

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Fascism, France and Peace—Kentucky Indicts Theodore Dreiser—The Unemployed and Congress—Th C. P. L. A. Defeating Its Own Purpose

FASCISM AND WORLD PEACE

It is one of life's ironies that the swashbuckling jingo, Mussolini, should suddenly have become an advocate of disarmament and a one year naval truce. The French will tell you that there is no virtue in Mussolini's move but simply a chance to outmanoeuvre the French who have Mussolini licked in the matter of arms. Be that as it may, there is comparatively more hope for the moment in Mussolini's attitude than in the French attitude.



NORMAN THOMAS

But there is no hope at all for permanent peace in Fascism. Fascism essentially is jingoism and capitalism writ large. A man like Grandi with his record of Fascist leadership in clubbing, shooting, dosing with castor oil, and exiling Italy's noblest sons is about as appropriate a messenger of peace as would be Al Capone.

Of course, since the United States has properly recognized the existing government in Italy President Hoover must receive its Foreign Minister. There is no similar obligation on New York or Philadelphia to give him a great civic reception. Anti-Fascists will do infinitely more harm than good by demonstrations that can be interpreted as a threat against Signor Grandi but they must take this occasion to push a more united, vigorous and intelligent campaign against Fascism in the United States or Italy. It is especially important that we arouse public opinion against any further loans from America to bolster-up the Fascist government. Dr. Salvemini has put it on record that in the earlier years of Mussolini's government it was not only saved but strengthened by British Tory support in its foreign policy and American financial support.

KENTUCKY AND DREISER

"WHOM the gods would destroy they first make mad." Certainly the gods must be out to destroy the blind and stupid Kentucky plutocracy. There have been more effective labor investigators than Dreiser and his companions, but the nagging attacks upon them culminating in the face of their indictment for criminal syndicalism after they left the state can only be understood by the whole world as evidence that there is a reign of terror in the mining counties of Kentucky, and that above all things, those responsible fear the light. Governor Roosevelt has an uncommonly easy chance to make a stand for decency by refusing extradition.

CONGRESS' IMMEDIATE JOB

NOW that Congress is about to meet it's up to all of us to say vigorously that Congressmen will be accomplices in the act of starving by wholesale millions of their fellow citizens if they do not promptly vote a five billion dollar Federal relief fund to be repaid out of increased taxes on incomes and inheritances. Private relief and municipal relief have both proved worse than inadequate. Private relief is made an excuse by corporations to tax the poorest workers on a scale which if applied to the directors themselves, would raise hundreds of millions of dollars. So-called public relief in cities like New York is, as we charged during the campaign, and as the Seabury inquiry proved, one of the most despicable bribes in the world in the hands of a corrupt political machine.

Of course, unemployment insurance or unemployment indemnity must be set up along Socialist lines. But there won't be time to do that to realize this present crisis. Such insurance can't help men already out of work, yet such insurance would do more to emancipate the workers from political and economic bosses than any single thing I know of, and there is no blinder folly that labor can be guilty of than to oppose such insurance.

But now the immediate job of Congress is to provide this hunger loan. On this matter the so-called Progressives have heretofore fallen down almost as badly as the old party stand-patter. No man can be a Progressive even by the low standards of American progressivism and refuse this aid.

THE C. P. L. A. AND SOCIALISTS

IT is something of a calamity that the Conference for Progressive Labor Action has created the situation so hostile to the Socialist party that Socialists are obliged either to resign from it, or to compel it to reverse its stand. The C. P. L. A. had a good idea which was to unite workers in a progressive drive for more and better organization. Its present slogan, however, is not "workers of the world unite," but "come ye out and be ye separate"—to quote one of its official statements. This is the slogan of a religious sect intent on saving souls not on getting things done. At all times members of the C. P. L. A. would have been welcome in the Socialist party with a chance to tell us how to make it better. Instead, the leaders of this small group have drifted to an unsound position of mere criticism based on a vague philosophy and inadequate program. Temperamentally these men seek some hazy half-way point between Socialism and Communism.

All this is too bad because the organization promised better things. It has not been successful on the industrial field as I had hoped in breaking the apathy and discouragement of the workers, but in some places the C. P. L. A., or rather certain members of it, have done valiant and useful work. Men like A. J. Muste are men with whom one would like to work. That's why it is such a pity that the C. P. L. A. by its political pronouncements to which is to weak or give effect on the political field except by way of criticism, should become a source of division rather than of unification.

Emergency Unemployment Conference To Meet Dec. 9 in Stuyvesant High School

The Emergency Unemployment Conference, of which Abraham I. Shipplack is chairman and Julius Gerber, secretary, will meet at the Stuyvesant High School, First avenue and 15th street, New York City, on Wednesday evening, December 9.

A letter has been sent to all Socialist labor and fraternal organizations in New York City inviting them to send two delegates to this conference. In view of the great hardships suffered by hundreds of thousands because of the unemployment situation and the opportunities for agitation and for demands upon public agencies for adequate relief and remedial legislation, a large attendance is expected.

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THE POLITICIANS BETRAY THE JOBLESS

While Smith Makes Pious Plea to Succor the Unemployed,
Tammany Ghouls Use Relief Funds For Own Ends

Taking His Cut

SOME ten thousand people assembled in Madison Square Garden last week to collect alms for the starving workers of the city with the Hon. Alfred E. Smith as general in charge of the drive. Here were gathered some notable ballyhoosers of the capitalist system of production. Fear brooded over them, fear for the system and fear of the working class.

Former Judge Proskauer made the usual fatuous criticisms of the British "dole" while he pleaded for charity doles. He feared that "serious social perturbations" were unavoidable unless the ruling classes opened their purses.

"You can't argue with hungry men," said the speaker. "You can't reason with people who see their children starving."

Indeed you cannot, Judge, and you cannot meet the situation by ignorant or deliberate distortion of unemployment insurance. Just as capitalism has denied the starving any security of living so you would deny them correct knowledge of unemployment insurance. You misuse facts as the ruling classes have in relation to their blessed social order.

The Prize Performer

But the prize performance was that of "field marshal" Alfred E. Smith. "In sentences pregnant with pity for those in acute need he described the wants and sufferings of the great army of jobless and their families." So reads one press story of his address. The audience was deeply moved.

Al was strong for "brotherly love" and was moved to "compassion" for those thrust into the social pit. Perhaps the most effective part of the speech was the following:

"According to the Scriptures, our Divine Lord asked: 'Who is my neighbor?' and in answer to that, he gave the parable of the man who fell among robbers and was left bleeding by the roadside, and he spoke to those that passed him by, and he spoke with great feeling of the good Samaritan that poured oil into the wounds and bound them up and took him to the inn. That was the expression of brotherly love, that was the indication of who constitutes my neighbor."

It was a pathetic address and the speaker went on to ask: "Will we leave him there to bleed to death? Or will we bind up the wounds and take him to the inn?"

Of course, every good Samaritan will take him to the inn and bind up his wounds.

The Inn on Union Square

There is a famous inn in Union Square with good Samaritans in charge. Above its portals one learns that it is the headquarters of the Democracy, better known as Tammany Hall. Here the good Samaritans flock, including the "field marshal" on notable occasions.

Shortly before the recent election Al entered the inn to perform an important ceremony. In the presence of the good Samaritans in charge of outlying branch inns the "field marshal" made another moving address. It was a sermon on the virtues of the inn where wounds of those who fall among robbers are bound up.

In the background of several years there were striking stage effects. Flitting in the shadows were former magistrates with itching palms. There was the horse doctor of odorous memory. There were the Samaritans at City Hall who voted themselves annual extras of compensation while our neighbors were "bleeding by the roadside." Down the stretch of decades were the bleeding heads of voters who had received attention at the hands of the Samaritans. There were the creatures of the underworld having mysterious contacts with the inn. There were dead men whose passing still remains a mystery. There were the magic tin boxes of Samaritans that suggest the wizardry of the Persian Magi.

The Certain Way to Relief

With these historic memories before the man and while other mysteries were being disclosed as he entered the inn, the "field marshal" paid tribute to the Samaritans who specialize in mercy, compassion and piety. The Baltimore Sun could not understand. Its special writer indulged in a bit of sacrilege when he wrote that "it did not seem necessary for Mr. Smith to eulogize Tammany in the presence of all the freshly uncovered grafters."

This moving tableau vanishes, election day passes, and the Samaritans add to their number at the inn. Neighbors continue to bleed in the street and the day of the great gathering at Madison Square Garden arrives. In the County Court House a solemn committee sits in judgment on the good Samaritans. Some ten million dollars had been made available by the city for binding up the wounds of our neighbors. The good Samaritans are in charge of the funds and the solemn committee stages another tableau. Soft music, the curtain rises, there is silence, and the play begins.

Neighbors out of work were to register not later than May 2. The day passes and late September comes. The Tammany Samaritans of the outlying inns appear with registration cards falsely dated back to last April. Several thousand of the Samaritans' friends get the cards while jobless neighbors lie bleeding in the background. The solemn judge of the solemn committee asserts that there had been payroll padding in the disbursement of unemployment relief.

A herald steps to the footlights and reads from a scroll. "The only certain way to get relief from the city's unemployment fund is through the Tammany Assembly district organizations. Part at least of the city's \$10,000,000 relief appropriation was used for the political advantage of Tammany."

The curtain descends and the tableau is over. The audience files out and some dress for the evening entertainment at Madison Square Garden where the "field marshal" moves his audience to tears as he describes the role of the good Samaritan who rescued the man who fell among thieves and bound up his bleeding wounds.

Yes, Judge Proskauer, you may well fear "serious social perturbations" and it is certain that you "can't argue with hungry



—Rollin Kirby in The World-Telegram.

men." They are less likely to listen to you if they get the full significance of this hideous mockery of their sufferings. May they not come to the conclusion that they have fallen among robbers and for that reason are "bleeding by the roadside"?

As for "field marshal" Smith, his sanctimonious pretense rubs salt into gaping wounds. Scoundrels who waste and graft

away funds intended for the starving find in him a pietist apologist. We see no difference between the fat Tammany swine who deprived the starving of bread and the speakeasy brawler who knocks a child down in the street. Language fails decent men and women in trying to properly classify these dirty ghouls.

(Continued on Page Three)

Uncle Sam Rattles the Tin-Cup

Doles Are Sought to Finance Longest Breadline in History

WHILE there has been far from the united campaign that was suggested by the Gifford publicity blubs, the cities of the nation are pretty generally engaged in money-raising campaigns to finance the longest breadline in the world this winter.

New York's campaign started some weeks ago for 12 million. Before the campaign was well under way some one figured out how much 12 million unemployed would amount to divided among 750,000 unemployed—and raised the ante to \$18,000,000. By the threat of lost jobs for those who do not kick through and social pressure on the job, the workers are being driven to give 2 per cent of their wages each week for 20 weeks. A few of the ultra-rich are giving large sums, especially those who, like the Rockefeller, have been able to cut wages on a huge scale and so make their gifts back with profit to themselves. The bulk of the giving is coming from the workers as was indicated when Banker Harvey D. Gibson, head of the panhandlers, said that more than three-fourths of the gifts were from wage earners. The score recently passed the 10 million mark and confidence was expressed that the 18 millions would be reached. New York sees more radical demonstrations and reads more often of cops battling in the streets with the jobless than some cities, so the anarchy scare works effectively as a purgative.

Eat for Jobless

With a clanging of bells and shrieking of whistles reminiscent of Liberty loan drives, Philadelphia's millionaires started their campaign to save their fortunes. Edward T. Stotesbury, leader of Philadelphia's financiers, had gathered the 150 wealthiest Philadelphians at his home three days

earlier and warned them that unless they came through with large donations they could be certain that heavy income taxes would be imposed. Mayor Mackey used the same line on the radio. As the drive began whistles blew and 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). Two large donations were announced, \$300,000 from Cyrus H. K. Curtis and \$250,000 from Stotesbury.

But the dinner was not entirely pleasant. A. Atwater Kent refused to buy any insurance against income taxes. In spite of tremendous pressure brought to bear 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," Kent recently told 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, they comment. In the meantime unemployment and suffering increase. Four workers committed suicide in ten days, one killing her three children before turning the gun on herself.

Chicago Rich Hiding

After nearly two months of campaigning, Chicago's unemployment relief drive was still \$4,000,000 short of the \$8,800,000 goal. One explanation is that the wealthy Chicagoans have apparently for the most part gone into hiding. Those that are found are giving hardly more than the amount they pay for club dues. There is considerable doubt whether the \$8,800,000 will be raised. That the committee, composed of Samuel Insull, Jr., and others of that stripe, feels this is evidenced by their sudden decision to abandon the Hoover method of making private charity support the unemployed and to ask the State Legislature to make government funds available. Even if \$8,800,000 is finally raised, social service experts agree it will be far from adequate to carry Chicago's jobless through a peaceful winter. Despite the fact that thousands of workers have been put on the stagger system, 100,000 are reported jobless in Los Angeles and a fund of \$3,321,000 is sought. The workers, fearing loss of jobs, listen to the plea, "A double gift for a double need," grin and give. Thousands of pennies have poured in from the school children. The 15,000 volunteer panhandlers are hot on the job.

So the charity grab goes on all across the country. Many of the smaller cities set small quotas and reached them handily. Larger cities, swamped by the need, face lowered tax income. Social workers struggle between fear of losing their own jobs and the desire to expose terrible conditions. Anti-worker mobs appear here and there. Meanwhile talk is rife everywhere that Congress must do something and a struggle looms there that may have far-reaching consequences in future American policy.

Pa. Socialists Demand Levy On Wealthy

Socialist Legislator Wins Ovation From Galleries by Relief Demand

By Arthur G. McDowell
(New Leader Correspondent)

HARRISBURG, Pa.—The only feature of the second week of the special session of the Pennsylvania legislature on unemployment relief that relieved the spectacle of almost complete paralysis of both Governor and Legislature was the speech of Rep. Darlington Hoopes, spokesman for the Socialist party.

Monday night the Socialist legislator presented the only complete program brought before the session of the Assembly outside of the Governor's speech to the two Houses last week. Hoopes' address was greeted by a storm of applause from the gallery which was matched by a similar demonstration from the members of the House who had listened most intently to the Socialist. But the result in the terms of action of the legislature will not be great. The overwhelming majority of the members of the General Assembly are absolute and colorless puppets of their respective capitalist parties. The second week's session adjourned after a brief and pointless session Tuesday morning and will not meet again until next week, just before Thanksgiving.

The Governor's program based on consumers' taxes and the Governor through his Attorney General has shown his intention of restricting consideration to the particular program which he has sponsored in his message and in the administration bills introduced last week. Every bill other than the Governor-sponsored measures has been ruled unconstitutional. This denies consideration to the Unemployment Insurance or indemnity bills reintroduced by the Socialist members last week with the exception of the constitutional amendment making possible such insurance in all forms, which not being technically legislation cannot be barred by the Attorney General's opinion. Neither Governor nor legislature escaped scathing indictment by Hoopes for failure to act months ago in the regular session.

"With the only possible relief from the present impossible situation lying in the redistribution of wealth, schemes for taxes that would fall on the mass of the people obviously fall short," said Hoopes.

"The levying of graduated income taxes and the distribution of the result through direct relief and unemployment insurance is the only immediate way out. But the courts will hold such legislation unconstitutional. Who are these courts? They are the courts that have held that in times of emergency such as war, the provisions of our state and federal constitutions with regard to freedom of speech and press and assembly are suspended. We are now confronted by an emergency in which millions of our people are threatened with starvation. If we can suspend the political rights which brave men fought and died for we certainly should be able to suspend constitutional provisions which protect property rights."

Seven measures proposed

"Those men whose families are freezing and starving in a land of unlimited abundance are apt to pay little attention to the constitution and laws. If we want to avert trouble we had better act now. The Declaration of Independence does not mention property rights even

Thomas and Woll Clash On Russia at B'klyn Forum; Counts, Shaplen Also Speak

Socialist Leader Declares Some Attacks on Lack of Democracy Hypocritical

By Will Maslow

DEBATING hypocritical attacks on Soviet Russia's lack of political democracy, Norman Thomas asserted Sunday night in a four-cornered symposium that all Socialists united in favoring the immediate recognition of Russia. The symposium was held in the Brooklyn Academy of Music under the auspices of the Brooklyn Forum. Other speakers were Matthew Woll, Professor George S. Counts of Teachers College, Columbia, and Joseph Shaplen of the New York Times.

Taking sharp issue with Mr. Woll, a vice-president of the American Federation of Labor and president of the National Civil Federation, Mr. Thomas charged America with enjoying less real democracy than the peasants and factory workers of the U. S. S. R. Citing international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., the last election in "McCooyville," and the treatment of miners in the company-controlled towns of West Virginia, Mr. Thomas said:

"In a land of such tragic economic insecurity as ours, the proletariat of Russia cannot be blamed for considering political liberty a rather aristocratic virtue."

Mr. Woll explained that organized labor in America always had been friendly to the struggle for democracy in Russia but, he asserted, if it came to a choice between Communism and capitalism, trade unionists would choose capitalism.

"Bolshevism is not even an installment of Socialism," Mr. Woll said, "and ownership by the state of industry of the country is not Socialism but state capitalism. In recent years in Russia, we see not a trend toward liberalism but every trend toward tyranny, despotism and bureaucracy. Russia may do as it pleases, but when Communism in America struggle not to develop our trade unions nor to improve the condition of the wage earner, but to convert them into revolutionary organizations seeking to overthrow our government by force, it is time for Americans to fight back."

Mr. Woll then quoted remarks of Algeron Lee made, he said, at a recent convention of the Socialist party in which Mr. Lee was supposed to have identified Bolshevism and Fascism as essentially alike. Mr. Thomas in his address denied bluntly that the two were identical and pointed out that the latter was a dictatorship for private profit while Communism in Russia was a dictatorship for economic though not political equality.

In another sharp clash of opinion, Mr. Woll quoted a statement of Mr. Thomas that Soviet trade unions were nothing more than company unions of a dictatorship. Mr. Thomas retorted that democracy in several of the international unions was a fact and that the A. F. of L. had not prevented several of these same unions from degenerating into "rackets."

Mr. Shaplen, one-time correspondent in Russia, professed himself a Socialist but his attack on Communism was more bitter than even Mr. Woll's. Part of his audience at least objected strongly by booing and hissing so that Henry

once, in the effort to protect property our constitution and laws have been so drafted that these human rights of life, liberty and happiness have been largely ignored. The time has come when a change must be made. We who sit in this special session of the Pennsylvania General Assembly have a great choice before us. Shall we go down in history as far sighted statesmen or as ignoble Neroes who fiddled while women and children starved?

Seven measures have been introduced into the special session by the two Socialist members, Hoopes and Lilith Wilson. They include two bills and a constitutional amendment setting up a system of graduated state income taxes, and constitutional amendments providing for liberalizing amendment of the constitution, minimum wage laws and maternity and general social insurance. All these measures were submitted at the regular session at the beginning of the year and refused consideration or smothered in committee.

He "Couldn't Understand"

MADISON, Wis.—He was "pretty proud" of his independence. He was 72, without a job.

His body was found in Lake Monona.

John Melrick, janitor, had been missing for a week from his home, 15 North Butler street, Madison. Mrs. Emma Hagen, Melrick's landlady, informed the police. The police questioned Ed Steussy, a friend of Melrick, and were told that Melrick had threatened to commit suicide if he couldn't support himself.

"He was pretty proud and he couldn't understand why he couldn't get enough to pay his expenses," Mrs. Hagen said. "He earned just about enough for his meals, when he had some odd jobs."

G. F. Beck in France

Dr. G. F. Beck will lecture on "Why France Is Logical," in the Labor Temple, 14th street and Second avenue, Sunday, at 5 P. M. At eight o'clock his subject will be, "Why Germany Cannot Recover."

DR. A. D. ANDERSON

Formerly 1738 Pitkin now at 1812 Douglas St. Phone: Dickson 6111—Brooklyn

Neumann, leader of the Brooklyn Ethical Culture Society and chairman of the meeting, was forced to apologize to Mr. Shaplen for the temper of the audience's comment.

Mr. Shaplen called the Russian people "cannon fodder for social experiments administered by leaders whose point of view is that the people are ignorant and unimportant."

"The five year plan is not an economic but a political measure," Mr. Shaplen said, "designed to enslave the Russian peasantry and working class to the Communist dictatorship. (Laughter) This Utopian program which impoverishes this generation for the benefit of the next, which has not caused any progressive increase in consumption or real wages is for the political benefit of a tyrannical, corrupt, uncreative and unproductive state. Communist tactics are counter-revolutionary and helping to recreate the capitalism they professed to abolish."

Professor Counts predicted certain success for the five year plan and belittled the efforts of rival planners in America. The primary question to be addressed to American planners of "plattitudes" was for whom were they planning, Professor Counts warned. American plans would generate into schemes to increase the profits of interested groups, he charged.

Listing the immediate results of the Russian experiment which "has captured the imagination of the world," Mr. Thomas said:

"1. It has showed the world that machinery can be a slave instead of a master."

"2. It has improved the housing situation and increased the food supply as well as eliminating unemployment."

"3. It has made it impossible for the world to escape the idea that social and economic planning the benefit of society as a whole is feasible."

"We are witnessing the death of an era and the birth of its successor. But it is not inevitable that Socialism must replace capitalism. Maybe a new dark age will arise. In America a Fascist dictatorship is the most likely force to emerge from economic chaos. We must vindicate democracy to forestall Communism."

An appreciative audience of 1,500 filled the Academy of Music to overflowing. Sunday's symposium was the second forum in the series.

British Socialism Grows Despite Poll, Says Baird

James Baird, British Trade Union fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention, gave a very interesting talk at a luncheon arranged in his honor by the Women's Trade Union League last Wednesday. Mr. Baird declared that Socialism in Great Britain was continuing to grow despite the Tories' big majority in Parliament. If the Labor Party had not made the mistake of not introducing proportional representation, there would not be such a discrepancy between its vote and its Parliamentary representation.

Speaking on unemployment insurance, the British trade-unionist made the point that Americans persisted in misunderstanding the matter. Even the Tories would not think of doing away with the system. He contrasted the bread-lines and soup-kitchens of American unemployment relief. Mr. Baird, in opening his address, said that British Socialism was more ethical than economic or class-oriented. While the Socialists of other countries tried to make ethics jibe with their economics, the Britons had tried to make their economics conform with their ethics.

Mr. Baird replied to many questions put to him at the luncheon, most of which were in connection with unemployment insurance and the attitude of the leaders of the American labor movement. Rose Schneiderman, president of the Woman's Trade Union League, presided.

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Va. Socialist Vote Is 16% Of the Total

Socialists in Southern State Resent Criticism of Their Activity

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

RICHMOND, Va.—Latest election returns from five counties and five cities in Virginia where Socialist candidates for the Legislature opposed Democrats show the Socialist vote mounting to still higher proportions.

In these districts, the Socialist vote is slightly better than 16 per cent of the total. Last year we got 4 per cent in the same districts, while before that we never have received as much as one per cent. The vote at present stands: Democrat, 8,481; Socialist, 1,655.

The following table shows the vote for the last three years in the same districts, as compared with this year:

	1934	1935	1936	1937
Dem. (Reg.)	8,481	8,481	8,481	8,481
Dem. (Unreg.)	8,481	8,481	8,481	8,481
Socialist	1,655	351	97,147	38,505
			67	62

When we can be shown greater increases in the Socialist vote in other states—or when we can be shown any state where the Socialist vote averages 16 per cent throughout in a legislative election, perhaps we will agree with a certain New Leader columnist that it is futile to attempt anything in the South. We would like to have some one publish percentages and increase tables from other states, to see just where the waste lies.

We spent a total of about \$350 between July 20 and Nov. 7 on organization work and the entire campaign. We would like to know how much was spent in some of those great "industrial" centers where the Socialist votes made marvelous increases from 4 to 5 per cent.

We would also like to be shown a greater membership increase than ours. In a year we have increased from 50 to 400. Over 150 new members were taken in during the campaign. Can Mr. Coleman point out any similar advances? Or any campaign effort resulting in a 50 per cent membership increase? Did it occur in his district?

Of course we are sore at being made the object of an utterly unfounded and untrue attack!

Tuckers and Pleaters Merge With Local 66, Bonnax Embroiderers

Several thousand workers in the tucking, pleating and hemstitching industry, constituting the former Local 41 of the I. L. G. W. U., have become members of the Bonnax Embroidery Union, Local 66. The amalgamation can be attributed chiefly to a trend of business that caused the pleating and the embroidery lines to overlap each other. The majority of shops handling embroidery also took care of the pleating and stitching. This caused the jurisdiction of the unions to conflict.

At the last meeting of the General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U., the general officers of the international were instructed to merge these two locals. This took effect on Monday, Nov. 16, 1937. The headquarters of the new union are located at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street, N. Y. City. Great confidence was expressed that manager Leon Hatnab and President George Freedman would provide capable leaders in the attempt to make a strong organization of the new combination of workers.

Feed Locked Out Workers?

LAWRENCE, Mass.—(FP)—David Burke, Commissioner of Charity, is faced with a pretty problem in municipal finance. The rules of his board forbid him to give welfare funds to strikers on the pretext that they are able to find work.

However, the Pacific and Arlington mills have declared a "lockout" because their attempts to open were so unsuccessful. Their strikers, not now being able to find

Young Socialists, Jailed for Hours, Win Tilt With New York Policeman

FURTHER brazen police interference with constitutional rights was revealed in the arrest of Abe Belsky and Alex Retzkin, the former Secretary of the Young People's Socialist League and managing editor of Free Youth for distributing the magazine outside the Eastern District High School. Defended by Charles Solomon, former Socialist assemblyman, their case came up for trial before Magistrate Elperin, in the Williamsburg Bridge Plaza Court, and resulted in the discharge of both defendants after a session which was enlivened by caustic comment from Mr. Solomon who declared to the Court the police would have to be taught "We are not in Russia under the Czar or in Italy under Mussolini."

Magistrate Elperin prevailed upon Solomon to abandon his expressed intention of proceeding further against the police officer, the Socialist lawyer yielding reluctantly.

When booked in the station

house, Belsky and Retzkin were charged with distributing the magazines at the high school. In Court the following morning, the complaint was padded with allegations of blocking pedestrian traffic, causing a crowd to collect, and refusing to "move on" when ordered to do so by the police officer. This discrepancy was brought to the attention of the Magistrate by Solomon who charged the padding was deliberate, the policeman learning of his unlawful act and confronted with the necessity of making a complaint that would hold water.

"We want it clearly understood we are not apologizing to anyone for our views and that this police invasion of our constitutional rights must be stopped. If these police officers do not know the law we shall have to teach it to them."

For several hours, until jailed, Belsky and Retzkin were confined to police cells.

Socialists Win Three Offices In Coal Town

Nanty-Glo, Pa., Elects Councilman, Peace Justice and Assessor

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

NANTY-GLO, Pa.—In the recent city election the Socialists elected one city councilman, a Justice of the Peace and one Assessor, and became the second party in the borough. The Socialists polled 307 votes of a total of 1,250 while the Democrats polled only 192 votes.

The Socialist candidates also polled a fine vote in the county. The total vote cast in the county was 48,034. In the City of Johnstown the Socialist vote was 2,004, in the county 4,747, total for the county, 6,751. Johnstown is a great steel center.

The vote in Nanty Glo is the result of four months of hard work by a few comrades who built up the movement after several years of indifference on the part of workers in general. For a number of years a number of local papers in the country have run contributions of Comrade N. Asbel on Socialism but since the election his writings have been declined and this source of education is no longer available.

It now appears that with proper work three Socialists can be elected to the state legislature from Cambria County and a Socialist Congressman is not outside future prospects. The only handicap is lack of finances to carry on Socialist agitation. There are over a hundred members of the party here but they are unemployed and cannot pay dues. The few members who are working do not earn enough to keep their families.

The Socialist vote in some adjoining counties was also encouraging and with some help the party will place this section of Andy Mellon's province on the Socialist map.

Waiters Urge Labor Use Organized Halls

Waiters' & Waitresses' Union, Local No. 1, is making an appeal to unions and radical organizations to hold their dinners and banquets in the halls that employ members of the organization. The officials of the Waiters' Union point out that this is little to ask, in view of the close cooperation that the Waiters' Union has always given to other organizations. Notwithstanding the fact that the members of Local No. 1 are working a five-day week, the employed give one week's work every three months to their fellow members who are unemployed. Among the restaurants which have recently signed up with the union, are the following well known houses: Steinberg, 81st and Broadway, and 82nd and Broadway; Geffers, 84th and Broadway, and Pomerantz, 95th and Broadway.

In the Ford Paradise

DETROIT.—Conditions in the automotive industry continue to grow worse with drastic slashes in wages for those who are working from two to four days per week. Layoffs have continued at the Ford plants until only a small fraction of the old force is at work.

Those who are "laid off" are compelled to turn in their badges and tool checks. They are then given a clearance and if fortunate enough to secure employment again, are compelled to go through the same examination as new applicants. If employment is given, it is at greatly reduced wages.

The outlook for the coming months is the darkest that the workers here have ever faced. Many thousands of them have lost their homes in the suburban districts of Detroit and those who are anxious to sell, even at a fraction of the prices they paid a few years ago, can find no buyers.

work, are entitled to receive welfare funds.

Mayor Michael Landers promised newspaper men that he wasn't going to let the people starve. The strikers are now waiting to see whether he will keep his promise.

Young Socialists, Jailed for Hours, Win Tilt With New York Policeman

FURTHER brazen police interference with constitutional rights was revealed in the arrest of Abe Belsky and Alex Retzkin, the former Secretary of the Young People's Socialist League and managing editor of Free Youth for distributing the magazine outside the Eastern District High School. Defended by Charles Solomon, former Socialist assemblyman, their case came up for trial before Magistrate Elperin, in the Williamsburg Bridge Plaza Court, and resulted in the discharge of both defendants after a session which was enlivened by caustic comment from Mr. Solomon who declared to the Court the police would have to be taught "We are not in Russia under the Czar or in Italy under Mussolini."

Magistrate Elperin prevailed upon Solomon to abandon his expressed intention of proceeding further against the police officer, the Socialist lawyer yielding reluctantly.

When booked in the station

house, Belsky and Retzkin were charged with distributing the magazines at the high school. In Court the following morning, the complaint was padded with allegations of blocking pedestrian traffic, causing a crowd to collect, and refusing to "move on" when ordered to do so by the police officer. This discrepancy was brought to the attention of the Magistrate by Solomon who charged the padding was deliberate, the policeman learning of his unlawful act and confronted with the necessity of making a complaint that would hold water.

"We want it clearly understood we are not apologizing to anyone for our views and that this police invasion of our constitutional rights must be stopped. If these police officers do not know the law we shall have to teach it to them."

For several hours, until jailed, Belsky and Retzkin were confined to police cells.

LaFollette and Hoan Speak At Dinner to Aid Labor Press

Mrs. Berger Also Makes Plea to Build Milwaukee Leader and Others

CHICAGO—(FP)—Over 400 middle western Socialists, liberals and trade unionists, heard celebrated speakers plead for support for the liberal-labor press at a dinner in Chicago sponsored by the Victor L. Berger National Foundation.

Gov. Philip LaFollette of Wisconsin, Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee, Meta Berger, the widow of the late Socialist editor and congressman, Editor William T. Ebyue of the Capital Times, Madison organ of the LaFollette cause, and Lillian Herstein of the Chicago Teachers' Union were introduced by Toastmaster Clarence Darrow.

LaFollette combined an argument for the federal role with a plea for individual liberty against dictatorships of either right or left. Hoan wanted support for newspapers like the Milwaukee Leader that "tell the truth about economic tendencies and world affairs." Mr. Berger told of the struggles to found the Leader in Milwaukee. Ebyue recounted the hardships his progressive group suffered in Madison in the early days of his paper and spoke

against what he called the tin-cup defeatist attitude of radical journalism. He maintained that a radical daily can be made to pay its way. Atty. Donald R. Richberg sent a message denouncing both red and white terrorism.

Darrow saw little ground for rejoicing by liberals and radicals anywhere in the world except in the Soviet Union. "I hope they succeed over there," he said in his opening remarks, "but I am doubtful. If they did it would be too good to be true for then capitalism all over the world would crumble and collapse."

Mayor Hoan announced that the first \$100,000 to be raised by the foundation would be given to the Milwaukee Leader and that amounts above that would be given where they would do the most good in extending and strengthening the labor press. He stated that an application for \$200,000 had been made to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Engineers at their recent convention and that the finance committee of the union would act in January.

Mrs. Lewaty, former congressional secretary to Berger, is director of the foundation at 907 15th street, N. W., Washington. E. J. Costello, former managing editor of Federated Press, is field secretary.

Young Socialists Honor Lee At Dinner on November 26th

20th Birthday of League Will Also Be Celebrated at Rand School

ALGERNON LEE, president of the Rand School of Social Science and for many years the chairman of the Socialist party committee for Y. P. S. L. affairs, will be honored Thanksgiving night, Nov. 26, at a banquet to be tendered him by the national Young Socialist publication, Free Youth.

The Young Socialists of New York have chosen to honor Lee for his service as president and director of the Rand School, and because of the fact that during his chairmanship of the youth committee there has been more cooperation between the Socialist party and the Young People's Socialist League than ever before. Another aspect of Lee's aid to the Y. P. S. L. is the number and types of classes and scholarships for Young Socialists which he planned and put into effect.

This month has another significance to the national Y. P. S. L. It marks the termination of 20 years existence of the league as a national body affiliated to the Socialist party. In all these years various things have especially marked the growth and development of the league.

At the Rand School

Bela Low and Theodore Shapiro will participate in a debate Friday, Nov. 20, at 8:30 p. m., on "What Should Be the Attitude of Socialists Toward Assuming Governmental Responsibility Without Having a Parliamentary Majority? Opposition or Acceptance?" Max Nelson will act as chairman. This debate is the third in a series which has been arranged under the joint auspices of the educational committee of the Socialist party and the Rand School.

The next debate will be between Comrades James Oneal and Leonard Bright, and takes place on Friday, Dec. 4, at 8:30 p. m. The subject is "How Can Socialists Best Promote an Effective Class—Conscious Trade Union Movement in the United States?" Comrade Samuel Orr will act as chairman.

John T. Flynn, former editor of the "World," one of the outstanding authorities on investment trusts will speak on "Economic Planning from the Point of View of Finance and Investments" on Monday, Nov. 22, at 8:30 p. m.

The Workers' Theatre is in full swing now and is rehearsing Lampel's "Revolt in the Reformatory," a play which created tremendous discussion in recent years in Germany. The Workers' Theatre is now selling subscriptions at \$1 for a repertoire of four plays to be given during the winter.

Let no complaisance, no gentleness of temper, no weak desire of pleasing on your part, no wheedling, coaxing, nor flattery on other people's, make you recede one jot from any point that reason and prudence have bid you pursue.—Chesford.

The sword cannot decide who is right; it can only decide who is strongest. Let a sword receive you by letting you have trifling advantages, but it will always decide eventually against the few and the weak.—Te Manukara.

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L. A. Socialists To Defy Ban on Mooney Rally

Socialists Will Stage Demonstration Dec. 4 in the Labor Temple

LOS ANGELES.—To prove that a Mooney Protest meeting can be held in Los Angeles and that the police cannot override the constitutional right of American citizens to peacefully assemble and petition against the worst frame up in all California, a Mooney protest meeting has been called for Dec. 4th, 8 P. M., in the Labor Temple Auditorium, 532 Maple Avenue.

The same speakers who were to have spoken at the Mooney meeting at the Philharmonic will be the speakers at this meeting. They include Fred Moore, famous labor lawyer, who defended Sacco and Vanzetti; Rev. Fred Jackson, editor of the Pasadena Labor News; Rev. E. P. Ryland and other prominent citizens.

The meeting will be held under the auspices of the Socialist Party of Los Angeles, William W. Busick, executive secretary, announced.

Tamiment Reunion To Be Held in B'klyn; Another in Newark

The annual reunion of Camp Tamiment, Summer camp of the Rand School, located at Forest Park, N. Y., will be held this season on Sunday afternoon, November 22, in the grand ballroom of the St. George Hotel, Clark Street, Brooklyn. This reunion is usually attended by thousands of visitors of this popular camp. The attractions will be augmented this year by unusual features in this most beautiful ballroom with exhibition diving by international experts in the most luxurious swimming pool in the world.

The dance music will be by Camp Tamiment orchestra and the full social staff will attend together with artists and athletic champions who have entertained the guests at the camp this Summer.

Another reunion will be held in the Robert Treat Hotel, Newark, New Jersey, Saturday evening, Dec. 12. The increasing clientele of Camp Tamiment in Northern New Jersey has made this Newark reunion necessary and it will be distinguished by unusual program features in the beautiful ballroom of the Robert Treat Hotel.

Thomas, Neibuhr and Means at L.I.D. Lunch

The League for Industrial Democracy will give a luncheon at the Hotel Woodstock, Saturday, Nov. 21st, at 12:45. Those who will speak on "What Trends Towards Dictatorship?" will be Gardner Means of Columbia University, Reinhold Neibuhr and Norman Thomas. A discussion will follow the addresses.

BEFFEL AT I. W. W. FORUM

John Nicholas Beffel, author and newspaperman will speak on "Poison in the News" at the I. W. W. Open Forum in the General Recruiting Union Hall, 90 East 10th street, on Sunday, Nov. 29, at 8 p. m. Admission will be free.

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Socialists Hit Japanese Imperialism

International Urges Workers Demand Invasion of Manchuria Be Ended

THE enlarged Bureau of the Labor and Socialist International met in Paris October 31 and sent a telegram to the British Labor Party congratulating it on "maintaining working class unity against a coalition of all the anti-Socialist forces." A telegram was also sent to Robotnik, the organ of the Polish Socialist Party, greeting Comrade Lieberman and other defendants who "endured terrible sufferings in the fortress of Brest-Litovsk having no legal proceedings against them."

The Bureau adopted a report on the economic crisis and its political results in various parts of the world and on the motion of Bauer and Vandervelde the Bureau unanimously adopted the following resolution on the dispute between China and Japan:

"The Bureau raises an indignant protest against the offensive of Japan in Manchuria, which violates the right of the people of the three eastern provinces of China to self-determination and produces the danger of serious international conflicts in the future."

"The Bureau expresses its regret that the League of Nations has up to the present shown itself to be powerless to settle this conflict which is so dangerous for the peace of the world."

"The Bureau calls upon the workers of the world to protest in the interests of peace and the freedom of the peoples against the action of Japanese imperialism, and to bring the greatest possible pressure to bear upon the Governments, so that they may use the authority of the League of Nations to demand and secure the evacuation of the positions which have been occupied by an act of violence."

Spanish Parliament Indicts King Alfonso

The Spanish Parliament has voted to indict former King Alfonso for treason and a commission that investigated his conduct recommended that "Alfonso de Bourbon be sentenced to death," but the report also advises commutation to imprisonment for life. However, it isn't likely that Alfonso will return to Spain to live the rest of his life in a house of exile. The bill of indictment was voted amid shouts of "Viva la Republica" just to indicate the enthusiasm that prompted the action of Alfonso's late subjects.

The bill, quoting from the report of the Responsibility Commission which inquired into the conduct of the government before the fall of the monarchy, cites telegrams and other documents in support of its charges against Alfonso. The report is considered to establish definitely that the dictatorship of the late General Primo de Rivera was established at the instigation of the former king and not against his will, as has been argued in some quarters. Five members of the Cabinet that preceded the dictatorship testified before the commission to this effect and the chief of the former king's household asserted that he consulted most of the military garrisons of Spain on the coup d'etat before it took place.

It seems likely that some generals and members of General Primo de Rivera's two dictatorial governments, twenty of whom are in jail, will also be tried.

The Cortes has already held two trials in the nature of preliminary skirmishes. Juan March, Spain's richest man, who could not write his own name at the age of 21, and who got his start selling supplies "exclusively" to both the Allies and the German armies during the war and later obtained the government tobacco monopoly from Alfonso because his smuggling operations were so successful, was jeered by the solidly hostile Cortes as it voted him "morally incompatible" and expelled him. Chief of Police Galarza accused him of "bribing the High Commissioner of Morocco, controlling the entire press of the nation, owning politicians outright and employing gunmen to eliminate opposition."

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Penn. Miners Relief Work Carried On By Socialists

Communist Agencies Retire From Activity in Pittsburgh Area

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
PITTSBURGH—With the announcement of the end of all general relief work by the National Miners Union and its subsidiary the Penn-Ohio Striking Miners Relief Committee some days ago, the Miners Relief Fund of the Socialist Party is the only relief agency at work in the strike-worn area of western Pennsylvania. The fund is continuing its work among black-listed strikers to the limit of its cash balance and the fairly constant stream of clothing, shoes and food that continues to come from labor and socialist organizations all over the United States.

Since becoming the only workers relief agency aiding the miners the Socialist Party Fund has inaugurated a new policy. In view of the fact that the local units of the National Miners Union to which most of the relief has heretofore gone have recently been narrowed down to a merely sectarian Communist basis as organizational efforts were abandoned, the administrative Committee has set about organizing unemployed miners soup kitchens under purely local committees.

The miners are thus forming a

Socialist Sunday Schools Opening For Registration

Half a Dozen Centers Contemplated—Classes Start Next Month

REGISTRATION will start in about half a dozen centers in New York City a week from Sunday (November 29) at 11 A. M. for the Socialist Sunday Schools which will start sessions the following week, the Committee on Educational Planning announces. This is a subcommittee of the Socialist Party's Committee on Education and of the Committee on Youth Activities. Socialist parents are urged to tell their children about the opportunity for recreation and education afforded by these schools and play centers. Youngsters are requested to bring in their friends at the home of Comrade Huggan, 171 West 12th street. Etta Meyer is secretary of the Committee.

This Sunday, at 2 P. M. sharp, the entire committee will meet for final preparations, and all Socialist Party members interested in the education of youth are invited to participate.

Tentatively, the centers will be located in the following places:
Manhattan: East Side (6th and 8th A. D. Headquarters) and probably Forward Building.
Washington Heights branch headquarters.

Brooklyn: Brownsville Labor Lyceum; Borough Park Labor Lyceum; Bensonhurst (probable) branch headquarters. (The Williamsburgh branch already has a Sunday School running at 117 Tompkins avenue under the supervision of the branch and the Young People's Socialist League.)

Bronx: 908 Prospect avenue (3rd, 4th and 5th A. D.); 20 East Kippes-bridge road; Jewish branch headquarters, 1581 Washington avenue. The Midwood branch of Brooklyn and the Sunnyside branch are also considering the possibility of opening a school center, and the other sections of the city are being canvassed for available centers. In some of the above headquarters, some of the above headquarters,

The Politicians Betray The Jobless

(Continued from Page One)
And all this occurs with the city resting on a volcano of destitution and despair. Tens of thousands of the laboring masses face this winter without food for themselves and their families. While they fester in their social pit the Tammany grafters rule the city for the exploiting capitalist class. This class in turn tosses a few coins out of its money bags to the wretched unemployed while a legislative committee day by day uncovers the grafting of the Tammany scoundrels.

The Robber System

It is not enough to bare these revolting contrasts. It is essential to inspire the victims of this class rule with the knowledge that they will remain where they are, that they will have to accept the hateful doles of the parasite rich, so long as they permit scoundrels to climb over their backs into the seats of public power.

The working class live apart from the class that despoils them. They belong to another world. It is a world of toil and uncertainty, of privation for themselves and for their families. When the upper crust of "society" comes down they will go up. They have interests of their own to write into the laws and they cannot be written by Tammany swine or any other politicians of the capitalist class.

The revolting social contrasts depicted last week in the incidents described above are vivid examples of capitalism and capitalist politics. They would be unthinkable in a city ruled by a Socialist working class and the tragedy of it is that a large majority a few weeks ago passed their tremendous political power into the hands of their enemies.

We have fallen "among robbers" and many are "bleeding by the roadside." There are fears of "serious social perturbations."

In short, capitalism still rules and the Socialist movement summons the workers to the task of marching under their own banner to put an end to these frightful social contrasts.

Crisis Takes Heavy Toll in Labor Health

Death Rate Will Not Take Nominal Drop This Year, Figures Indicate

(By Horace B. Davis)
THE death rate per 1,000 persons, which in normal times decreases a little each year, will not decrease at all from 1930 to 1931 if the experience of 82 large cities in the first 41 weeks of 1931 is typical. The reports of these cities to the U. S. Public Health Service showed that death rates in 1931 were just the same as in 1930, on the average; and the hardest winter in the peacetime history of the country lies ahead. This failure of the general death rate to fall is the more striking because, as Dr. Louis I. Dublin recently pointed out, the death rate from tuberculosis has declined normally and may even be 6 per cent lower in 1931 than in 1930.

A strong argument for public relief of necessities cases is contained in the figures of the Public Health Service. Out of the 15 largest U. S. cities, only three have lower death rates in the first 41 weeks of 1931 than in the corresponding period of 1930. They are Detroit, Milwaukee and Los Angeles. All three have derived from public sources nearly all their funds for outdoor relief. According to the department of statistics of the Russell Sage Foundation, New York, in the first six months of 1931 Detroit got 98.9 per cent of such funds from the public treasury, Los Angeles 97.4 per cent, and Milwaukee 95 per cent. Other big cities have depended on private charity; for the total group of over 50 cities, including the three mentioned above, the average from public sources was only 66 per cent and in 1929 and 1930 it ran not over 75 per cent. The death rate in the other cities is going up as the depression deepens.

The Lack of Food
How much of the increased death rate is due to inability of unemployed families to purchase the necessities of life? This question will probably never be answered. It is true, that when loss of weight is accompanied by esophageal stricture, chronic dyspepsia and gastric cancer, chronic diarrhoea, or, in infants, by atrophies, doctors may diagnose malnutrition as the cause of the difficulty. But terms like "starvation" and "malnutrition," "undernutrition" and "marasmus"—a term applicable to the death of young children from starvation—seldom or never appear on coroners' certificates. The reason is that they are out of fashion with the medical profession and were before the depression began.

Doctors may know that undernourishment was the real difficulty; but the symptoms are various. As Dr. McLeister puts it in his book on nutrition and health, "Nutritional failure produces numerous vague, poorly defined states of health." The continued growth and mental hospitals, which is expected to reach half a million by 1934 and is already greater than that of all other hospitals combined, may be due partly to unemployment and malnutrition, which certainly account for much ordinary nervousness. As McLeister says, "Nothing predisposes to nervousness so much as insufficient food."

Sick Cannot Pay
The latest index of the increasing inability of sick persons to pay for medical service is furnished by the October bulletin of the American Hospital Assn., which gives the proportion of charity patients in American hospitals as 32.2 per cent, or nearly a third. Demands for charity service in 1930 were greater than in 1929, says the bulletin; and the implication is that the demand in 1931 will break all records.

The effects of a long period of malnutrition persist long after the crisis. Dr. Georg Wolff, who measured the children entering school in certain districts of Berlin from 1924 to 1928, found that children five and a half to seven years old still reflected the undernourishment of their mothers in the period before they were born. The average height of the children who were born in or just after the starvation years 1917-1919, and who started school about 1924, was two inches less than the average in 1928, and the weight two and one-third pounds less. The figures for 1926 were midway between these extremes.

Farmers for Jobless Compensation

MADISON, Wis. — (FP) — The enactment of an unemployment compensation law at the coming special session of the Wisconsin Legislature was the demand voiced by a resolution adopted by farm cooperative representatives from all parts of Wisconsin in their third annual get-together at Shawano.

The resolution was sponsored by Assemblyman B. J. Gehrmann, a leader of the American Society of Equity and president of the Wisconsin Council of Agriculture. The resolution declares that "farmers and home-owners in many parts of this state are paying heavier property taxes to help finance unemployment relief."

Pocketbook Makers Elect New Officers; Lubliner Is Manager

Elections in the International Pocketbook Workers' Union, N. Y. joint council, have returned Charles Kleinman to the office of chairman; Philip Lubliner, manager; and Charles I. Goldman, secretary-treasurer. Kleinman received 902 votes over M. Morowitz, who received 813, and M. Nadkay, 288. Lubliner was elected 1,199 to 1,075 for H. Gevirtzman. Goldman ran far ahead of both L. Galik and I. Rosenberg. M. J. Brook was elected recording secretary.

Other officers chosen in the recent election were: Business agents, H. Guffer, M. Kassman and A. Stein; Organizers, M. Meltzer, J. Weiss; Trustees, S. Drewnowitz, J. Edelstein and I. Taub; Control Committee, W. Block, M. Frank and M. Motlin; Delegates to Central Trades and Labor Council, Lubliner, A. Stein and C. Shapiro; Delegates to United Hebrew Trades, H. Cook, C. Kleinman and C. Shushan.

Those elected to the Joint Council were: Framers' section, Joe Hausberg, Ed Levy, M. Siegel, C. Shushan and E. Solomon; Pocketbook Makers' Section, J. Goldman, P. Hershenfeld, M. Lyons, I. Shapiro and I. Wisotsky; Operators' Section, H. Alexrod, J. Distel, L. Diamond, M. Horowitz and E. Margulies; Cutters' Section, J. Feldman, S. Finkelstein, M. Lazarus, A. Sharf and D. Wax; Helpers' Section, J. Bialek, M. Enderwelt, R. Freeman, B. Katz and C. Shapiro.

German Fascists Gain in Hessian Election

The ebb and flow from Left to Right and Right to Left in German elections continue with the Fascists gaining in the recent elections to the Hessian Diet. They more than doubled their vote cast in the Reichstag elections in September, 1930, and upset the coalition of Socialists, Centrists and Democrats. The Fascists will have 30 seats in the new Diet compared with one before and their vote is 290,000 compared with 138,000 polled a year ago.

The Socialists lost 47,000 votes but they still remain the second largest party with 168,000 votes, followed by the Centrists with 112,500 and the Communists with 107,000, the latter gaining 22,000. The bourgeois parties dropped more than 720,000 votes to the Fascists and it is the middle class parties that suffer most from the Fascist advance.

Two weeks before the election Gregor Strasser, a cocky Fascist member of the Reichstag, claimed 12,000,000 supporters, which is a huge exaggeration, but at the mass meeting he addressed he went on to say that when a Fascist government obtains power "the first task will be to settle accounts with the Marxists and then with the Bolsheviks—a national government cannot tolerate people whose attention is focused not on Germany but on Moscow."

The Fascists have made gains in other recent elections and the result has brought a better feeling among Socialists and Communists. It is reported that in both parties there is discussion of a truce for self-protection. The Communists have announced their readiness to abandon their terroristic tactics and it is possible that the Socialists are not averse to talking matters over with them.

Socialists Lose Seat in Swiss Election

The reduction of the number of members of the National Council of the Swiss Confederation from 198 to 187, affected by a referendum several months ago, rebounded to the benefit of the anti-bourgeois parties in the general elections held Oct. 25. While the Socialists lost one seat, being cut from fifty to forty-nine Deputies, the Communists gained one, making their total three.

This means that the bourgeois groups, the strongest of which are the Liberals, with fifty-two Deputies; the Catholics, with forty-four, and the Agrarians, with thirty, have eleven fewer seats in the new Council than they had in the old one. One of the Communist Deputies, Herr Brinolf of the canton of Schaffhausen, represents a group in opposition to the orthodox Communist party.

The total popular vote rose from 804,607 in 1928 to 849,800, of which the Socialists cast 246,572, a gain of 26,141; the Liberals, 230,698, a gain of 10,563; the Catholics, 183,765, a gain of 11,249; the Agrarians, 131,285, a gain of 4,324; and the Communists, 15,831, a gain of 1,012.

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Thomas Wins Ovations at Peace Rally

Mecca Temple Audience Accords Socialist Warmest Reception of Evening

A. L. SMITH and Nicholas Murray Butler were among the beneficiaries last week of an eloquent and pointed exposition of the Socialist view of war and peace presented by Norman Thomas, Socialist leader and one of the speakers at the Armistice Day meeting held in Mecca Temple by the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace.

Thomas followed after addresses by Smith, Butler and Alanson B. Houghton, former ambassador to Germany and Great Britain, and the rendering of martial airs by the police band had annoyed the audience into boredom. Smith read a prepared plea for reasonable disarmament. Butler, most famous of the prewar pacifists, uttered the usual sentiments which have distinguished his latter-day liberalism.

Thomas did not forget to pay his respects to "peace societies and pacifists whose greatest boast is that they have supported their governments in every war." In fact, there was not much Thomas omitted in his indictment of the forces that make for war and his outline of the Socialist solution of the war evil. Imperialism, nationalism, unemployment and sentimental pacifism were among his themes.

From the moment of his appearance and all through his address, the Socialist leader received a series of ovations, his applause far exceeding the perfunctory clapping of hands accorded Butler, Smith and Houghton in appreciation of the conclusion of their addresses.

The Barnard Bulletin, publication of the student body of Barnard College, expressed a typical reaction to the address in an editorial in which it took occasion to regret the sparse treatment accorded Thomas' address in the New York Times. The editorial said, among other things:

"On the front page of the November 12 issue of the New York Times we find a report of the meeting held at Mecca Temple Armistice night. In this report, the news instinct of the representative of the Times present seems to have petered out by the time Mr. Norman Thomas made a singularly forceful address to an extremely enthusiastic audience. All the information we could find on Mr. Thomas' speech was a terse quotation to the effect that there will in all likelihood be another war in the near future."

"Since the Times devoted several columns to the undeniably profound opinions of Mr. Alanson B. Houghton, of the Honorable Alfred E. Smith, and of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, it appears that the subject was considered decidedly worthy of the attention of our leading morning daily. Is it possible that such slovenly reporting was accorded Mr. Thomas because he happens to be a Socialist, a man who expresses definite convictions in comprehensible terms, and who therefore seems dangerous? The audience of about two thousand people went wild with applause before, during and after Mr. Thomas' talk. Even a two-paragraph review of a concert on the Bowery would have mentioned that. The Times did not."

Atheists to Give Blame

Blamegiving Day should be celebrated yearly, according to the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism. The organization will hold "services" in Webster Hall, Nov. 26th, at 3 P. M. The announcement for the affair reads: "The unemployed, the drought-stricken and all persons who have suffered during the year through no fault of their own, are invited." One of the features will be a debate: Woolly Teller and Charles Smith on the subject, "The Case Against Providence." The public is invited.

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DEBATES — LECTURES — FORUMS

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YES—JAY LOVESTONE
(Editor, Revolutionary Age)
NO—BERTRAND RUSSELL
(Philosopher and Scientist)
Friday, November 27th, 8 P. M.
CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE,
TICKETS FROM NEW WORKERS SCHOOL, 63 MADISON AVE. and RAND SCHOOL
\$7.00—\$1.25—\$1.00—25 CENTS

SYMPOSIUM
Nov. 22nd PLAN or CHAOS
SUNDAY "THE CITY—PRESENT AND FUTURE"
8:30 Prof. Leroy Bowman—Henry W. Laidler
Clarence S. Stein—Edith E. Wood
BROOKLYN FORUM, BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC
30 Lafayette Ave. Near Flatbush
Tickets—25c, 50c, \$1.00. At Box Office—Rand Book Store, 7 E. 15th St., N.Y.C.
NOV. 29th—DEBATE—Norman Thomas, Scott Nearing

THE COMMUNITY FORUM Now meeting at Temple Beth-El
8 P. M.—**PROFESSOR ROBERT E. ROGERS**
Of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology
"What the Public Wants: A Diagnosis"
"I. A. M.—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
"IF I WERE A WORLD DICTATOR, WHAT WOULD I DO?"
Admission Free All Welcome

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE
At Cooper Union
Eighth Street and Astor Place
At 8 o'clock
Friday Evening, Nov. 26th
PROF. WILLIAM F. MONAGUE
"What the Quantum Theory Means to Us"
Sunday Evening, Nov. 22nd
CLIFFORD FADMAN
"The Future of American Literacy"
Tuesday Evening, Nov. 24th
DR. HENRY J. FRY
"The Fossil Record of Man's Evolution"
At Muhlenberg Library
309 West 23rd Street
At 8:30 o'clock
Thursday Evening, Nov. 26th
No Meeting

INGERSOLL FORUM
Fifth Avenue, 135 W. 26th St.
Sunday, 8 P. M.—Admission 25c
Nov. 22nd: DEBATE
"IS THERE A FUTURE FOR THE HUGH MUNRO vs. GEORGE REDBROUGH
Altruist track and catalog free
American Association for the Advancement of Atheism
307 E. 14th St. New York City

LABOR TEMPLE
14th STREET AND SECOND AVENUE
Sunday, Nov. 22nd
DR. EDMUND B. CHAFFEE, Director
5 P. M.—DR. G. F. BECK
7:45 P. M.—"Why France Is Logical"
8 P. M.—"Ozra Revisited"
STANLEY A. DAY
8 P. M.—DR. G. F. BECK
"Why Germany Cannot Recover"

The Bronx Free Fellowship
Assure Masonic Temple
1201 Boston Rd. near 172nd St.
Sunday Evening, Nov. 22, 1931
8 P. M.—Rev. Leon Rasser Land on: "Is Race Amalgamation Desirable?"
9 P. M.—Roger Baldwin on "Gandhi and the Indian Fight for Freedom"
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THURSDAY, Nov. 24, 3 P. M. (Thanksgiving Day)

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Do Shorter Hours Increase Unemployment?

By Louis Stanley

II. The Need for Socialist Engineering

How does the reduction of hours of work affect the number of jobs available in specific industries? In last week's article it was shown that cutting the hours often stimulates enough efficiency to destroy more jobs than are created by the shorter working schedule. In this article the relationship of hours to employment in several lines of work will be discussed. What the facts mean for Socialist theory and practice will be indicated.

THE iron and steel industry is an outstanding example of a change from long hours of work to short hours. It will be recalled that the great steel strike of 1919-20 was to a large extent a revolt against the twelve-hour shift. The powerful capitalist interests that control the steel industry crushed the strike. Efforts to reduce the hours of work continued, however. The Commission of Inquiry of the Interchurch World Movement published its famous report on the strike pointing out the inhumanity of the long hours. President Harding conferred with the steel manufacturers on the possibility of eliminating the twelve-hour day. The steel manufacturers investigated and reported that nothing could be

done. The agitation continued. In the summer of 1923 the eight-hour shift was introduced.

What was the effect of this change on employment conditions? Did it increase the number of jobs? It did not. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that the average full time hours of work in the manufacture of trade iron and steel were 63.2 in 1922. In 1924, the year after the change to the eight-hour shift, the full time hours of work were 55.2, in 1925 54.4 and in 1926 54.6. In 1923 there were 424,913 wage-earners employed. At the next census of manufactures in 1925 the number had been reduced to 399,914 and in 1927 to 380,270. Even the boom year of 1929 could not raise the total to more than 419,302. In the case of blast furnaces the hours of work were reduced from 72.3 in 1922 to 59.7 in 1924, 59.5 in 1926 and 60.7 in 1929. The number of workers dropped from 36,712 in 1923 to 26,296 in 1929.

Slaughtering and meat packing constitute another industry where the conditions of the workers have attracted much attention because of their connection with pure food and health. In 1923, states the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, the hours of work were 52.3 per week. By 1929 they had been reduced to 49.2. The number of wage-earners was lowered during the same period from 132,792 to 121,246.

The men's clothing industry has witnessed sharp reductions in hours due to the pressure of the unionized workers who have made the abolition of sweatshop conditions the chief object of their strategy. According to the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics the average clothing worker put in 51.3 hours each week in 1914, when the Amalgamated Clothing Workers was organized. In 1919 he worked 47.9 hours and at the last survey in 1928 he worked 44. Despite this improvement in the hours of labor the number of wage-earners in the industry fell with fluctuations from 173,747 in 1914 and 175,270 in 1919 to 139,263 in 1929, at the last census. It is common knowledge that many union leaders believe that the industry is still over-manned. Meanwhile, the process of rationalization continues.

The textile industry has been marked by long hours of work and attempts to reduce the working time. In 1918, it is estimated by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, the average full time hours of week in woolen and worsted goods were 54.3. In 1928 they were 49.3. The number of wage-earners decreased from 163,787 in 1919 to 143,303 in 1929. In cotton goods the change was less spectacular. In 1918 the weekly hours were 56, in 1928 53.4. The number of workers declined during this time from 445,423 to 428,128.

Counteracting Disemployment

Our analysis of the economic of shorter hours of work in the foregoing illustrations should not lead us to jump to the broad conclusion that in every instance of reduction in the working time there is a resulting decrease in employment. Under certain circumstances this is not true, as we shall see, and this fact has blinded us to the underlying tendencies. Our point is that shortening the hours may produce and has produced unemployment under capitalism because of the stimulus given to technical improvements. This effect is frequently concealed by such a rapid growth of an industry that production is maintained at a high enough level to absorb the workers who would otherwise have lost their jobs because of the increased efficiency. A case in point is the change from the ten-hour to the eight-hour day in the Central bituminous coal field in 1897. The eight-hour day introduced at this time applied to half of the output of soft coal and, therefore, statistics for the country as a whole reflect the developments in the Central field. In 1895 and 1896 the average output per worker per day in the United States was 2.90 and 2.72 tons respectively. In 1897, which enjoyed three months of the eight-hour day, the productivity increased to 3.03 tons per day. In 1898 it was 3.09, in 1899 3.05. In

1895 17.17 per cent of the bituminous coal was mined by machinery and in 1896 19.17. In the first year of the eight-hour day the percentage was 16.19 and in the two following years 20.39 and 23. Since then the daily output per man and the extent of mechanization has increased.

The United States Industrial Commission observed what was happening and in its final report in 1902 noted that

"... There is abundant evidence that the shortening of the working day in the mines has strengthened the motive to greater economy of time and better use of machinery and labor-saving devices."

"While the introduction of machinery in bituminous coal mining has for some time been advancing, the greatest advances have occurred in the past four years, following the time when the eight-hour day was introduced..."

"It is certain that with the shorter working day the employer is much more strict in his supervision of his men; that he requires them to be on time, and deals summarily with those who loaf or lounge about. This increased care in supervision, coupled with economies brought about by the use of machinery wherever possible... are important factors in keeping up the output under the eight-hour system."

Of course, the reduction of hours in this instance did not bring about

an absolute decrease in the number of employed because the soft coal industry was expanding fast enough to counteract the tendency to eliminate workers that was brought about by greater efficiency. The statistics for output per worker show that if there had not been increased demand for soft coal the number of wage-earners would have had to be reduced. The Industrial Commission recognized this fact when it concluded:

"... That the shorter working day has not increased the amount of employment of miners, and that the increase which has actually occurred in the number of days worked is to be ascribed solely to the improved industrial conditions of the country, and not to the reduction of hours."

The Changing Prospects

It may be easy for a reactionary to accept part of the argument of these articles and claim that his love for the worker leads him to oppose shorter hours of work in order not to deprive innocent wage-earners of employment. Formerly opponents of shortening the working time would raise the bugaboo of reduction of output. Then it was proven that the production tended to increase rather than decrease as a result of putting workers on a shorter schedule. Two reasons were given for this phenomenon: (1) that the workers became more efficient and

(2) that the employers or their managers did so also. It was not realized in the early stages of the movement for reduction of hours that this double-barreled efficiency was causing unemployment of workers for, as we have noted, the effects of the change were nullified in many cases by the increasing demand for goods. Now, the economic conditions of the country are being affected in two ways.

On the one hand, the demand for goods is not likely to increase as rapidly as in previous years. The rate of growth of the country's population is slowing down; the passing of the pioneering, spurring expansion of American industry has come to a boom comparable to that which followed the World War is far-distant; rationalization of American industrial plants will mean economy of purchase; wages and, therefore, buying power will be adjusted to the new economic level; and the rise of industry in hitherto backward parts of the world will interfere with the sale of surplus products abroad. On the other hand, the rationalization of American industrial enterprises will continue independently of the stimulus of shorter hours of work. The disappearance of the wasteful methods of a rich, new country; the widening of profit margins through technological improvements; the rivalry among branches of industries as in the cases of fuel and power, textiles and transpor-

tation for the same customers; and the intensified world-wide competition will be sufficient forces to keep up the rationalization process. The reactionary cannot be answered, therefore, merely, by promising that in the future as in the past the growth of industry will take up the workers who would otherwise be deprived of jobs. The reactionary must be answered on different grounds and those are Socialist.

The Socialist Lesson

To reduce hours without abolishing jobs requires the Socialist control of industry. No matter how much individual industrial enterprises are rationalized the economic system as a whole will not be conducted efficiently. It is the essence of capitalism to be planned. It is the lack of adjustment, the absence of balance that brings profits to those who disregard or sacrificing the workers can take advantage of the fluctuations in prices, wages, rents and interest rates and of the changes in technology. The capitalist system cannot be stabilized because it is based upon instability. The management of industry so that the hours of work can be reduced without working injuries to wage-earners far greater than the gains made demands the spirit and the knowledge of social engineering. This necessitates the elimination of private profit and private ownership. The demand for the reduction of hours must be made a basis for the demand for Socialism.

Crime And Punishment in Capitalist Society

By Charles Solomon

[A Radio Address Over WOR]

WE shall never do anything effective about crime until we understand its causes. These are subjective, that is, in the individual, and objective, that is, in his environment. When these are understood, they can then be intelligently, and should be fearlessly attacked.

Punishment and repression are inadequate. We must face the fact that the phenomenon of crime is no exception to the operation of the law of cause and effect. We shall have to cease striking at effects, while ignoring causes. You can as much eliminate crime by hitting at it in the person of the offender as you can eliminate flies with fly swatters, or mosquitoes by slapping them to death, leaving undrained the swampy areas and other sources that breed them. There are social swamps, that breed crime just as certainly as the others breed pests. These social swamps must be drained. In addition to these objective, or environmental, factors, there is the biological factor—unfortunate heredity and other personal afflictions and handicaps.

Among the objective, or environmental, causes of crime must be included inadequate homes, bad neighborhood conditions, unwholesome recreation, evil associates, lack of mental, moral, spiritual or vocational training—in brief, any of the many disabilities and handicaps resulting from poverty and unwholesome social conditions.

Note the increase of those running afoul of the criminal law, concomitant with increasing unemployment. There is a vital relationship between joblessness and crime. The other day I witnessed a long line of unfortunates outside the city employment bureau. There they stood, in the shadow of Tombs prison and the Criminal Courts Building. I could not help remarking that each was a part of a common whole and that one inexorably fed the other.

Industrial depression and consequent aggravated unemployment are taxing the capacity of our penal institutions. In some, inmates serving indeterminate sentences are being released sooner than would otherwise be the case, to make room for those waiting. Lines, lines. At the doors of our prisons. Breadlines. They run in parallel and converging columns. Some years ago Dr. Christian, superintendent of Elmira Reformatory, issued a report—an illuminating document on the subjective and social causes of crime—in which he stressed the effect of joblessness on the reformatory population, pointing out that commitments decreased when jobs were comparatively available, and increased when contrary conditions prevailed.

Here we have a recitation of some of the biological and social causes of crime. Of what avail is conventional punishment to affect these or their victims? Can it wipe out slums and provide a decent social environment? Can it compensate for those biologic handicaps which so frequently characterize those who run afoul of our penal law?

It is unreasonable to hold all to the same degree of accountability when, for such a variety of reasons, human beings are so different—different in their antecedents, their capacity and equipment, and therefore in their responses which constitute conduct. Yet, under our

Repression and Punishment of Modern Penal System a Failure; The Responsibility of the Community Toward Its Individuals

law, the fortunate and the unfortunate, the deficient and the equipped, those with and those without opportunity, are measured with the same yardstick. Cast iron is blamed, so to speak, because it hasn't the same quality as tempered steel. You might as well throw two persons overboard, one an accomplished swimmer, and the other a poor one, and expect both to acquit themselves equally.

Insanity was once regarded as many now regard crime. Until comparatively recent times, even in so enlightened a country as England, the insane were confined in foul dungeons, under hardened criminals and brutal degenerates. They were chained to walls or floors, in pitch darkness, starved on four rations, lashed. Time was when the insane were believed possessed of demons to be scourged from them or exorcised. The demonological conception of insanity has gone the way of other superstitions. It reposes in the museum of history with alchemy, the therapeutics of the shaman and medicine man, the notion that the sun revolves around a flat earth, and that our planet is the object of special regard on the part of an anthropomorphic deity.

Science has taught us insanity is a disease, with its roots deep in physical and psychic sources. Under the old dispensation, there was ignorance and its traditional accompaniments—hatred, cruelty, failure. With advancing knowledge have come increasing understanding and sympathy. We no longer

turn the insane over to ecclesiastical bodies, to courts and lawyers, to judges. We no longer consign them to foul dungeons and torture. Instead, we place them in the care of experts in the finest institutions financial and scientific resources can afford.

There is no more chance for the resurrection of the old demonology than there is for the penology of the days of Henry VIII, when, the historians tell us, hundreds of offenses were capital crimes, and there occurred 70,000 executions, most of them public. It was believed that severity of punishment, publicly imposed, would deter criminal conduct. But we read that picking of pockets flourished especially at the public hangings of pickpockets. As late as Blackstone's time there were about 200 capital offenses, some of which would not today attain to the dignity of a crime.

Every competent student of criminology and penology rejects the notion that mere punishment is adequate. Society has been inflicting punishment for thousands of years, and with an astonishing resourcefulness for cruelty. Let history pass judgment on the results. We punished the insane when we knew no better. With science and understanding, penalties went and treatment took their place. Cruel and vindictive punishment will have to yield to enlightened treatment in the field of crime. Society punishes the criminal for its own neglect, its own failure.

The basically important factor

is not the crime but the criminal. It is the personality of the offender and not the offense, except insofar as the latter helps to shed light on the former. The idea of making the punishment fit the crime is futile. Instead, the treatment should be adapted to the offender. That's exactly what the intelligent physician does with his patient. There must be increasing individualization in the handling of criminals. No two human beings are alike. Mass treatment ignores the fundamental fact that there is no unit cause for crime and that therefore there can be no scientifically sound uniform treatment. This has been told us recently by the sub-committee on causes of crime of the New York State Crime Commission, which confessed the failure of orthodox penology. The method must be fitted to the individual, instead of trying to crush the individual into a standardized system intended for mass application.

Referring back to Dr. Christian's report on the characteristics of the reformatory population, it is there pointed out that the great majority were grievously handicapped from the very beginning by hereditary taints and lack of opportunity.

The Federal Children's Bureau has just reported on the "direct and disastrous effect upon the welfare of the children of America" of unemployment. The bureau made studies of families in cities of over 50,000 population, and these showed "over four-fifths of

the families were in debt for food, rent, fuel, medical attendance and other necessities," in addition to other hardships, including illness and other disability of one or more members during the unemployment of the breadwinner. Toward the end of 1930, under the auspices of President Hoover, there occurred a White House Conference on Child Health and Protection to which it was reported there were 6,000,000 malnourished American children, and about 3,000,000 physically retarded. I mention these facts because it is increasingly recognized that the most effective way to promote social adjustment and prevent criminal conduct is to begin as close to the cradle as possible. The juvenile delinquent of today may be the parent of the adult criminal of tomorrow.

These are some of the conditions that produce the victim we know as the criminal. Is it enough, is it at all effective, to strike savagely and vindictively at these victims, while ignoring or inadequately attacking the causes that produce them? Can we reach these individuals and social causes of crime through the instrumentalities of punishment and prisons?

The Lewisohn Commission has submitted an enlightened report to our Legislature in which it is pointed out, respecting our prison and reformatory population, that "less than half of the males appeared to be normal, one-fourth feeble-minded, and nearly one-third psychopathic or psychotic." A few months ago, a survey was

made of 2,003 male inmates of the New Jersey State Prison, in which it was disclosed that over 69 per cent were below a low average intelligence. Over 75 per cent were either inferior in intelligence, borderline or feeble-minded. It is not only futile but cruel to punish these hapless individuals under the provisions of our penal law.

I go a step further and say the solution of the problem of crime is not for courts and lawyers, as such. The diagnosis and treatment of the criminal is a highly technical medical and sociological problem for which lawyers and judges, as such, are rarely any better fitted than real estate agents or plumbers, as such. Crime is not a legal problem, except in a very limited sense, but a complicated social problem, with its roots in psychology, medicine and sociology, upon which basis alone a sound system of penology and criminology can be founded. Science, through the educator, physician, psychologist, psychiatrist and sociologist, will have to solve the problem of crime and the criminal to the extent it is capable of solution.

An adequate criminology will comprehend the best in these fields of knowledge and expand as they expand. A scientific penology will not be satisfied to strike at effects while ignoring causes of crime to be found in poverty, lack of opportunity, inadequate educational, vocational and moral training, and in physical, mental and emotional defects, none of which conventional

punishment is capable of affecting. Punishment pursues extermination, oblivious of the sources and processes of generation.

Effective warfare on crime means also extensive social reconstruction. Slums must be abolished and decent homes provided, adequate leisure and recreational facilities must be afforded, thoroughgoing changes must be effected in our educational system so that we may have more and better equipped schools, facilities for the detection and treatment of the problem and deficient child, psychiatric clinics, fewer children in classrooms, and adequately trained teachers.

The war to eliminate crime is necessarily a war on poverty and all its incidence. Unemployment, and the general insecurity of livelihood of which it is just one of the manifestations, must first be controlled and relieved, and then abolished by removing its causes in an irrational and outmoded social system.

There are no royal roads or shortcuts. We have tried the shortcut of punishment and its failure is today more generally acknowledged than ever. Moreover, nothing is more wasteful of human and financial resources than our contemporary methods.

As far as our prison system is concerned, I am in agreement with practically all of the recommendations of the Lewisohn Commission, which is supported by the findings of the State Crime Commission, the National Crime Com-

mission, and practically every outstanding penologist and criminologist of our time. To mention only a few—Dean Roscoe Pound of the Harvard Law School, Dean Kirkling, Warden Lawes of Sing Sing Prison.

Wherever possible, the rehabilitation of the criminal should be the goal sought. The importance of this object becomes at once apparent when we learn that 92 per cent of those sent to our prisons are returned back to society. In the apt language of the Lewisohn Commission:

"The primary purpose of our correctional institutions, is to take an anti-social group of underprivileged, undereducated and vocationally untrained men and women, and prepare them better to meet their responsibilities of social and economic citizenship."

Our prison system should be remodelled to help carry out this general purpose. Prisoners should be studied and graded. The fixed sentence should yield to the indeterminate sentence. Our prison personnel should be improved. Apropos the fixed sentence, I cannot help think of the striking difference between medicine and backward penology. Imagine a doctor committing a sick person to a hospital for a definite and fixed period of time, a sentence, so to speak, and keeping him there regardless of the progress of the condition—discharging him at the end of the fixed period, sick or well, or keeping him to the end of the fixed period regardless of the accomplishment of a cure and recovery. Yet, that is exactly what is being done.

Adequate psychiatric clinics and staffs should be established in connection with our penal institutions. The parole and probation systems should be extended under proper safeguards. I believe that an offender, regardless of the nature of his offense, should be defined while he is unfit to be returned to society, and should be returned when he is fit, in the language of the Lewisohn Commission, "to meet the responsibilities of economic and social citizenship."

Adequate educational systems should be established in our penal institutions. Vocational guidance is especially important, since the decisive majority of the inmates are vocationally untrained or incompetent. Our prison commission says between 60 and 70 per cent of the inmates of our prisons and reformatories are unskilled workers, and that a much larger percentage have never had any organized vocational training. In conclusion, let me sum up my thesis this afternoon as follows:

What is human behaviour, criminal or otherwise? How does it come about? It is the result of two interacting major factors: the individual and his environment. The environment impinges upon the individual, and the individual reacts to this stimulus. The result is conduct. I really couldn't be otherwise. Now to change conduct, to influence human behaviour, you must change the stimuli, that is, the environment, or the individual, or both. There is no other way. Modern medicine, education, psychology, in a word, science, point the way as far as the individual is concerned. Sociology, which is duly mindful of these sciences, serves the same purpose with respect to the objective factor—environment. Crime is, after all, only a form of human behavior, and the verdict of contemporary science is unequivocally—human behavior is susceptible of direction and control.

FREE YOUTH

Free Youth is a publication of the Young People's Socialist League. It is also an outlet for the expression of views of progressive youth. It invites contributions of news and views.

FREE YOUTH BANQUET.—Reservations for the Free Youth banquet in honor of Algonquin Lee must be in not later than Tuesday, Nov. 24. The banquet will be held on Thanksgiving Day, Thursday, Nov. 26, at the Rand School Auditorium, 7 East 15th street, New York City.

DEBATE NOV. 25.—The Young People's Socialist League debating team will meet the New York University debating team in a debate at the Rand School on Saturday afternoon, Nov. 25, at 2:30 p. m. Admission free.

RED FALCON TRAINING COURSE.—The response to the notice about the Red Falcons are very encouraging. It is planned to start a Falcon leaders training course. Comrades interested are asked to communicate at once with Comrade Heller, city organizer, care of the city office, 7 East 15th street, New York City.

CIRCLE ONE SR. BRONX.—George Schottenfeld of the Bronx Free Fellowship will speak to the members of Circle One, which meets Sunday afternoons at 4 p. m. at 908 Prospect avenue, Bronx, on "The Sino-Japanese Crisis."

YONKERS.—The newly organized circle in Yonkers will hear Samuel Goldman talk on "Economic Fallacies of Our Times" at the Workmen's Circle headquarters, 57 Riverside avenue, Yonkers, N. Y., on Sunday, Nov. 22, at 3 p. m.

room. A number of new members were secured. The circle meets Saturday evenings at 96 Avenue C.

CALFORNIA.—Our far-west Yipels are calling a conference for the purpose of forming a state organization. The comrades there boast of six circles with an equal number in the process of formation. Two sections of the state comprising the following territory are being worked on: Pasadena, Hollywood, Alhambra, Culter, Orosi and Visalia, and the western half of Oakland and Marin. The Y. P. S. L. of San Francisco will hold a dance and social on Saturday, Nov. 21, with a joint purpose first to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Y. P. S. L. and secondly to raise funds for the strikers' relief. The Yipels and some of the younger party members in Los Angeles organized themselves into a "workers guard" to protect Socialist meetings from the American "Fascists" Legion. Their annual banquet at which some 250 guests were in attendance netted them \$300 which will be used as an organization fund.

CHICAGO.—The latest addition to our Yipel family is the Upton Sinclair Circle. The new circle members are hard-working young Socialists and have already laid plans for an interesting series of educational programs. Harold Crisp is organizer and Hyman Milgram secretary. A benefit social for the mid-west office was held by the Chi Yipels on Saturday, Nov. 14, at the home of Comrade Gatzkau, one of the active members.

ALBANY, PA.—"The Struggle for Existence" is the text used by the circle for its weekly study class. A number of plays will be staged by the circle. National Secretary Emanuel Switkes spoke to our group and to the party branch at our last meeting Friday, Nov. 13, and pepped us up to a good deal, writes Organizer Anne Meyer.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.—A youth conference was arranged by representatives of a number of radical youth organizations with prominent speakers scheduled to address the delegates. A money protest meeting is on the program. The Y. P. S. L. sponsored the formation of the conference. Last Thursday National Secretary Switkes was in town, met a number of the active workers and addressed the members of Senior Circle Two at their

headquarters, 4154 Poplar street. Several new groups are in formation.

READING, PA.—Believe it or not—one of our Yipel circles has closed its membership rolls. Circle Four decided to take this action to better train its members in the principles of Socialism. Comrade Switkes is president of the circle. Two sections of the state comprising the following territory are being worked on: Pasadena, Hollywood, Alhambra, Culter, Orosi and Visalia, and the western half of Oakland and Marin. The Y. P. S. L. of San Francisco will hold a dance and social on Saturday, Nov. 21, with a joint purpose first to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Y. P. S. L. and secondly to raise funds for the strikers' relief. The Yipels and some of the younger party members in Los Angeles organized themselves into a "workers guard" to protect Socialist meetings from the American "Fascists" Legion. Their annual banquet at which some 250 guests were in attendance netted them \$300 which will be used as an organization fund.

DAYTON.—Over 37 people attended the youth rally Nov. 12. At least 14 expected to attend regular meetings. About 2,000 leaflets were distributed. The group will meet Thursdays at 8:30 p. m.

Lecture Calendar

MANHATTAN
Sunday, Nov. 22, 8:30 p. m.—Samuel A. DeWitt, "A Way Out," 600 West 181st street, room 10. Auspices, Washington Heights Branch Forum, Socialist party.
Sunday, Nov. 22, 8:30 p. m.—Robert Delson, "A Five-Year Plan for the Socialist Party," 556 West 125th street, Auspices, Morningside Heights Branch, Socialist party.

BRONX
Friday, Nov. 23, 8:30 p. m.—Dr. William E. Bohn, "A History of Hard Times," Hollywood Gardens, 898 Prospect avenue, Auspices, 5th A. D. Branch, Socialist party.
Sunday, Nov. 22, 11 a. m.—Dr. W. E. Bohn, "What Is the Matter with the Intellectual Development of the United States?" Burnside Manor, Burnside and Harrison avenues, Auspices, West Bronx Socialist Forum, 8th A. D. Socialist party.

Tuesday, Nov. 24, 9 p. m.—Herbert M. Merrill, "Socialism and Invention," Paradise Manor, Mt. Eden and Jerome avenues, Auspices, Socialist party, 2nd A. D. Branch.
Friday, Nov. 27, 8:30 p. m.—Abraham I. Shipiloff, topic to be announced, Hollywood Gardens, 898 Prospect avenue, Auspices, 5th A. D. Branch, Socialist party.

BROOKLYN
Friday, Nov. 20, 9 p. m.—Prof. W. E. Peck, "The Recent British Elec-

tions," 122 Pierrepont street, Auspices, Downtown Branch, Socialist party.
Sunday, Nov. 22, 8:30 p. m.—Prof. Leroy Bowman, Harry W. Laidler, Edith Elmer Wood, Clarence S. Stein, symposium, "The City—Present and Future," Brooklyn Academy of Music, Lafayette and Flatbush avenues, Auspices, Brooklyn Forum, Socialist party.
Sunday, Nov. 22, 4 p. m.—August Claessens, "Primitive Man and His Struggles" (second lecture on anthropology), 7212 20th avenue, Auspices, Bensonhurst Branch, Socialist party.
Monday, Nov. 23, 9 p. m.—August Claessens, "Selfishness—A Study in Human Nature," 55 Snyder avenue, Auspices, 21st A. D. Branch, Socialist party.
Tuesday, Nov. 24, 9 p. m.—August Claessens, "Graft and Corruption—Its Cause and Cure," 1637 East 17th street, near Kingshighway, Auspices, Midwood Branch, Socialist party.
Wednesday, Nov. 25, 3:30 p. m.—Elias L. Tartak, "Ivan Turgeneff: Novelist and Scenicist," Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sacrament street, Auspices, 23rd A. D. Branch, Socialist party.

QUEENS
Friday, Nov. 20, 8:30 p. m.—Norman Thomas, August Claessens, "Current Events," Bohemian Hall, Second and Woolsey avenues, Astoria, L. I. Auspices, Astoria Branch, Socialist party.
Tuesday, Nov. 24, 8:30 p. m.—Frank R. Shilston, "Cooperation," Monroe Court committee room, rear 43-13 47th street, Sunnyside, Auspices, Socialist party branch.
Friday, Nov. 27, 8:30 p. m.—August Claessens, "Lessons from the Recent Election," home of Vito Tancredi, 1672 Stephen street, Ridgewood, Auspices, Socialist party branch.

WHOER amidst the sons of reason, valor, liberty, and virtue Displays distinguished merit is a noble Of Nature's own creating.

—Thomson ("Coriolanus").

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.

Bourgeois and Labor Revolutions

By Karl Marx
(In the "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte")

MAN makes his own history, but he does not make it out of the whole cloth; he does not make it out of conditions chosen by himself, but out of such as he finds close at hand. The tradition of all past generations weighs like an alp upon the brain of the living. At the very time when men appear engaged in revolutionizing things and themselves, in bringing about what never was before, at such very epochs of revolutionary crisis do they anxiously conjure up into their service the spirits of the past, assume their names, their cries, their costumes, to enact a new historic scene in such time-honored disguise and with such borrowed language.

Thus does the beginner, who has acquired a new language, keep on translating it back into his own mother tongue; only then has he grasped the spirit of the new language and is able freely to express himself therewith, when he moves in it without recollections of the old and has forgotten in its use his own hereditary tongue.

Bourgeois revolutions, like those of the eighteenth century, rush onward rapidly from success to success, their stage effects outbid one another, men and things seem to be set in flaming brilliants, ecstasy is the prevailing spirit; but they are short-lived, they reach their climax rapidly, and then society relaxes into a long fit of nervous reaction before it learns how to appropriate the fruits of its period of feverish excitement.

Proletarian revolutions, on the contrary, such as those of the nineteenth century, criticize themselves constantly; constantly interrupt themselves in their own course; come back to what seems to have been accomplished, in order to start anew; scorn with cruel thoroughness the half-measures, weaknesses, and meannesses of their first attempts; seem to throw down their adversary only to enable him to draw fresh strength from the earth and again to rise up against them in more gigantic stature; constantly recoil in fear before the unrefined monster magnitude of their own objects—until finally that situation is created which renders all retreat impossible, and conditions themselves cry out: "His Rhodus, his salt!"

Just Slumping Along

"Just tovarishi, aren't we all?
Busting up meetings in a hall."

WHEN that young and eminent beaver, Grandi was due to arrive in New York the anti-Fascists held a meeting presided over by A. J. Muste. Forthwith arrived the Communist brethren who, to show their sympathy with the cause, promptly began throwing language and chairs around the place. They succeeded finally and as usual in getting themselves thrown out, but I'm just wondering what sort of mentality it is, if it can be dignified by such a noun, that will take such infinite pains to convince the general public that the Communists are strong adherents of the Fascists, so much so that they will break up anti-Fascist meetings.

Maybe they are, and Mussolini's hired man with his lovely beard is their latest hero. So far as I know, however, the Thirteenth Street Vatican has not yet saluted him. It is all very confusing.

I am in receipt of an invitation to attend the Good Speech dinner which will be held at the Ritz-Carlton in New York and the tickets to which cost the mere pittance of five bucks per. I thought at first I would sell one of my black cats as this would be a dinner at which there would be good speeches. But on reading the invitation more closely I found that there was no such luck. It is simply a dinner to promote elegant diction. You know and if you don't I can't explain it any better. Of course the depression has something to do with it. As Robert Underwood Johnson, its sponsor says:

"Is there not danger that the necessary and admirable efforts to relieve the material wants of the unemployed may obscure that fact that 'Man does not live by bread alone but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God'—that is, by idealism?" Indeed there is a danger, Mr. Johnson, and no inconsiderable one. It keeps me awake these nights tossing feverishly from side to side, worrying about our harassed verbiage.

And then Mr. Johnson goes on to point out one of the more sinister menaces of the depression which we had not thought much about up to now: "I believe that it is not putting too fine a point upon the matter to say that one of the most important and 'practical' things in contemporary life is to keep from slipping away from us the sense of beauty that exists in fine speech, which is not a mere fad of pedantry but a principle of intellectual intercourse."

Just as we had finished reading this we were approached by a rude creature, a victim of the depression who thus addressed us: "Say, bo, kin you slip a guy a dime for a cuppa' coffee?"

We turned on him with ill-concealed scorn and chided him, to wit:

"My good fellow. Don't you realize that my seccy attends to all my donations to charity and that as an important figure in the literary field I cannot be bothered with such trivia. Furthermore your language is quite unpardonably inelegant. If it is true as you are about to tell me that you 'ain't had nothing to eat since Labor Day,' you might at any rate do something for our glorious American culture in these parlous days and be more meticulous in your choice of words."

The speeches that bird made after me all the way down the block were forceful and slightly Rabelaisian if not exactly couched in the King's English. At any rate I hope the King doesn't use that kind of English. He doesn't look like that sort of person and I'm sure that as far as the Queen goes she never even heard some of the things that pan-handler called me. In a very loud and hoarse voice too. I must call the attention of Mr. Robert Underwood Johnson and the Good Speechers to this.

We had never realized that contract bridge was a game beset by as many perils as football or ice hockey, but so it appears. We are fascinated by looking at pictures in our favorite comic paper, The New York Times, showing Mr. Lenz and Mr. Culbertson signing up a formal agreement for a contract bridge match of 150 rubbers. Mr. Culbertson has bet five thousand berries against one thousand and waggered by Mr. Lenz and they have been making snoots at each other ever since last Summer when the great Bridge War began.

Behind the two contestants, who have on their faces the grim expressions which Hamilton and Burr must have worn just before the shooting began over at Weehawken, stands a military gent in full uniform, Sam Browne belt and all, apparently to keep the lads from starting anything before the ping rings.

So what with Good speech and contract bridge tournaments and all, you can see that the mighty minds of Manhattan are coming to close grips with the underlying economic problems. Here's Bishop Anderson who came all the way down from Boston to tell us that in reality, "the slump is a spiritual blessing." "In times like these," says the Holy Man, "the soul struggles and thus gains more spiritually than in times of ease and sloth."

Well, Bish, we don't know what salary a Bishop gets in Boston but we will gladly swap our pay envelope for yours. And then we will go out and take the stump for the good, old slump. Or else we will hitch up with the other sky-pilot who says what we should give to the unemployed is courage. Just plain, old-fashioned courage. Here boys, take a hunk of this courage. Give it to your grocer the next time he asks about his bill. Tell him that it is all he needs to weather the slump and besides it is better for him to struggle than to stew around in ease and sloth. Only be sure it isn't with you he struggles. That is if he's larger than you.

Now we must hurry along to find a man who promised to lend us five dollars. We hope he hasn't turned it into courage and that he hasn't slumped either. Slumping is getting to be as common around these parts as speakeasies. Pretty soon I'll bet that our hot-ty-toty society ladies who are so wrought up about the terrible conditions will be giving slumping parties. Well, gals, count us in at the revealing end. Our diction has been shot to pieces, our courage is a bit wilted and our morale went with our last clean shirt, but we still like to go to parties, even if we appear there only as innocent victims of the industrial holocaust. How's that for a six-fifty word, Mr. Johnson?

McAlister Coleman.

A beggar to the graveyard hied,
And there, "Friend corpse, arise," he cried;
"One moment lift my heavy weight
Of poverty, for I of late
Grow weary, and desire instead
Your comfort; you are good and dead."
The corpse was silent. He was sure
'Twas better to be dead than poor.

—From the Sanskrit.

British Labor the Day After

Electoral Defeat Likely to Bring Sharp Changes in Short Time; Condolences Premature, London Correspondent Writes

By Fred Henderson

London

WITH two or three weeks intervening between my writing and your reading any message I might have sent, it has been hopelessly impossible to keep you in current touch with the welter of events during our political earthquakes here. Any day's impression of them might have been turned upside down next day; and from the hour when Parliament was dissolved until the general election was over, the thing became daily more incoherent and grotesque.

It presented for the judgment of the nation a whirl of strange new political associations and groupings that made the public mind dizzy and bewildered. The newly formed Government combination of all the capitalist forces in Britain, united under MacDonald's leadership in a mass attack upon everything for which MacDonald himself up till about a fortnight before had been supposed to stand, was in itself the maddest sort of conundrum to hosts of people. And when their attack took the form of whipping the nation into panic by proclaiming that all classes would suffer utter ruin unless they stood together against any possible recurrence of the sort of Government with which MacDonald himself had been identified for the two previous years, the last shred of perceptible reason dropped out of the contest. It became a mere orgy of panic.

Through the press, over the wireless, by every available means and with incessant clamour, the new Government set themselves to scare the nation stiff. Money would cease to be of any value within a month; everybody's savings would vanish; the pound would not be worth twopence; wages would not be able to buy goods—unless the nation gave MacDonald and his new crew a "doctor's mandate" to prevent the death of the patient from these threatened ills which MacDonald and his old crew had brought upon us. And in that

atmosphere of delirium the election was rushed through.

In these circumstances, you will readily understand that there was nothing for it but to wait for the result before attempting any reasonable estimate of the position which this whipped-up frenzy of fear has created in our politics. And already, within a few hours of the result, it is becoming evident that the new situation differs vitally and profoundly from what capitalism believed would be the effect of a sweeping electoral defeat for Labour.

So far as the constitution of the new Parliament is concerned, you will have seen the result long before you read this. And no doubt you will have heard a lot about the Labour debacle. Every member of the late Labour Government but one—George Lansbury—has been defeated; and the Labour Party in the new House of Commons has been reduced to a mere rank-and-file group of 51 members in a House of 615.

But while this is undeniably a debacle in Parliamentary seats, the dynamic of the new situation which has been created is in the splendid revelation of the strength of the Labour vote throughout the country. There has been no debacle there. Under the impact of what every observer must agree is probably the worst fit of hysteria and panic that ever swept a nation at a general election, the Labour vote—solid, sober, and untouched by panic—has stood magnificently firm. Little more than a fringe has been lost to it. In an electoral system of single-member constituencies, a slight loss of votes, if it is spread generally over the country, may result in an overwhelming loss of seats; but the Parliamentary representation that ensues from all this is the merest superficial factor in the resultant situation. The dynamics in the nation have not been dependent upon that at all.

The figures are profoundly significant of this truth. This is the sixth British General Election since the war. Our total vote at the five previous elections, beginning with 1918, has been as follows:—

2,244,945
4,236,733
4,348,379
5,487,620
8,366,594

Our vote this time is

6,617,108

And this is a bedrock vote, stripped of every weak or doubtful factor. Every vote that fear or panic or the desertion of the cause by old leaders could detach from us has been detached this time. In the face of any betrayal and under the pressure of any storm of attack that might sweep the thoughtless or the less courageous off their feet, here is our proved and tested strength against the fiercest onset which the combined forces of capitalism can ever make against us.

Debacle? Cause for despondency? Good Lord, NO! We come out of this ordeal with a sense of unshakable foundations for our movement in this magnificent standstill vote of nearly seven millions; the greatest vote ever given for Socialism in Britain, except upon the last occasion.

And if you have followed my letters during the past year or more, you will have been prepared for some falling off in our vote from the record total of the previous General Election. I have tried month after month to put as clearly as I could to you the reasons why that was to be expected whenever a new General Election might come. The fatal policy of the late Labour Government in clinging to office long after their impotence as a minority Government to do any effective Socialist work had become manifest. The growing disillusionment of masses of electors who had voted Socialist with great hopes of great things to come of it, and who saw nothing

coming of it but office-holding for a group of politicians.

Frankly, I had hoped that when the members of the late Government did finally break away from this soul-destroying servitude, their action, though belated, might have retrieved the position. But I was wrong about that: not so easily or speedily could the memory of the two years of disillusionment, two years of the evil policy of dallying with office without power to use it while the position of the mass of the people steadily worsened, not so easily or speedily could that memory be wiped out. The most effective capitalist device at this election has been to try and keep the mind of the workless and the insecure fastened upon the fact of the impotence of Labour in office. We have lost over a million of the votes we had two years ago, and mainly for that reason. And I do not find any undue regret amongst our rank-and-file that, while the bedrock strength of the movement in the country has been manifested, the Parliamentary group associated with the force of the past two years has vanished from the scene. The real strength of the Party remains; the foundations are unimpaired; and the clearance of the Parliamentary superstructure gives us our opportunity of rebuilding to better purpose and with a new outlook.

I beg of my American comrades to believe that the British movement will use the opportunity to the full. If you have pictured us, on our receipt of the first news of the election result, as sitting down disconsolate under a sense of defeat, forget it straightaway. You never saw a less disconsolate army than ours. We are as men and women whose ultimate strength has been revealed to us through an ordeal of terrific intensity.

And the most significant fact of all is that our enemies, so far from jubiling over their mere Parliamentary success, are already beginning to suspect that their attack has failed in the vital point of

breaking down our strength in the country. Already there begins to be talk about the need for placating the Labour Party; and suggestions are being made for a friendly arrangement by which the defeated group of members of the late Labour Government can be got back into Parliament at bye-elections contrived for the purpose without opposition. We shall have failed to learn our lesson if we listen to any such suggestions. Our opponents are only making them because they know that we have come out of this contest welded into a more powerful fighting party than ever before. That our task of rebuilding is a difficult one is not to be denied. But I find a great confidence everywhere: a sense of what may be our greatest opportunity made possible for us by the electoral storm which, while it has failed to shake our central strength, has done us the enormous service of setting us finally and completely free to deal with the situation unhampered by the Parliamentary associations of the last Government.

I do not suggest that this outlook is, or could be as yet, shaped into any sort of clearly defined policy for the future. What I am trying to give is an interpretation of the mood and spirit of the movement here on the morrow of its greatest electoral defeat; the mood and spirit in which it is facing the new situation and preparing to deal with it. There will be, I think—in the nature of the situation—there must be—pretty swift developments; but at the moment it is not possible to do more than indicate their general direction as one can discern it in the general mood of the rank and file. It is not a defeated but a fighting mood; not in the least despondent, but gravely and weightily encouraged and assured by the massive evidence of its essential strength; and superbly confident as to the final issue. If, therefore, you were thinking of sending us any condolence under the impression that we need cheering up, you can hold it back for a while. Wait a little and see.

Scanning the New Books

Edited by LAWRENCE ROGIN

The Power Trust Testifies Against Itself

Innocence Personified

By George Knapp

JACK LEVIN, a young lawyer from Portland, Ore., is probably being "cussed" more comprehensively by the Power Trust just now than anyone else in the country. His book, "Power Ethics," just off the press, is a study of Power Trust propaganda that cannot be ignored, refuted or explained away, and is of such handy size that anybody can read it.

Into a book of 200 pages, Mr. Levin has packed the essential parts of the 11,000 pages of testimony given by Power Trust spokesmen before the Federal Trade Commission. He has sorted it, explained it, backed it with references to the original files, and the result is a most readable and attractive package of "social dynamite." The job took him 14 months of the hardest kind of work—but the result is worth the effort.

Mr. Levin first points out that the American people must have honest, dependable information on utility questions in order to deal with them. He then shows the "set up" of Joint Utility Commission, National Electric Light Association, "information committees," directors of publicity, etc., which have been created to feed the public the kind of "facts" which will make friends for private utilities. Here are some samples of these "facts":

"From the Ohio Public Utility Information Committee," says Mr. Levin, "we learn that utilities are not monopolies."

"From the Iowa Committee: There is no such thing as watered stock in a utility company," and "utilities make no profit."

"From the Georgia Committee we discover: 'There has been nothing that could be called propaganda in behalf of public utilities.'"

Even to a hardened newspaperman, who read the testimony as it was given and heard some of it, such barefaced falsehoods are a little shocking.

The following gem of fiction is quoted from a booklet furnished to high schools by Power Trust agents:

"In every case in which a community has attempted to operate a public service industry... it has been found that the costs of the service are higher than when the service is furnished by a private corporation."

Mr. Levin mildly remarks that "a study of rates in publicly-owned plants as widely scattered as Jamestown, N. Y., Jacksonville, Fla., Springfield, Ill., Virginia, Minn., Los Angeles, Calif., Tacoma, Wash., and Ontario, Can., suggests just the contrary."

The author shows the dirty work of the Trust in schools and colleges. He tells of a university in which 24 private utility executives are on the faculty. He tells of the Power Trust payments to profes-

sors, and how those payments are covered up.

"A \$1,875 payment to a college professor and a \$4,200 motion picture bill for farmers are labeled on a voucher: 'Engineering investigation on wind and ice loading of transmission lines.'"

Wherever possible, Mr. Levin points out, the Trust keeps behind the scenes. Thus the pamphlet, written by S. S. Wyer, to discredit public ownership in Ontario, was put out as coming from the Smithsonian Institution, which had nothing to do with it, while the utilities paid more than \$25,000 for it.

Under the "costs of propaganda," Mr. Levin says:

"The cost of material for one national pamphlet series was \$175,369.05."

"In a little over a year, the lobby-fund contributions made to the national Joint Committee amounted to \$395,000."

This was when the Trust was fighting to block Senator Walsh's demand for an investigation.

Mr. Levin continues his items:

"We note a bill for one year of the National Electric Light Association, amounting to \$302,104.51 for annual publications."

"The total amount appropriated by the National Electric Light Association for one year was \$997,000."

"Turning to state expenditures, we find that \$501,605.68 is listed as expenditures for one California fight."

And, turning to advertising, Mr. Levin says:

"The private utilities spend millions of dollars in advertising, nearly all of which is mainly used for neutralizing the press and creating 'good will' for private utility views."

And the public pays. Mr. Levin does not forget to quote M. H. Aylesworth:

"Don't be afraid of the expense. The public pays the expense."

He sums up the situation thus: "With fabulous sums of wealth at their disposal, such 'public utility information committees' are a menace to the intelligent operation of government."

Our Monster Trusts

FROM the pen of a conservative lawyer and professor of law, this book (Frankenstein, Incorporated by Prof. I. Maurice Wormser, McGraw Hill, \$2.50), is a revelation. Well-learned in the law of corporations, which he teaches and on which he lectures to students at Fordham University, Professor Wormser has not written a book on the law, the legal functions and uses of corporations, but an excellent treatise on the historical origin and development of the big

business monster in corporate form, its illegal practices and abuses.

The author goes even further than that. At the end of chapter 2 he arrives at the conclusion that "Business depression, unemployment, low wages, financial dishonesty and corrupt politics are more closely connected with essentially unsound corporate practices and grossly mistaken corporate vision than are generally realized."

Therefore, the author says, "corporations must be supervised and regulated, as well as controlled adequately and effectually and some of their vicious practices must be checked and curbed to the end that a more socialized course of action on their part may result."

"Frankenstein, Incorporated" is an important book, not only for students of modern corporations, trusts and holding companies, but also for sociologists and economists; for, unlike the average corporation lawyer, who always sings the praises of big business corporations and readily defends (for fat fees, of course) their ill practices and abuses, Professor Wormser has the courage to show the ill effects that corporate wealth, power and influence have upon our social, political and economic life.

MORRIS GINNET

The Big Show

SCANDAL-MONGERING about the so-called great and the would-be great politicians of the nation's capitol has always been a favorite pastime of certain Washington correspondents. Occasionally this has taken the form of a book, published anonymously, which the author and the publisher hoped would be spicy enough to catch the fleeting eye of the public. Very seldom was anything of value permitted to get within the covers of the books nor were they written from any other point of view than that of amusing those who delight in court scandal.

When I started to read "Washington Merry-Go-Round," (Liveright) I thought I had my hand on a volume of the type described above. Imagine my amazement to discover that the author (or authors) was interested in something else besides the latest gossip about Charley Curtis. All these things are there but they are not all that is there. The book is actually written from a point of view and that point of view is well expressed in the chapter on "The Sons of Wild Jackasses." It is that we are in a "machine age" owned and ruled by international capitalism. This fact is kept in view throughout the book although it is stressed in only that chapter.

It may be for that reason that the analysis of the progressives is the most realistic bit of writing in the book. For a while there the author forgets gossip, forgets the character quirks of the men he is

writing about, and gets down to brass tacks.

Socialists have long recognized that the weakness of the Senate Insurgents has been their lack of any concrete program in opposition to that of organized capital as represented by both the Republican and Democratic parties. This is exceptionally well brought out in "Washington Merry-Go-Round" in an almost documentary fashion. Individually most of the progressives can be counted on to make noble fights on individual cases of political and social injustice but collectively they can evolve no program to abolish political and social injustice entirely. Their recent conference again proved that they are not ready to make the radical overhauling of society that the times so urgently call for.

The book is delightful reading throughout and chuck full of all sorts of information. Its informal manner, that makes the book so readable, makes some of the information look less important than it really is. This is especially true of the chapter on the president, although it is generally so. The book is all-inclusive—"Starved Pullitv" (The diplomatic corps) to the press and including chapters on the House of Representatives, the State Department, Charley Curtis, Stimson, Mellon, Morrow, and other phases of life in the capitol.

L. R.

Laughter and Learning

SPECULATION on the nature of comedy, as old as Aristotle, continues freely, for even Freud and the Freudians have given no final suggestion as to the causes of laughter. Dr. Willard Smith (Ph.D. in "The Nature of Comedy" (Richard C. Badger, \$2), condenses a clear summary what Max Eastman gives in an entire book—a survey of theories of laughter, and brings it up to date.

The two most popular ideas, of course, are the "superiority" theory and the "disappointment" theory. Laughter from our being above the situation (having more energy than it requires), and laughter because an expectation is dissolved into nothing. It should be noted, however, that these are not really opposed theories, laughter may have several causes. Darwin added to the two mentioned the genial laughter of well-being, as in babies. The bulk of Dr. Smith's volume is a study of the evolution of comedy from Aristophanes to our day. He views the present decline of comedy (but

has this century shown a decline?) as due to the fact that comedy implies moral standards, fixed ideas, and ours are shifting. We say "to know all is to pardon all." Dr. Smith looks forward to a better day when "a positive faith and a spiritual creed are once more formulated," so that comedy may flourish again. We hope such a day may never come—but comedy will go merrily on without it. "Comedy is conservative" is a thought many have had, and Dr. Smith not only accepts it, but deems it well that this is so; E. E. Cummings' "Him" and (more widely comprehensible) the plays of Shaw suffice to show—as indeed Aristophanes himself exemplifies—that comedy may grow out of a tolerant yet radical view of life.

One might think the sense of numbers as native, as early in man, as laughter; but Tobias Danzig, in his fascinating account of the growth of man's counting ability (Number, a critical survey written for the cultured non-mathematician; Macmillan, 30) indicates how late this power was in developing. The notion of zero is an A.D. concept; many primitive tribes counted no more than two—indeed, this figure's importance remains in our many words for it: couple, pair, etc. From primitive counting systems to the essentials social development demands (including the late discarding of Roman notation), to the various concepts—infinity, negative numbers, irrationals, etc.—needed for the increase of our knowledge of the world, Dr. Danzig traces the lengthy course, clearly, interestingly and with a sense of the importance of number as the basis of learning in the most diverse aspects of our life.

JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY.

Behind every educational theory lies a political theory. There is a capitalist education as well as a labor education. There is also a capitalist view of what should constitute working class education.—Dan Griffiths.

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The Chatterbox

IT IS bound to come, this forming of a third party. Even now the newspapers give announcement of its impending birth. Let us not be too hasty in our preliminary utterances regarding its use or usefulness. Let us not be too greatly disturbed over the loss of some of our band-wagon comrades. Let us just be scientists who observe it all in the nature of a political phenomenon, watch its wriggling into existence, and its attempt to grow into some sort of adulthood.

For myself, I have neither time nor substance to waste on speculating about liberal, reformist, and delightfully ethical groups who expect to keep the old order within some bounds of health while they proceed to cure its irremediable ills. The Socialist party, with an uncompromising Socialist program is the one and only hope for humanity. And the sooner we hasten the end of cancerous Capitalism the better for all of us.

Sub-consciously, it is the romantic idea of "If I were King" that actuates otherwise intelligent radicals to seek power. Certainly I might prefer Prof. Dewey to Hoover, Brother Musie to Stimson, and Stuart Chase to Julius Klein as officials in Washington. . . . But when I contemplate the hopelessness of the task before such high minded liberals as these, trying to make life and human intercourse tolerable while the Trinity of Rent, Interest and Profit stalk the land, for their personal health and well-being I would do all in my power to deter and harass them.

After all, the formula of history has some weight for comparison. When capitalism in England started in to show signs of decay more than fifty years ago, a tremendous Liberal party took hold in an effort to save the system for the upper classes by decent government, clean politics and a sense of social service to the downtrodden. But imperialism, war, diplomatic intrigue and the other black beasts of the system shoved the well-meaning soft-soap into a position of reaction which culminated in criminally joining, if not, actually precipitating the brutal World War. As individuals, the former philosophers, social workers and decent enough leaders of the people became howling patriots and frothing bitter-enders.

In the meantime a Socialist movement was growing, dedicated to the high end of turning the ancient order out and ushering the Co-operative Government in. By education, refusal to compromise and indomitable persistence it grew into power. But election to offices, and the smell-of power in the office brought strange human problems to the fore. A small group remained true to their purpose and class. They kept insisting that their only reason for legislative being was to propose the complete overthrow of the master class. Unfortunately, the majority of the Labor group was insufficiently steeped in consciousness of their class. The will of the wisp of polite and considerate behavior kept them chasing futilities through the capitalist swamp. Twice they had the opportunity of acting like genuine Socialists, proposing a complete Socialism program, being defeated on that ground, and then being sent out to capture more and more adherents to the cause in elections.

By playing good Samaritan to the exploiters, they received the Zinovieff forgery as their first boot in the rear, and a shove from the international bankers into sloppy mire the second time. . . . And all because, they were so busy trying to keep capitalism alive, that they found neither time nor opportunity to instruct the working masses that it should be utterly destroyed. There is such a thing as being so busy minding your competitor's business that you just let your own go to smash.

The end will undoubtedly be a powerfully knitted Socialist movement, programmed by a complete and unadulterable ideal for the change. And that mighty soon, if our real English comrades have the stuff I believe they have inside of them. For England in particular, the day of saving the too-rotted system is done. Fascist dictatorship may delay the inevitable, but it will be delay at best.

In this country, capitalism is a good deal younger, and therefore the parallel processes do not run with concurrence as to time. The time for a big liberal party is at hand. The previous abortive efforts were just feelers. Men and women are arising out of the middle and aristocratic classes who are fed up with corruption, inefficiency and gross injustice. They may create a great popular demand for a new deal. Philosophers, union leaders and honest lawyers make take hold for a spell. An attempt will be made to entice many of our own comrades to join in with them. It is here that I pray to digress for a moment.

I have half a sneaking idea that the recent flares of just indignation from our younger elements against the older leaders in the party have been subtly fed fuel by some of these liberal party groundworkers, in a secret hope of breaking up the unity we have so tenaciously clung to through the trying years. . . . The altogether silly campaign of trying to reform the A. F. of L. from within, the frequent approaches to us through non-partisan paper endorsements, and the published analysis of our party, in which Caesar's Commentaries on dividing Gaul into "partes tres" was used as a literary model, all point to flirtations that reck of no use or good to the Socialist movement. I have no doubt, the state of our own morale being what it is, such tactics by liberals will hurt.

Yet, there is no trembling in my bones for Socialism because of third party depredations. We have lost MacDonalds, Spargos, and sundry big shots the world over. Temporarily we have been stopped in our onward march. But the treason of our leaders only heightens the value to place upon idealism and devotion to the cause.

Now to proceed. But while this liberal party takes hold, the life capitalism forces upon the workers in the land becomes unbearable with increasing danger to the tenure of power of any kind of government that tries to keep the dying monster alive. The tender-hearted reformers will have no happier moments, and certainly no more productive ones, than MacDonald's Labor government had in England before it was overthrown.

Let none of us be stupid enough to fall in with any such insane program. The less Socialists and Socialism are identified with this Third Party business, the less road we will have to travel, the less excuses we will have to make, the less energy we will have to expend to advance our own cause, when the inevitable failures comes to them.

Let us proceed to battle for the whole hog or none. Let our slogan be, "Capitalism must be destroyed. . . . Let our professions and our deeds coincide with the ultimate conclusion that the Co-operative Commonwealth cannot be established unless every vestige of the old order is wiped out. There is no middle road. There is no royal road. And there is no short cut. Education, agitation and organization are the trinity we depend upon to uproot the existing chaos. There are no bay leaves or vine leaves or glittering trophies adorning these three weary, work stained and common words. But they are the sum and being of our entire endeavor. . . . Without them we fall even when we succeed for the moment. With them we win always, even through numberless defeats.

S. A. de Witt.

Good Play Debunks Grand Opera at the Harris

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

BEHIND THE PRIMA DONNA

"SING HIGH, SING LOW" By

Murdoch Pemberton and David

Boehm. At the Harris.

There have been those who

felt, these days of debunking,

while stage and screen were get-

ting their meed of attention, that

the opera, the grand opera, was

being sadly neglected. In a pleas-

ing surface study, swift and en-

tertaining, Murdoch Pemberton

and David Boehm have flung the

first shovel of earth to fill the gap.

Not a shovel of dirt; for "Sing

High, Sing Low" is both too good

humored, and too free from the

mere suggestive, to be put in the

usual category of the seasons'

comedies; and it ripples from

pressroom to stage with easy flow.

The story is the sort of thing

that serves to gather flavor about

it: a sweet but designing lassie,

winner in a local beauty and voice

competition, arrives at the great

metropolitan to make herself

famous. The great financier who

backs the opera and substitutes

whim for good taste, sees her—

she is a star. When it is all over,

FINELY FASHIONED

"CYNARA" By H. M. Harwood

and R. F. Gore-Brown. From the

latter's novel, "The Imperfect

Love." At the Morris.

"I have been faithful to thee,

Cynara! in my fashion." These

words of Ernest Dowson's poem

set the mood for Messrs. Harwood

and Gore-Brown's sincere and

searching study of a man en-

meshed in the love of two women.

The play is more than this, how-

ever: set in scenes that range

from Capri to an Italian restau-

rant in Soho, from a London high

society apartment to a beauty con-

test at the new public baths in

Farmer's Green, it shows the steps

by which a courageous and reli-

gious woman may lead a man—an

honest, intelligent, kindly man who

loves his wife—along the primrose

way to their destruction. And by

the ethical code of a gentleman,

Jim takes all the blame upon him-

self. (Except, of course, when tell-

ing the whole story to his wife.

For one must not forget that the

whole story of the seduction and

the affair, all the play except pro-

logue and epilogue, is the erring

husband's explanation to his

wife.

The characters in "Cynara" are

well drawn; even the minor fig-

ures, the Machiavellian friend

(Henry Stephenson is neatly poi-

sed) who starts the ball rolling, and

all the Dickensian figures whom

the organizing secretary (A. P.

Kaye) bustles about at the open-

ing of the Farmer's Green public

baths—are clearly characterized

and well played. Crisp dialogue,

with occasional neat epigrams,

carry along the battle of the sexes;

Phoebe Foster and Adrienne Allen,

as the two women, and Philip Mer-

ivale as the well-meaning husband

brought down despite himself, play

with an effectiveness that com-

binates with the dialogue and the

direction to make "Cynara" one

of the season's most worth while

offerings.

In Hippodrome Premiere



Ralph Graves is again teamed with Jack Holt in the new Columbia picture "A Dangerous Affair," which has its first N. Y. showing at the Hipp. A big stage show rounds out an interesting program.

"Counsellor-at-Law" Written from Rice's Personal Experience—Pulitzer Prize Winner Now Has Two Plays on Broadway

Experience being the renowned teacher that it is, the world has come to accept the fact that the lessons are often accompanied by grief and sorrowing. As for Elmer Rice, however, experience has brought its quota of pain, but along with the hard knocks has taught him the facts that are bringing him fame and fortune in greater measure each year. Many of these facts are embodied in "Counsellor-at-Law," his newest German screen opera, is now at the Europa.

"Sein Liebeslied" stars Willy Forst. Other members of the cast are Oskar Karlweis (also of "Zwei Herzen"), Fee Malten, Paul Otto, well known German character actor.

Elmer Rice might himself have been a noted attorney if the lure of writing had not seduced him from the bar. As a typical New York youth—he was born in that section of Manhattan known as Yorkville, thirty-nine years ago—he grew up with the conventional ambitions of his class. Professional activity, not trade, should be his field and he chose the law as the most fascinating profession. He merely stopped to finish high school before entering the office of a well-known legal firm, as a minor clerk in a large organization. Since many who are acquainted with his background may say that the head of the firm is the proto-

type of "Counsellor-at-Law" and since that statement is only partially true, it is safer to leave the firm name out of this story.

At the age of twenty-one he turned his back on the bar and threw his talents into a new world of letters. "Counsellor-at-Law" is Elmer Rice's fourth play that treats of characters and facts pertaining to law. His first was that renowned melodrama "On Trial" which pushed him into the limelight as one of the most promising young American playwrights.

After a few years of maturity he completed "For The Defense" and subsequently wrote "It Is The Law" basing his play on a story by Hayden Talbot. According to the playwright whose eminence is unchallenged now that he has "Street Scene," a Pulitzer Prize winner, to his credit as well as a successful comedy hit of this season, "The Left Bank," now at the Little Theatre, this newest drama based on the legal profession, "Counsellor-at-Law," is the most complete study of a man enmeshed in law that he has made.

The Actor-Managers, Inc., present a new comedy by Elmer Rice. Directed by Charles Stepak.

IF LOVE WERE ALL
with
WALTER KINGSFORD, ALINE MACMAHON, DONALD BLACKWELL, MARGARET SULLIVAN, HUGH BUCKLER, MABLE MOORE, MARCO LOBELLE, and others
Evenings (including Saturday) \$1.45
Wed. Mat. \$1.45; Sat. Mat. \$1.45-2.00
Booth Thea. 45th St. W. of B'way
Evs. 8:30; Mats. 2:40

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 8:30 sharp
Dinner intermission of one hour at 7.
GUILD THEATRE, 33d Street, West of Broadway
Evs. 8:30; Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40

The Group Theatre Presents
The House of Connelly
By PAUL GREEN
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE THEATRE GUILD
Mansfield Theatre
47th St., WEST OF BROADWAY
Evs. and Sat. 8:30 to 10:30
Thurs. Mat. 2:40 to 5:00
LAST WEEKS

"Ambassador Bill" Stars Will Rogers at Fox B'klyn; Lyman Continues on Stage

Humor and beauty stalk hand in hand on this week's program at the Fox Brooklyn Theatre with Will Rogers seen in his latest vehicle on the screen and Fanchon & Marco's "Art Gallery" idea on the stage, not to forget the thrill of Abe Lyman's music.

Will Rogers, famous as a pungent commentator on current topics and as an "unofficial ambassador," is but playing a life-like role in "Ambassador Bill," and makes the most of every opportunity for a bit of fun. He is well supported by Marguerite Churchill, Greta Nissen, the eight-year-old Tad Alexander, Gustav von Seyffertitz and Ray Milland, under the direction of Sam Taylor.

The figures of the gods and goddesses of the ancients cut in bronze and silver come to life in Fanchon & Marco's "Art Gallery" idea. The performing artists are: Felovis, "The European Wonder"; Eddie Coll, "Funny? He Knew Chaplin"; Bob, Andy and Tod, "Rhythm as You Like It"; Josephine, "The Movie Monk"; and the Cachalots, Olga and Lester, Herculean Trio, La Marr Brothers, Mavis & Ted, and Marion & Katherine.

Don at the big organ and Ron at the baby console work simultaneously for group singing.

Gene Dennis, Psychic, Back at the Beacon

Patrons of the Beacon Theatre, Broadway and 74th Street, are eagerly anticipating the return of Gene Dennis, world's greatest psychic, who appears there by popular demand, starting today. Miss Dennis will make four appearances daily.

Ethel Barrymore Theatre, 47th St. W. of B'way
LEE SHUBERT presents
ETHEL BARRYMORE
IN
The SCHOOL for SCANDAL
Sheridan's Immortal Comedy
"Miss Barrymore is, certainly, the most charming Lady Teasle any of this generation is likely to see. It is real theatre."
—Richard Lockridge, Sun
Evenings, 8:30, \$1 to \$3
Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40, \$1 to \$2.50

SPOOFS THE HIGH HAT
RIGHT OFF, GRAND OPERA
SING HIGH SING LOW
Burns Mantle in Daily News says: "Half in fun, half in earnest, this comedy seeks to expose the real story that every newspaper man knows and no newspaper prints."
—BERNARD TRIBUNE
A decidedly entertaining evening.
Sam H. HARRIS Theatre
42nd Street West of Broadway
Evenings 8:30
Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

SELWYN THEATRE, WEST 42nd STREET
Evs., \$1 to \$3; Mats., Thurs. & Sat. 2:30
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 BREON

44th ST. Thea. W. of B'way
Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30
THE GOOD COMPANIONS
Adapted by J. B. PRIESTLEY and EDWARD KNOBLER, from J. B. PRIESTLEY'S World Famous Novel.
Now Playing at His Majesty's Theatre, London
BEST SEATS, EVENINGS \$2.00

Strictly Marvelous
SAY THE CRITICS
of the Smartest Show in Town!
Strictly Dishonorable
A Universal Super Attraction Presented by Carl Laemmle
CRITERION
BROADWAY AT 44th ST.
Twice Daily 2:45, 8:45
3 Times Sun. & 5:45, 8:45

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 8:30-8:50
Mats. (exc. Sat.) 3:00 to 5:15, Evs. 8:00 to 10:15
Scales on sale at box office

BROADWAY THEATRE, B'WAY & 53rd St.
On his Screen—New Mystery Thriller!
"The Deceiver"
with Ian Keith
Dorothy Sebastian, Lloyd Hughes
FIRST TIME ON ANY STAGE
"Hot Harlem"
A Red Hot Rhythm and Fun Direct From
Connie's Inn
Company of 50
35c 50c 85c
1st 2nd 3rd
Continuous Noon to Midnight

Tino Pattiera in "Fra Diavolo," New Italian Opera Film at Cameo

Tino Pattiera, former Metropolitan Opera Company tenor, returns to New York in the leading role of "Fra Diavolo" ("Brother Devil"), the latest Italian all-talking and singing operetta, at the RKO-Cameo theatre.

"Fra Diavolo" is the story of a famous Italian bandit who revolted against the Duke of Naples and scattered the first seeds of freedom in Italy. His career resembles that of Robin Hood except that Fra Diavolo was an ardent disciple of freedom and revolution.

The operetta based on this story is one of the Italian classics. It was authored by Aubert and the libretto was written by Scribe.

Connie's Inn Show And New Feature Film At Moss' Broadway

A promising innovation in local stage-and-screen offerings has been instituted this week by B. S. Moss who has transferred the entire floor show from Connie's Inn in Harlem to the stage of his Broadway Theatre where it is being presented in conjunction with the usual screen program.

At the Hippodrome

Jack Holt and Ralph Graves are co-starring in "A Dangerous Affair," the new Columbia picture having its first New York showing at the Hippodrome this week. The eight-act vaudeville bill is headed by Poodles Hanneford, Willie, West and McGinty, Burns and Kissen, and Joe Herbert with his Southern Personalities.

A Reign of Terror
Broken by
A Night of Love
"The RULING VOICE"
—Screams the Searle Truth! with a superb cast
WALTER HUSTON
DORIS KENYON
LORETTA YOUNG
Winter Garden
Broadway & 50th Street
THE INSIDE STORY OF AMERICA'S MOST NOTORIOUS CRIMINAL!
"The Guilty Generation"
with LEO CARRILLO
STRAND
BROADWAY & 4TH STREET
Continuous—Popular Prices

3rd WEEK
RAYMOND MASSEY
as
Sherlock Holmes
in
"THE SPECKLED BAND"
with LYN HARDING
WARNER
BROADWAY & 52nd ST.
3:30 to 2 P. M. Mon. to Fri.
At Both BEACON B'way 7th St. & B'klyn. Rockwell

Dolores Costello
IN
"Expensive Women"
ALSO AT THE BEACON
GENE DENNIS
PSYCHIC WONDER GIRL

TINO PATTIERA
Famous Metropolitan Tenor
in the Screen Opera
FRA DIAVOLO
Opera Comes to the Cameo Talking Screen
CAMEO 42nd St. & B'way

ROXY THE WORLD'S THEATRE
710 47 & 50th St.
OVER the HILL
with
James Dunn Sally Eilers
Mac Marsh
A FOX Picture
— On the Stage —
Cast of 200 in Beautiful, Fantastic Production
"The Elements"
NEW BARGAIN MATINEE PRICES!
Great Unemployment Benefit
Midday, Wednesday, Nov. 25th

"Opera Ball" 3rd Week At the Little Carnegie

"Opera Ball," the German screen comedy of Viennese society, enters its third week at the Leo Brecher's Little Carnegie Playhouse. It is interesting to note that business has shown a marked increase in each week of the engagement. Non-German speaking audiences having been unanimous in their approval of the English interpretative titles. This method, introduced for the first time, is successful in making the dialogue intelligible to all audiences.

The cast features Liane Haid, Betty Bird, Ivan Petrovich and George Alexander. The direction is by Max Neufeld.

Cornelia Otis Skinner in New Sketches Preceding "Wives of Henry VIII" at the Avon

In announcing the second week of the limited engagement of Cornelia Otis Skinner in her new idea of theatre entertainment, "The Wives of Henry VIII," which begins with the Sunday evening performance, Nov. 22, at the Avon Theatre, James B. Pond is fulfilling the promise made in the program at the opening last Sunday evening that Miss Skinner will vary the first part of her program at both evening and matinee performances during the coming week.

At the Thursday and Saturday afternoon performances this week, Miss Skinner's program of character sketches preceding "The Wives of Henry VIII" will include "The Eve of Departure," "Sunday Driving," "A Lady Explorer,"

ROXY THE WORLD'S THEATRE
710 47 & 50th St.
OVER the HILL
with
James Dunn Sally Eilers
Mac Marsh
A FOX Picture
— On the Stage —
Cast of 200 in Beautiful, Fantastic Production
"The Elements"
NEW BARGAIN MATINEE PRICES!
Great Unemployment Benefit
Midday, Wednesday, Nov. 25th

CAPITOL
Broadway and 51st Street
Major Edward Bowes, Mgr. Dir.
Alfred Lunt
Lynn Fontanne
in "THE Guardsman"
with ROLAND YOUNG and ZAZU HITS
A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture
— On the Stage —
BILLY HOUSE (in Person), Screen and Stage Star in "Holiday"; Yasha Bunchuk and Grand Orchestra

3rd Week
Everyone Can Understand
This German screen hit
OPERA BALL
Sparkling, Tuneful Viennese Comedy
WITH ENGLISH TITLES
Little Carnegie 57th St. & 5th Ave.
3:30 to 1 P. M.

Here's Something New in Entertainment!
"Around the World in 80 Minutes"
with
Douglas Fairbanks
Popular Prices — Continuous
United Artists RIVOLI B'way 49th

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

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 Feinmann, Manager New Leader Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th St., New York.

The Voice of the Mill-Workers Reaches B'way!

"STEEL" REVOLT!

A New Play of

By JOHN WEXLEY
Author of "The Last Mile"

"As tense as 'The Last Mile' . . . Written in a sober white heat . . . Good drama and good theatre as well."
—Percy Hammond in N.Y. Herald Tribune

Times Square Theatre 42nd STREET
W. OF BROADWAY
Eves. \$1 to \$3; Thurs. Mat. \$1 to \$2
Sat. Mat. \$1 to \$2.50

Readers of The New Leader will be entitled to two tickets for the price of one

EARL CARROLL
VANITIES
9th Edition—All New—with
WILL LILLIAN WILLIAM
MAHONEY ROTH DEMAREST
Mitchell & Durant
Fifty Notable Principals and a
Company of 200 featuring
of the most beautiful
75 girls in the world
75
Nights Entire Orch. \$3, Balc. 50c
MAT: Tues. Wed. Thurs. Entire
Orch. \$2, Balc. 50c.
SEATS FOR 4 WEEKS AT
BOX OFFICE
EARL CARROLL Thea. 7 Av.
& 50th St.

APOLLO THEATRE, 42nd St.
West of B'way.
Evs. 8:30; P. M. Thurs. & Sat.
\$1 to \$3.
George White's
1931 Scandals
with
Rady VALLEE Ethel MERMAN
Willie & Eugene HOWARD
Everett MARSHALL Ray BOLGER
GALE QUADRUPLES
THE MOST BEAUTIFUL SHOW
GIRLS ON THE STAGE

PHILHARMONIC-SYMPHONY
KLEIBER, Conductor
BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC
Sunday Afternoon, Nov. 22, at 3:15
SCHUBERT—MAHLER—BETHOVEN
RAYDN—JOHANN STRAUSS
TOSCANINI, Conductor
Carnegie Hall, Thurs. Ev., Nov. 26, at 8:45
Friday Afternoon, Nov. 27, at 3:30
Soloist: ADOLF BUSCH, Violinist
MOZART—BACH—FRANK
BETHOVEN—WAGNER
METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE
SUNDAY AFTERNOON, NOV. 22, at 3:00
WAGNER—SCHUMANN—FRANCK—BRAHMS
SCHELLING, Conductor
Carnegie Hall, Sat. Nov. 28, at 11
Children's and Young People's Concert
SERIES NO. 1—CONCERT NO. 2
Program Illustrating "Childhood & Bassoona"
ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. Steinway Piano

BROOKLYN
FOX BROOKLYN
Fifth Ave. & 4th St.
WILL ROGERS
IN
"AMBASSADOR BILL"
— and on the Stage —
ABE-LYMAN in person
— and his Band —
FANCHON & MARCO'S
"ART GALLERY" Idea
Great Unemployment Benefit
Wednesday, Midday, November 25th

KENNETH MACGOWAN and
JOSEPH VERNER REED present
Edith Evans
The Distinguished English Star
in
"The Lady With a Lamp"
A Play About Florence Nightingale
with
PATRICIA COLLINGE
Maxine Elliott's Theatre
39th St. East of Broadway
Evs. 8:30; Mats. Wed. & Sat. at 2:30

GILBERT MILLER presents
Helen Hayes
in
MOLNAR'S New Comedy
THE GOOD FAIRY
with WALTER CONNOLLY
Opens TUES. EVE., Nov. 24
Seats on Sale TOMORROW
HENRY MILLER'S
Thea. 124 W. 43rd St.

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, Evs. Post.
LYCEUM Thea. 45 St. E. of B'way
Evening at 8:30
Matinees Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

ERLANGER'S THEATRE,
West 44th St.
Penn. G-7093—Evs. 8:30
CIVIC LIGHT OPERA CO.
MILTON ABRON, Director
presents
Victor Herbert's
GLORIOUS OPERETTA
NAUGHTY MARIETTA
with
ILSE MARVENGA
NEXT OPERA—"THE FIREPLAY"
with ILSE MARVENGA
Evs. 8:30-10:30, Wed. Mat.
3:00-5:00, Sat. Mat. 3:00-5:00
PRICES: Evenings \$1.50
Wed. Mat. \$1.00, Sat. Mat. \$1.00

THE THEATRE GUILD presents
REUNION in VIENNA
A comedy by ROBERT E. SHERWOOD
Martin Beck Theatre
45th St. and 8th Ave. PEnn. G-6106
Evenings 8:40
Matinees Thurs. and Sat. 2:40

TWO SMASH HITS
BY ELMER RICE
"There is fine material all through it and writing of great sympathy and humanity."
—JOHN ANDERSON, Evs. Journal.
JOHN ANDERSON, Evs. Journal.
"Counsellor at Law"
PLYMOUTH THEA. W. 45th St.
Evs. 8:30; Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40
Phone LA 4-0720

"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 NEWMAN, Judge.
THE LEFT BANK
LITTLE THEA. W. 44th St.
Evs. 8:30, \$1 to \$3; Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40, \$1 to \$2.50
Wed. Mat. \$1, \$1.50, \$2
Sat. Mat. \$1 to \$2.50

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-Johnston, Leon Quartermaine, John Daly Murphy, David Horne, George Carr, Herbert Ransome and a distinguished cast.
Designed and Directed by NORMAN BEL GEDDES
Broadhurst Theatre
41th St. W. of Broadway
Evs. 8:40; Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

MOROSCO THEATRE, 45th St.
WEST OF B'WAY
"An evocative and moving play . . . literary discriminating and fine . . . splendidly acted."
—J. Brooks Atkinson, Times.
Philip Merivale
in
Cynara
Henry Phoebe Adrienne
Stephenson Foster Allen
"A normal level-headed, distinguished and entertaining performance, one of the better and saner dramas."
—Ferry Hammond, Herald Tribune.
BEST SEATS Evenings \$1.50
Wed. Mat. \$1.00, Sat. Mat. \$1.00

THE THEATRE GUILD presents
EUGENE O'NEILL'S Trilogy
"MOURNING BECOMES ELECTRA"
Composed of 3 plays presented on

Pa. Socialists To Celebrate Anniversary

Intense Activity to Mark Granting of Charter— Disarm Petitions Forwarded

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
PITTSBURGH.—The state office of the Socialist party of Pennsylvania has issued a call to its supporting units to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the party in the Keystone State with some local affair having for its purpose the raising of funds designed for local and state-wide organization.

The party organization has shown a marked gain in organizational and political strength since 1923. The 30th anniversary of the party falling in November comes at a time when on the basis of even fragmentary returns it is evident that the organization has increased its state-wide vote over that of 1926 by at least 100 per cent. The pressing necessity of moving in a disciplined membership organization behind this tremendous electoral gain is evident to the most indifferent. The call to Pennsylvania Socialists is for county local organization but three counties, Berks (Reading), Philadelphia and Allegheny (Pittsburgh), and one or two branches active in each of the ten cities the socialist party gained a vote that may be larger than the highest vote cast when the pre-war organization was at its height. This gain must not be wasted nor dare we allow it to escape the control of a disciplined, class-conscious membership.

Pittsburgh comrades have announced an anniversary dinner for Nov. 29, at 8 p. m. at the Social Center, 1822 Center avenue. The dinner will be distributed equally between the local and the state organization. Other party units and individual supporters are urged to get into touch with the state office at 613 Locust Building, Pittsburgh, with their plans and ideas.

National

DISARMAMENT RESOLUTION.

Organizations forwarding the disarmament resolution, sponsored by the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labor and Socialist International, to the national headquarters of the Socialist party are the following:

Local Yuma, Ariz.; Branch 238, Polish Workers' Mutual Aid Association, Los Angeles, Calif.; Social Party Branch, Los Angeles, Calif.; Local Mansanilla, Prather, Calif.; Local San Francisco, Calif.; Local Newark, Conn.; Local Stamford, Conn.; Y. F. L. Wilmington, Del.; Local Union, Pa.; Local Marion, Ind.; Local Union, Maine; Local Boston, Mass.; Finnish Labor Society, Fitchburg, Mass.; Local Three Rivers, Mich.; Debs Branch, Morris County, N. Y.; Downtown Branch, Brooklyn, N. Y.; German Branch, Yorkville, N. Y.; Local Roughkeepers, N. Y.; Finnish Educational Association, Socia. N. Y.; Jugo-Slav Branch No. 11, Bridgeport, Ohio; Local Allentown, Pa.; Jugo-Slav Branch No. 68, Herminie, Pa.; Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Herminie, Pa.; Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Jeanette, Pa.; Local Berks County, Pa.; German Branch, Milwaukee, Wis.

The total number of people represented by these organizations is 2,764. Many individual petitions have also been received.

Socialists should look in the above list for the organizations to which they belong. If not shown, the matter should be taken up at the next meeting of each organization, as well as petitions for individual signatures, may be obtained from national headquarters, Socialist party, 2653 Washington boulevard, Chicago.

Michigan

State convention the week-end of 14 and 15, the pre-political conference of the Socialists in Michigan

discussed policies and outlined its activities for the coming year. A committee to set up socialist political machinery in the state was appointed, and unemployment compensation discussed.

Harry Riesenman made a plea for Socialist education. The question of policy where the party has no candidate was answered by Axel London, who suggested refraining from voting. He also discussed redistribution of Congressional Districts and the necessity of changing the election law which provides that 100 different signatures from 30 different counties be procured before a party may be represented on the state ballot. Hallen M. Bell, state chairman, advocated spreading of propaganda through distribution of literature by house-to-house canvases, parades, street meetings and the joining of other groups for the purpose of conversion. Ethel Edloff asked for a sympathetic attitude toward the U. S. S. R. despite its inadaptability to Socialist ideals and to American conditions.

Illinois

Cards are ready for distribution advertising the masquerade ball to be given Jan. 2 by the Forward for the benefit of the Socialist party of Cook County. Every member should get a supply from his branch secretary or the county office.

Local Cook County has organized a new branch, with nine charter members, at Roseland. Fred H. Townsend, 441 West 102nd street, Chicago, is secretary. This farming community was elected by Charles Johnson to the city council and Seymour Stein to the State Legislature on the Socialist ticket, and has set itself to beat its own former record.

Missouri

Joplin is the latest Missouri city to join the list having Socialist locals. S. E. Johnson, Route 3, Box 740, is secretary. There are eleven charter members.

Texas

A state convention of the Socialist party will be held in Waco on Dec. 10. Norman Thomas will be present for at least one session. Details may be secured from the state secretary, G. W. M. Taylor, 442 Catherine street, Dallas.

Wisconsin

The reception given the Socialist "Winter Shows" last Sunday in Milwaukee was the most enthusiastic in years. Two more performances will be given, one at the South Side Armory on Nov. 22, and one in the Balm Free Hall, Nov. 29.

Maine

LEWISTON.—The Lewiston comrades obtained the City Hall for a mass meeting of the unemployed to demand proper unemployment relief and explained the relation between capitalism and unemployment. They had 1,500 at their meeting by means of vigorous advertising through leaflets and the press.

Massachusetts

BOSTON.—The meeting of the national executive committee in Boston has helped to stir up considerable enthusiasm in this state. Cash and pledges were raised at the reception enough to more than cover the expense of the meeting. Glenn Tybille organizer, is bringing in new members every week to the Boston Central Branch. Meetings are held every Friday with speakers and a splendid study class with Comrade Joseph Bearak as the instructor is held at 21 Essex street every Monday.

ROXBURY.—The Roxbury local is running a study class every Thursday at their headquarters at 967 Tremont street.

TAUNTON.—Local Taunton will launch its study class on Nov. 18 at the Polish Workers' Hall, at 316 Bay street, at 8 o'clock.

SPRINGFIELD.—The Springfield comrades under the leadership of Comrade Harry Feldman arranged a splendid meeting for Comrades McLevy and Hoan. Another branch in Springfield was organized at a recent Com. B. O'Connor, 38 Orange street, is the secretary.

WORCESTER.—Comrade Mrs. Relferoff arranged a meeting of 500 people at which Comrade Hillquit, our national chairman, spoke. This was the largest Socialist meeting that Worcester has had since the LaFollette campaign.

CHELSEA.—The new English-

speaking branch of the Workmen's Circle just organized by our Chelsea comrades conducted a study class Wednesday at 9 o'clock at the Chelsea Labor Lyceum.

LAWRENCE.—The new branch in Lawrence will hold its first meeting at 112 Newbury street, Wednesday, Nov. 18. Comrades Sam Bakely and Red Mike Shulman have done excellent work in getting new members, and Comrade Leonard Greene is working vigorously for relief for the locked-out and victimized strikers. Local Lawrence is planning another meeting on Monday, Nov. 30, at Needham Hall, 180 Essex street, at 8 o'clock, with Comrades Lewis, Bakely, Shulman and Greene as the speakers.

STATE OFFICE.—Please note that the address of the Boston Central branch and the state office will be 3 Joy street, Boston, after Dec. 1.

Pennsylvania

PHILADELPHIA.—The forum which met regularly every Sunday evening at 8:30 p. m. at 3009 Ridge avenue under the auspices of the Strawberry Mansion branch of the Socialist party of Philadelphia, has been very fortunate in securing interesting speakers. The speaker for this Sunday, Nov. 22, will be Emil Rieve, president of the Pull Fashioned Hosiery Workers of America, who has chosen for his topic, "Can Trade Unions Bring Security." Everybody welcome.

New York State

STATE EXECUTIVE.—The state executive committee will meet at Peconic House on Sunday, Nov. 22, at 10 a. m. The committee are Morris Bernam, G. August Gerber, Julius Gerber, William Karlin, Mrs. Rachel Panken, Robert H. Ritchey and Mrs. Theresa B. Wiley. State Chairman Louis Waldman is chairman ex officio.

STATE COMMITTEE.—The state committee of 15, voting by mail, has unanimously agreed to accept the suggestion of the national executive committee that New York State voluntarily reduce its delegation to the national convention of 1932 from 108 to 40. However, the national organization has been advised that in accepting the suggestion of the N. E. C. as a matter of convenience and accommodation, and to reduce the expenses of the New York delegation, the New York State organization desires it to be understood that this renunciation of representation shall not be taken as precedent, and that the local organization is not giving up its right of representation under the national constitution of the Socialist party of America.

ROCKLAND COUNTY.—Local Rockland County held a meeting on Thursday evening for the purpose of giving further consideration to plans for the local branch. The meeting was held at the home of Mrs. J. J. G. W. M. Taylor, 442 Catherine street, Dallas.

Suffolk County

A meeting will be held at Huntington, L. I., shortly for the purpose of organizing a local branch.

Yonkers

State Secretary Merrill attended a meeting of Local Yonkers at the Workmen's Circle Center, Warburton avenue, last Tuesday evening, and discussed with the local branch the question of reorganization. A branch of the Y. P. S. L. has been organized in Yonkers.

Nassau County

The Cedarhurst and vicinity branch will hold a rally for a Yipcel circle Tuesday, Nov. 24, at 244th street, between 14th and 15th avenues, corner Bayview avenue, on block from Wood railroad station. All young Socialists of the Rockaway Peninsula are invited. A. Belsky, secretary, 1511 14th street, is in charge. The rally will speak. Socialist parents are requested to send their children to enrollment.

Washington Heights

The Sunday evening forum meets at headquarters, 600 West 181st street. It opened last Sunday evening with August Claessens as lecturer. The room was jammed to capacity, many people standing out in the hall. The program for the next few weeks includes Sunday, Nov. 22, Samuel A. DeWitt, "A Way Out"; Sunday, Nov. 29, Samuel E. Beardsley, "American Labor Movement."

Bronx

COUNTY COMMITTEE.—At the meeting last Monday a number of interesting matters came up. A legal aid committee was elected to which all lawyer-members of the Bronx county organization were appointed to aid the membership, Socialist sympathizers, in matters pertaining to

N. Y. Executive Lays Plans for Winter's Work

Branches Urged to Consider Agenda—Activities Throughout the City

CITY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—The meeting of Nov. 11 was occupied with matters that arose out of the recent campaign and that pertained to future work. Algenon Lee, Bela Low, James O'Neil, Louis Schaff, Theodore Shapiro, William B. Weiss, Frank Hill and George Steinhardt were appointed a committee to prepare a plan of activities and a budget. Esther Friedman reported that the executive of the women's section would call a meeting of all women members of the party in the immediate future. Fifty-two new members were admitted. Executive Secretary Julius Gerber reported that in the campaign just ended the income balanced the expenditures and that there would be practically no deficit. Theodore Shapiro, Algenon Lee, Max Nelson, McAllister Coleman, Bela Low, Nathan Chasin, Norman Thomas, Edward Caskey, Julius Gerber, August Gerber, William Karlin, Robert H. Ritchey and Mrs. Theresa B. Wiley, State Chairman Louis Waldman is chairman ex officio.

Manhattan

CHELSEA.—A well attended meeting was held Tuesday at the Chelsea Labor Lyceum. An excellent plan of activities was acted upon. Various committees were elected. This program consisted of educational, social and organizational work. A report of the campaign was made by Comrade Gottlieb. The branch is steadily growing in membership and effectiveness. Organizer Claessens spoke on "The Results of the Recent Campaign and the Work Immediately Ahead of Us."

6th A. D.—A meeting will be held Monday, Nov. 23, at 8:30 p. m., at 95 Avenue C. The Sunday evening forum will be started shortly.

Brooklyn

KINGS COUNTY COMMITTEE.—The Brooklyn Forum held its second session last Sunday evening in the Academy of Music. A capacity audience was present, crowding the available standing room. Our Brooklyn comrades are elated with the very splendid success and are enthusiastically looking forward to continued success at the eight lectures and symposiums to come. This venture which, the most daring undertaking by Kings County, has been a complete success. The program for the remaining series of events can be obtained at any Kings County branch, at the city office, 7 East 15th street, or at the headquarters, 21st A. D.—The last meeting was most successfully attended. Eight new members were obtained. A program of activities was planned. The next meeting will be held Saturday, Nov. 20, at 8:30 p. m., in the home of Comrades Crosswath, 95 West 119th street.

Morningside Heights

Members of the branch, are your 1931 dues paid? If not, please hurry in your dollar this week. Next Sunday the winter forum opens. Bob Nelson will speak on "A Five-Year Plan for the Socialist Party." Branch meeting next Tuesday. Speaker, Julius Umanaky.

Washington Heights

A Rational Analysis of the 1931 Vote. Even Friday Y. P. S. L. meet. Arrange to protect the headquarters every night from Tammany hoodlums.

Washington Heights

The Sunday evening forum meets at headquarters, 600 West 181st street. It opened last Sunday evening with August Claessens as lecturer. The room was jammed to capacity, many people standing out in the hall. The program for the next few weeks includes Sunday, Nov. 22, Samuel A. DeWitt, "A Way Out"; Sunday, Nov. 29, Samuel E. Beardsley, "American Labor Movement."

Bronx

COUNTY COMMITTEE.—At the meeting last Monday a number of interesting matters came up. A legal aid committee was elected to which all lawyer-members of the Bronx county organization were appointed to aid the membership, Socialist sympathizers, in matters pertaining to

workmen's compensation, naturalization, and wage cases, etc. The first meeting of the county committee will be held on Monday, Nov. 23, at 7:30 p. m., preceding a meeting of the county committee which will be held on the same evening and at the same place, Bronx County headquarters, 908 Prospect avenue.

The committee already obtained some results in acting upon the committee of Benjamin M. Hirsch, who was elected to the county committee on the Socialist ticket, who was elected to the county committee on the Socialist ticket, who was elected to the county committee on the Socialist ticket.

The theatre party arranged under the auspices of the county committee was very successful. Henry Fruchter was elected as Bronx County organizer. The committee also plans a series of work meetings in various sections of the Bronx as a means of recruiting membership and establishing contacts.

Brooklyn

2nd A. D.—A meeting will be held Tuesday, Nov. 24, at 8:30 p. m., in the home of Comrade Crosswath, 95 West 119th street. The Sunday evening forum will be started shortly.

Brooklyn

6th A. D.—The Friday evening forum which will hold its sessions in the Chelsea Labor Lyceum, will begin on Friday evening, Dec. 4. The list of speakers and topics will be announced soon.

Brooklyn

7th A. D.—A meeting will be held Tuesday, Nov. 24, at 8:30 p. m., at 4213 Third avenue.

Brooklyn

8th A. D.—The second annual affair of the 8th A. D. held last Saturday in Paradise Manor was a success. In the city hours of the campaign, the group was divided into parties, some of which took place in the homes of Louis Weil and Pat Murphy. Excellent cooperation was shown by Otto Mautner and his wife, Sylvia Shore, Teddy Smaky and Esther Diamond for their aid in selling tickets and the entertainment.

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UNION DIRECTORY

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS UNION

Local 66, L. L. G. W. U. 1 & 15th St. 19 East Broadway. Telephone 677. Meetings every Tuesday night in the office of the Union, 2 L. Freedman, President. Leon Hattab, Manager; William Aliman, Secretary-Treasurer.

BRICKLAYERS UNION

LOCAL NO. 4. Office and headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby Ave. Phone 3421. Office open daily except Saturday from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening. Charles Pilsam, Fin. Sec'y; Frank F. Lutz, Treasurer; Andrew Street, Bus. Agent; William Weinger, President; Charles Weber, Vice-President; Milton Rowert, Rec., Corresponding Sec'y.

BUTCHERS UNION

LOCAL 234 A.M.O. & B.W. of N.A. Tompkins Sq.—6-7234-7235-7236. Meetings every 1st and 3rd Tuesday. SAMUEL SUSSMAN, J. BELSKY, ISIDORE LEFF, Business Agents.

BUTCHERS UNION

LOCAL 174, A. M. G. & B. W. of N. A. Office and Headquarters, Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St., Room 12. Regular meetings every first and third Sunday at 10 A. M. Employment Bureau open every day at 8 p. m.

CLOTHING CUTTERS UNION

A. G. W. of A. Local "Big Four" Office, 40-42 W. 17th Street; Chelsea 4-1995. Regular meetings every Friday at 8 o'clock. Phone 6744. Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office. Louis Feldman, Secretary-Treasurer.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

New York Joint Board, 31 West 10th Street, No. 10. Y. Phone Tomkins Square 4400. Hymen Boudin, Sidney Resman, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

Amalgamated Bank Bldg., 11-13 Union Square, 3rd floor. Telephone Algonquin 4-1000. Officers: Hymen Boudin, President; Joseph Schlossberg, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

CAPMAKERS

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, Office, 133 Second Ave. Phone Concord 34-1. The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday. S. Hershkovitz, Sec'y-Treas. Operators, Local 1. Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

FUR WORKERS UNION

OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, 9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunt 8-1008. Morris Kaufman, General President and Secretary.

FURRIERS JOINT COUNCIL

OF N. Y. Local 161, 105, 110 and 115 of The International Fur Workers of U. S. and C. 28 West 31st Street. Penn. 6-7922. Meets every Tuesday at 8:00 p. m. B. M. Morin, Manager.

FUR DRESSERS UNION

Local 102, 105, 110 and 115 of The International Fur Workers of U. S. and C. 28 West 31st Street. Penn. 6-7922. Meets every Tuesday at 8:00 p. m. B. M. Morin, Manager.

NECKWEAR CUTTERS UNION

Local 11016, A. F. of L. 15th St. Phone Algonquin 7682. Tuesday Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 p. m. in the office. Ed. Gottesman, Secretary-Treasurer.

PAINTERS UNION

Local 409, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers. Regular Meetings every Wednesday Evening at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St. Officers: President, Fred Wolf; Secretary, Peter Rothman, Fin. Sec'y.

Rev. Hahn in Jamestown

BUFFALO.—Rev. Herman J. Hahn, pastor of Salem Church, Buffalo, N. Y., will speak at the City Hall, Jamestown, N. Y., Monday evening, December 7, at 8 o'clock. Mayor Samuel A. Carlson will preside. Free admission.

Bronx Free Fellowship

"Is Race Amalgamation Desirable?" will be the topic of Rev. Leon Russen Land's address at the 8 o'clock Fellowship Service at the weekly meeting of the Bronx Free Fellowship, Azure Masonic Temple, 1591 Boston Road, near East 172nd street, on Sunday evening, Nov. 22. At the 9 o'clock open forum, Roger Baldwin will speak on "Gandhi and the Indian Fight for Freedom."

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Those who cannot pay the regular dental price should call Friday from 9 A. M. to 6 P. M. Saturday from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Sunday from 9 A. M. to 12 P. M.

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NEW LEADER

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

James O'Neal Editor Edward Levinson Assistant Editor

Contributing Editors:

Morris Hillquit, Abraham Cahan, Algon Lee, Harry W. Laidler, Norman Thomas, Joseph E. Cohen, Jessie Wallace Hughson, Wm. M. Feigenbaum, John M. Work, McAlister Coleman, Joseph T. Shipley, Louis Stanley, Louis Waldman.



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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.

407 SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1931

The Socialist's Duty

THE special drive for charity does to help relieve the starving has one important feature that is interesting. Those who listen in on the radio appeals will detect a note of panic and fear. There is no attempt to market the pollyanna stuff of the past year but a frank presentation of the stark realism of unemployment. The panic is due to knowledge that the alms gatherers face a huge emergency and the fear arises from apprehension that the jobless millions may get out of hand during the winter months and disturb the sleep of those who stand for "ordered liberty."

The whole city is being combed in a house-to-house canvass and we presume that this is being done in other cities. Socialists here and there have discussed their duty in relation to the drive and it appears to us that our duty is clear. For this problem in the mass the exploiting classes and their retainers are responsible. They have fought unemployment insurance and have supported charity drives as a method of relief. Let them pay for the method which they favor.

At the same time there are few Socialists who do not face a duty within the party and, in some cases, among their relatives. There are members and relatives in distress who require help and our first duty is to those who have fought the good fight against capitalism and its damnable fruits. The social pit in which millions of the workers are thrust is not of our digging and we would wipe it out if we had the power. In fact, aside from helping our own we need financial resources to fight the capitalism that has brought on this hell and that is a duty that we should not neglect.

We would not prevent the charity doles from gathering alms, but let those who believe in this thing pay for it. We have our own workers to help and the big job of fighting capitalism itself and to the extent that we deprive ourselves of the resources to carry on the fight to that extent will we neglect the best interests of the jobless workers and the whole working class as well.

Canadian Delirium

CANADA appears to have caught the Bolshevik delirium long after it appeared in this country. Englishmen as a rule do not lose their heads and run amuck against ideas and movements and for a century England was the asylum of refugees representing various revolutionary movements.

The Canadian authorities have sentenced seven Communists to seven years' imprisonment and at the expiration of their terms they will be deported. Another Communist received three years. The Ontario attorney general is also sending the party roll of membership to the various provinces which was obtained by a government spy who had served seven years as the secretary of the Regina branch of the party.

The whole proceeding parallels the brutal and illegal methods adopted in this country by the unspeakable Attorney General Palmer beginning in 1919. That worthy was placed in the pillory in a document published by eminent members of the American bar and he will go down in our history paired with Stolypin, the hangman of Czar Nicholas. Now that Canada has gone in for these methods it is evident that this foul phase of "Americanism" has swept across our northern border.

We can say all this despite the fact that Communists do to others what they object to others doing to them. They resort to malicious lying, violence, and illegal methods in attempting to destroy other organizations. Here in this city last Sunday they staged a riot at an anti-Fascist meeting. Their publications are sewers that pour out malice and filth and in recent years the movement has recruited hooligans for its work, but all this is a problem for working class organizations. However ridiculous as a "party" it may be, the

use of state power to destroy it is a precedent to serve a ruling class in doing the same thing to any other movement it dislikes.

"American Individualism"

MARX once said that modern government is an executive committee of the ruling class. For many weeks the *United States Daily* has been featuring articles by officials of departments at Washington which correlate with this Marxian view. Over and over again these officials show how government agencies care for all the needs of almost every type of capitalist business and many millions of dollars of public funds are spent for this purpose.

The latest set before us is hides and skins. The industry is constantly studied in cooperation with a committee representing the industry. A government bureau looks after its interests abroad and suggests "service offices at strategic centers." An annual volume is published to supply the industry with information regarding "basic factors" all over the world and a World Raw Stock Manual will be ready in about three months. Nothing is overlooked that will make tanners happy and increase their incomes.

This is only one industry out of hundreds that are so served by government bureaus at Washington. Various departments are a busy where capitalist investments are given the tender care that a doctor gives his patients. When Hoover was at the head of the Department of Commerce he developed this capitalistic nursing to a high stage of efficiency and while doing so he occasionally lectured on the virtues of "American Individualism."

Vast funds for capitalist enterprise and charity doles for the starving workers! Let's change this for a Socialist government that will look after the needs of the working class.

Pete and John

LAST week we gave some account of the rise to eminence of Pete de Vito, a prominent business man whose life has been one of thrift, initiative, individualism, and those other qualities that make for business success. Pete specialized in the business of strikebreaking and among his patrons is the Standard Oil Company. Pete has just been acquitted in a Federal Court of having withheld income taxes from the government and that stain upon his business character has been wiped out.

However, he will later face the ordeal of a trial for violation of the Sullivan Law which prohibits citizens from carrying guns without a permit. Pete carried two guns and had a permit for only one. That looks bad for him but we are sure that his patrons have confidence in Pete's integrity and that he will come out of the ordeal with flying colors and with the two guns.

On the other hand, news stories do not even hint that Pete will have to face trial for the character of his business which involves the recruiting of armed squads and selling their services to corporations that want striking workers clubbed into submission. Pete's income taxes may be questioned and his pistol permits be investigated, but his business itself and those who patronize him appear to be all right with the public authorities.

Meantime the Rockefellers report another gift for the relief of the unemployed. Pete and John are business men. Each lets not his right hand know what his left hand doeth and now will Brother Hoover lead the chorus in singing our favorite hymn, "American Idealism?"

IN A NUTSHELL

By J. O.

Muddled Thinking

There is a type of reasoning that may be found even in the Socialist movement that leads to muddled conclusions. It assumes that if your enemy happens to agree with you on one matter that you accept his point of view. If this conclusion is logical then your enemy also accepts your point of view. Let us take an example. Socialists were a small group in 1896 and 1900 and in both campaigns they took a position regarding trusts that impressed many workers with the view that the Socialist movement was not only the ally of the capitalist class but that they were secretly supported by Republican money. The Republicans were opposed to "trust busting" and so were the Socialists. Democrats favored destroying the trusts. Could there be anything more simple? Yes, the simpletons who reasoned that there was a fundamental agreement between Socialists and the capitalist class were even more simple. Socialist speakers had much difficulty in meeting the argument but they made no concessions to this infantile reasoning. The Socialists were grounded in a philosophy of history and knew that time would vindicate them. Moreover, what appeared to be an agreement between the capitalist class and the Socialists was really a fundamental difference in point of view. The upper section of capitalism regarded the trust phase of capitalism as a fixed stage and Socialists regarded it as a passing phase that would lead to an economic situation where emancipation of the working class would not only be possible but the ruling class itself would pass into history with that passing phase. Underlying what appeared on the surface as an agreement was a fundamental conflict of views based upon differing class interests. All this is aside from the fact that lack of historical perspective prevented the masses from knowing that "trust busting" was foolish and impossible. Middle class liberalism accepted the popular view and millions of workers were under the influence of this liberalism. Considering a similar method of reasoning many years ago, the elder Liebknecht once said that "the enemy of our enemy is never our friend." Workers thought that the middle class enemy of the trust enemy was the worker's friend. The fact is that workers constitute a class of their own with their own interests in conflict with both the lower and the upper sections of the capitalist class and knowledge of this would have saved them from the stupidity of thinking as they did. When we ignore the class conflict in thinking and action we are likely to be misled in this sort of muddled reasoning.

What the Men Will Wear—1932



THE NEW LEADER MAIL-BAG

THE LABOR PARTY VOTE

Editor, The New Leader:

While I am no great defender of the record in office that the British Labor Party made for itself I think that in his article in last week's New Leader Comrade Hillquit drew several false conclusions from the results of the British elections, that made the situation appear much worse than it really is. Comrade Hillquit places too great stress on representation in Parliament, especially in his comparison with Germany. He seems to forget that every German vote is represented in the Reichstag due to the mechanically perfect system of proportional representation in use there, while the British single member constituencies disenfranchised a majority of the labor voters. He also seems to forget that while the German party lost only a few seats in the Reichstag the total number of seats rose so that their proportional strength was smaller. It is interesting to compare the percentages of the popular vote that each of the parties received in the respective elections:

	1928	1930	1931	%
Germany	29.8%	23.8%	31.1%	6%
England	37.1%			

It is thus seen that a larger proportion of the British electorate is faithful to the Labor Party than would appear from examining the representation in Parliament.

I am very much surprised that Comrade Hillquit neglects to mention the source of strength of the German party the most observers pay most attention to; that is the party machine (in the good sense of the word) that the party has built up in its 70 years of work among the masses. While I would not be little the influence of education I think that especially in the German case organization deserves a great deal of credit.

Another thing I think is worth being noticed. That is that the British poll is a loss from the high-water mark of British Labor made in an election in which the Conservatives were in great disrepute, and there was a great cry to give Labor its chance by many who were not Socialists. In the election just over it was just the contrary and, from what I could gather from British and Canadian newspapers there was almost a straight fight between Socialists and capitalism forced on Labor, willy-nilly, by the National coalition headed by MacDonald.

LAWRENCE ROGIN.

I am surprised and disappointed that Comrade Hillquit should have written and The New Leader printed "The Disaster in Great Britain," which appeared on the editorial page of the November 7 issue. It may be true that the British elections "will encourage political reaction and blatant Fascism everywhere and retard the progress of the Socialist and Labor movement for some time to come but if so, it will not have been caused so much by what really happened at the polls in Great Britain as by the manner in which the results of the elections have been misinterpreted.

The capitalist press has made the most of the fact that the Conservatives have won nearly 500 parliamentary seats against 32 for Labor—a proportion of 9 to 1, and has stressed this as a crushing defeat for Socialism. But it has very carefully refrained from calling any special attention to the fact that the popular vote for the Conservatives outnumbered the Labor vote by less than 2 to 1, and the further fact that the combined vote of the capitalist Conservative and Liberal parties was practically the same as it was two years ago. It was the duty of the Socialist press to call attention to the misrepresentation. It was to be expected that the capitalist press would distort the facts, but that the National Chairman and official organ of the Socialist party of America should both be guilty of the same offense was unthinkable.

Here in New York we have won no seats at all in any body, but we rejoice over a gain of a measly few thousand votes; in Reading, all our candidates are defeated and we explain it is because the Republicans

and Democrats fused against them. But when in Britain the Conservatives and Liberals—and some Labor—fuse against the Labor Party and thus win most of the parliamentary seats, Comrade Hillquit and The New Leader call it a "downright disaster." Could inconsistency go further?

The results of the British elections, far from being discouraging, are most gratifying. Comrade Hillquit makes a comparison with the results of the recent German elections and claims that these showed the German workers to be more dependable than the British. He cites the comparative losses in parliamentary representation suffered by Labor (or Socialism) in both countries. This is a most unfair, and for a lawyer of Comrade Hillquit's standing, a most careless comparison. In Germany they have proportional representation. If proportional representation obtained in Great Britain, the Conservatives would have less than 350 seats and Labor would have nearly 200. Further proof of the dependability of the British worker is the fact that the capitalist parties made practically no gain in their popular vote over that of two years ago, the capitalist liberals losing as many votes as the capitalist Conservatives gained.

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Neither Song Nor Sermon

IF in 1908 Kautsky had made a pact with Jaures and pledged the German and French Socialists to a program of insurrection, the World War would never have taken place. Simple, isn't it? Two individuals, by the utterance of a certain set of words, could have determined the course of the world's history for an indefinite time to come. No matter what the economic and political situation in 1914, several millions of French and German workingmen would have been constrained by that incantation pronounced six years before

man. They would have had no more choice in the matter than Trilby when under the influence of Svengali. Willy nilly, they would have burst into insurrection, and their governments would have been paralyzed. Presumably the Romanoff and Habsburg governments would have been too gentlemanly to go on making trouble; or perhaps two other individuals would then have stepped forth and done the necessary hocus-pocus to make insurrection blaze out all the way from Trieste to Vladivostok.

What a pity this method wasn't brought into use a couple of thousand years ago. If, for example, Seneca and the Apostle Paul had "made a pact" and pledged Pagans and Christians to tolerance in matters of belief, Europe would have been spared fifteen centuries of religious persecution. Christopher Columbus ought to have pledged the white race to treat the Indians humanely and not to enslave the Negroes. Benjamin Franklin might well have pledged our Thirteen Colonies not to revolt. Edmund Burke simultaneously pledging Great Britain to grant them dominion status, in which case Mayor Thompson would have had no occasion to twist the lion's tail. And why under the sun didn't Herbert Hoover think of it a year or two ago and pledge the American capitalists not to cut wages? He did, you say? And wages got cut anyhow! Maybe he had his finger crossed while he was reciting the magic formula.

Alas, Upton Sinclair is not the only man, even within the ranks of our party, who still clings to the "great man theory" of historical causation, and cherishes a pathetic faith in the compulsive power of words. There are those who honestly believe that if Gompers had willed it, the whole American labor movement would have been aggressively class-conscious. There are those who believe that we have only to change our party name, and straightway millions will understand and accept our principles. There are those who believe that Mooney and Billings remain in prison only because no one pledges the whole working class to go on strike for their release.

I remember back in William D. Haywood's days, when he was reproaching the Socialist party for not calling for revolution right off the bat, Anna Maley fond an apt bit out of Shakespeare. Says the blustering Shakespear: "I can call spirits from the vasty deep;" to which Percy replies: "And so can I, or so can any man—but will they come when you do call for them?"

"Turn the rascals out" is a characteristically American campaign cry. Coming of Yankee Stock, I may be permitted to say that it is characteristic of the political immaturity of the American people.

As a slogan it has often been effective—that is, it has often helped a party to win an election which it could not have won on any genuine issue. That is what slogans are for. That it has diminished the amount of knavery in public office I very much doubt. Perhaps its net effect has been rather the reverse. If candidates and campaigners of each party spend most of their time denouncing the alleged rascality of their opponents, the public is likely to conclude that there must be truth in what all politicians say about one another, that in fact politics is necessarily a crooked game, that the only practical thing is to get all you can out of it for yourself, or else, if you are personally too decent for that, to mind your own business and leave affairs of law and government to the rascals.

In the long run, I think it loses its effect even as a vote-getter. People get cynical about the whole matter, and tell you the story of the enterprising shopkeeper who put out a big sign reading: "Why go elsewhere to get cheated?" Try us.

And after all, why should intelligent men and women get excited about such a negative and superficial affair as turning rascals out? Have we not always told ourselves that the source of political corruption and misgovernment is not in the moral turpitude of the politicians, but in the nature of our economic system and the sort of ideals which it sets before those who accept it in principle? We have, and I hold that we were right. I think we ought to lay much more stress than we have been doing of late upon fundamental issues of principle and program, using individual crimes and abuses only for purpose of illustration, and even that rather sparingly.

By omitting a few words from the middle of a sentence last week, the printer-made me say: "I don't know any way of improving our party organization." What I wrote was quite different. After speaking of intimidation at the polls in certain districts, I said: "I don't know any way of stopping this except by immensely strengthening and improving our party organization."

A. L.

Hungry in Cleveland Schools

CLEVELAND. — (FP) — The number of undernourished children in the Cleveland elementary schools may reach 15,000 before the end of the present school term, it is estimated. A preliminary survey made by school principals in the poorest section of the city shows that here alone there are 5,000 needy.

to capture votes from the Democratic or Republican parties. What do the readers of The New Leader think?

ABRAHAM ZUCKER.

New York City.

RUSSIA

Editor, The New Leader:

So much is being said about Russia that another few words will not, I trust, increase your impatience.

It would not become me to express my opinion in the present very astute and sincere criticism of Upton Sinclair. These are giants and are supposed to know better. But I only wonder why when a Socialist describes conditions in Russia which to him are beyond redemption, he assumes such a victorious tone as if he were glad of it. Does it not prove the father of the thought?

I personally believe, in spite of my unscientific thinking, that in Russia the worker has more to hope for than in any other country, and deeply regret this Socialist attitude.

ABRAHAM BAUM.

Monticello, N. Y.

A SOCIALIST PARTY PLAN

Editor, The New Leader:

A certain American commercial concern became enriched and famous for its "37 Varieties" but a philosophy of political action cannot hope for success unless its adherents find a common ground for the propagation of its ideal—both in its theory as well as in its practical application.

With 37 varieties of independent political subdivisions, educational, civic and fraternal organizations all operating for their local needs and purposes and working for their local selfish interests, one need not be surprised at the comparatively small

vote given the Socialist Party in the recent elections.

To Socialists, the Seabury investigations were not shocking. We always attacked the honesty and motives of the professional politicians. It is to be regretted, however, that the workers out of employment—whereas the housewives we only reached deaf ears.

With Judge Seabury's revelations receiving front page and editorial spread in the press which reached almost every part of the air, ground and sea, with the depression that ruined "small business" and threw the workers out of employment—whereas the housewives we only reached deaf ears.

In Greater New York there are at least 500,000 trade unionists, the Workmen's Circle boasting a membership of 40,000 members and followers of the League for Industrial Democracy, the Women's Trade Union League, the League for Independent Political Action, and there are at least a quarter of a million readers of the *Workers' Weekly* and the *Liberal* publications, not to mention about 20,000 students who have attended Socialist educational institutions. Where did their vote go to? We cannot hope for their suffrage why should we expect support from the element we only meet before election?

Shouldn't we forget politics for a while and take stock of our assets and liabilities, just as "big business" does every now and then?

The lack of confidence in us is to my mind largely due to our lack of unity among our various groups. To reach a common platform which all of our members, supporters and sympathizers could accept, we must believe in action, would to a large extent win for us the full support of our own family and the assistance of the outside disinterested element.

Personally, I would like the Socialist Party to declare a political recess and would strongly urge the consideration of a plan by which we would lay aside our fruitless effort to get votes and instead we should:

No. 1. Try and do away with our internal strifes. There should be no excuse for our so-called Militants pulling the horse in the opposite direction for other members sitting at the warm fireplaces while the field men are plowing; for our most active men organizing their own groups to blow their own horn.

There must be only one firm, one organization—the Socialist Party—with but one piece of merchandise to sell—Socialism. Just as salesmen use all their art in selling the merchandise so should our spokesmen "sell" Socialism instead of their own person. Let us stop creating Gods and above all let us encourage leadership, no matter how devoted they be. Let us forget, every time one of our Gods left us our votes decreased and our party membership dwindled.

No. 2. Instead of going after votes for election to various political offices let our men be assigned to convince the trade unionists first through proper planning we could have our spokesmen win them over to our cause. My 25 years as a party member convinced me that the various organizations would not only welcome but would appreciate the service we could render them directly or indirectly not only to convert them to our mission, but also bring them into the party.

If we adopt such a plan we could utilize the thousands of dollars wasted during elections on halls, signs, posters and other seemingly useless publicity for strengthening our party, organizing a staff of men and women to serve as organizers, lecturers and propagandists among the numerous organizations.

Even if it takes us five years to carry out the above two suggestions, I believe the investment of time to be justified. After all we are not primarily interested in electing a few men to office, neither can we bring about Socialism in days or even years to come.

In short, let us make peace in our own family and build up our own organization first by winning over our immediate prospects before we go out

EMANUEL KLINE.

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