrow on his emotional side is a sort of a hangover from the days of populism and muckraking, days in which the middle class was rapidly losing its power as a social and political force.

If the famous lawyer fits into any particular school of thought, it is that of philosophical anarchism. In his inconsistencies he has the edge on most of the adherents of that school whose standard is devotion to inconsistency. Darrow, the railroad corporation attorney fighting the battles of Debs and his colleagues in the American Railway Union strike in 1894; Darrow the Tolstoyan non-resistance whoppering it up for the World War; Darrow deprecating political action and lending his name in behalf of low-type, pot-house politicians; Darrow, the hard-boiled cynic giving utterance to the loftiest ideas. His course, even his battles for the underdog are not convincingly explained by his expressed desire to "secure relief from social pain."

After we read of Darrow's methods in the conduct of the Debs, the Haywood, the McNamara and other labor cases, we are convinced that the class struggle is something more than a subject for academic discussion. As in the conduct of the Leopold-Loeb case and the defense of Dr. Sweet, the colored physician charged with murder following the attack upon his home by a mob, the reader cannot miss the fact that cases like these are not won with the facts learned in

law schools. Tradition, legal lore and prejudice were unable to withstand Darrow's wide and profound knowledge of the sciences, of the philosophies and, above all, of humankind. This knowledge has always been imparted in direct language, beautiful in its simplicity. The Dayton, Tenn., "monkey trial" is an interesting account of a farce staged in the best fundamentalist tradition. Incidentally the trial stripped to the last shred the reputation of the "peerless leader of the common 'peepul,'" William Jennings Bryan.

The author has succeeded in reconstructing the settings, social and industrial, in which Darrow moved. There are vivid scenes of the backgrounds on which the memorable battles of labor were fought. Wisely Mr. Harrison has selected the brilliant passages from Darrow's addresses to the juries in the famous cases in which America's leading labor lawyer has engaged. It is doubtful, however, whether the space given to the debates in which Darrow took part on the lecture platform, add to the value of the book.

The author should have checked up more closely on some of the statements that he makes.

Upon Sinclair did not "openly come out in favor of war." What he worked for, was the preservation of civil liberties during war time. Nor was George Cree, head censor during war time, a former Socialist. The author states that Darrow's father was influenced by the Greenbacker and Populist movements. The former movement had its rise in the seventies, the latter in the nineties. Nor were catching mits used in baseball when Darrow was a boy of 15.

"John Mitchell was a craft unionist in contradiction to the growing I. W. W. idea of industrial unionism." The author is writing of the year 1900. The I. W. W. was not organized until 1905. The date of the explosion of the Los Angeles Times building is given as 1901 instead of 1911.

Mr. Harrison denies that the McNamaras made a confession to Mr. Darrow but does not attempt to correct the widespread impression that there was a confession in order to save the accused from the infliction of the death penalty. The news of the McNamaras' guilt was given out a short time before the Los Angeles city election and resulted in the defeat of Job Harriman, Socialist candidate for Mayor who was associated with Darrow in the case. There is ample basis for the belief that the big business interests of Los Angeles preferred political control to the lives of the McNamaras and the deal was made without Harriman's knowledge. Mr. Harrison makes clear the fact that the trade was made behind the back of Harriman.

BEN BLUMENBERG.

A New Pamphlet

"SOCIALISM EXPLAINED" is the title of a 31-page pamphlet that has just been published by W. H. Richards. Plainly and clearly written, with many up-to-date illustrations taken from the present industrial breakdown, the pamphlet is good propaganda to put in the hands of workers, especially those workers who are beginning to be receptive to the message of Socialism. The price of the pamphlet is ten cents; one dozen 60 cents. It is sold by the author, 411 Massachusetts Avenue, Indianapolis, Ind.

Improved, nationally, whatever, since the last presidential campaign. Our party organization, nationally, is not in good condition and not in shape to meet the situation and opportunities that are now facing us. If we wait until after we nominate our presidential candidates before we make an effort to organize the unorganized states, we will be in the same predicament we found ourselves when we tried to get our presidential electors on the ballot in 1928, in the unorganized states.

The work of organizing the unorganized states should be pursued vigorously from now until the national convention convenes, and this will be a gain.

Conditions have changed greatly since the last meeting of the party was held. The party program should be revised immediately to meet the situation that confronts us. The constitution of the party needs revising, and this cannot be done satisfactorily during the rush of a national convention.

If our party is to grow and meet the demands that will be made upon it next year, a meeting of the national committee should be held this year, to deal with the entire situation. The morale of the party will be improved by such a meeting, and preparations made for a rousing convention next year. If necessary funds should be raised to assist some states in sending their representatives to the national committee meeting.

I hope that the membership and locals will consider a meeting of the national committee this year, and also discuss the referendum now before the party.

JAMES D. GRAHAM.
Helena, Mont.

DR. SADOFF AVAILABLE

Editor, The New Leader:
A recent trip to Europe, including visits to Russia and Vienna, have given me some impressions of the Socialist movement which I think would be of interest and value to the party. I would be glad to speak before party branches in New York and vicinity on any of these topics: "Russia After 29 Years," "The Policy of Gradualness" and "The Socialist Government of Vienna."

DR. LOUIS SADOFF.
1 Union Square,
New York City.

THE NEW LEADER MAIL-BAG

FROM UPTON SINCLAIR

Editor, The New Leader:

Comrade Algernon Lee writes me that he and others, reading my recent article in The New Leader on the subject of Kautsky's book on Russia, got the impression of my meaning that Kautsky, about the year 1900, was in some way militaristic in his attitude. My phrase was: "Comrade Kautsky had changed his mind in the meantime (that is, during the World War), and no longer wanted an unsuccessful war." This phrase was supposed to be taken in its context. I had explained Kautsky's attitude, as set forth in letters to me (in 1908), that the German Social-Democratic party could not successfully attempt to prevent a war in Germany "but after a war, and especially after an unsuccessful war, then will come our time." It seemed to me, and still seems, that the meaning of my statement is perfectly clear. Kautsky did not "want a war," but knowing that war would come, he wanted Germany to lose it.

But since some one has misunderstood my meaning, I permit me to state explicitly that I had no idea of implying that Kautsky in 1908 was "militaristic," or "wanted a war." Kautsky was somewhat cautious, as leader of a great organization which had begun as a revolutionary and was now under the control of officials who were unconcerned to preserve the organization than to save the German people from the horrors of 1914-1918. Kautsky was correct in his belief that after the war the Kaiser might be overthrown; and I think that if, in 1908, he had come forward and made a peace pact with Jews, and pledged the German and French Socialists to a program of insurrection to prevent war between the two countries—it might have resulted in the German Social-Democratic party in Germany being outlawed, but at the same time it would have prevented the World War. This was the program I was advocating, and that Kautsky rejected.

UPTON SINCLAIR.
Pasadena, Calif.

TRADE UNIONS

Editor, The New Leader:

Allow me to second the motion of our Mississippi comrade. Craft unions are the principal obstacles to the growth of the Socialist party. If we continue the policy which has been dominant, of holding unionism to be a duty of Socialists, those who are unable to take part in the union movement are practically barred from Socialist party work. This disposes of most of the working class.

Those who organize in unions have to make terms with employers. Their immediate objective is to come to an agreement with capitalism. They are hindered in their negotiations by connection with a party that is opposed to capitalism. Naturally they leave the party in order to win the strike. That is why the successful labor unions have "their faces set like flint against Socialism." Why not face the facts? The less we have to do with labor unions the better chance we have to

build up a political party. We should have exactly the same attitude toward unions as we have toward churches or any other capitalist institution. What we do on the political field should have nothing officially to do with the other activities of our members. Let us be unionists, Baptists, or lawyers, individually, but let not these things divide the party.

ARCHIBALD CRAIG.
Jersey City, N. J.

A THIRD PARTY

Editor, The New Leader:

I am most heartily in accord with the view of B. C. Vladeck in the matter of a third party—and I am firmly convinced that the sooner all Socialists agree on the necessity of adopting new tactics and new methods of pushing our cause in the nation, the sooner we shall see Socialism marching triumphantly toward power in America.

For more than 25 years, both in the party organization and outside of it, as an editor, organizer, public speaker and propagandist for Socialist principles, I have intermingled with all classes of citizens, more especially the farming classes of the western states. I have always presented Socialist principles, and these years have convinced me beyond any semblance of doubt, that while vast numbers of people everywhere believe very largely in the principles of Socialism, they will never express that belief by going into voting booth and marking a "Socialist" ticket.

There are numerous reasons for this strange fact—the two most potent reasons are:

1. The feeling that they are wasting their ballots by voting for a ticket which has not the slightest chance of election—coupled with this the feeling that it is their duty to choose the lesser of two evils; and the further desire, always present, to cast their ballot with the "winning side."
2. The fear of ostracism, ridicule and punishment which may come to them from being identified as a "Socialist." For years unnumbered to a "Socialist" in any average American community, has been to be the object of scorn, hatred, slander and ill manner of abuse and ignominy. Socialism has been lied about so constantly and so systematically that in the ignorant mass mind it has become a word to hate and fear.

One thing, I concede that none of these reasons are sensible or valid ones—yet facts are facts, and as practical Socialists, struggling for actual results, we should recognize them—and adjust our future tactics accordingly.

My conviction is that the Socialist party before it enters another campaign, should CHANGE ITS NAME without abandoning its principles, or altering any of its fundamental principles. Under a new name its appeal will be headed by millions who now simply ignore it—and if its leadership will intelligently strive to bring about harmony, united action and a tolerant and sympathetic spirit among all citizens who believe in the fundamental principles of a Socialist-operated society—the great Cause for which we are fighting will go forward.

ward by leaps and bounds and a triumphant Socialism will come into its reward.

MORTON ALEXANDER.
Arvada, Colo.

FREE YOUTH

Editor, The New Leader:

Every once in a while The New Leader arouses my ire, but heretofore I have said nothing for fear of becoming known as a chronic kicker. The straw that broke the camel's back is the omission of the undersized "Free Youth Section" from the columns of The New Leader. The editor explains that his omission is due to the pressure of campaign work on the eve of election. I resent the fact that the Young People's Socialist League is considered so lightly, that the news of their activities can be swept aside whenever something comes up that is considered more important. If the editor needed more space for a column, "Neither Fish Nor Fowl," could have been dispensed with for a few issues.

The powers that be seem to regard the work of the Yipsels as "kinder-spiel." One would think from the paucity of Yipsel news in the columns of The New Leader that the youth organization of the Socialist Party plays but a small role in Socialist activity. Yipsels sell New Leaders; picket for organizations on strike; run their street meetings; collect money, food and clothing for strikers; distribute literature before, during and after campaigns; take part in every activity of the party. The Yipsels stimulate the party to greater action or do the Socialist work themselves.

This letter is not the protest of a school boy who feels disgruntled at not being patted on the head for work well done. It's time we stopped regarding the YPSL as an irresponsible group because Bill Kruse once picketed the organization in his vest pocket and took the road to the left. Nor has the YPSL a secret understanding with the "right wing" of the party, as the Soviet government with undisputed approval.

The YPSL is doing a great deal of necessary work around the annual stamp. The organization of the Socialist Party can ill afford to ignore its activity.

GEORGE A. SMERKIN.
Midwest Secretary,
Chicago, Ill.

We occasionally receive a letter like the above because of some item that we have written. To assert that comrades that it is a rare issue of The New Leader when something of news value is not crowded out or squeezed into the "right wing" column, is unworthy of attention or that we keep in mind the wrecking of Bill Kruse and are happy to omit Yipsel news from the columns of The New Leader. The present instance was consulted with Abe Belsky regarding our difficulties and he decided to withhold copy that we had not time to get it into the issue. It is just as easy for comrades to think of others working in good faith as well as themselves rather than jumping to conclusions and ascribing covert motives where none exist.—Editor.

PARTY PROBLEMS

Editor, The New Leader:

Columns of letters have appeared in the New Leader Mail Bag dealing with the policies of the Soviets, the British Labor Party, and whether Ramsey MacDonald did right or wrong. Letters relating to the policy of the Socialist Party in this country, appearing in the Mail Bag are few and far between. Apparently affairs in Europe have more interest to the letter writers than party affairs at home.

A referendum relating to amending the constitution of the Socialist Party is now before the membership, and so far no discussions have taken place, or appeared in print on the subject. The amendment is of vital importance to the welfare of the party. Even the proponents of the measure are silent.

The national convention of the Socialist Party, held in New York 1928, through an amendment to the party constitution, reduced the income of the national office sixty-six and two-thirds per cent.

With the exception of the delegate from California, every western delegate, including those from Illinois and Wisconsin, opposed the reduction of dues, on the ground that the amend-

The Chatterbox

Invocation

God, let me be the ardent arms of labor raising;
The fire of its form;
The vengeance of its voice;
The anger of its eyes;
The beating in its breast;
The new-born strength of its soul.

And let me smash the smirky smugness of a system rotting in its stays.

—DOUGLAS B. KRANTZOR.

My humble idea of a whopping victory is the marching forth to battle of the Bridgeport, Conn., Socialists and falling as gloriously as they did. And my 100% picture of a Socialist worthy of that name is none other than Jaseper McLevy who led the campaign to its heartening conclusion. . . . And that swell vote in Reading, Pa.; just barely being nosed out by the combined Plunder Bundists, is no less exciting and no less worthy of general self-congratulation.

The torch is setting up its red glare in many places, and it won't be long boys, it won't be long. Work, hard and untiring work for the cause counts. . . . We have many more with us this year to help. Let's put them on the job, carrying on the great message.

Let all of us organizers, secretaries, membership committee men, and the rest of the Jimmy and Jane Higginses do the job. It won't be done without us anyhow. . . . So just let us perk up, put a little more elbow and ankle grease in the works and mush onward. . . .

To (M.)

And just when I am about to hold forth on how this crass and unromantic age is playing hidey-murder with the romantics along comes this offering:

What is the mystery of you, fair one?
Did I say fair? How weak are words that stray
In vagaries and blindly grope to say
What can't be said? What is it you have done
To give me pause to write? For you, alone
Your body's self, though God-ordained to play
Sweet music on men's senses, don't convey
The meaning hid behind that mask you own.

Have you a soul behind that barrier wall
Of feigned indifference, that mutely yearns
For beauty undefined beyond recall
By mortal laws, have you a soul that burns
As your fair body that holds me in thrall—
Or, is your dormant spirit quelled, and deep
In sensual oblivion lulled to sleep.

—ALAN DENNISON.

The first week or so after a campaign brings great desire for rest. Flesh is flesh after all. And a husky throat groans for succor from the thunderous competition of the traffic. Yet what is the dogged Socialist to do when the forums from four dozen districts pummel themselves in on your imagined vacation and prent demands for your appearing every night between now and the next Fourth of July in forty eight sections of the city.

And here are dozens of books you have set aside for reading and review, there is the book of poems you promised yourself to get out for the clamorous public, and what about the novel you have started and abandoned because New Leader Board meetings and sundry committee gatherings have broken in on creative hours?

There is so much writing to be done, so little leisure to do it in, so much family discord because you do not give of your mental and paternal self to wife and sons. . . . And then the unemployed complain! But then on second thought, an old aphorism out of the Talmud perks in and says: "Some people complain that their lives are wretched and bitter. Others weep because their strings of pearls are somewhat akimpy. . . ."

I guess I'm crying about pearls. But really, gentle and tolerant readers, if this here column will limp somewhat for a session or two you will understand. And wasn't there once a great rebel who preached the right to be lazy? Paul Lafargue was the rascal, I believe. And for the nonce, let me offer him to you for authority. Which means a poem is in order now . . . and what's better, not of mine.

Gifts

A devilish wisdom chose your gifts. You brought
No roses—roses may be smoothed and pressed
And come upon long after one has taught
The mind and pulse a rhythm less distressed.

No letters—letters may be kept and tied
With silly little ribbons; stored away
And brooded on as moments that have died;
Mute proof that you came deafeningly by.

The sun you gaze—the sun that never tires
Of dying in drenched robes and burning flame,
Nor knows how my brief light with it expires.
A devilish wisdom chose your gifts—my throat
Will tighten at the sight of water blown,
At final gentleness—one leaf afloat.

—CESALY NIKLAS.

It was just like Norman Thomas's gracious way to give mention and credit to everybody but himself for the saving of our Debs memorial radio station during these last few dark days when it was threatened with virtual death from starvation on one side and mayhem from the Federal Radio Commission on the other. My own part in volunteering act as check-signer during this period deserved no mention at all. And this is no gesture of modesty either.

While the summer vacations lured many of our active comrades away to Europe and elsewhere, Station WEVD was left high and dry of executive and financial resource. Nor could all the energy and ability of its lone Paladin, Gus Gerber, avail to stave off the doom that threatened its existence.

Norman stepped in and started to shoulder a seemingly impossible task. Not only was the life of the station at stake, but the good-will of the party was involved as well. Out of our movement fully \$60,000 was raised to perpetuate Gene Debs' name and memory through the radio station. I shall forego details of hurriedly called meetings, negotiations with friends and sympathizers, Comrade Sadoff's proposing salvation for WEVD to the Forward Association and the final fight before the Federal Radio Commission for our license. All I can say is, that if it were not for Norman and his fanatically propelled efforts, we would be now talking in past tense instead of a hopeful future for WEVD.

S. A. de Witt.

Mankind has reached a point where the means of satisfying its needs are in excess of the needs themselves. To impose, therefore, as has hitherto been done, the curse of misery and degradation upon vast divisions of mankind, in order to secure well-being for the few, is needed no more; well-being can be secured for all, without overwork for any.

—Peter Kropotkin.



"What's he done?"
"He's trying to overthrow the government."

Drawn by Art Young

Shakespeare and Bel Geddes' 'Hamlet' Makes Good

In "Louder, Please!" at the Masque Theatre



Aleta Freil has an important role in A. L. Jones' first venture of the season, "Louder, Please!" a new play on the movies by Norman Krasna.

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

A DARING "HAMLET"

"HAMLET." By William Shakespeare. Adapted, designed and directed by Norman Bel Geddes. At the Broadhurst.

THE new "Hamlet" at the Broadhurst is in several respects a daring departure from other productions; yet a balance among its various elements makes it one of the most stirring of recent presentations of the tragedy of the Prince of Denmark. The single setting of Norman Bel Geddes, with its steps and platforms against a towering wall, gives a magnitude and majesty to the play's movements; while lighting creates intimacy at will, and permits such further soundly theatrical effects as Hamlet's being hid in the King's shadow as the monarch prays. The almost eerie grandeur of the staging is balanced, however, by the suggestion of today in Ophelia's early garments and by the conversational level of the delivery, which reduces the usual declamatory reading of the lines to almost casual speech—the more intense, when need be, because of the low tone—and the more modern. As a result, indeed, the audience is held throughout by the living stir of the story.

The most daring departure in the text of the play is the putting of the ghost's words into Hamlet's mouth. This is more justifiable than first thought may show. Shakespeare is more careful with his ghosts than most of his contemporaries; he never has them rushing in in battalions, unannounced; Macbeth is the only one

who sees the spirit of Banquo; in this very play, Hamlet sees his father when the Queen looks at space. Three others see the King's spirit when it first appears; but it does not speak with them; they serve really as prompts to the Prince's secret thoughts. Would one question the revelations of a ghost? Hamlet says he must have less shadowy evidence; and prepares the play to catch the conscience of the King. In other words, while literalists may insist that a "real ghost" walks the stage, it takes but little stretching to make that spirit the voice of Hamlet's dread imaginings, as the psychology of our day would have it be.

The cast Norman Bel Geddes has assembled, to offer his interpretation, is well chosen, with Raymond Massey a most human Prince. (A few blocks away, on the talking screen, the same actor is Sherlock Holmes: a lesson in versatility). Celia Johnson is a very winsome Ophelia, Mary Servoss a less severe than usual, yet effective Queen; and John Daly Murphy makes Polonius a shrewd, almost Jewish Lord Chamberlain. The other players, in less prominent roles, contribute to a total effect as rich as any recent production of "The Tragedy of Hamlet."

ED WYNN'S THE LAUGHS

"THE LAUGH PARADE." A revue in 2 acts and 19 scenes. Dialogue by

GILBERT MILLER presents
"The Sex Fable"
A Comedy by EDOUARD BOURDET with

MRS. PATRICK CAMPBELL
RONALD SQUIRE
"Finely cast and beautifully produced, shocking and sophisticated in the modern mood."

—Robert Garland, World-Telegram.
HENRY MILLER'S THEATRE, 124 W. 43 St.
Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30
Evenings at 8:30 sharp
LAST TIME, TUES. NOV. 17

GILBERT MILLER presents
PAYMENT DEFERRED
A New Play by Jeffrey Dell with

CHARLES LAUGHTON
"The most remarkable character actor New York has been privileged to see in years."
—John Mason Brown, Eve. Post.
LYCEUM Theatre, 45 St. E. of Bway
Evening at 8:30
Matinees Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

A Jed Harris Production
WONDER BOY
A Comedy by

Edward Chodorov and
Arthur Barton
ALVIN THEATRE, W. 32d St.
Phone Col. 5-7978
Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

ERLANGER'S THEATRE, West 44th St.
Phone 6-7983—Eves. 8:30
CIVIC LIGHT OPERA CO.
MILTON ABORN, Director
—presents—
Begin, Mon. Eve., Nov. 16
VICTOR HERBERT'S GLORIOUS OPERETTA
Naughty Marietta
with ILSE MARVENGA
NEXT OPERETTA—THE FIREFLY
with ILSE MARVENGA
Eves. 8:30—2:30, Wed. Mats.
5:00—8:30, Sat. Mats. 5:00—8:30

"Friends and Lovers"
On Fox B'klyn Screen;
Stage Revue Has Abe
Lyman, Ron and Don

The Fox Brooklyn Theatre offers this week "Friends and Lovers" on the screen, "Five Races" Idea on the stage, Abe Lyman and his orchestra and Ron and Don.

"Friends and Lovers" is a powerful film bringing four great stars to the screen in one vehicle. There is Lily Damita as the woman whose beauty is the talk of London's drawing rooms and who is the bone of contention between two friends and comrades; Erich von Stroheim, as the monster who is her husband; Adolphe Menjou, as the lover whose affection she returns, and Laurence Olivier, as the young lieutenant who is another of von Stroheim's victims. Under the directing hand of Victor Schertzinger, the action of the story moves from Paris and London to the Indian outposts of the British forces.

"Five Races" Idea, staged personally by Fanchon and Marco, presents stars of the varieties from the five continents. Frank Jenks, Danny Small and Compa, Kanazawa Troupe, the Adams Sisters and Chief Cleary, "the Indian Al Jolson."

Ed Wynn and Ed Preble, music by Harry Warren, lyrics by Mort Dixon and Joe Young. At the Imperial.

The fetching foolery of Ed Wynn is beyond capture of words; the manner in which he extracts gales or chuckles of laughter from a delighted audience lies less in his ingenious tricks than in the elusive elements of nonsense in his personality. He may be elaborating some such intricate device as a brown derby a gentleman may lift to a lady without catching cold; he may be imitating an acrobat at dear old Tony Pastor's; he may be no more than looking out through his spectacles, surprised that any one should laugh at what he has done; his imagination and his whimsicality never fail to Wynn.

Around the comedian, who is a show in himself, Jeanne Aubert, the Albertina Rasch girls, and other good performers give a second good show of songs and dances and clever comedy. This combination makes an unbeatable insurance against gloom.

SELWYN THEATRE, W. 42d St.
Eves. 8:30, N's 8:15
Matinees Thurs. & Sat.
Phone LA 4-7239

EDGAR SELWYN presents
"FAST SERVICE"
A New Comedy by ELLIOTT NUGENT and J. C. NUGENT with
ELLIOTT NUGENT, MURIEL KIRKLAND and J. C. NUGENT
and a Supporting Company including:
JACK RAINE EDMOND BRON
Staged by Mr. Selwyn

TWO SMASH HITS
by ELMER RICE
"There is fine material all through it and it is a play of great sympathy and humanity."
—JOHN ANDERSON, Eve. Journal.

"Counsellor at Law"
PLYMOUTH THEATRE, W. 45th St.
Eves. 8:30, N's 8:15
Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30
Phone LA 4-7239

"First American play of the season of any sound quality; a play real in its character, real in its dialogue, and consistently intelligent in its approach to its subject matter."
—GEORGE JEAN NATHAN, Judge.

THE
LEFT BANK
LITTLE THEATRE, W. 44th St.
Eves. 8:30, N's 8:15
Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30
Phone LA 4-7239

New York Producing Association, Inc. announce their initial production

"HAMLET"
BY William Shakespeare with a Distinguished Cast including
RAYMOND MASSEY
Celia Johnson, Mary Servoss, Colin Keith-Johnson, Leon Quartermaine, John Daly Murphy, David Horne, George Carr, Herbert Ransome and a distinguished cast.
Designed and Directed by
NORMAN BEL GEDDES
Broadhurst Theatre
44th St. W. of Broadway
Eves. 8:30; Matinees Wed. and Sat. 2:30

MOROSCO THEATRE, 45th St.
W. of Bway
Philip Merivale
Cynara
with
Stephenson Foster Allen
"An provocative and moving play... literary discriminating and fine... splendidly acted."
—Ferry Hammond, Herald Tribune.
"A normal level-headed, distinguished and entertaining performance, one of the better and saner dramas."
—Ferry Hammond, Herald Tribune.
Eves. 8:30—2:30, Wed. Mats.
5:00—8:30, Sat. Mats. 5:00—8:30
BEST SEATS Evenings \$2.00
Wed. Mats. \$2.00
Sat. Mats. \$2.50

The Star of "Brief Moment" at the Belasco



Francine Larrimore has the principal role in "Brief Moment" the S. N. Behrman play which Guthrie McClintic is presenting at the Belasco Theatre.

"Heroes All" Authentic Film Record of the World War, Has Premiere at Cameo Theatre

"Speaking as a soldier, no war in the future will rebound to our nation's glory, but it will be universal misfortune."

These are the words of Major General John J. Bradley, United States Army, in the prologue to "Heroes All," an authentic film record of the World War, which is now at the RKO-Cameo Theatre.

The film had been made as a plea for peace. It shows the horrors of war in hopes that this presentation will deter future conflicts. Every scene in the film is official government material. General Bradley and Emile Gaudreau speak in a prologue and explain the action as it takes place on the screen.

As a historical document this motion picture is invaluable. It shows Woodrow Wilson signing the

Declaration of War, Secretary of War Newton Baker drawing the first draft, King George, Raymond Poincare, General Pershing, Marshal Haig and Ferdinand at the front. It shows the Russian troops crumbling and the Kerensky revolution. Remarkable scenes of the Italian troops fighting in the Alps and unforgettable sequences of the American troops are included in the film.

THE THEATRE GUILD presents
EUGENE O'NEILL'S Trilogy
"MOURNING BECOMES ELECTRA"
Composed of 3 plays presented on 1 day
"Homecoming" "The Hunted" "The Haunted"
Commencing at 8:15 sharp
Dinner intermission of one hour at 7.
No Matinees.

GUILD THEATRE, 22d Street, West of Broadway

THE GROUP THEATRE presents

The House of Connolly
By PAUL GREEN
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE THEATRE GUILD
Martin Beck & 5TH AVE.
Eves. 8:30, Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

Exciting play of a man who killed his faithless wife to save his soul—
TWO SECONDS
with Edward Pawley
CAST OF 58—21 STIRRING SCENES
RITZ THEATRE, 48th St. W. of Bway.
Eves. 8:30, N's 8:15
Mats. Wed. & Sat.—Best Seats \$2.00

44th St. Theat. W. of Bway.
Eves. 8:30
Matinees Wed. and Sat. 2:30

THE
GOOD COMPANIONS
Adapted by J. B. PRIESTLEY and EDWARD KNOBLOCK, from J. B. PRIESTLEY'S World Famous Novel.
Now Playing at His Majesty's Theatre, London
BEST SEATS, EVENINGS \$3.00

EARL CARROLL VANITIES

9th Edition—All New—with
LILLIAN WILLIAMSON
MILICENT DUNSTON
Fifty Notable Principals and a Company of 200 Featuring
75 of the most beautiful girls in the world
Nights Entire Orch. \$3, Bal. 50c
Mats. Tues., Wed., Thurs., Entire Orch. \$2, Sat. \$2.50, Bal. 50c.
SEATS FOR 8 WEEKS AT BOX OFFICE
EARL CARROLL THEATRE, 7 Av. Eves. 8:30, N's 8:15, Mats. 2:30

OPENING MON. NOV. 16

Chicago Civic Shakespeare Society presents
Fritz Helen Tyrone
Leiber Menken Power
William Viola Pedre de
Faversham Roache Cordoba
and a Distinguished Company in
THE MERCHANT OF VENICE
JULIUS CAESAR
HAMLET
REPERTOIRE for first week (Nov. 16)
Mon. & Wed. Eves. & Sat. Mats. "The Merchant of Venice"; Tues. & Fri. Eves. "Julius Caesar"; Wed. Mats., Thurs. & Sat. Eves. "Hamlet."
Eves. \$2.50 to \$5.00; Sat. Mats. \$2 to \$5.00
WEDNESDAY MAT. \$1.50 and 50c
ROYALE 49th St. W. of Broadway
CL. 4-1144

"Are These Our Children?" Romance Of Youth, at Mayfair

Wesley Ruggles, the director of "Cimarron," is credited with superb direction in Radio Picture's "Are These Our Children?" the current attraction at the Mayfair. It is a powerfully dramatic romance of youth, written by Ruggles and adapted by Howard Estabrook after the latter actually enrolled in Hollywood High School to get atmosphere. The cast is particularly well chosen, including Eric Linden and Arline Judge of the Broadway stage; Ben Alexander, who was prominent in pictures at the age of 7; Mary Korman, the original leading lady of Our Gang comedies; Rochelle Hudson, who played the lead in "Fanny Foley Herself"; Roberta Gale, Beryl Mercer, William Orlamond and Robert Quirk.

New German Film at Tobis-Vanderbilt

Kaiserlichebchen (Kaiser's Sweetheart), a musical romance of old Austria in the days of Empress Maria Theresa and Co-Regent Josef II. is now at the Tobis-Vanderbilt Theatre in West 48th street. Walter Janssen, star of Zwei Herzen, is seen as Emperor Josef. The lovely Liane Haid of the Vienna stage, has the title role—the Kaiser's sweetheart.

Katharine Cornell Resumes Her N. Y. Season in "The Barretts of Wimpole Street"

Katharine Cornell will resume her engagement in Rudolf Besler's "The Barretts of Wimpole Street" in the Empire Theatre on Monday night, Nov. 16, with the cast which was acting with her at the time she suspended her season for a six-week holiday. Among these players are Brian Aherne, Charles Waldron, Margalo Gilmore, Mary Kennedy, Joyce Carey, Brenda Forbes and Flush.

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

JOHN
GILBERT
in "PHANTOM OF PARIS"
with LEWIS STONE
LEILA HYAMS, JEAN HERSHOLT
A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture
LAUREL & HARDY in "Come Clean"
On the Stage—
"JADE" featuring Ross & Edwards,
The Kikutas, Rodion Trio, Sammi & Michi, Yasha Bunchuk & Gr. Orsh.

ROXY THEATRE
7th Av. & 50th St.

Will Rogers
in
Ambassador Bill
with GRETA NISSEN and
MARGUERITE CHURCHILL
—On the Stage—
"ROXY REVUE"
with 32 Magnificent Voices
Hall Johnson Negro Singers
Roxettes, Ballet, Symphony Orchestra

"THE CHAMP" makes 4 star goal. Not in the history of talkies was weeping so profuse and so enjoyable. Amazing talents of Jackie Cooper and superb histrionics of Wallace Beery."
—IRENE THURBER, Daily News.

THE
Champ
A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture
with WALLACE BEERY
JACKIE COOPER
ASTOR 45th St. & B'way.
Twice Daily 2:30, 8:30
3 times Sun. & Hols. at 3—6—8:30.
Mats. (exc. Sat.) 5:00 to 8:15. Eves. 8:00 to 8:30
Mats. on sale at box office

EUROPA 154 West 55th Street
Cl. 7-0129
Cont. Neon to Mid.—Pop. Prices
The most, most tuneful and most entertaining film from Germany
"Sein Liebeslied"
("His Love Song")
with WILLY FORST
with WILLY FORST

BROADWAY THEATRE, B'way & 53rd St.

On the Stage—
R. S. MOSS' VARIETIES
featuring
Lita Grey CHAPLIN
CHAS. (SLIM) TIMBLIN, SAMMY LEWIS and PATTI MOORE
YOUNG CHINA
Gold & Rave and a Great Company
On the Screen
BESSIE LOVE
and CONWAY TEARLE in
"Morals for Women"
Conflict That Rages in Women's Souls
Biggest Show Value in Town!
Entire Program Changed Weekly
Continuous Noon to Midnight
POPULAR PRICES

In Authentic World War Film at the RKO Cameo Theatre



German prisoners as they appear in "Heroes All," a war film, which, it is said, attempts for the first time to show the pictorial record of the activities of the American, British, French, Italian and Russian troops in the late war.

"Opera Ball," English Titled German Film.

"Opera Ball," the tuneful German comedy of Viennese society, continues its engagement at the Little Carnegie Theatre.

Schwartz Leases 49th St. Theatre

Maurice Schwartz announced yesterday that he has taken a lease on the 49th Street Theatre until April 28 and will continue his English season in that playhouse.

HEROES ALL
The World War on Every Front
Authentic film from government files—Highlights described by Major General Bradley, U. S. Army, and Emile Gaudreau, Editor of Daily Mirror.
Also a thrilling picture of the boys who won the war
LEGION ON PARADE
Officially made for Headquarters of the American Legion
Also Pathe News
RKO CAMEO 42nd St. and B'way

A Reign of Terror Broken by A Night of Love

"The RULING VOICE"
—Screams the Scarlet Truth! with a superb cast
WALTER HUSTON
DORIS KENYON
LORETTA YOUNG

Winter Garden
Broadway & 50th Street

JOHN Barrymore
at the zenith of his career in "THE Mad Genius"

with MARIAN MARSH
CHARLES BUTTERWORTH
DONALD COOK
HOLLYWOOD
Broadway & 51st Street
5:00 to 1 p.m. Mon. to Fri.

HER TRIUMPHANT RETURN TO THE SCREEN!

DOLORES COSTELLO
in
"EXPENSIVE WOMEN"
with WARREN WILLIAMS
STRAND
BROADWAY & 47th Street
Continuous—Popular Prices

2nd WEEK

RAYMOND MASSEY as SHERLOCK HOLMES in

"The Speckled Band"
with LYN HARDING
WARNER
BROADWAY and 52nd St.
3:30 to 2 P. M. Mon. to Fri.

Ethel Barrymore Theatre, 47th St. W. of Bway

LEE SHUBERT presents

Barrymore.

in

The SCHOOL for SCANDAL

Sheridan's Immortal Comedy
"Miss Barrymore is, certainly, the most charming Lady Teazle any of this generation is likely to see. It is real theatre."
—Richard Lockridge, Sun
Evenings, 8:30, \$1 to \$3
Mats., Wed. & Sat., 2:30 \$1 to \$2.50

Strictly Marvelous

SAY THE CRITICS
CARL LAEMMLE presents
Strictly Dishonorable
The Smartest Show in Town
The Universal Super Attraction
Produced by Carl Laemmle, Jr., from the Brock Pemberton stage smash by Preston Sturges.

CRITERION
BROADWAY AT 44th St.
Twice Daily 2:45 & 8:15
3 Times Sat. 2:45-4:15-11:45
Sunday 2:45 - 5:45 - 11:45

COSMOPOLITAN
BROADWAY and 50th STREET
Where Americans Enjoy the Best Continental Pictures
A Bit of Berlin in New York

"IHRE HOHEIT BEFIEHLT"
"Her Highness Commands"
A Sparkling "GERMAN" Film Operetta with Willy Fritsch—Kathie von Nagy
Produced by Max Pfeiffer Directed by Hanns Schwartz
Cont. 12:30-11:30 p. m.—Popular Prices

TOBIS VANDERBILT 48th STREET E. OF B'WAY. Con. 1-21 P.M. Popular Prices

WALTER JANSSEN (STAR OF "TWO HEARTS") and Liane Haid in Musical Film Romance
KAISER-LIEBCHEN
("The Kaiser's Sweetheart")

8887 SHOW IN NEW YORK

including SYLVIA CLARK
Lionel Barrymore
Elissa Landi
to
"The Yellow Ticket"
O'MAHA
HIPPODROME 6th Ave. & 43rd St.

Theatre Parties

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

Disarmament Petitions Out Among Locals

Branches Urged to Collect Signatures and Forward Petitions to National Office

DISARMAMENT ACTION
Locals and sympathetic organizations to whom disarmament petitions and resolutions have been sent, should give immediate attention to getting them signed or passed, and forwarded to National Headquarters, 2653 Washington boulevard, Chicago.

YIPSEL ANNIVERSARY
Sunday, November 15, is the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Young People's Socialist League in America.

With the slogan "California for Socialism," an aggressive campaign to form a Socialist branch in every community of the state was inaugurated with the appointment of Professor George R. Kirkpatrick to the job of state secretary of the party. He will have Los Angeles soon for a speaking tour embracing every corner of the state. Alexander Horr is giving a series of 18 lectures on Socialism at the San Francisco College of Social Science. New locals have been organized in Stockton and Lodi.

Colorado
Socialists of Colorado held a convention in Denver Nov. 1. They adopted a constitution and elected members of the state executive committee. The new constitution empowers the state executive committee to appoint the state secretary. The following were elected to the state executive committee: Morton Alexander, Arvada; J. A. Kimble, Wray; Mr. Coleman, Colorado Springs; J. T. Landis, Pueblo; Francis P. Jones, Montrose; Carl Whitehead and Bruce Lamont, all of Denver. Until the state executive committee makes a definite decision, address communications to Bruce Lamont, acting state secretary, 310 S. Steel street, Denver, was chosen as acting state secretary at a convention of the Socialist Party of Colorado held last week.

Illinois
A mass meeting on behalf of the Kentucky miners will be held Sunday evening, November 22, at Workmen's Circle Labor Lyceum, Ogden and Kedzie, at 8:30 p. m.

Maryland
A huge rally, attended by a thousand representatives of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the Workmen's Circle and the Socialist Party, was held Saturday in Baltimore, to protest the imprisonment of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings.

Michigan
The Jugo-Slav Socialist youth groups have arranged a debate between Chicago and Detroit comrades, at Detroit, for Saturday, November 14, on the subject, "Is Force a Better Way Than Democratic Tactics to Achieve Socialism?"

Wisconsin
A mass meeting of the unemployed held by Milwaukee Socialists was attended by 3,000. A class of 26 new members was initiated by Assemblyman Ben Rubin of Milwaukee at a meeting of the Socialist Party of Kenosha. Thirty-five additional applications for membership were passed at the same meeting.

Ohio
CINCINNATI—The Socialists polled increased vote here last Tuesday. A vote for Mayor was Jacob C. Cox, Republican, 4,442; Democrat, 2,631; Socialist, 174; Independent, 622. Joseph Long was the Socialist candidate. Twenty years ago the Socialist candidate received 136 votes. The votes given other Socialist candidates were: President of the Council, John Ricksecker, 304; for Councilmen-at-large, Harry

"Die Lindenvirtin vom Rhein" Ends Nov. 17

"Die Lindenvirtin vom Rhein" (The Inn at the Rhine), popular German screen opera, is to end its successful engagement of eight weeks at the Europa on Tuesday, Nov. 17.

Commencing Wednesday, Nov. 18, the Europa will present the American premiere of a new German musical comedy, "Sein Liebeslied" (His Love Song), produced by the creators of "Zwei Herzen im 3/4 Takt" (Two Hearts in Walt Time) and "Die Lustigen Weiber von Wien" (The Merry Wives of Vienna).

Willy Forst, one of the stars of "Two Hearts" and star of "The Merry Wives of Vienna," has the leading role in "Sein Liebeslied."

Hall Johnson Negro Choir to Appear On the Roxy Stage

Hall Johnson's Negro Choir, one of the outstanding concert attractions in the country and well known to New Yorkers through appearances at local town halls and their four consecutive year engagements at the Stadium concert, will be heard in the new Roxy stage offering starting today.

"Boccaccio," Which Opens Nov. 17 at New Yorker Theatre, Is First of the Wagner Series

Charles L. Wagner will begin a season of comic opera in English at the New Yorker Theatre on Tuesday evening, Nov. 17, with von Suppe's opera, "Boccaccio."

Ethel Legnasia will conduct an orchestra of 27 players and a company of 64 singers. Allen Jones will appear in the name part and Carlotta King will sing the role of Flaminia.

Thomas Will Tour Texas in December For Seven Addresses

Norman Thomas is going to Texas in December soon to fill a series of Open Forum engagements. It is hoped that the town will get Socialists and others out, revive the movement, arouse some of our dormant, former literature big-braders. There is a great deal of liberal sentiment loose just now, that could be easily crystallized. Should this happen radicalism could again be a power in Texas.

Roads are good and folks do not mind traveling a hundred miles in Texas. Here are the Texas meetings:

Sunday, Dec. 6, 3 p. m., Dallas Open Forum.
Monday, Dec. 7, 7:30 p. m., Greenville (Texas) Open Forum.

Tuesday, Dec. 8, 8 p. m., Houston Open Forum.

Wednesday, Dec. 9, 8 p. m., Galveston Open Forum.

Thursday, Dec. 10, 8 p. m., Waco Open Forum.

Friday, Dec. 11, Marshall, Texas.

Saturday, Dec. 12, 11 a. m., College Industrial Arts, Denton.

Sunday, Dec. 13, 3 p. m., Wichita Falls Open Forum, (tentative).

Lahr, 223; Andrew Manger, 162; Per Lee Miller, 153; for Board of Education, William Slusser, 1,297; Nicholas Weitch, 1,425; William Helmsvath, 915.

Virginia
The Socialists in Hopewell polled a better vote than the party's candidates have won in years. Billings, for State Senate, received 133 votes as compared with 1 in 1928, 13 in 1929 and 30 in 1930. The Democratic nominee received 1,068 as compared with 2,517 in 1928 and 1,036 in 1930. For member of the House of Delegates, David George received 112 votes. In 1930 the party received 24 votes in the district.

The Virginia Socialists wish to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of checks for \$100 from Murray Barron for party work in the campaign. The Jewish Daily Forward gave \$25, Morris Hilligass, \$5, Dr. Louis Sadoff, \$5, Harry Davis, A. N. Weinberg, William Karlin and Meyer Gills \$1 each, Dr. Louis Hendin \$3, 22-23rd A. D. Kings 4.

Pennsylvania
PHILADELPHIA—This Sunday evening, the Strawberry Mansion branch will hear David Felix, secretary of Local Philadelphia, speak on "Workers and the Law." Comrade Felix is a lawyer particularly well-informed on labor law. All interested are invited to attend.

New Jersey

NEWARK—Every member should attend the local meeting to be held Nov. 17, at 8 p. m., at 105 Springfield avenue. A full report will be given by all officers including Organizer Rosenkranz who will present plans for future activities with a special view to the approaching Presidential campaign. New local officers will be elected. The party's vote doubled in the last election.

RUTHERFORD—The Socialist vote in Bergen County showed a good increase in the election of last week. The returns for the county were: Niesner (Governor) 634; Cox (Senator) 734; for Assembly, Merka 604; Alders 783; Rogers 791; Arnel 799; Sarapina 738; Doramus (clerk) 942; Hoke (Freeholder) 748.

New York State
State Secretary Merrill announces that it will be impossible to get full returns on the state vote until after the official canvass. Preliminary re-

In "Merchant of Venice" at the Royale Theatre

Helen Menken will be seen as "Portia," with the Chicago Civic Shakespeare Society, which opens its N. Y. season Monday at the Royale Theatre.

Manhattan Symphony's First Concert of Season

The Manhattan Symphony Orchestra, Henry Hadley conducting, opened its third season on Sunday evening, Nov. 1, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. The first number was an orchestra arrangement by Andre Polak of Bach's Prelude and Fugue for violin solo, followed by the prelude to Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles by Paley. Florence Stage made her debut at this concert playing the Rachmaninoff Concerto No. 2, and the concluding number on the program was Beethoven's Fifth Symphony. There was a great improvement noticeable in the ensemble this season particularly the first violins with Alexander Theide as concert master, and the brass section with Fred Fox as first horn. At the next concert Nov. 22, Maurice Maréchal, the French cellist, will play the Honnegger Concerto and Sylvia Permer, a 14-year-old soprano, will make her first public appearance on the concert platform.—C. H. D.

Lily Damita does some fine work in "Friends and Lovers," which moves to the Fox Theatre. On the stage is a new Fanchon and Marco Revue and Abe Lyman and His Band.

"Hip" Has Gala Show; "Yellow Ticket" on the Screen; Sylvia Clark, And Others on the Stage

At the Hippodrome Ellsland Landi and Lionel Barrymore in "The Yellow Ticket" hold the screen interest. Besides these celebrated stars, the extraordinary cast in this Raoul Walsh production includes Laurence Oliver, Walter Byron, Sarah Padden, Boris Karloff and Rita LaRoy.

The vaudeville half of the show is also extraordinary, presenting little Sylvia Clark, Jean Bedini with Harry Evanson in a laugh smash-up, the Norman Thomas Quintette and Cliff Nazarro. On the same program are Ted Leary and Auricle Craven, Jay Sellar and Frances Wills, the Great Peters and Ted Clark and Ed Smith.

Warner Oland will play the title role in "Charlie Chan's Chance," which Fox is to make from the Earl Derr Biggers story of that title. H. B. Warner is cast as the Scotland Yard inspector.

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ports of the vote, declares the state secretary, are very encouraging.

ITHACA—While Louis Waldman, Socialist candidate for Governor, polled 80 votes in Tompkins County last Tuesday, Wesley Eastman, this year's candidate for Assemblyman, received 237 votes. Prof. Vladimir Karapetoff, Socialist candidate for Mayor of Ithaca, got 200 votes, and Rabbi Isadore B. Hoffman, candidate for Commissioner of Education, received 152. The vote of Waldman in the city of Ithaca was 40 last year.

SARATOGA—The Socialist vote of Saratoga County this year was 940 compared with 476 in 1930. In Saratoga Springs, the vote increased 164 per cent in a year, growing from 127 to 335; in Mechanicville 224 per cent, or from 47 to 157; in Cortland 320 per cent, or from 10 to 42. A. J. official county committee is to be designated for the spring primary.

UTICA—The Rev. Anthony Perrotta, Socialist candidate for Mayor, received 1,540 votes compared with 600 votes given Waldman last year.

BUFFALO—The Rev. Anthony Perrotta, Socialist candidate for Mayor, received 1,540 votes compared with 600 votes given Waldman last year.

DELAWARE COUNTY—Pierre DeNo, Socialist candidate for Assemblyman in Delaware County, was credited with 200 votes this year compared with 145 in 1930. Doyle, Socialist candidate for County Clerk, received 112 votes. Waldman polled 52 votes in Delaware County last year.

NASSAU COUNTY—The Rev. Anthony Perrotta, Socialist candidate for Mayor, received 1,540 votes compared with 600 votes given Waldman last year.

MANHATTAN
CHELSEA—The Chelsea branch will meet Tuesday, Nov. 17, at 8:30 p. m., in the Civic Club, 18 East 10th street. The subject of the evening will be "The Immediate Future of the Socialist Party." A brief business meeting will be held.

6th A. D.—A well attended meeting was held last Monday evening. Organized Socialists spoke on the recent campaign and the work ahead. The branch executive will meet Friday. It was also decided to cooperate with neighboring branches for the running of some large affairs.

UPPER WEST SIDE—A meeting will be held Tuesday, Nov. 17, at 8:30 p. m. The subject for discussion will be "The Relation of the Party to the Labor Union." The executive committee session held on Tuesday, Nov. 10, it was voted that the branch assist in the formation of a Socialist Sunday school. It was decided to hold a Thanksgiving party for the children of members and of enrolled Socialists. All branch members and enrolled Socialists of the neighborhood who have children of Sunday school age are requested to apply to Helen Gibson Pichard, 160 Claremont avenue, New York City, who will be able to give complete information.

19-21st A. D.—A meeting will be held Saturday evening, Nov. 14, in the home of Comrade Grosswald, 95 West 118th street, Apt. 2-N. Matters pertaining to the welfare of the branch will be acted upon. Following the business meeting, A. Philip Randolph will discuss the recent campaign and the work ahead of us.

WASHINGTON HEIGHTS—Branch held its regular meeting Thursday, Nov. 12. A street meeting was held on Anna Day. The winter branch will begin on Sunday, Nov. 15, at branch headquarters. August Claessens will speak on "Selfishness—A Study of Human Nature." A Sunday school has been inaugurated under the guidance of Dora Delson and Dr. Calman Par-

KEEP alive and increase the interest of the voter who voted the Socialist ticket for the first time by securing his subscription to your paper, The New Leader.

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New Members Offered Free Rand Classes

Yipsels to Honor Lee—Branch Activities in the Boroughs

NEW MEMBERS, ATTENTION!
In order to promote Socialist education among our new recruits, the executive committee of Local New York has made a special arrangement with the Rand School whereby any member who has joined since Jan. 1, may take one course at the school in the field of history, economics, Sociology, trade unionism, related subjects without paying the usual tuition fee, but only the \$1 matriculation fee. Among the instructors whose courses may be taken under this plan are D. P. Zernberg, W. C. Bohn, A. Kantrovich, Lee, Shipiloff and Stanley. Classes for the winter term (January to April) are now being formed. Those who wait too long may find the lists filled up. Whoever wishes to take advantage of this offer should at once communicate with the Rand School at 7 East 15th street.

YIPSELS TO FETE LEE—Free Youth, the official publication of the Young People's Socialist League, has arranged a banquet in honor of Alexander Lee, chairman of the New York county committee, recording secretary Dorothy Jaffer, delegates to the county committee, Louis Weil and Alfred Breslow; delegates to the central committee, Herman Woskow and Jacob Rose of the New York City branch, with regret that Comrades Bates Hoyle and John Davidson, two extremely valuable and active members, have transferred to other branches.

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ents are invited to send their children to headquarters on Sunday morning. Children must be over 8 years of age.

BRONX

1st A. D.—Thursday, Nov. 12, the branch will hold its first meeting since the campaign closed. Many important questions are to be taken up; chief among them will be the further activities of the branch.

3rd A. D.—The branch will meet at 908 Prospect avenue, Tuesday, Nov. 17. The meeting will discuss activities to be instituted the first week in December and to continue into the next election. The plan consists of informal house talks, Sunday morning lectures, and a series of evening lectures. Each business meeting will be followed by an educational program. The first of which will be a talk by Comrade Julius Umansky on "Machine Politics or Why Democrats Win." Admission is free.

5th A. D.—The forum conducted under the auspices of this branch at the Hollywood Gardens opened a week ago with Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee, as the first speaker. A good audience was present. This Friday evening, at the second session of the forum, August Claessens will lecture.

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NEW LEADER

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James O'Neal Editor Edward Levinson Assistant Editor

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

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1931

Demands of Usurers

MEETING in West Virginia the Investment Bankers Association have urged the railroads to immediately reduce wages and salaries 10 per cent to provide "a national revolving fund to meet the \$600,000,000 of railway securities." At the same time D. B. Robertson, president of the Brotherhood of Engineers and Firemen states that during the depression 500,000 railway workers have been discharged and that 250,000 have been displaced by labor-saving machinery.

These two items of news offer an interesting contrast. The usurers are determined not to part with anything that is coming to them although 750,000 railroad workers have been hurled into idleness. The rest are asked to kindly accept a reduction in wages to make the usurers happy. Heaven in the upper world of investment and hell in the lower world of labor.

No industry in the United States comes nearer to being the gift of the masses than the railroads. Land and funds were voted to them in the days when the gamblers swarmed around the Federal money vats. Out in the West they obtained more from town and county governments. Piled on top of these vast gifts came the stock swindles and robbery by construction companies. Wizard finance also contributed to making railways the greatest plundering enterprises of American capitalism and many of the lines carry huge loads of this early grafting.

Now come the railroad investors with their demands for a guarantee of good solid cash on their investments and insistence that the workers on the lines shall take a wage cut to pay for it. Certainly, this "new capitalism," which only yesterday was advertised as a benevolent thing, has been transformed into a monstrous thing to plague the workers.

Pious Exploiters

THE indictment of Theodore Dreiser by a Harlan jury in Kentucky which charges misconduct with a woman may be accepted as a "moral" screen for the brutal dictatorship that rules the county. It is not the first time that American scoundrels of class rule have put on a pious mask. It is an old game with them. Dreiser was investigating the ownership of the county government by the coal companies and that is his real crime. Slave owners were expert in this strategy. Throughout the South they and their sons were accustomed to the embraces of Negro slave girls and many a young blade in the lower South kept his Octoroon mistress in New Orleans. Wives of planters brooded over these illicit relations while planter politicians indulged in pietistic horror over the alleged aims of abolitionists to establish mixed relations between the sexes, especially between whites and blacks!

In his recent biography of Theodore Roosevelt Pringle tells of the attempt to frame Roosevelt when he was Police Commissioner by compromising him with a street walker. Twenty-five years ago our capitalist press attacked Maxim Gorky when the Russian revolutionist visited New York City although his family life was consistent with Russian law. At the same time every newspaper office knew of a millionaire who had been shot by his mistress and they suppressed the story of this escape of the dead vulgarian.

When our ruling capitalists and politicians turn "moral" they invoke a roar of laughter. Dreiser is to be envied for receiving this attention.

The "Progress-ifs"

THE "progressives" are forecasting for next year and Senators Norris and La Follette were heard from last week. Both cast shy glances at Governor Roosevelt and we presume the latter blushed. Norris is sure that "any progressively minded man can beat Hoover" and La Follette thinks it is a "little premature to make

any statement about Governor Roosevelt's chances to carry the Democratic banner to victory."

Socialists are little concerned whether Roosevelt, Smith, or Norris or any other "progress-if," as Victor L. Berger used to spell it, carries the banner for the Democratic Party, or within the Republican Party, or outside of both parties. In any event these gentlemen will not injure the Socialist Party in the slightest degree so long as the party itself carries a banner which is distinct from this vague middle class "progressivism."

The Socialist Party in 1912 faced a test more trying than any political set-up that may appear next year. Wilson was broadcasting his "New Freedom" and Theodore Roosevelt his "Social Justice." Wilson declared that the government at Washington was "the foster child of the great interests" while Roosevelt paraded a long list of measures that in some degree were an imitation of the Socialist Party platform. Some party members were much concerned. They feared that both candidates would "steal our thunder."

The result was that we polled the heaviest increase in the Socialist vote since the organization of the party. We carried on a magnificent campaign and directed our appeal straight to the laboring millions. The result showed that so long as we maintain our fundamental character as a party of the workers there is little danger of this middle class sniping from the sidelines. If we tone our appeal down to the vagueness of the "progress-ifs" the results will be otherwise.

Party Problems

WITH the local political campaigns a matter of history, Socialists must now turn to a number of problems that will not be easy to solve. Next year will provide a splendid opportunity for a Socialist campaign. A national convention will be held in Milwaukee in April and if it were merely a matter of adopting resolutions and a platform defining the party's position and nominating candidates our job would be very simple.

But we are facing the problem of financial resources to hold a convention, to pay its expenses, to assist weak states to send delegates, and the further job of raising funds to carry on a campaign. All this work confronts us with the knowledge that many of our members and sympathizers are unable to give that financial assistance that is essential to carry on an effective political campaign.

It is just as well, therefore, for the local and state organizations throughout the country to make their plans now with reference to this big job that faces us next year. Long range planning is essential if we are to have any funds at all for the bare needs of routing speakers, hiring halls, printing literature and meeting other expenses, to say nothing of the states seeing that they are represented in the national convention.

State and local organizations have five months in which to plan to overcome their financial difficulties and it would be well for them to appoint special committees to study the problem and work out the best methods of accumulating funds for their needs and the needs of the national organization. To let this matter go by till we face it as an immediate emergency would be a disservice to the movement. We hope that every division of the party will face its responsibilities in this respect and make the utmost of our meager financial resources.

IN A NUTSHELL

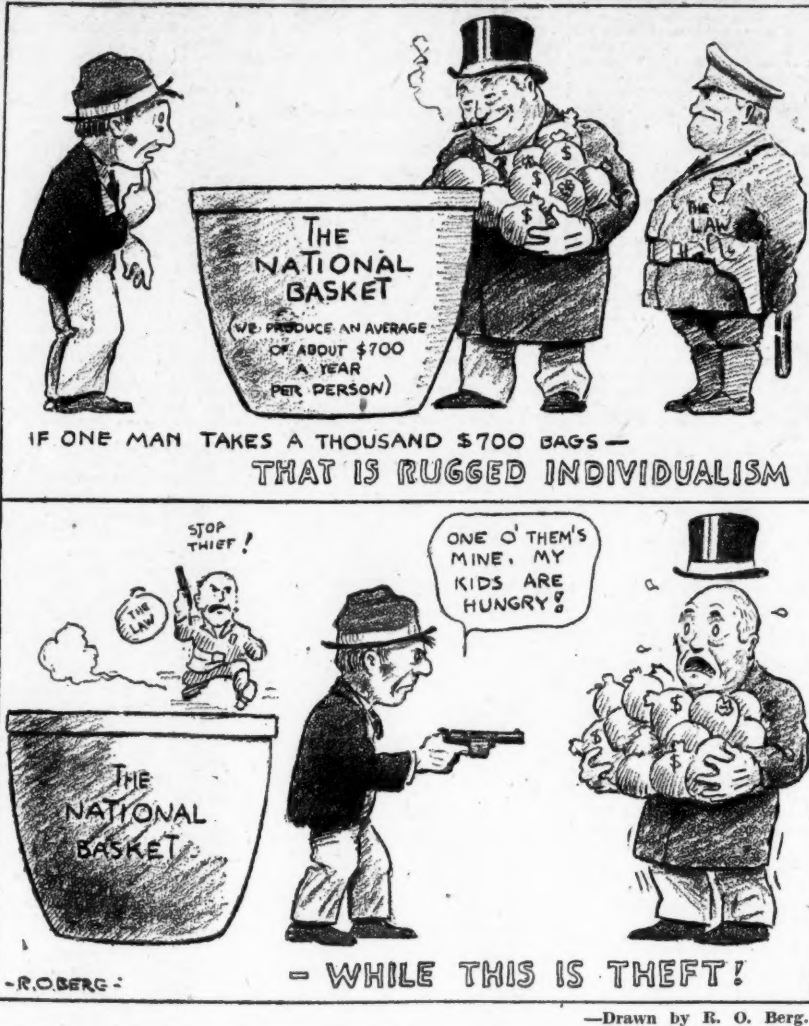
Socialists and Armaments

On another page last week appeared an interesting article by Charles Edward Russell on war, capitalism, and disarmament. Its merit lies in its emphasizing that a warless world can never be assured until capitalism is destroyed. It is important that this should be emphasized over and over again and yet it should not justify impossibilism. We carry on a class struggle in politics against the whole capitalist system and assert that there is no final and satisfactory solution of the problems of the working class short of the overthrow of capitalism. If we stopped short with that statement we would become impossibilists and make no headway in reaching the working class. We go on to say that long before we can destroy capitalism we will have sufficient influence and power to wrest concessions from the exploiting classes that will be helpful to the working class.

Now it is true that mere possession of armaments is not the cause of war and that great armaments are the result of an imperialist capitalism, but it is also true that without armaments there can be no war. Russell states that by abolishing all armaments the chances for peace will not be "increased by the breadth of a hair." This is impossibilism. The capitalist powers of the world simply cannot fight if they do not have the weapons with which to fight. Russell draws an impossibilist conclusion from an impossible event. It is impossible to have complete disarmament so long as capitalism survives and considering that it is impossible it is useless as the basis of argument.

Then by concentrating on this one phase of the problem the author ignores other important factors. It is a fact that many capitalists and politicians are opposed to another war although not for the same reasons that Socialists oppose it. They fear that capitalism not only cannot survive the strain of another war but that another world conflict might bring social revolutions that will swallow them up. For this reason they favor a reduction of armaments. On the other hand Socialists favor a policy of disarmament because, for one thing, the workers' lives are sacrificed to serve the interests of the ruling classes. As we cannot get Socialism in one election and we use our power to wrest concessions from the possessing classes, as we have not world power to destroy all armaments we will wrest every concession in disarmament that we can from the enemy. At the same time we indulge in no illusions of any complete disarmament so long as capitalism exists. That is impossible, but our fight against militarism and armaments is not only a Socialist duty but it also enlists the support of workers as they awaken to knowledge of the hell that yawns for them in the event of war.

Legal Plunder and Petty Larceny



Evading the Inheritance Taxes

Courts and Insurance Companies Come to the Aid of Wealthy Tax Dodgers

By Horace B. Davis

THE breaking up of large estates by means of the inheritance tax, which has been prevented in an increasing number of cases by the spread of million-dollar life insurance policies, will become very much more difficult if a court decision recently handed down by the federal circuit court of appeals in Boston is allowed to stand. The court upheld a decision of the federal district court declaring unconstitutional that part of the federal estate tax law which provides for the taxing of gifts made "in contemplation of death."

Charles F. Choate, Jr., rich Boston lawyer, died recently. Only a little while before his death, he had given \$30,000 to each of two daughters, one of whom was just being married. Under the estate tax law of 1926, gifts in contemplation of death—technically, transfers of property made within two years of death in excess of \$5,000 to any one person and without full consideration—are counted part of the dead man's estate and taxed accordingly. Hence the federal government attempted to collect tax on the two gifts. The federal district court decided that the section in question of the revenue law was unconstitutional.

\$9,300,000 Policies
This decision follows a similar one handed down Aug. 28, 1931, in federal court in Wilmington, Del., in a suit for the return of inheritance tax money paid on the death in 1928 of William du Pont. While it would not make impossible the collection of taxes on gifts made literally on the death-bed, which gifts have always been taxed as part of the estate, the Delaware decision, if upheld, would render easier the passing along of huge fortunes from generation to generation.

Publication by The Spectator, insurance weekly, of its latest list of persons carrying life insurance of \$50,000 or more shows how many wealthy people are arranging by means of premiums paid at intervals during their lives, to provide for the payment of inheritance tax at their death out of insurance money, and thus leave their estates substantially as large as they were. The Spectator has recorded 39 persons whose life is insured for \$3,000,000 or more. Depression apparently adds to the number of people who insure their estates against taxation; in 1931, 387 "million - or - more" policyholders were listed, as against 323 in 1929. The number of persons known to be holding policies totalling over \$50,000 was over 17,000 in September, 1931, as compared with less than 15,000 in 1929; in 1915, just before the enactment of the federal estate tax law, only about 6,000 persons were known to have \$50,000 or more each of life insurance.

A feature of this attempt to keep great blocks of wealth intact is the growth of life insurance trusts and business life insurance. Of the 14 men whose policies totalling more than \$5,000,000 in September, 1931, all but three had policies made up wholly or partly of business life insurance. This means that the policy-holder's firm is the beneficiary. In many cases, of course, the firm pays the premium out of income, and its net income available for distribution to stockholders is of course diminished by that much. The

writing of business life insurance has increased tremendously since 1920.

Congress to get Issue

The life insurance trust turns the principal of the estate over to a bank or trust company and provides that the income shall be paid regularly to the beneficiary. In this way the capitalist provides against dissipation of his fortune by his heirs. In two recent cases—those of Charles Garland and Beatrice Cadbury Boeke—inheritors of great wealth attempted to give away all of their inherited wealth, only to find that a part was held in trust for themselves and their children, so that they could not distribute this part of the principal.

The court decisions invalidating the tax on gifts in contemplation of death have not yet had time to

reach the U. S. Supreme Court. Such taxes in state laws have been accepted without question in the past. Progressives have usually favored a tax on all large gifts, and such a law, providing taxes at the rates of the estate tax, was actually on the books of the U. S. A. from 1924 until its repeal in 1926. This law, it is now generally agreed, was badly drawn. One district court declared it unconstitutional; but another—the western district court of Michigan—held it constitutional, in the case of *Blodgett vs. Holden*.

The inheritance tax is expected to furnish much of the fireworks in the session of Congress which opens in December. The American Federation of Labor considers higher inheritance taxes one of the most important points in its program, according to Pres. William Green.

Free Youth

News of The Young Peoples Socialist League

SUPPORT FREE YOUTH!—Free Youth, organ of the Young People's Socialist League, is very close to being decided to charge Yipsels \$1 a year and non-Yipsels \$3. All circles in the neighborhood are called upon to join and make this a real lively Socialist youth center.

OHIO.—There are two circles being formed in Dayton, Ohio. Joe Sharts 3rd, Andy Van Dam and Lenore Ross are the active members. A youth rally was held a few days ago and a number of young people were enrolled. Several thousand leaflets will be distributed announcing the formation and inviting young people to join. Hy Fish, state organizer of the Socialist party and Y. P. S. L., spoke at a meeting of 40 young people in Yellow Springs where Antioch College is located. Almost all of them voiced an interest in the Y. P. S. L. Comrade Fish reports that he is going to reach out soon to other towns in that territory.

FREE YOUTH BANQUET.—Free Youth has arranged a banquet in honor of Algeron Lee, chairman of the Socialist party of New York executive committee and for the past 25 years head of the Rand School of Social Science. The banquet and dance will be held on Thanksgiving Day, Thursday, Nov. 26, at 6 p. m., at the Rand School Auditorium, 7 East 15th Street, New York City. Reservations are \$1 per person. Make your reservations now.

CLASS TO CONTINUE.—The class on "Socialism" which has been conducted by August Claessens will be continued this Saturday afternoon, Nov. 14, at the Rand School Studio, 7 East 15th Street, at 4 p. m. The class will start promptly at 4 p. m.

YIPSELS TO DEBATE N. Y. U.—A debate between the New York University debating team and the Y. P. S. L. has been arranged for Saturday, Nov. 28, at 2:30 p. m., at the Rand School. Admission is free. Everybody invited.

YORKVILLE.—Julius Umansky will speak to the members of Circle Nine Seniors, Manhattan, on "Machine Politics" this Sunday afternoon at 3 p. m., at 241 East 84th Street.

RED FALCON GROUP.—A movement has been started to organize young boys from 11 to 14 into a Red Falcon division of the league. Phil Heller, city organizer, has been assigned to arrange a program of activity. All comrades who are interested in leading a group of Red Falcons are requested to get in touch with the city office.

HARLEM.—Circle Six Seniors of Harlem have reorganized and are now very active. The circle carried on the campaign single-handed. Open air meetings were held and literature distributed. An educational program consisting of a class in Socialism conducted by Julius Umansky has been arranged. The first session will begin on Sunday, Nov. 15, at 8:30 p. m.

CIRCLE TWO SR. KINGS.—Circle Two Seniors of Brooklyn, held a costume dance last Saturday. Over 175 Yipsels and their friends came in costume and danced to the music of Lou Ross' Club Orchestra, often heard over WJVD. The circle has increased its membership roster about 60 per cent since January, and it has taken over the gymnasium and clubhouse of the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackett street, and has converted them

Neither Song Nor Sermon

THE election results in this city seem to me most encouraging. In Manhattan our top vote increased 30 per cent, while the aggregate for aldermanic and assembly candidates increased 35 and 32 per cent respectively. I'm sure Norman Thomas, who still runs far ahead of the ticket, is as glad as anyone to see the gap somewhat narrowed by the more rapid growth of the straight vote.

As was to be expected, the other three large boroughs did better than Manhattan. For the city as a whole, there is an increase of 43 per cent in the aldermanic and of 45 per cent in the assembly vote. To have almost 110,000 straight Socialist votes cast and counted, in a year when no one had any illusions about actual success at the polls, is a worth-while achievement.

I am especially pleased to note that our progress is not confined to a few spots. In only ten assembly districts do the returns show a loss, and the aggregate decline in these ten districts is only 798. In ten other districts our increase was less than 20 per cent, while in forty-two districts it ran above that. To my mind, this wide distribution of our gains shows a healthy condition. It does not offer the temptation to make sensational and personal campaigns in a few localities in the hope of electing someone next year. It does favor steady and thorough educational propaganda for Socialism, which is what we need.

In at least two of the districts which show a loss, this was brought about by outrageous intimidation and violence, practiced by Democrats with Republican connivance. I don't know any way of improving our party organization, not in the rough-house districts sione, but all over the city.

More general than violence was a subtle form of corruption. In all the poorer districts numerous voters asked to have Democratic inspectors go into the booths with them. Everyone understands what this meant. These men and women are facing actual destitution. Tammany controls the unemployment relief funds. Thousands who would otherwise have voted the Socialist ticket deliberately sold their votes this time. Can you blame them? I cannot, any more than I can blame the man who steals in order to get food for his family.

It might have been as well, however, if we had not talked so much during the campaign about Tammany's power to reward or punish the voters. A wise general does not, on the eve of a battle, go out of his way to tell his soldiers how easy it would be for them to run away and how likely they are to get hurt if they don't.

Those who measure political success only by the number of candidates elected will of course talk about the Socialist defeat in Reading. No doubt our loss of control in the council is going to be immediately hurtful to the interests of the masses in that city. Unfortunately, it is often by such experiences that the masses have to learn. From our party's point of view, the loss of a few offices is more than compensated by a decided increase of the Socialist vote, not only in the city, but also in the rural portions of the county. Our comrades there are not feeling at all apprehensive as to the future. To have made the old parties lose, and thus demonstrate the truth of what we have always said about them, is a big step forward.

Meanwhile, here comes Bridgeport to balance Reading. Here Lawrence strikers carrying on Battle (Continued from Page One)

Hall Forum, Boston liberal center, described his arrest as follows: "I went to the Workers Cooperative Union, met Salerno, walked with him up Broadway as far as the Methuen line. Things looked good. As I was walking back to the car to return to Boston I spoke to nobody. When I started to get in the car and said good-bye to the others, I was arrested." The great need is relief from the outside. It should be rushed.

A Correction
In the last issue of the New Leader under the heading "Lester Shulman Run Out of Lawrence" it was stated that several boys visited the home of the alleged kidnaper in Newburyport—and cut the telephone wires! This report, sent by The Federated Press, was wrong.

The seriousness of this mistake can easily be seen. The seven boys arrested were visiting the home of the man who it was found owned the car Shulman had been kidnapped in. The boys were later arrested and charged on three counts—disturbing the peace, malicious destruction of property, and the destruction of communications, meaning the telephone wires. They were found not guilty on the first two and guilty on the last and sentenced to eight months each, the leader, Leonard Green, getting one year. They were let out on \$2,000 bail, excepting Green who needed \$4,000. They pleaded not guilty and appealed.

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NASHVILLE, Tenn. (FP)—Tennessee, if a private business, would be in the hands of receivers. The payroll and confederate veterans' pensions cannot be met Nov. 1.